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and historic structure report:
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CUMBERLAND ISLAND



NATIONAL SEASHORE / GEORGIA

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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

CUMBERLAND ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE

GEORGIA

AND

HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

HISTORICAL DATA SECTION

OF THE

DUNGENESS AREA

by

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PREFACE

The present studies should fulfill the requirements of a Historic Resource Study of Cumberland Island (Acct. No. 2001-2019-416) and of a Historic Structure Report of the Dungeness Area (Acct. No. 2001-1370-399). It was decided for the sake of continuity that both studies should be combined under one cover since the subject matter and source materials of both studies were closely related. The Historic Resource Study of Cumberland Island forms Part One and the Historic Structure Report of the Dungeness Area Part Two of this report.

The recorded history of Cumberland Island spans a very wide period of time--from about 1560 to the present. The Spaniards were the first to occupy the island. The English then inhabited it when the Georgia Colony was created. As part of the State of Georgia, the island was later occupied by plantation owners, chief among whom were the heirs and descendants of Major General Nathanael Greene. Finally, in later years, most of the island became the property of the Carnegies until Cumberland Island National Seashore was created in 1972. The island had been extensively used for military purposes during war and peace, first by the Spaniards, then by the English, and finally by the Americans.

A study covering such an extensive period of time that was subject to many diverse influences must necessarily depend upon widely scattered sources. Fortunately, sources for most of these periods are abundant, as the bibliography will testify. Only the limitations of time and funds allotted to this project prevented a more comprehensive and detailed account of the history of the island.

Beside these limitations, there was one other very serious restriction imposed upon this study, and that was the lack of sources documenting the Carnegie period. While it is known that there are source materials in existence relative to this era, restrictions have been placed on their availability. Nonetheless, access to some materials was graciously provided by Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, a granddaughter of Thomas Morrison Carnegie, the purchaser and founder of the Carnegie Estate on Cumberland Island. The author is greatly indebted to Mrs. Rockefeller for the many courtesies extended to him not only in granting an interview but in providing him with illustrations and other data concerning the Carnegie period.

While portions of this study dealing with the Carnegie period are limited by restrictions, fortunately the same cannot be said for other periods of the island's history. Almost every repository containing data on these periods was quick to respond to the needs of the author, who therefore feels a strong obligation to list individually all those persons who assisted him in the preparation of this study.

In addition to Mrs. Rockefeller, the author is grateful for interviews and materials provided by Mr. George Mayo, a resident of the island who is a

descendant of slaves, by the Reverand L. Morrison, Ms. Amanda Mitchell, and Ms. Clara Mitchell of Fernandina, Florida, and by Mrs. Frances Walker of Brunswick, Georgia, all of whom were at one time or another associated with the north end of Cumberland Island.

He wishes to thank the following persons for leading him to documents and printed sources: Mrs. Hope Holdcamper and Messrs. Gibson B. Smith, Stuart Butler, and Gary Morgan of the National Archives and Records Service; Messrs. John C. Broderick, James Flatness, and Andrew Modelski of the Library of Congress; Ms. Ruth M. Blair of the Connecticut Historical Society; Ms. Judith Schiff of the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University; Mrs. Lilla M. Hawes of the Georgia Historical Society; Mr. Paul I. Chestnut of the William R. Perkins Library, Duke University; Mrs. Anne W. Gordon of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; Mr. Anthony R. Dees and Mrs. Mary B. Yeager of the University of Georgia Libraries; Mr. John W. Bonner, formerly with the University of Georgia Libraries; Ms. Anne Shelander of the Coastal Georgia Historical Society; Mrs. Lucile Trapnell of the St. Marys Public Library, St. Marys, Georgia; and Ms. Joan S. Lasserrer of the Fernandina Public library, Fernandina, Florida.

A very special word of appreciation must go to the staff of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia, for the multitude of services provided the author while at the archives, but especially to Ms. Beatrice Lang, Ms. Ruth Corry, Ms. Pat Bryant, Ms. Janice G. Blake, and Mr. Peter Schinkel. The author is also very grateful for the assistance provided him by the staff of the Camden County Clerk's Office, Woodbine, Georgia, and especially to Mrs. Caroline Warren.

The author also wishes to take this opportunity to thank the following persons and institutions for answering his many queries: Mrs. Michael Sherman of the Princeton University Library; Mrs. Carl F. Miller of the American Philosophical Society; Ms. Harriet McLoone of the Huntington Library; Mr. Richard J. Cox of the Maryland Historical Society; Mr. Nathan M. Kaganoff of the American Jewish Historical Society; Ms. Jean R. McNiece, Manuscript Division, and the staff of the Art and Architecture Division of the New York Public Library; Mr. Eugene Zepp of the Boston Public Library; Ms. Mary Overby of the Georgia Baptist Historical Society; Mr. Edward C. Sarr of the American Baptist Historical Society; Mr. Richard K. Showman, editor of The Nathanael Greene Papers; Mr. Samuel J. Hough of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; Mr. Neville Thompson of the Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University; and Ms. Lenore M. Dickinson of the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University.

The author is indebted to a number of National Park Service people for the cheerful manner in which they came to his aid. He is grateful to Superintendent and Mrs. Paul McCrary, Mrs. Martha Findley, Ms. Diane Penny, and Messrs. Dick Sise, Jim Brunn, Zack Kirkland, and Harold Woods of Cumberland Island National Seashore. Messrs. Len Brown and John Garner of the Southeast Regional Office were helpful in many ways. Mr. John E. Ehrenhard of the Southeast Archeological Center was also helpful because of his knowledge of archeological sites on the island. Mr. Luis R. Arana of Castillo De San Marcos National Monument and Superintendent Janet C. Wolf of

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At the Denver Service Center, the author must thank Messrs. John F. Luzader, Ed Bearss, John Murphy, David Henderson, and Les Siroky for the many ways in which they facilitated his work. To Mrs. Linda Greene the author is indebted for her careful scrutiny in the editing of the final draft. Finally, Mrs. Helen Athearn and Mrs. Aki Kawakami should take credit for typing the drafts and assembling the many illustrations of the report and, in general, for the forbearance and patience which they displayed in tolerating the author's idiosyncracies.

Louis Torres

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PART ONE

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

CUMBERLAND ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE

INTRODUCTION

Cumberland Island is the southernmost of the famed sea islands off the coast of Georgia. Located between Jekyll Island on the north and Amelia Island, Florida, on the south, the island measures about 17.5 miles long by about .5 mile wide in the south to 3 miles at its widest point.[1] It is separated from the mainland by the Cumberland River, part of the intracoastal waterway that separates the sea islands from Georgia and South Carolina. The southern end of the island faces the city of St. Marys on the mainland. St. Andrews Sound separates the island on the north from Jekyll Island, and Cumberland Sound (at the mouth of St. Marys River) separates it on the south from Amelia Island. The island consists of two parts: Great Cumberland, which makes up Cumberland Island National Seashore, and Little Cumberland to the north of it.

Before European occupation, Indians knew the island variously as Missoe (meaning "beautiful"), Wissoe (meaning "sassafras"), and Tacatacuru. The Spaniards, who were probably the first Europeans to establish a permanent settlement on the island, called it San Pedro. The English, who later replaced the Spaniards, first named it the Highlands and later Cumberland.

Much of the lowland portion of the island consists of marshlands, some of which were converted into usable land by the more enterprising Europeans and Americans during the plantation era and later. Most of the highland portion of the island consists of hammock land, a name given to fertile areas where the soil has a limestone base with a surface of sandy loam that has been enriched by vegetation deposits of magnolia, beech, spruce pine, and live oak.[2]

Live oak, red cedar, pines, and dwarf palmettos grew in great abundance on the island and were probably very common when the Europeans first landed. In time, through European and American initiative, crops of varying kinds were grown, some of which were imported from Europe and the West Indies. Oranges, olives, lemons, limes, and ginger formed beautiful groves. Crops

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1. Hilburn O. Hillestad *et al.*, *The Ecology of the Cumberland Island National Seashore, Camden County, Georgia,* Technical Report Series Number 75-5 (Skidaway Island, Ga.: Georgia Marine Science Center, University System of Georgia, May 1975), p. 23. This study contains an excellent account of the island's geological history.

2. Hugh Fraser Grant, *Planter Management and Capitalism in Ante-Bellum Georgia: The Journal of Hugh Fraser Grant, Ricegrower,* ed. Albert Virgil House (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1954), p. 47n, citing R. M. Harper, "Agriculture in Lower Georgia, 1850-1880," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 6 (1922): 105.

such as the famous sea island cotton, indigo, corn, potatoes, pomegranates, dates, figs, melons, and strawberries were also raised in varying quantities.

Animals such as deer, bear, alligator, giant turtles, and other reptiles, as well as wild turkey and waterfowl of different species, have been known to roam the island. With the coming of the Europeans, horses, wild pigs, and cattle were introduced to the island, and their descendants may still be seen today. Fish have always been common in the island's waters, supplying the Indians with their principal sustenance.

The early aborigines of the island were the Timucuans, a tribe of Indians that existed along the coast of northern Florida as far north as Cumberland Island.[3] Their language differed from that of their northern neighbors, the Guale Indians. The Timucuans were a relatively advanced people, and their natural docility made them obedient subjects of their Spanish rulers. The cultural differences existing between Timucuans and Gualeans frequently brought them into conflict. On Cumberland Island the Timucuans were said to have subsisted largely on shellfish, acorns, and roots. They also drank a concoction made from sassafras, a drink pleasing even to the Europeans. A bread made of smilax (greenbrier) also was used occasionally.[4] Deer hunting was another means of subsistence for the Indians of the island, an activity in which the Europeans quickly joined. In the late 19th century the owners of estates and their guests made deer hunting a favorite sport, so much so that when the deer population decreased, deer were imported from the mainland.

Because the land on Cumberland Island has been used by man for many centuries, much of its original wilderness has been altered. Nevertheless, it has retained many of those natural qualities that appealed to both the Indian and European alike. The Americans appreciated these qualities in the 18th and 19th centuries, and created estates designed as havens for the weary northern traveller. This tradition has been carried on with the establishment of Cumberland Island National Seashore.

Although the natural attributes of the island have been important, its history cannot be overlooked. Events on Cumberland Island from the time the Spaniards first settled there in the 1560s through the 19th century have played a significant role in the history of the mainland U. S. Perhaps the reason for this was the island's strategic importance. The island harbored a

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3. In 1932 an old canoe, a relic of the Timucuan Indians, was excavated from mud flats on the island and sent to the Smithsonian Institution. It was a scooped-out pine log, shaped by the application of fire, and with a finish of shell implements. Rosa Thornton Lane, "Georgia Colonial Homes," typescript MS, n.d. but ca. 1941, Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Ga.

4. John T. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 20.

peaceful Indian people, and so the Spanish were able to establish one of the most permanent and effective Christian missions on the Atlantic coast. Located in that buffer zone commonly referred to as the "debatable land," Cumberland Island was at the center of that age-long conflict between Spain and England. The island was not only of value to the Spanish in their christianizing and colonizing efforts; it also assumed importance as a military station, first for the Spanish and later for the English. The Americans also found it of military value during the Civil War, although to a much lesser degree.

The island's natural attributes were a contributing factor in the later development of the American timber and cotton industries. Located in the low-lying coastal regions of Georgia, the island played a major role in the growth and development of sea island cotton in antebellum days. Finally, because of its natural attributes, Cumberland Island became known as a recreational area long before it was ever officially designated as such. The long tradition attached to the island, that it was a place to be enjoyed by those who visited it, made it a natural selection in the 20th century for a National Seashore area.

CHAPTER I: PERIOD OF SPANISH OCCUPATION

A. The First Years

During the first half of the 16th century, Spain, France, and England sailed up and down the coast of Florida and the adjoining lands to the north making all sorts of claims in the name of their sovereign kings. It was the Spanish, however, who made the first serious attempts to explore Florida after Juan Ponce de Léon's early explorations there in 1513. Spain made no attempts to establish permanent settlements, however. While Spain was extending her hegemony over the southeast in the name of the King of Spain, she was encountering considerable resistance from the French who were busy making their own claims. France went one step further, however. Through the efforts of the French Huguenots she was able to establish a settlement at Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River. There is also evidence that the agressive Huguenots made their presence felt on the island of Tacatacuru in 1562. The sassafras grown on the island was important to the French in satisfying their needs at home.

In order to deal with these French incursions into lands claimed by the King of Spain, the Spaniards determined to establish permanent settlements as a way of destroying French influence. In the 1560s the strong-willed Spanish governor of Florida, Menendéz de Aviles, quickly took the initiative and massacred the French settlement of Fort Caroline, thereby strengthening and consolidating Spanish power over all its claims. As one major step in this direction, he established the settlement of St. Augustine and presidios, fortifications, and missions extending from South Carolina (referred to by the Spaniards as Santa Elena or Orista), southward to Georgia (Guale). Guale and Orista became provinces of Spanish Florida, which, according to the claims of the Spanish king, included all that area between South Carolina and Florida and the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean--a vague and indefinite boundary.

Before 1560 a feeble attempt had been made by the Spanish to fortify the islands off the coast of Guale, but no serious effort had been made to colonize these areas. Governor Menendéz now conceived a plan for constructing forts and planting settlements along the coast of Guale and Orista. It was not until after 1566 that he succeeded in strengthening the fortifications along the coast as far north as present-day Charleston, South Carolina.

In this chain of fortifications, the island of Tacatacuru was renamed San Pedro and the fortification and presidio established there were referred to by the same name. Eventually this presidio became one of the most important garrisions north of St. Augustine. The fortification was built of logs, earth, and fascines. It consisted of 80 men at first, and perhaps 100

a little later. Its armament consisted of four pieces of artillery weighing about 4,000 pounds each (or 40 *quintales*).[1]

In 1569 Captain Antonio de Prado, who had been directed by Menendéz to strengthen the fortifications along the coast of Spanish Florida, noted that

> In the fort of San Pedro, which is on the island of Tacatagoru [*sic*] . . . there must be one hundred more soldiers; and there cannot be less, although now there are more because this island is six leagues long, and [is] where the French . . . planned to return to build a fort . . . the indians are great enemies of ours and friends of the French. . . .[2]

Prado described all four existing forts, including San Pedro, as being triangular in shape, "built of beams and timbers, fagots and earth," with casemates and moats.[3]

Governor Menendéz's objective of securing the coast against foreign occupation and French intrusion was not easily achieved. The line of Spanish fortifications along the coast was too poorly manned and the garrisons too far apart to adequately prevent harassment by French corsairs. The French gathering of sassafras was upsetting enough, but their intrigues with the Timucuans were a source of even greater trouble for the Spanish in later years.

Control of the Indians was the key to peace and security, and the Spanish sought to achieve this through the establishment of religious missions --first by the Jesuits and later by the Franciscans. Conversion of the Indians was of utmost importance to the 16th-century Spaniard. In Governor Menendéz's agreement with the King of Spain it had been expressly stipulated that the spiritual welfare of the Indians be carefully guarded. Menendéz had expressed deep concern over the human sacrifices engaged in by the Guale Indians. Therefore, in response to repeated requests, the Jesuits sent three missionaries to Florida in 1566--Fathers Pedro Martinez, Rogel, and Villareal.[4]

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1. James G. Johnson, "The Founding of Spanish Colonies in Georgia and South Carolina," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 15 (1931): 304; James G. Johnson, *The International Contest for the Colonial Southeast, 1566-1763* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1924), pp. 29-30.

2. J. T. Connor, ed. and trans., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* (Tampa: Florida State Historical Society, 1925), 1:291-93.

3. Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941), pp. 131-32, fn. 2.

4. Johnson, *International Contest*, p. 36.

As they were approaching Florida, the three missionaries inadvertently missed St. Augustine through some navigational error, and instead landed on the island of San Pedro during the latter part of 1566. Here the three priests and some soldiers were met by hostile Timucuans, friendly to the French, who murdered them. This first attempt to establish a Jesuit mission on San Pedro thus ended in violence.[5]

Before Governor Menendéz returned to Spain in 1567, he left orders that the chief of the Tacatacuru on San Pedro responsible for the slaughter of the three priests and soldiers be put to death as punishment.[6] In the meantime, he requested additional Jesuits from Spain. Although they arrived in 1568, the records are not clear as to whether they attempted or ever succeeded in establishing a mission on San Pedro after that first ill-fated venture. The Jesuit missions met with some success in Guale at first, but this was shortlived, and they were driven out by hostile Indians who were unwilling to accept Christianity. By 1570 the Jesuits had abandoned Guale altogether.[7]

While the missions were having their difficulties, the newly established settlements were not faring much better. Starvation and rebellions were becoming more frequent among the Spanish settlers and garrisons. The soldiers of the presidios grew dissatisfied and complained of all sorts of deprivations. The soldiers of the garrison at San Pedro, which had been reduced to a mere skeleton force, were almost naked, ill-equipped, and famished. The fort itself was falling into decay. The situation was not helped by the fact that the home government was losing interest in the colonization of Florida.[8]

The succeeding two decades were followed by raids on various parts of the Guale coast by the French and their Indian allies.[9] In 1572 San Pedro was one of only three settlements on the coast north of San Mateo in Florida. Farmers had been permitted to settle at all these places, but they were too few in number to raise the amount of provisions necessary to support even the

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5. Johnson, "Founding of Spanish Colonies," p. 307; Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida, 1562-1574*, 2 vols. (New York, 1905), 2:271-72.

6. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 2:289-90.

7. Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1921), p. 159.

8. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 2:356; Johnson, "Founding of Spanish Colonies," p. 307; Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgian Country* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1925), pp. 10-11, states that the garrison at San Pedro was reduced to fifty men.

9. Bolton and Ross, *Debatable Land*, pp. 12-13.

smallest garrison. They petitioned to be allowed to return to Spain, and were granted this request. According to one writer, there were no colonists on San Pedro by 1573.[10]

B. The Franciscans (1578-1655)

For a time it appeared as though no further attempts would be made to colonize Spanish Florida, but the King of Spain refused to give up his claims to Guale and Orista. In 1574, realizing that the Christianization of the Indians was of prime importance, the king authorized priests of the Franciscan order, subsidized by the crown, to take over the missions. Only a handful of Franciscans arrived in Florida, so that for the next twelve or thirteen years little missionary work of any kind was carried on. Nor was any serious attempt made during these years to recolonize the old settlements. It was not until 1587, when thirteen more Franciscans arrived, that missionary work began in a more serious vein.[11]

The intense zeal of the Franciscans while suffering under the most horrendous deprivations could not be confined, and soon missions were flourishing as they never had under the Jesuits. Unlike the Jesuits, the Franciscans were accepted by the Timucuan Indians. Their successes were soon recognized in official quarters both in Spain and in St. Augustine, and this spurred them on to achieve greater success. By the time of the Guale Indian rebellion of 1597, six Franciscan missions were in full operation along the Georgia-South Carolina coast from San Pedro to St. Catherines Island.[12]

On the island of San Pedro, the Franciscans established two missions. The first and most important was San Pedro de Mocama (in Timucuan language, "Mocama" meant "on the sea"), which was established by Father Baltasar Lopez in 1587. This mission was located on the inner side of the island, "two leagues from the Barra of San Pedro" or what is now Cumberland Sound.[13]

It was probably located at the southern end of the island where it had the advantage, lacked by other missions, of being close to the garrison. The ruins of the old fort that was built in the 1560s must have still been visible.

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10. Johnson, *International Contest*, pp. 37-38; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 2:378.

11. Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870* (Gainesville, Fla.: Univ. of Florida Press, 1965), p. 38.

12. Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, p. 36.

13. Johnson, *International Contest*, p. 42.

Within a year there were encouraging reports that Father Lopez had already baptized many Indians under his care.[14] One writer, citing Father Lopez, has noted that the island of San Pedro had seven pueblos in which there were 384 baptized converts.[15] Located near a sizeable Indian settlement with a strong Spanish garrison, this mission grew to be one of the most important centers of missionary activity in Guale. What contributed to its influential position was the fact that the local Indians and their chief, Don Juan, were receptive to Christianity and friendly to the Franciscans, a rapport that the Jesuits had not been able to achieve. Don Juan was regarded jealously by the more warlike tribes on the mainland of Guale. After 1600, San Pedro de Mocama was a *doctrinae*, or mission headquarters, with *visitas*, or substations, connected with it.[16]

Probably sometime after 1595, as more Franciscan monks were arriving in Spanish Florida, a second mission--known as San Pedro y San Pablo de Porturiba--was founded on the island of San Pedro at the northern end on the inland side. This was a substation of the larger mission to the south.

On the eve of the Gualean Revolt of 1597, three Franciscans were assigned to the island of San Pedro. Fray Baltasar Lopez, who founded San Pedro de Mocama, was one. Although usually found at this mission, his responsibilities also extended deep into Timucuan territory on the mainland. Fray Francisco Pareja, a second monk, was usually at San Pedro de Mocama, but he also labored on the mainland. He was ably assisted by the Chief Don Juan. So effective was Pareja that he not only achieved great religious results, but after retiring to Mexico he left behind invaluable records on the habits of the Indians he served. Finally there was Fray Pedro Fernandez de Choyas. He was stationed at San Pedro y San Pablo de Porturiba.[17]

The missions of San Pedro proved to be extremely successful, if the reports provided by the Franciscans are to be believed. The priests were fortunate in dealing with a friendly chieftain who himself performed religious duties and assisted in the celebration of the Mass. The Indians took their religious obligations seriously. They observed Holy Week as was the custom in Spain. San Pedro de Mocama assumed a high position since it had the only church, at which inhabitants of villages on the mainland.

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14. Maynard J. Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618* (Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1937), p. 55.

15. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, p. 43.

16. Mary Ross, "The Restoration of the Spanish Missions in Georgia, 1598-1606," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (1926): 176, fn. 9.

17. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, pp. 87-88; Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 71.

gathered for Holy Week and Easter as well as on other holy days.[18] In the six years prior to 1593, the friars reported the conversion of 500 Indians on the island.[19]

The Indians of San Pedro were poor, but devoted to Christianity. They cultivated corn, beans, and pumpkins, and depended less on hunting than did their neighboring tribes. This relatively stationary position, as opposed to the nomadic habits of their neighbors, may have accounted for their loyalty to the missions.

The Gualean Revolt of 1597 was a desperate attempt on the part of these Indians to wipe out Christianity. It was spurred on by the resentment of certain Indians towards the zealous efforts by some Franciscan monks to eliminate the practice of polygamy among them. The revolt was sparked when the friar of a mission reprimanded the chieftain of a tribe in public for his polygamous habits. After successfully attacking and destroying several missions and murdering Franciscan friars on the mainland, the Indians attempted an attack upon the island of San Pedro and the mission of San Pedro de Mocama. Their attack was largely foiled due to the loyalty of the Timucuan chief, Don Juan, and so the rebellious Indians retreated northward, thinking they might overcome the substation there. However, Father Pareja had time to send a messenger to Father Choyas at Porturiba to warn him of the approaching rebels. Although the rebellious Indians approached Porturiba and threatened the mission, for some unknown reason they did not stop there, continuing their retreat northward instead.

While the rebellious Indians were displaying their show of force, both Fathers Choyas and Pareja sent off messages in a brigantine to the governor at St. Augustine requesting immediate assistance. Assembling 150 infantry troops, Governor Mendez de Canzo departed for San Pedro. This show of force frightened the rebellious Indians, who showed no desire to resist and scattered. The rebellion was now over and some semblance of order had been achieved, but Governor Canzo ordered Fathers Pareja and Choyas to remove to St. Augustine for their own safety.[20]

Although the two missions on San Pedro did not suffer as other missions did from the deprivations caused by the rebellion, they were abandoned, and

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18. In the records he left behind, Father Lopez provides a detailed account of the Indians and how they accepted Christianity. See Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, pp. 147-49.

19. Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 79.

20. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, pp. 88-104; See Lanning, *Spanish Missions of Georgia*, pp. 89-92, and James G. Johnson, "The Yamassee Revolt of 1597 and the Destruction of the Georgia Missions," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (March, 1923): 44-50, both of which provide good accounts of the attack on San Pedro.

for a time no missions operated on the island. The absence of monks caused the mission church and other structures to fall into disrepair. There is no positive evidence indicating when the Franciscans reestablished their mission there, but in 1602, when missionaries again returned to Guale, Father Lopez reported that there were 792 Christian Indians on San Pedro Island.[21]

The missions of Guale were being rebuilt at this time; old sites were reoccupied and new ones opened. Governor Canzo, concluding that the decaying church at San Pedro de Mocama needed to be rebuilt, directed Father Lopez, who had returned to his old mission, to prepare the necessary materials for the new church. When the governor visited San Pedro in early 1603, he found to his chagrin that the supply of materials was insufficient to complete the church. He quickly ordered nails, timber, and other supplies from St. Augustine.[22] Upon returning to San Pedro in 1603 after a trip northward into Guale country, the governor found that substantial progress had been made in building the new church. In order to insure an early completion, however, he placed additional carpenters to work.[23] On March 10, 1603, the church was finally dedicated. One author describes the occasion:

> "San Pedro was all eagerness. Complete with alter and choir in place, the new building loomed large in the local mind." In fact, it "must have been as overwhelming to the savage mind, as the cathedral of Seville or Burgos could have been to the governor." The brilliant occasion doubtless impressed the faithful Timucuans. Besides the liturgical function accompanying the dedication, there was an address by Governor Canzo wherein he stressed the significance of the achievement and the part he played in it. Father Lopez for some reason displayed a cool and unemotional reserve, out of keeping with the otherwise gala spirit of the occasion.[24]

There are no descriptions of the church after it was completed. In 1608 the new Spanish governor Pedro de Ybarra reported that the church was as large as the one at St. Augustine and was valued at 2,000 ducats.[25] The new church was pretty much the result of the former governor's intentions to reward the San Pedro Indians for their loyalty during the revolt of 1597. He believed that the new edifice, a model for the entire seaboard, would

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21. Johnson, *International Contest*, p. 55.

22. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, p. 160.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-63.

25. Johnson, *International Contest*, p. 58.

stimulate religious zeal and at the same time lift San Pedro to a position of spiritual and temporal primacy on that frontier.[26]

The church, which was built in less than one month, was probably constructed of logs with a shingle roof. Any extensive carpentry work was probably applied to the altar and choir. One writer provides an excellent description of what mission structures of the period may have looked like:

> The mission buildings themselves were of simple, even primitive, construction. Pine tree trunks held up the roof and walls, and between these rough-hewn pillars, small posts, were interwoven with horizontal wattles, tied with leather thongs. Clay was then daubed on the latticework and, when dry, it was whitewashed on the interior. Palmetto thatching served as roofing, and wide eaves provided outside shade from the sun. Because of the scarcity of stone, and the unrelieved poverty of the colony (Florida), this wattle-and-daub type of construction would characterize the Florida mission compounds throughout their entire history.[27]

This same writer presents and illustration of an artist's conception of the wattle and daub construction used in the Spanish missions. Upright poles have horizontal wattles lashed in place, and the framework is covered with clay (daub).[28] Marmaduke Floyd, in his interesting essay on tabby ruins in Georgia, has concluded that all available sources seem to indicate that those Spanish outposts and missions on the coast of Georgia built before the middle of the 17th century consisted of wood. It was only after this period that brick was used in the erection of such buildings.[29]

Soon after Governor Ybarra had assumed office, he made new appointments to the various mission districts. To San Pedro he assigned Father Juan Baptista de Capilla. Whether this assignment placed Father Capilla in charge of the whole island, including parts of the mainland, or whether it was intended that he be only at San Pedro de Mocama is not clear, but in all probability the former was intended.[30] By 1610 Father Capillo had assumed the title of "definitor guardian" of San Pedro.[31]

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26. Ross, "Restoration of the Spanish Missions," pp. 176-77.

27. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* pp. 39-40.

28. *Ibid.,* opp. p. 65.

29. Marmaduke Floyd, "Certain Tabby Ruins on the Georgia Coast," in E. Merton Coulter, ed., *Georgia's Disputed Ruins* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1937), p. 24.

30. Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida,* p. 186.

31. *Ibid.,* p. 234.

Some confusion has existed as to the number of missions that existed on the island of San Pedro at one time and their names. There is no doubt that at the time of the Gualean Revolt (1597) two missions--San Pedro de Mocama, the principal mission, and San Pedro y Pablo de Porturiba, a substation--existed on San Pedro. Both locations had friars assigned, but the friar at San Pedro de Mocama had responsibilities that extended over a wide geographical area, including Porturiba and some of the nearby mainland. A 1655 list of missions mentions only San Pedro de Mocama. A list of missions in 1659 reveals that both structures were counted among the growing number of missions in Spanish Florida.[32]

It should be noted, however, that the 1659 list does not specify their locations (i.e., San Pedro Island), so that the mission indicated as being at Porturiba might not have been located on San Pedro Island despite the village name. Floyd notes that when missions were relocated, as they often were, they frequently took with them the patron saint name as well as the settlement name. Thus, the mission noted in this list may not have been on the island of San Pedro at this time although it was there at an earlier period.[33]

Another much later list, in 1680, reveals that the single mission on the island was now called Señor San Felipe de Athuluteca. An English map supports this by showing "St. Pedro Island" harboring a mission called "St. Philipee," which is an Anglicized version of San Felipe.[34] Gannon has noted that at least as early as 1674 there was a mission of San Felipe on the island of San Pedro.[35] Thus, it would appear that sometime after 1659 the mission heretofore known as San Pedro de Mocama changed both its patron saint and settlement name to San Felipe de Athuluteca. Floyd believes that San Pedro and San Felipe were two important separate villages, and that at different periods the mission seats were changed and named after the Spanish designations for the towns. Athuluteca, in other words, was a town that gave its name to the missions.[36]

This same writer believes that because some islands contained several settlements, the recording of more than one Spanish name has caused confusion. On the other hand, one mission at various times had different place-names.[37]

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32. Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida,* p. 123.

33. Floyd, "Certain Tabby Ruins," p. 28.

34. *Ibid.,* p. 26.

35. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand,* p. 64.

36. Floyd, "Certain Tabby Ruins," p. 28.

37. *Ibid.,* p. 31.

The Franciscan missions flourished in Guale up to about 1670, remaining the heart of spiritual and temporal rule in Spanish Florida. As long as they remained strong, the Indians could be contained. However, as the English made their influence felt in the Carolinas, their presence also pervaded Guale, eventually weakening Spanish positions. Although the treaty of 1670 between Spain and England was intended to settle differences between the two nations, the precise line of separation between the Carolinas and Florida was never clearly defined. As a result, disputes over boundaries were frequent. Moreover, the Indians of northern Guale, finding themselves constantly pushed out by the English, in turn crowded back the coastal Indians of the south. The missions of Guale found themselves unable to check this turn of events. In 1680 a band of Creek Indians, allied with the English, struck mission stations as far south as Jekyll Island.[38]

By 1683 the English had taken possession of the island of San Pedro as well as other areas in the vicinity. They may even have established a small military post on the south end of the island. These areas were not permanently held, but it was obvious that the fall of the Franciscan missions in this area was inevitable.[39]

Although the island of San Pedro again fell into the hands of the Spanish, because of constant Indian revolts and the wholesale exodus of Indians over to the English, by 1686 Governor Cabrera ordered all missions north of Amelia Island to be removed. The northern missions, including those on San Pedro, were now completely abandoned, and the border between Spain and England stood unofficially at the St. Marys River. Jonathan Dickinson, in his voyages southward in 1699, noted that there were no missions left north of this point.[40] Thus, by the turn of the century and on the eve of the founding of Georgia as a British colony, nearly all vestiges of Spanish influence had vanished from the islands off its coast.

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38. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, pp. 71-72.

39. Chatelain, *Defenses of Spanish Florida*, p. 160; Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. 5, Charles C. Jones, *The English Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1752* (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), p. 358.

40. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, pp. 71-72.

CHAPTER II: PERIOD OF ENGLISH OCCUPATION (1733-1775)

A. General Oglethorpe and Cumberland Island

Philanthropic motives were not the only reasons for creating the new colony of Georgia. The colony of South Carolina had long sought some kind of settlement to the south that would act as a buffer against the imperialistic designs of Spain. The latter, meanwhile, did not take to such a plan very lightly, since it was certain that English designs included the hegemony of all land south of the Savannah River. The breach between England and Spain over Georgia, long a source of bitter contention, became even wider.

Despite diplomatic efforts to forestall any such eventuality, Spain stood by while General James Oglethorpe, with 300 settlers, made his way into what is now Savannah and there organized the nucleus of what later became the English colony of Georgia. England, meanwhile, had to pay a dear price for its bold venture. Even the Treaty of Vienna, concluded in November 1738, provided only a brief repite from the struggle that was ultimately to come. The island of San Pedro was to be drawn into this area of bitter contention between England and Spain.

Upon arriving in America and settling in Savannah in 1733, Oglethorpe immediately set about strengthening his defenses. In addition to Savannah, he also engineered the settlement of other areas, most of them on or near the coast of Georgia. To adequately defend these settlements, he was convinced that it was most essential to construct fortifications along the coast as far south as the St. Johns River, an act so brazen in the eyes of the Spanish as to defy imagination. The strategic importance of the island of San Pedro made it a logical choice for defensive works. Oglethorpe concluded that San Pedro, only a relatively short distance south of Savannah and Darien, the latter a settlement at the mouth of the Altamaha River, was an ideal location to block or repulse any Spanish force intending to use the intracoastal waterways for an invasion of Georgia.

Having completed the fortifications of Fort Frederica on St. Simons Island in March 1736, the main line of defense, Oglethorpe undertook a reconnaissance that was to take him as far south as the St. Johns River. Accompanying him on this trip were a party of Highlanders under the command of Lieutenant Hugh Mackay and a group of forty Timucuan Indians with their Chief Tomochichi and his young nephew Toonahowi. One day in March 1736 he and his small party landed on the island of San Pedro, which he proceeded to rename the "Highlands".[1] Francis Moore described the landing as follows:

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1. Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (1732-1782), 26 vols. plus 13 typescript vols. (Atlanta, Ga.: Franklin (continued)

That afternoon they saw an island, which the Indians formerly called Wissoo, in English, Sassafras. This is over against Jekyll Island on the south; the northwest end of it rises fifty foot or upwards above the water, like a terras, a mile in length, covered with tall pine trees. The western extremity of this hill commands the passage for boats from the southward as the northern end of the island does the entry for ships. Here they met with some bark-huts, which our friendly Indians had some time since built for their lodging when they hunted there. They saw a great many deer and a wide savannah lying at the foot of the hill, extending near two or three miles: so that from the western point they could discover any boat that came from the southward for several miles.[2]

Shortly after this event the young Toonahowi requested Oglethorpe to name the island "Cumberland" in honor of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, as a gesture on his part for the many kindnesses bestowed upon him by the duke while in England. One month later, Oglethorpe, in a letter to the Georgia trustees, described these events in the following language:

The Indian King TomoChiChi (pursuant to the assurance he gave his Majesty and your Grace in England) went down with me to the utmost Limits of the King of Great Britain's Dominions to put us in possession of all the Lands held by their Nation, from this Island [i.e., St. Simons] to the Spanish Frontiers. There are three beautiful Islands upon the Sea Coast, the first, the Indian King's Nephew Toonahowi who was in England, called it Cumberland, saying that the Duke had given him a watch to show him how to use time, and that he had obtained leave of the Creek Nation to give his name to that Island, that through all times his Benefactors name might be remembered.[3]

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1. (continued) Printing & Publishing Company, 1904-1916), 21:122. John P. Egmont, *The Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, ed. Robert G. McPherson (Athens, Ga.: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1962), pp. 143-44. Francis Moore, in his "A Voyage to Georgia Begun in the Year 1735," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* 1 (1840): 122-23, gives the date of landing as Apr. 19, 1736. This is obviously wrong since in Oglethorpe's letter to Lt. Gov. Thomas Boughton of South Carolina, dated Mar. 28, 1736 (in Candler, *Colonial Records*, 21:123), in which he gives an account of his journey, the date of landing had to be no later than March 28.

2. Moore, "A Voyage to Georgia," p. 123.

3. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 35:50. The Earl of Egmont, who was then a trustee of the Georgia colony, noted that "Toonahowi pulling out a watch given him by the Duke when in England named the Island in memory of him Cumberland. This is the Same with Pedro Island, before named the Highlands by Mr. Oglethorpe." *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, p. 147.

B. Fort Saint Andrews

On the extreme western part of a hill, the foot of which touched the inland waterway, General Oglethorpe directed Hugh Mackay to build a fort. Leaving most of his men behind to continue the construction, Oglethorpe, Tomochichi, Toonahowi, and a few other Indians left for their journey southward for their reconnaissance into Florida. That evening, before moving on to Amelia Island, they encamped on the southern end of Cumberland Island.[4] It was during this time, while they were traveling through the island, that Toonahowi had it renamed for the duke.[5]

Upon returning to Cumberland Island after a few days absence, Oglethorpe found the fort in an advanced state of construction, which pleased him very much. He named the fort Saint Andrews after the patron saint of Scotland.[6] Fort Saint Andrews was not a large fort, but it was intended to serve two purposes. First, as an outlying defensive position, it was to intercept any enemy force approaching through the inland waterway and hold it in check until word was relayed to Fort Frederica, the main line of defense. Second, it was to act as a base for reconnoitering the Florida waters in order to determine what preparations the Spanish were making. Although the fort was not intended to withstand a heavy attack, as was later proven, it did serve well as a base for reconnaissance. The Earl of Egmont observed that as late as December 1736 there were no settlers around the fort, it "being intended only for a Guard to the Country, and the vilages [*sic*] within the bounds of it."[7]

Fortunately, there are several contemporary descriptions of the fort, some by the English and others by the Spanish. When Oglethorpe returned from his brief journey to Florida, he found that the ditch around the fort had already been dug, the parapet had been raised with wood and earth on the land side, and the wooded area had been cleared some fifty feet around the fort. The speed with which all this was done left him greatly surprised because MacKay had no engineer to lay out the plan and supervise construction. Moreover, the ground upon which the fort was built consisted of loose sand and this made it difficult to raise the works. As a result, Mackay's men employed the same methods to support the fort "as Caesar mentions in the wars of Gaul, laying trees and earth alternately, the trees prevented the sand from falling, and the sand the wood from fire."[8]

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4. Moore, "A Voyage to Georgia," p. 123.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Egmont, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, pp. 143-44, 147; Moore, "A Voyage to Georgia," pp. 126-27.

7. Egmont, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, p. 218.

8. Moore, "A Voyage to Georgia," pp. 126-27.

One Highlander, a Mr. McBane, noted that Fort Saint Andrews was built on a high bluff commanding the country around it. "Tis built like the rest [i.e., like other forts Oglethorpe had built in the vicinity], and So strong by situation that 30 Men, of which the Garrison consists can defend it against 300." This observer also noted that there was a well in the middle of the fort.[9]

A document in the *Colonial Records*, which lists the forts that were constructed between June 1736 and June 1737, states that Fort Saint Andrews had several pieces of cannon mounted upon it pointing towards the river. Within the palisades of the fort were "fine" springs of water as well as a "well-framed" log house, about thirty by eighteen feet, containing a magazine for ammunition and provisions under it. A scout boat was also stationed near the fort.[10]

The fort was far from completed when Oglethorpe returned from Florida on his way back to Fort Frederica. In early May 1736 a periagua loaded with ammunition, cannons, boards for platforms, and other essentials was sent to Fort Saint Andrews. Later that month Oglethorpe ordered that a ravelin be added to the fort as well as a palisade around the bottom of the hill.[11]

There is concrete evidence that work of a sizeable nature went on at Fort Saint Andrews between May and December 1737. At that time, Thomas Dawson, a carpenter, worked 184 days in order to construct and complete the storehouse in the fort. For his efforts, he received the sum of £27 12s.[12] About one year later, barracks housing 220 men, "with store-houses," were completed.[13] Although this last reference clearly implied that these facilities were built on Cumberland Island, it is not clear whether the facilities were intended for Fort Saint Andrews or for Fort Prince William, a second fort about to be constructed at the southern tip of the island. However, since construction of the latter fort had yet to begin, it is quite

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9. Egmont, *Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, p. 218.

10. Candler *Colonial Records*, 2:388-89; John Harris, in his *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca or a complete collection of voyages and travels*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for T. Woodward, 1748), 2:331, made the same observation. It is interesting to note that both sources refer to Fort Saint Andrews as being located on the southwest part of the island. Obviously both were in error on this point, and it may well be that Harris, writing later, took his information from the former source.

11. *Colonial Records*, 1:131, 136.

12. *Ibid.*, 2:411-12.

13. *Ibid.*, 3:402-3.

probable that these facilities were intended for Fort Saint Andrews. Besides, this reference to storehouses might well have meant the storehouses completed earlier by Dawson, although additional storehouses were not inconceivable.

At least two contemporary accounts referred to the fort as being a star fort, one noting that it was mounted with ordnance.[14] Meanwhile, reactions to the fort were all rather favorable, one remarking that the fort was "Situated upon a fine commanding Ground," while another noted that it, as well as other forts, "were all in defensible Condition."[15]

One of the best descriptions of the fort by a modern writer is given by Larry E. Ivers. He described it as built on a configuration called a "Star-Work," the shape of which was a four-pointed star, each of the points forming a bastion. The northern points were short; the two southern points were long. Excluding the bastions, the inside dimensions were about 65 by 130 feet. In order to construct a wall from the loose sand, the only earthwork material in the area, it was necessary to cover a layer of limbs and brush with a layer of sand, which in turn was covered by a layer of limbs. According to Ivers, this was merely an expedient; not long afterward a wooden form was constructed to contain the sand walls. A palisade of logs was planted in the moat. into which natural springs flowed, providing fresh water. A single-story plank-sided frame house was constructed with a powder magazine and storehouse in the cellar. A triangular earthen battery surrounded by a palisade was soon built at the bottom of the hill for cannons providing cover against enemy attack from the inland passage.[16]

Some of the most interesting descriptions of the fort are the result of observations made by the Spaniards and their Indian allies. In 1738 an Indian called Juan Ygnacio de los Reyes, who was in the employ of the Spaniards and who was sent to spy on English fortifications in Georgia, saw at Fort Saint Andrews

> a number of soldiers drilling with spears, and although he did not know their exact number, he afterwards learned in San Simons from Col. Cochran that there were three hundred; that he there saw a number of houses, newly built and close together as in Havana, a number of English women, wives of the soldiers, but he could not tell the number of houses in the place; that there is also a

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14. *Ibid.*, 39:483, 488.

15. *Ibid.*, 35:313; 39:473.

16. Larry E. Ivers, *British Drums on the Southern Frontier: The Military Colonization of Georgia, 1733-1749* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1974), pp. 58-60.

square Fort, with four cannon, toward the sea, and on the other side he could not see; that there was small guardhouses around it.[17]

Another Spanish account of the fort was written by Don Antonio De Arredondo, chief engineer of the ill-fated Spanish expedition of 1742. In his journal of events of July 26, 1742, he reported the following:

> Proceeding thus to the Fort of Bajeses, we arrived at 8:00 in the morning and anchored, and at one and the same time all the troops began to go ashore in as good order as was permitted by the nature of the ground. We found the fort abandoned and containing only a few things, such as a four-pounder gun spiked, two swivel guns unspiked, fifty hand grenades, six empty jars and number of iron hoops. The fort is situated upon an eminence which commands the entire beach and has no other fortification than that afforded by a dense girdle of lofty and large pines and the superiority of its position. Within this enclosure was a house of limited accommodation and in an angle an underground room which appeared to be a powder magazine; about one hundred paces beyond this circle were three houses at a short distance one from the other, the largest of which, from its construction seemed to be a storehouse; the next one was a stable because it was surrounded by a fence inside of which we found fifty to sixty horses. These at first we thought we would take on to Florida with us but as we had no means of doing so, an order was given that they should be immediately killed in order that our enemies might have a taste of the same treatment to which they had subjected us in Florida. At this very moment, however, this order was suspended until we should begin our march. The third house was immediately at the landing which showed that it was a tavern or a low eating house. Our commanding officers took for their headquarters the house in the fort, leaving the others for the other officers. The troops went into a camp at a distance of about two hundred paces from the fort in an open pine grove on level ground and more or less shady on account of the thick pines growing there. There seemed to be an abundance of water with which the men refreshed themselves; they managed to resist the scarcity of food from which they suffered on this day until the afternoon, for it occurred to some of the men to obtain relief by killing a few horses and eating their flesh. In the afternoon an issue was ordered of a little rice and of one hard tack apiece and at the same time a return was asked of the stores which were actually on board in the boats with us.[18]

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17. *Camden County Tribune* (Brunswick, Ga.), Special Edition, July 4, 1972, p. 2B.

18. Arredondo's Journal, July 26, 1742, in James Oglethorpe, "The Spanish Official Account of the Attack on the Colony of Georgia, in America, (continued)

This is probably the best known existing description of Fort Saint Andrews. There is no doubt that Arredondo described exactly what he had observed. It is also interesting to note that Arredondo referred to the fort as Fort Bajeses rather than Saint Andrews.

In the British Museum is an excellent map of Fort Saint Andrews with French titles and legend (a copy of which is in the Library of Congress and published versions of which appear in various publications). This map is titled "Plan d'un petit Fort pour l'isle de St. Andre. . . ."[19] The plan shows a fairly large fort with elaborate works, depicting the fort proper as well as the outer works. What is extremely significant is the fact that it shows in dotted lines the contours of a much smaller fort within the larger one.

The plan notes that the fort is capable of holding a magazine and barracks for 200 men and 20 more if necessary. The facilities in the interior of the fort include the following:

Three two-story barracks
A bakery
A blacksmith shop
Two latrines
A parade ground

The outer works include:

Three small redoubts to the east of the fort proper
Areas or fields in front of the redoubts where troops could be positioned to ward off an enemy attack of 5,000 or 6,000 men
Small trenches or passageways connecting the fort proper to the redoubts
Other fields outside the fort that could be effectively utilized for gardens or the growing of corn within enclosures

Since the plan is drawn to scale (200 toises), measured from the northern tip of the glacis to the tip of the bastion on the south wall, the fort measured about 223 toises (in old French 1 toise was equivalent to 2.1315 yards), or 475 yards. At the widest point, that is from the northwest bastion to the northeast bastion, the fort measured 80 toises, or about 171 yards.

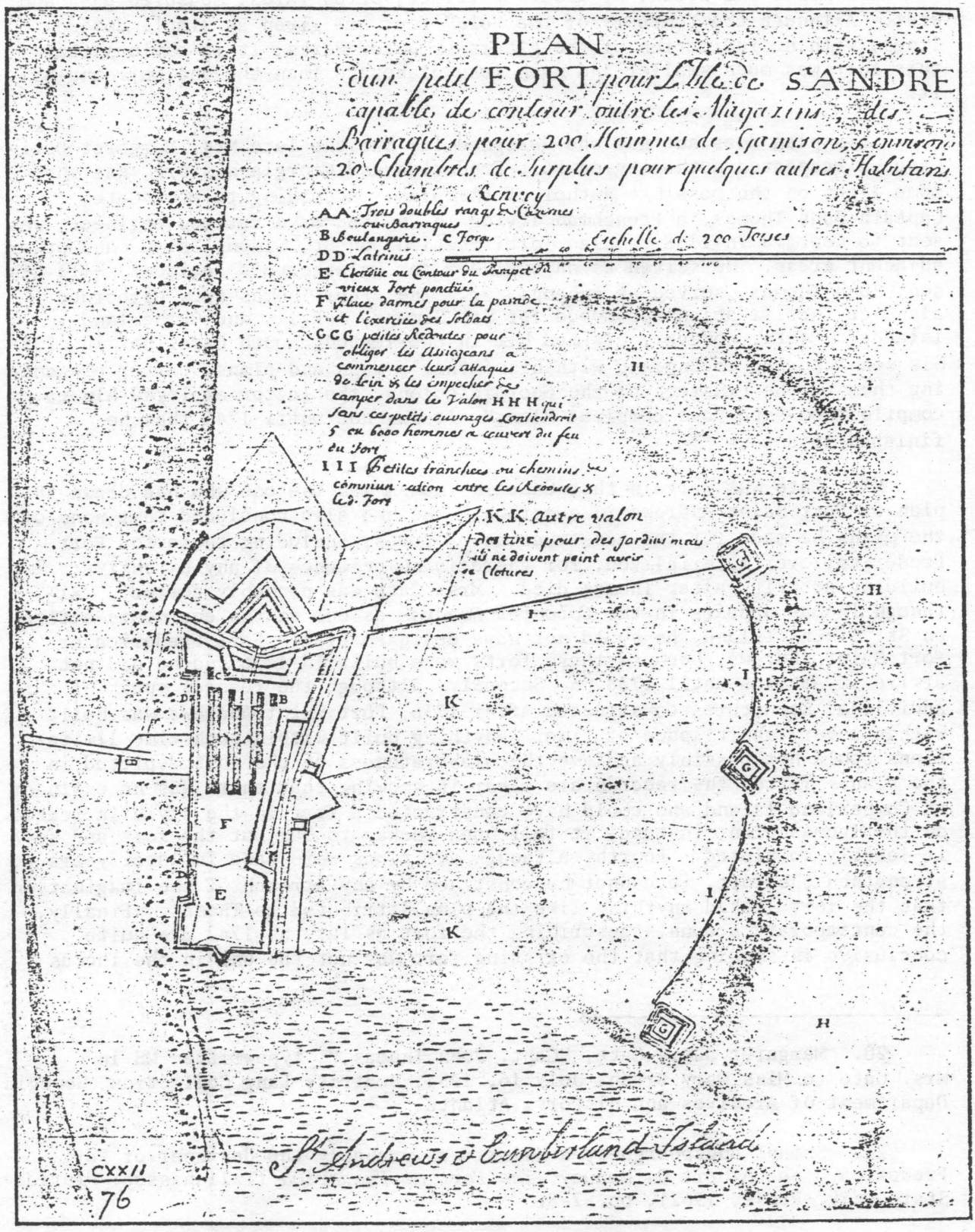
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18. (continued) and of Its Defeat on St. Simon's Island," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. 7, pt. 3 (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1913), p. 81.

19. "Plan d'un petit Fort pour l'isle de St. Andre. . .," no author, n.d., copy in Oglethorpe, "Spanish Official Account," reproduced from the original in the DeRenne Collection, University of Georgia. (See Illustration 1, p. 24).

Illustration 1.

"Plan d'un petit Fort pour l'isle de St. Andre. . . ," (ca. 1738).



This plan reproduced from the original in the possession of W. J. DeRenne, Wormsloe, Ga.

According to the plan, the "old" fort was about 40 toises, or 85 yards, measured north and south, by about 30 toises, or 64 yards, measured east and west. Although the contours of the "old" fort are given as simple dotted lines, with no indication of the glacis or outer works, it is obvious that this fort was much smaller and much less elaborate than the one surrounding it.

This plan does not say who designed it, but the late Mrs. Margaret Davis Cate, a respected authority on Fort Frederica and Georgia history, has shed some light on the possible author of the plan. According to Mrs. Cate, Captain John Thomas, a Frenchman living in England as a retired engineer, was sent to Georgia in 1738 to plan fortifications on St. Simons Island and other adjacent areas. He served as an engineer for Oglethorpe's regiment while his son, John Thomas, served as subengineer. The elder Thomas drew elaborate plans of fortifications proposed for St. Simons, Jekyll, and Cumberland islands. Death, however, claimed him in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1739. His son returned to England with his father's maps and plans. After presenting them to the trustees of the Georgia colony, the latter employed him to compile them into "one compleat Plan." It was not until 1743 that he finished this work.[20]

Mrs. Cate was certain that Captain Thomas was the one who had drawn the plan of Fort Saint Andrews in question. She had also concluded that none of the plans he made for the construction of forts, including those for Fort Frederica, ever materialized, for there is no evidence of any extensive building activity after Thomas died. Mrs. Cate was probably correct. Although Thomas appears in the *Colonial Records* as one of the engineers active on St. Simons Island, he could not have designed either Fort Frederica or Fort Saint Andrews, because these forts were built in 1736 and he did not arrive in America until 1738.[21] Secondly, although the records speak of additional structures constructed after 1736, Fort Saint Andrews was built within a very short space of time. Anything built within such time limitations could not possibly achieve the elaborateness of the fort depicted in the plan. Third, the records are clear in showing that there was no engineer at Cumberland Island who could have constructed a fort in the style indicated on the Thomas plan; instead, it fell upon Mackay to lay out the fort and see it largely completed. Fourth, although additions were made in later years to strengthen the fort, it cannot be construed by any stretch of the imagination that the fort looked anything like the plan attributed to Thomas. Finally, the contemporary accounts describing the fort as late as 1742 are quite conclusive in showing that the existing fort was not the one in the Thomas

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20. Margaret Davis Cate, "Capt. John Thomas," typewritten MS in Mrs. Cate to Miss Mary Bryan, July 16, 1954, Beatrice Lang Collection, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

21. Samuel Augspourguer, a Swiss, was probably the designer of Fort Frederica. See Albert C. Manucy, *The Fort at Frederica* (Tallahassee: Florida State Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 7-8.

plan. One must therefore surmise from all this that the Thomas plan was in fact just a plan, and was never really executed.

Nor can anyone say that the plan may have been intended for the proposed Fort Prince William at the south end of the island. From the general position of the fort on the map, it is obvious that it was intended to be Fort Saint Andrews.

Fort Saint Andrews (or its ruins) has appeared on several early maps, but because these maps were drawn to very small scale and were usually schematic representations of the fort, it is difficult to determine its exact location. However, a map of 1800 depicting the division of property between the heirs of General Nathanael Greene and those of Thomas Lynch, shows the fort's ruins on the 100-acre property of Jacob Weed. This land is marked "F" on the map.[22]

C. Village of Barrimacke

When General Oglethorpe decided that Cumberland Island was to play an important role in the defenses of coastal Georgia, he never considered that there should be permanent settlements on the island equivalent to Savannah or Darien. The island was not even a permanent settlement for Indians as it had been in Spanish mission days. The Earl of Egmont, in his journals, had noted that there were no settlers, and Francis Moore mentioned the existence of bark huts that Oglethorpe's indians had built while hunting on the island, but these were only temporary shelters.

The group of Highlanders that Oglethorpe left behind on Cumberland Island was originally small, but as fortifications were strengthened, more troops were assigned to Fort Saint Andrews. In 1737 the only troops garrisoning Fort Saint Andrews were ten men headed by Ensign Hugh Mackay, Jr., who had replaced his uncle Hugh Mackay. This small contingent patrolled the island on horseback and scouted the inland waterways as far south as the St. Johns River in an eight-oar scouting boat called the *Saint Andrews*.[23]

On May 6, 1738, two transports loaded with troops from Gibralter anchored at the mouth of the Savannah River, with a third one arriving six days later. Three weeks after this, Captain Hugh Mackay embarked a company of these troops in five piraguas and moved them to Fort Saint Andrews, where Ensign Mackay was supervising seventeen Highland indentured servants in the


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22. Composite map showing division of lands between heirs of Nathanael Greene and those of Thomas Lynch, January 1800, in book titled *Camden County Field Notes, 1796-1816*, pp. 88-94, 96-102, Camden County Clerk's Office, Woodbine, Ga. (See Illustration 2, p. 28).

23. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 29:433; 2:374, 379.

Illustration 2.

Composite map depicting the division of lands between heirs of Greene and Lynch, January 1800.



Composite map of Cumberland Island, dated January, 1800, from CAMDEN COUNTY FIELD NOTES -- 1796-1816, pages 88-101. Copy of book on microfilm reel #71-18, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia.

construction of Barrimacke, a small village of huts needed to house the regular troops.[24] Lots were assigned to the married soldiers, which they cultivated and improved.[25]

After Oglethorpe made a strong appeal for additional military aid, the number of troops at Fort Saint Andrews was increased to two companies of regulars by 1738, a sizeable expansion. By 1740 a settlement (Barrimacke) consisting of twenty-four families--wives and children--of these regulars had grown up around the fort.[26]

Barrimacke was a primitive settlement not designed for permanency. There is little evidence of its specific location; however, from the little we know, some speculation may be possible. The Indian Juan Ygnacio de los Reyes described a settlement near the fort in 1738. He said that he saw there "a number of houses, newly built and close together as in Havana, a number of English women, wives of the soldiers, but he could not tell the number of houses in the place."[27]

At first glance this description indicates that the settlement was near the fort. However, another piece of evidence exists that seems to place it at some distance from the fort: this is a claim for compensation made by a doctor in 1741. Doctor William Bowler said that he

> came to [Charleston] and presented . . . a Memorial saying he went over to Georgia in May 1738 and was stationed at St. Andrews on Cumberland Island to attend 2 Companys of Gen. Oglethorpes Regiment there, where a party of Highlands (mostly servants to the Trustees) had hitherto kept guard under Command of Ensign Hugh Mackay . . . with a Surgeon to attend to them, and all supported by an Establishment from the trustees. That about 20 July 1738 those Highland servants with their Officers were sent from St. Andrews to Amelia Island and the Main, continuing there till some little time in January 1739/40 when they were all recalled and sent to Darien.

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24. Ivers, *British Drums*, p. 82.

25. Charles C. Jones, Jr., "The Dead Towns of Georgia," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, Ga., 1878), 4:97. Jones, quoting a French description of the American colonies in 1755, notes that Barrimacke was one of three municipalities in southern Georgia.

26. George Raffalovich, *Dead Towns of Georgia*, compiled for the Division of State Parks, Department of Natural Resources, Ga., 1938, bound typescript copy in Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

27. *Camden County Tribune* (Brunswick, Ga.), Special Edition, July 4, 1972, p. 2B.

> That from 20 July 1738 till their removal to Darien he solely attended them, making journeys to visit them at all calls from St. Andrews to Amelia, being upwards of 30 miles besides crossing the sound, a certificate of which service for 18 months . . . sign'd by Ensign Hugh Mackay . . . who was Commander of those people from first to last. That he [i.e., Bowler] never received any consideration for his trouble. That he also attended 80 women and children belonging to the soldiers, and some them at Mackays town 7 or 8 miles from the Garisan [*sic*] at Cumberland where he mostly resided tho no part of his regimental duty.[28]

This last statement is extremely significant for it not only establishes that there were at least eighty women and children on the Island in 1738 that were related to the soldiers, but also that some of them were at "Mackays town" seven or eight miles from the garrison or fort. Such a statement could mean one of two things: first, that there may have been a second town (Mackays) in addition to Barrimacke, and that while "Mackays town" was seven or eight miles from the fort, Barrimacke was close to the fort; or second, that "Mackays town" was in fact Barrimacke and may also have been known by this name since the settlement was constructed under Ensign Hugh Mackay's supervision. If the first is true, then the problem of locating Barrimacke may not be too difficult once Fort Saint Andrews is located. On the other hand, if the second is true, it may be very difficult to find the location of Barrimacke or "Mackays town" since from this account it was a distance from the garrison.

If "Mackays town" is in fact Barrimacke, and therefore the only settlement on the island, it is difficult to understand why the village was built at such a distance from the fort, unless by doing so it was believed that the women and children would be out of range of enemy fire or an invading force.

The duration of Barrimacke and/or "Mackays town" remains somewhat of a mystery. As we shall see later in this chapter, Fort Saint Andrews was destroyed by the Spanish in 1742 after the English abandoned it rather suddenly. The fort was never rebuilt after the English recaptured it the same year, although there might have been a detachment there after this time. One would suppose, therefore, that the village or villages would also have disappeared in 1742 or soon after. This seems to be the conclusion of some writers. Nevertheless, it may be of interest to note that one source, writing about Georgia in 1756, fourteen years after the destruction of Fort Saint Andrews, records that southern Georgia contained two cities, Frederic and New Inverness, and one village--Barrimacke. Vanstory, who cites this source, adds that in the following decade (1756-66) this garrison town disappeared.[29]

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28. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 5:523-24.

29. Burnette Vanstory, *Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1956), p. 164.

D. Dungeness

There is a mystery surrounding the origin of Dungeness. This area, used by the Carnegies in the late 19th century, was the heart of their properties on Cumberland Island. Before this, it was owned by General Greene's heirs. Tradition tells us that General Greene or his heirs took the name from an area and/or structure, a lodge to be exact, that General Oglethorpe had built for himself.

Frederick Ober, who wrote his famous article on Dungeness in 1880, stated that

> It is related in an old English record, of which I have seen a copy, that the Duke of Cumberland was so well pleased that Oglethorpe had the island of San Pedro renamed Cumberland Island after him, he in turn caused a hunting lodge to be erected there, and named it Dungeness, after his country seat Castle Dungeness, on the cape of Dungeness in the county of Kent.[30]

Succeeding writers have repeated this statement without providing any more proof than Ober did. Lucien Lamar Knight, writing in 1913, added a somewhat different twist to the story. He stated that Dungeness was a hunting lodge near the southern end of the island erected by Oglethorpe and named after an English county seat of which he was the owner in the county of Kent.[31] B. N. Nightingale and Burnett Vanstory have repeated essentially the same tale, the former making references to the origin of the story "in an old English record," but neither of these writers has documented his account.[32]

The traditional tale concerning the origin of Dungeness may have some basis in fact, but as of this writing no concrete evidence to support it has appeared. The earliest mention of this property appears in the land records of 1765. In that year Johnathan Bryan submitted a petition for 800 acres of land situated "near the Southend of Cumberland Island at a Place there called Dungeness."[33]

Vanstory records that in February 1790 the Land Grant Court of Georgia held a meeting in an area known as Dungeness. He notes that this property

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30. Frederick Albion Ober, "Dungeness, General Greene's Sea Island Plantation," *Lippincotts Magazine* 26 (August, 1880): 7.

31. Lucien Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks and Legends*, 2 vols. (Atlanta: Byrd Printing Company, 1913), 1:6.

32. B. N. Nightingale, "Dungeness," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 22 (1938): 370; Vanstory, *Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles*, p. 166.

33. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 9:441.

was under cultivation and that there was probably some sort of residence already upon it, "perhaps the original Dungeness hunting lodge built by Oglethorpe half a century before."[34] Like most writers who have taken the traditional position, Vanstory provides no evidence, although there is no doubt that by 1790 the area was known as Dungeness--the Jonathan Bryan petition has proved this conclusively.

E. Fort Prince William

Fort Saint Andrews was the first of two forts built on Cumberland Island by the English. The second was Fort Prince William at the southern end of the island at a place known as South Point, a relatively high piece of ground separated from the mainland by a large marsh and Beach Creek. There is little data by which to pinpoint the exact location of this fort, because the several early maps of Cumberland Island that depict Fort Prince William are drawn to a very small scale. However, the 1800 map showing the division of property between the heirs of Nathanael Greene and those of Thomas Lynch indicates that the ruins of the fort were on the land of Alexander Sample, just off the St. Mary's River.[35]

Nor is there any concrete evidence showing the fort in the course of construction. However, notwithstanding the conclusions of some writers, it is well to note that prior to 1738 Fort Prince William did not exist. Thus, in the midst of attempts to negotiate the very ticklish question of Georgia's debatable lands between England and Spain, Mr. Harman Verelst, Secretary to the Trustees of the Georgia colony, proposed a plan in 1738 in which the English were to erect no new forts further south than the existing Fort Saint Andrews "in the Island of Cumberland, formerly St. Pedro," or below a latitude of thirty degrees thirty minutes. This meant that a buffer zone of some twenty miles was to be created south of this latitude "wherein the Subjects of neither Side [were] to erect Forts."[36]

Although both sides had agreed to this proposal, how seriously they abided by it is not clear. Later events proved that it did not deter the aggressive ambitions of either side. Incursions into Georgia by the Spaniards and into Florida by the English colonists, continued unabated. General Oglethorpe persistently continued his attempts to fortify the coastal regions

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34. Vanstory, *Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles*, p. 166.

35. Composite map showing division of lands between heirs of Nathanael Greene and Thomas Lynch, January 1800, in *Camden County Field Notes, 1796-1816*, pp. 88-94, 96-102. See Illustration 2.

36. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 35:156-57.

of Georgia, and these actions carried him south of Fort Saint Andrews. By April 1740 a new fort--stronger than Fort Saint Andrews--was completed on Cumberland Island.[37]

In writing to the trustees of the Georgia colony in December 1739 concerning the state of fortifications, Oglethorpe mentioned that repairs were either needed or were being made on Fort Frederica, Fort Saint Andrews, and on Amelia Island, omitting any reference to Fort Prince William.[38] This could be an indication that at the time he wrote his letter, Fort Prince William was not yet under construction. It could also mean that since Oglethorpe was speaking only of forts needing repairs, there was no need to mention that fort. In any event, the construction of this fort was probably begun either in late 1739 or early 1740.

Issac F. Arnow, a local historian who has written about the city of St. Marys, Georgia, seems to have misinterpreted the sources thereby arriving at a construction date of 1736, the year during which fort Saint Andrews was built.[39] He quotes an account given by Benjamin Martin, Secretary of the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia, in which the latter describes various activities between June 9, 1736, and June 9, 1737:

> During this period another Fort was built on the south-end part of the Island of St. Peter which lies in 30 d[egrees] 30 m[inutes] under which Fort . . . are mounted several Pieces of Ordnance, pointed toward the River, all Sloops and Boats in the Island Passage to this Island must come. Within the Pallisade round the Fort there are fine Springs of Water; and there is a well framed Timber Log-House, Thirty feet by Eighteen, with a Magazine under it, both for Amunition and Provisions. A Scout Boat is stationed at this Island.[40]

This description was obviously of Fort Saint Andrews, but Arnow was misled by the position of the fort as given by Martin (i.e., "south-end part of the Island") into believing that he was talking about Fort Prince William.

Descriptions of Fort Prince William at the time it was completed are unfortunately brief. Several writers have concluded that it was stronger

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37. This date is provided by at least two contemporary reliable accounts, one in *ibid.*, 2:309, and a second in *ibid.*, 3:402-3. John Harris, who completed his geography in 1748, also provides the same date. See *Navigantium atque itinerantium*, 2:337.

38. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 30:245; Jones, "Dead Towns of Georgia," p. 72.

39. *Camden County Tribune* (Brunswick, Ga.) Special Edition, July 4, 1972, p. 5B.

40. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 3:338-39.

than Fort Saint Andrews. In an entry to his journal in 1740, Stephens notes that on the southeast end of Cumberland Island there "is another strong Fort called Fort William, which commands Amelia Sound, and the inland Passage from Augustine."[41] About one year later the Earl of Egmont noted in his journal that "at Cumberland there is another [i.e., a second] small but good fort."[42]

Providing a more detailed description in 1741, one document reveals that Fort Prince William "is strongly palisaded with Flankers, and is defended by Eight Pieces of Cannon." Immediately following this is a statement that has led to some confusion by noting that barracks were built "upon this Island" for 220 men and storehouses "which were finished in October 1738."[43] Harris, in his geography of 1748, mentions essentially this same description.[44]

This statement, following the brief description of Fort Prince William, has led some later writers to conclude that the barracks and the storehouses were at Fort Prince William. While there is no doubt that such facilities may have existed there, it is more likely that the structures in question were at Fort Saint Andrews. In fact, the date given for their completion in this account, October 1738, was well before Fort Prince William was ever begun.

While contemporary descriptions of the fort are scarce, a map drawn in 1775 may shed some light on the shape of the fort. This map was drawn by Jacob Blainey, master of the British schooner *St. John*, and its primary purpose was to point out important structures on Amelia and other islands and the depth of waterways in adjacent areas. In other words, it was designed to serve both a military and naval objective. Thus, it would appear that the structures shown on the map would have to be more than just schematic drawings; the large scale to which the map is drawn seems to confirm this.[45]

In addition to military structures on Amelia Island, the map depicts the "Ruins of Fort William Built by Genl. Oglethorpe." The fort is drawn as a

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41. "A State of the Province of Georgia, Attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, Nov. 10, 1740," in *ibid.*, 4:Appendix.

42. *Ibid.*, 5:558.

43. *Ibid.*, 3:402-3.

44. Harris, *Navigantium atque itinerantium*, 2:331.

45. "A Plan of Amelia Harbour and Barr in East Florida, Survey'd in Jany 1775. By Jacob Blainey, Master of his Majesty's Schooner St John," Drawer 71, Sheet 1, Record Group 77 (Fortifications File), National Archives, Washington, D. C. (Illustration 3, p. 38). The same map was redrawn by the French in 1779 and entitled "Plan La Barre e du Port D'Amelia a la Cote de la Florida Orientale. Leve en Janier 1775 Par Jacob Blanney [*sic*] . . .," copy in the University of Georgia Library, Athens.

square structure with two splayed corners facing the south end of Cumberland Island. In the center of the fort is a square outline indicating a large building. Although the map is drawn to scale, it is obvious that the fort is not, but this does not detract from the general accuracy of the map. One suspects that Blainey, a commander with an engineering background, would have been careful to draw structures exactly as he saw them.

Among the several early maps pinpointing the existence of Fort Prince William, at least two refer to the fortifications at the southern tip of Cumberland Island by a name other than Fort Prince William. One of these maps was drawn by the Spaniards. Although no date is given, it was evidently drawn after 1735 since the island is referred to as "Parte de la I^{a} de Cumberland." (part of Cumberland Island). In all probability it was drawn around 1750 when the island was still part of that strongly contested ground between England and Spain. However, where Fort Prince William is usually located, this map refers to a "F^{te} [Fort] Areninado."[46] The structure appears as a four-star fort, but it is obvious that the drawing is schematic. How this name was arrived at by the Spaniards is difficult to say.

The second map was drawn by an American naval officer in 1818, and depicts a fort where the ruins of old Prince William once stood. This fortification is referred to as "Ft. Saranac."[47] This map may shed new light on the fortifications of Cumberland Island. As we shall see in a later chapter, on the eve of the War of 1812 a marine detachment was assigned to the south end of the island and its installation might have been called Fort Saranac. A more thorough search of army and navy records of this period might reveal more about this post. It might well be that Fort Saranac was built on the ruins of old Fort Prince William--an interesting speculation that further research may corroborate.

F. The War of Jenkins's Ear

The two forts on Cumberland Island were built primarily as advance stations at both ends of the island where a guard could provide surveillance of the inland waterways and of scouting parties that would reconnoiter as far south as St. Augustine. However, as time went by and it became more apparent that a clash between England and Spain was inevitable, Oglethorpe perceived the need to increase his forces at these two forts. Between the time that Fort Saint Andrews and Fort Prince William were built, Oglethorpe sought every

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46. "Boca y Barra Del Rio Sta Maria," n.d., copy in Cartographic Division, Library of Congress (Illustration 4, p. 40).

47. "Chart of Amelia Bar and Entrance to St. Mary's River. Surveyed by order of Commodore John D. Henley. To whom it is respectfully inscribed by His obedient Servant John R. Madison, United States Sch^{r} Lynx, May 15th 1818," Drawer 71, Sheet 2, Record Group 77, National Archives (Illustration 5, p. 42).

Illustration 3.

"A plan of Amelia Harbour," 1775.

A Plan of Amelia Harbour and Barr in East Floruda Surrey'd in Jan.y 1775. By Jacob Blainey Master of his Majesty's Schooner St John.

Drawer 71.
Sheet 1.

Part of the Province of East Florida

Woodlands Plantation
Bells Plantation
Ralphs Plantation
Mess.rs Wrights Plantation
Part of the Province of Georgia
Marsh
Marteirs Is.d
Marteirs Is.d
Marteirs Is.d
Lands
Swamps not Passable
Tiger Is.d
Marsh
Marsh
Marsh
Entrance of Amelia Narrows
Marsh Lands
Morrises Bluff
Mount Misery
Andersons Creek
Part of Amelia Island
Ruins of Fort William Built by Gen.l Oglethorpe
Part of Cumberland Is.d
Lynchs Creek
Countess Dowager of Egmonts Plantation
Inner Brake
Amelia North Platts.
not Exceeding two feet at Low Water.
Cumberland South Platts.
not Exceeding two feet at Low Water.
Tide after 6h full
fathoms
feet

Directions to the Plan.

The Entrance of the Amelia lays in the Lat.e of 30°. 44'. N. Long.e 81°. 20 W.e from the Merd.n of London, Variat.n 2°. 0' West Laying 16 Leag.s To the Northw.d of St. Augustine Barr and 24 Leag.s to the South.d of Georgia Barr. In Coming off this Barr it's very Necessary to know the time of Tide which the Roman Figures shewest at full and Change if it happens to be Low Water there is fine Anchorage without the Barr, in 6 and 7 Fath.s good holding Ground the Barr is a hard sand, the Shoals full dotted are dry at Low Water The Wind on shore makes a Terrible surge all a Cross, but still it's preferable to Cha.s Town Barr In Carolina

A Scale of one Mile

References to the Plan.

A. Plantation House and Stores.
B. Negro Hut's and Indigo Works
C. Sand Hills on the Northermost is a Beacon.
D. A Cluster of Trees in the Offing appearing like a House.
E. The Leading Mark in the Beacon which I Erected over Looks all the Trees. the Trees a Sails Breadth to the Northward you are in the best of the Channel, Course in.s W.t by N. till within the Inner Brake then open a Cluster of Trees on Tiger Island.
F. North Channel, carrying no more than 6 feet at Low Water
G. Tiger Creek, figures mark'd in them are feet, at Low Water
H. Bells Creek
I. Woodlands Creek
K. Entrance of St. Marys River. the figures there are fathoms, the Leading mark for the North Channel, is some High Pines on the South End of Tiger Is.d & St. Amelia's in one the Tides Rise on Common Tides 6 feet on Spring Tides 7 f.t In the Harb.r Run at the rate of 3 miles

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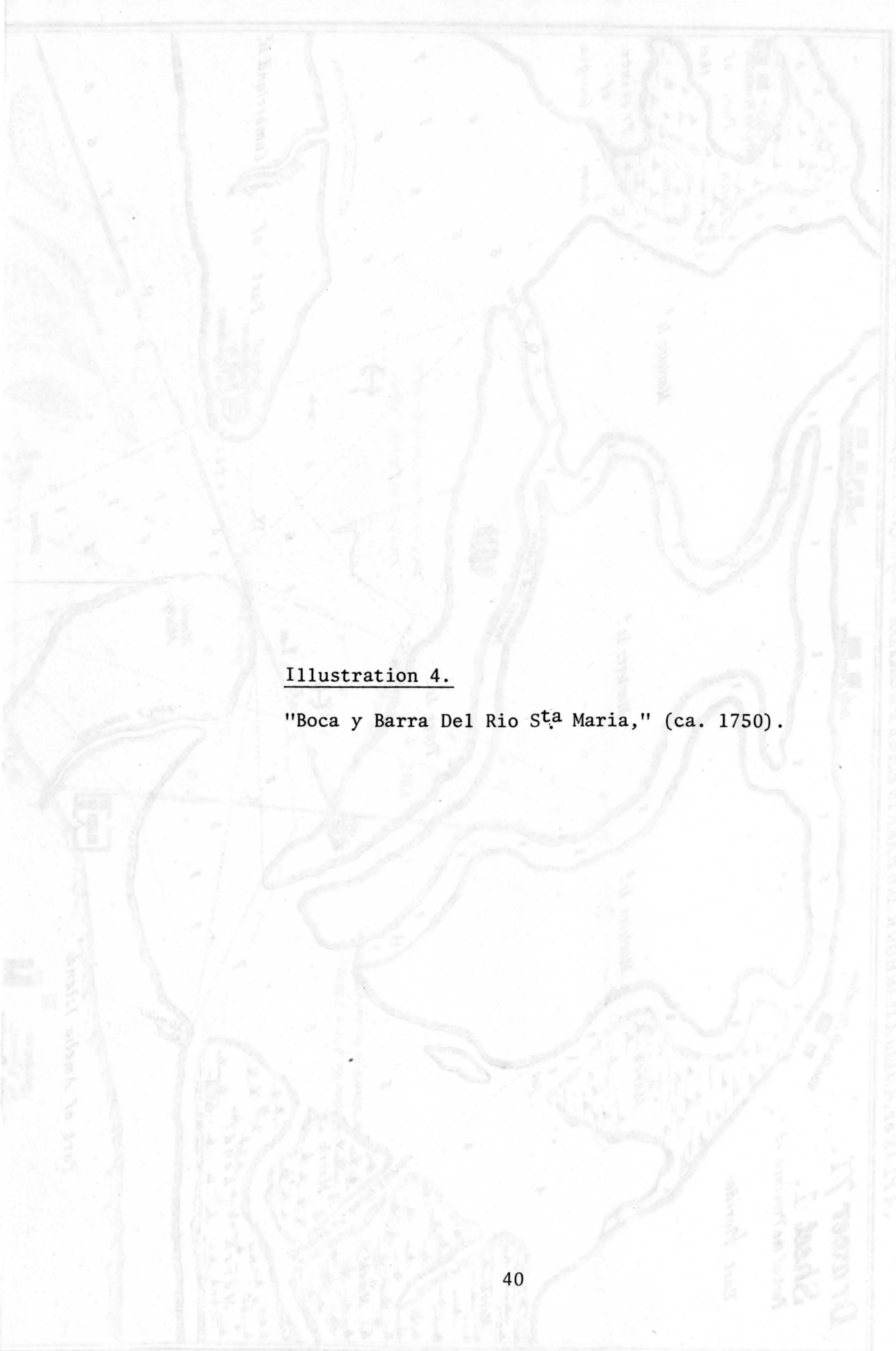
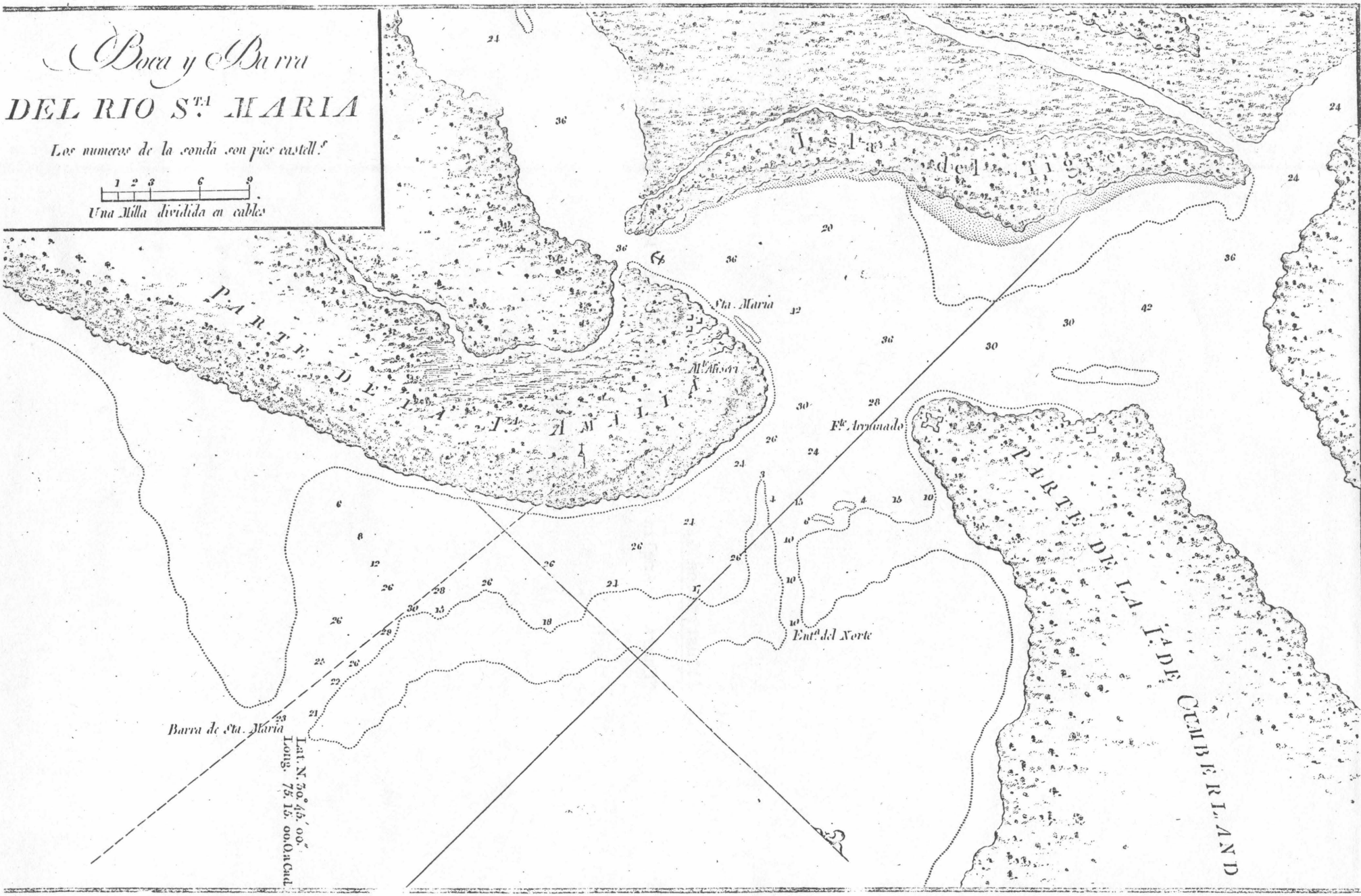


Illustration 4.

"Boca y Barra Del Rio Sta Maria," (ca. 1750).


Boca y Barra
DEL RIO STA MARIA
Los numeros de la sonda son pies castell.s
1 2 3 6 9
Una Milla dividida en cables
Isla del Tigre
PARTE DE LA I.A DE AMELIA
Sta. Maria
M.te Alisori
F.te Arpinado
PARTE DE LA I.A DE CUMBERLAND
Entd del Norte
Barra de Sta. Maria
Lat.t N. 30.º 45.' 00.''
Long. 75. 15. 00. a Cad.

FG.

Illustration 5.

"Chart of Amelia Bar and Entrance to St. Mary's River," 1818.

Drawer 71.
Sheet 2.

Chart

of

Amelia Bar and Entrance to St Mary's River.

Surveyed by, order of

Commodore John D. Henley

to whom

it is respectfully inscribed

by His obedient Servant

John R Madison

United States Sch.r Lynx

May 15th 1858

Sketched by

H.G. Wright

Asst Engineer

Washington March 19th 1862

CUMBERLAND ISLAND.

ST MARYS RIVER

Point Cant.

JOLLY RIVER

TIGER ISLAND

Millers

Lows

BELLS RIVER

Rich Creek

Narrows

AMELIA ISLAND

Fernandina Harbor

Deep Water

Fort Clinch

Mc Clures Hill

Fernandina Bluff

REMARKS

Soundings in feet at Mean Low Water. Latitude of Station Point, as found

Common Mid Tide 6½ feet. Spring Tides rise 7½ feet.

Establishment of the Port 6h 55m A. Var.° 0°55' East.

Scale of Statute Miles

Scale of Trigonometrical Survey

71-2

Copy sent informally to Hon. Asst. Sec. Chase Aug. 22-1879

means to increase the number of troops and facilities for the island. The construction of barracks that would house 220 men was obviously more than had been intended when Fort Saint Andrews was originally built.

From time to time both the English and Spanish sent out scouting parties to test each other's strength. In the vicinity of Savannah appeared groups of Spaniards, who, although they caused some concern among the inhabitants, were no more than scouting parties sent out to spy on the English. One of these parties, headed by Juan Ignacio de los Reyes, visited Cumberland Island in mid-1738 and brought back valuable information regarding military positions; this was construed by the Spanish as preliminary preparation for an attack on St. Augustine.[48]

Each country feared an attack by the other, and although the Treaty of Vienna, concluded on November 18, 1738, brought a brief respite, it was obvious that an inevitable conflict was fast approaching.

Prior to 1738 Fort Saint Andrews was assigned a very small garrison. In addition, there was an "overseer of the Works, a Storekeeper, and two Carpenters."[49] In 1738 Oglethorpe reinforced the fort with two companies--one that had just recently arrived from Gibralter belonging to the 42nd Regiment of Foot, and another that arrived in the fall. Doctor William Bowley testified that in May 1738 he had been assigned to Fort Saint Andrews where he had attended two companies of Oglethorpe's regiment "where a party of Highlanders . . . had hitherto kept guard under Command of Ensign Hugh Mackay."[50] In June 1739 Captain Hugh Mackay requested that a scout boat with a coxswain and seven rowers be made available to Fort Saint Andrews "to give Intelligence and keep the communication open with St. Simons, and prevent the surprisal of the Amelia boat, in which case St. Andrews and all upon Cumberland would be lost."[51]

In the midst of all these preparations a mutiny occurred at Fort Saint Andrews shortly after the two companies arrived, an outbreak that almost ended in the assassination of General Oglethorpe. For a limited time after the arrival of these new troops, they had been permitted extra provisions from the king's store in addition to their regular pay. When these rations were ultimately discontinued, the troops felt defrauded. This event, coupled with the relative isolation of their post, led to considerable dissatisfaction.

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48. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 4:127; Johnson, *International Contest*, p. 204.

49. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 36:50.

50. *Ibid.*, 5:523-24.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

The account of the mutiny that followed contains overtones of treason and Spanish collusion. In his history of Georgia, first published in 1811, Captain Hugh McCall describes this infamous event:

> Two companies of his [General Oglethorpe's] regiment had been drawn from Gibralter, some who could speak Spanish: detachments of these companies had been stationed on Cumberland Island, and the Spanish outposts on the other side, could approach as near as to converse with them: one man of these companies had been in the Spanish services and not only understood their language, but had so much of the old Roman Catholic spirit as to feel an aversion to the Protestant religion. The Spaniards had found through this villain the means of corrupting the minds of several British soldiers and united in forming a design to murder Oglethorpe and escape to Augustine. Accordingly the day was fixed, and the soldiers who were concerned with the plot, came up to the general, and made some extraordinary demands, as a pretext for the execution of their diabolical purposes; which as they expected being refused, one of them discharged his piece at the general, and being only a few paces away, the ball passed over his shoulder, and the powder burned his face and singed his clothes: another presented his piece and attempted to fire, but the powder only flashed in the pan; a third drew his dagger and endeavored to stab him: the general by this time, having drawn his sword, parried the thrust, and an officer came up, run the ruffian through the body and killed him upon the spot. The mutineers, discouraged by failure of their first effort, attempted to escape by flight, but were caught and laid in irons. A court-martial was ordered to try the ring-leaders of this desperate conspiracy, some of whom were found guilty and sentenced to be shot. Thus miraculously the general escaped, and the principal conspirators fell victims to that fate, which their conduct had so justly merited.[52]

Other contemporary accounts of this event vary only in detail.[53]

In 1739 war was declared between England and Spain. Known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession, in America it was referred to as the War of Jenkins's Ear. In 1740 General Oglethorpe took the offensive, but his attempt on St. Augustine ended in failure. It was now Spain's turn to retaliate. In March 1742 Oglethorpe received intelligence that the Spanish were putting together a large force, part of which was to come from Havana and the rest from St. Augustine. More important, he learned that they were to make

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52. Hugh McCall, *The History of Georgia: Containing Brief Sketches of the Most Remarkable Events Up to the Present Day (1784)* (1811, 1816; reprint ed., Atlanta, Ga.: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1909), pp. 86-87.

53. Jones, "Dead Towns of Georgia," 4:73-74; See also Ivers, *British Drums*, pp. 82-84, for a well-documented treatment of this mutiny.

their initial assault upon Cumberland Island.[54] Oglethorpe was aware that the islands to the south of Fort Frederica would have to bear the initial impact of any invasion, so he had one company of his regiment stationed at Jekyll Island and another at Cumberland Island.

On June 20, 1742, a Spanish force consisting of fifty-two men-of-war, schooners, sloops, galleys, half galleys, piraguas, and other small vessels, under the command of Generals Montiano and Antonio Arredondo, set sail for Georgia from St. Augustine. On the following day, while the bulk of the Spanish fleet remained outside the harbor, nine vessels sailed into Amelia Sound and invested Fort Prince William. At the time, the fort was garrisoned with sixty men and protected by several eighteen-pound cannon under the command of Lieutenant Stuart. This garrison, assisted by a privateer schooner manned by about sixty men, was able to force the nine Spanish vessels to withdraw after a one-hour battle.[55]

Having failed in its attempt to neutralize Fort Prince William, the Spanish fleet continued its voyage northward, the objective being St. Simons Island and Fort Frederica. In the meantime, Oglethorpe, who had learned of the attack on Fort Prince William, prepared to send that fort some aid. Gathering together a cutter and four or five large boats with a few four-pounders, swivel guns, and about eighty troops and some Indians, he set sail for Cumberland Island, leaving orders for others of his regiment to follow him.[56]

As he approached the island, he saw that the Spanish fleet was within gunshot of Fort Saint Andrews. When he attempted to land on the island, he was attacked by fourteen vessels, but he was able to fight his way through with only two boats at his disposal, a third one having retreated under enemy fire.[57] After landing on Cumberland Island, Oglethorpe decided to abandon Fort Saint Andrews and concentrate his forces at Fort Prince William. He destroyed the former's guns and sent the garrison to Fort Prince William. In its haste to abandon the fort, the garrison left some of the guns unspiked, several hand grenades intact, and more than fifty horses inside a corral.[58]

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54. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 36:150.

55. *Ibid.*, 35:493, 530. Oglethorpe placed the number of Spanish vessels attacking Fort Prince William at fourteen. See *ibid.*, p. 480, and 36:32.

56. *Ibid.*, 35:494-95.

57. *Ibid.*, 36:32-33, and 35:480, 513; Ellis Merton Coulter, ed., *The Journal of William Stephens, 1743-1745*, 2 vols. (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1958-59), 1:100.

58. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 5:630, and 35:480; Coulter, *Journal of William Stephens*, 1:102-3.

While Fort Prince William was being reinforced, Oglethorpe returned to St. Simons to prepare for the impending attack. On June 28, 1742, the main Spanish fleet appeared off St. Simons bar. The Battle of Bloody Marsh ensued, in which the Spaniards were handily repulsed, and on July 13, 1742, they evacuated the island. They ferried across the sound, landed on Jekyll Island, and marched south until they reached St. Andrews Sound. By the morning of July 15 they had ferried their troops from Jekyll Island to Fort Saint Andrews. Oglethorpe pursued the Spaniards southward. Governor Montiano, who was observing Oglethorpe's every move and who thought the latter's force larger than it really was, hastily abandoned Fort Saint Andrews on July 17. Not having sufficient time to embark the fifty horses left behind by the English, he ordered them killed and the fort burned and destroyed. Thus, what the English had not accomplished in their haste to abandon the post, Montiano did.[59] Lieutenant Patrick Sutherland, who was with General Oglethorpe at the time, describes the event as follows:

> The 15th of July all the large vessels with the Cuba Forces on board sailed to the Southward, and the Governor [Montiano] and Troops from Augustine on board the small Craft went within Land and encamped in St. Andrews and catched [*sic*] 50 Horses with a Design to carry them away; But on the General's [Oglethorpe] appearing with his Boats, the Enemy shot the said Horses and burnt the Fort and Houses at St. Andrews.[60]

The Spaniards have left a much more detailed account of the events that occurred when they landed at Fort Saint Andrews. (See earlier description by Don Antonio de Arredondo, the chief engineer of the Spanish expedition.)[61]

The afternoon the Spaniards landed on the island they were issued rations consisting of a "little rice and of one hard tack apiece." A survey of supplies revealed that there were only enough rations to last them eight days, the main ships with reserve rations having sailed for Cuba.[62]

Rather than pursue a stronger enemy, Oglethorpe decided to return his main force to St. Simons Island, but in the meantime he sent a messenger to run the whole length of the island to warn the commander of Fort Prince William that the Spaniards might try again to invest the fort on their retreat southward. The message noted that Oglethorpe would send him aid, but in the meantime he should do all in his power to defend the fort.[63]

The Spanish forces under Montiano at Cumberland Island were divided into two groups. While Montiano, with fourteen or fifteen galleys and small craft, went southward through the inland waterways, the large boats went by way of

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59. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 36:41.

60. *Ibid.*, 35:539.

61. See p. 22.

62. Arredondo's Journal, July 26, 1742.

63. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 36:41, and 35:539.

the ocean. On the morning of July 18, Montiano's forces approached Fort Prince William. After an attempted landing, he was repulsed by a small party of rangers from the fort who were hidden among the sand dunes. Montiano then tried to bombard the fort from the sea.

General Oglethorpe, meanwhile, having put together a more sizeable force than the first one at St. Simons Island, proceeded full speed to provide Fort Prince William the assistance he had promised. As he approached the fort by the inland water route, the Spaniards, after a three-hour bombardment, concluded that any prolonged attack upon the fort would be senseless. Seeing their last effort to gain some success in their ill-fated venture go up in smoke, the Spaniards turned southward and headed for St. Augustine.

In the engagement at Fort Prince William, the Spaniards lost two galleys, while English losses were minimal. Thus ended the Spanish attempt to conquer Georgia. Cumberland Island with its fortifications had played an important role in disrupting these plans.[64]

G. The Island as a Buffer Zone (1742-63)

1. Fortifications

The unsuccessful attempt by the Spanish to wrest Georgia from the English placed a damper, for the time being, on any future plans in this direction by the Spaniards. Nevertheless, the fear was always present, and Oglethorpe moved to discourage any such future efforts.

Fort Saint Andrews was never rebuilt after Montiano's forces leveled it, but there is some evidence that between 1742 and 1744 a detachment of Highland rangers may have been stationed at the ruins of the fort under the command of Captain Mackay.[65]

Although nothing was done to rebuild Fort Saint Andrews, the same could not be said for Fort Prince William. Soon after Oglethorpe arrived there and the Spaniards retreated, the Englishman gave orders to repair the damages.[66] By 1743 the fort had been repaired and new works added, consisting of a high thick wall of sand retained by logs. Two large cannon were mounted on movable platforms inside a triangular ravelin in front of the fort. At this time the fort was described as being in the shape of a regular pentagon, equipped with two eighteen-pound guns, and having ramparts twelve feet high and about fifteen feet thick. It was garrisoned by about fifty men, six noncommissioned officers, and one commissioned officer.[67]

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64. *Ibid.*, 35:481, 540, and 36:41; M'Call, *History of Georgia*, p. 130.

65. Ivers, *British Drums*, p. 188.

66. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 35;540.

67. Ivers, *British Drums*, pp. 176-77, citing Richard Kimber, *A Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine in Florida (London, 1744)*, p. 9; Forts Committee, Dept. of Archives and History, "Georgia Forts: Fort St. Andrews, Fort Prince William," *Georgia Magazine* (August-September 1967), p. 24, also citing Kimber, p. 9.

References to both forts continued to appear in the *Colonial Records* from time to time until the 1770s when they lay in ruins.

In 1748, besides repairing Fort Prince William, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Heron, who had assumed temporary command of the 42nd Regiment, also added a new battery, for the sum of £35 12s. Id.[68]

During this period, Fort Prince William was the only installation in the southern frontier, besides Fort Frederica, housing a detachment of regulars. Between 1747 and 1755 several payments were made by the provincial government for provisions used by the detachment and by schooners that had put in at the fort, and as wages to workmen who made repairs from time to time.[69] In 1749, when all British troops were being temporarily withdrawn from Georgia, Lieutenant Colonel Heron wrote that "tho' I had no Orders from the Government I have left a Corporal and Six Men to keep possession of Fort William which is a very fine Fort and the only one worth Five Shillings in this Country."[70] In 1751 it was apparent that Cumberland Island still had some troops, because a message was sent to them warning of possible Indian attacks.[71]

The Treaty of Aix La Chappelle, signed in 1748 between England and Spain, established only a temporary truce. It was evident to Georgians that eventually there would be more friction between these two countries. There were many Georgians who felt that the fortifications south of the Altamaha River had been too dangerously depleted to resist further aggression from Florida. Indeed, the detachment that was stationed at Fort Prince William was nothing more than a guard designed to make reconaissance trips between St. Augustine and Fort Frederica.

In 1757 the Upper House of the Georgia Assembly spoke of dangers to the colony from French incursions along the coast, which was then "naked and exposed," It spoke of the need for another scout boat, armed and manned with a master coxswain and ten men, to be staioned at the north end of Cumberland Island. It is interesting to observe that in this request the Upper House made it clear that the boat could also be used to "prevent the desertion of our Domesticks and Slaves" as well as to provide the necessary intelligence.[72]

The need to improve the defenses of Cumberland Island was justified very clearly by Governor Henry Ellis to the Board of Trade the following year. He had personally made an inspection of the island, and upon his return he wrote:

> From hence I went to the Island of Cumberland in the point whereof stands fort Williams; a post of no less consequence as is evident from the defence it made against 28 Spanish Vessels and a considerable land force that attacked it unsuccessfully in the year 1742.

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68. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 36:363.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 448-49, 454; 26:28, 31; 6:338, 40s, 428, 453; 7:133, 300.

70. *Camden County Tribune* (Brunswick, Ga.), Special Edition, July 4, 1972, p. 5B.

71. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 168.

72. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 16:157, 163, and 13:140.

> Genral Oglethorpe has in my humble opinion displayed a great deal of skill in his choice of such Situations--This Fort commands a noble inlet from the Sea the entrance of the River St. Mary which runs deep into the Country and the inland passage thro' which the runaway Negroes and other Deserters are obliged to go in their way to St. Augustine. The works are no great extent but admirably contrived to be maintained by a small Garrison and might be repaired with no great expense £3000 sterling would be sufficient. . . .[73]

It was obvious that as late as 1758 Cumberland Island, and particularly Fort Prince William, was still considered an important military outpost by Georgians. But it is also apparent that as late as 1766 the fort never housed more than a small detachment of troops. In 1761, and later in 1766, there was only a sergeant's guard kept at the fort--a detachment from the independent companies of South Carolina. The detachment, a guard consisting of four regulars, was under the jurisdiction of South Carolina and not Georgia.[74]

2. Gray's Gang

The peace treaty of 1748, which was only intended to maintain the status quo, settled very little between England and Spain. Spain still believed that Georgia belonged to her, and England was convinced of her claim by right of possession. However, England, busy fending off French claims to Canada, could not afford to engage in another war with Spain, so she was careful not to make firm commitments to land south of the Altamaha River. As a result, all land in this area, including Cumberland Island, became an "uninhabited tract," or what some preferred to call neutral ground.

There had been only a few small plantations in this area after 1742, and they were probably operated by military personnel. Thus, in 1744, a Sergeant Hall stated that "he had a Plantation on St. Simon's Island, and another on Cumberland. That both Lands are capable of producing Corn. That he has himself rais'd Corn Pease Potatoes, and all sorts of Garden stuff. That he saw'd [*sic*] four Acres of Corn that Year."[75] Because of constant raids by the French, Spanish, and Indians, the few plantations that did exist diminished even further. Since the area south of the Altamaha River was neutral ground, the Georgia colony did nothing to encourage settlements in that area, which, as a result, became a refuge for debtors, criminals, and dissenters of all sorts, in effect, anyone who refused to abide by Georgia law. They were joined by their Spanish counterparts in Florida. Together these elements proved a thorn in the side of both the English and Spanish authorities who were trying to maintain a very precarious peace.

Among this group of malcontents was Edmund Gray, who was expelled from the Georgia Assembly on charges of sedition. He was described by Governor Ellis as an "odd character who was very unintelligible . . . shrewd sagacious

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73. *Ibid.*, 28 (Part 1A):216.

74. *Ibid.*, 28 (Part IIA):419-20, 430; *American State Papers. Documents, Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, Class VIII, Public Lands* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), 1:52.

75. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 1:448.

and capable of affording the best advice to others but ridiculously absurd in every part of his own conduct."[76] Gray and his followers, known as Gray's Gang, formed a settlement called New Hanover on the Satilla River, thirty miles from its mouth, in 1755. This was in the neutral ground of Georgia. There they engaged in illicit trade with the Indians. New Hanover attracted all sorts of malcontents, much to English and Spanish chagrin. After the Spanish governor of Florida sent a military contingent to remove Gray from the forbidden area in 1757, a large segment of his group removed to Cumberland Island where they thought they would be less vulnerable, although deeper into the neutral zone and closer to Florida.[77] Here, with his family and followers, Gray continued to engage in small trade with Spaniards and Indians.[78]

First at New Hanover and later at Cumberland Island, Gray acted with such impunity that it gave the Spanish further cause to distrust the English colony. Gray's motives were never clear, and his actions were usually erratic, giving rise to much suspicion among the English and the Spanish.

Although Gray's Gang later reoccupied New Hanover, Cumberland Island became their principal settlement. In March 1759 Governor Ellis noted that there were about 300 people settled south of the Altamaha River. Of this number, two thirds--men, women, and children--had left New Hanover "some time ago" (1757) to settle on Cumberland Island.[79] When Spaniards from Florida settled on the island, the number must have risen to well over 200. The English accused the governor of Florida of encouraging Spanish families to settle on the island with the intent of establishing a colony.[80]

Governor Ellis, whose power was limited south of the Altamaha River, preferred to confine Gray's Gang to Cumberland Island, where he secretly believed this new settlement would lend teeth to an area already garrisoned by Fort Prince William. He felt that with a garrison as far south as this "there can be no question of our rights of extending at least so far," and that there could be no great inconvenience arising from the settlement of these parts. Ellis was convinced that such a settlement would be of service to the country and to the garrison stationed there. In turn, the garrison could maintain whatever order was necessary.[81]

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76. *Ibid.*, 28 (Part IA):19, 216

77. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 272. Only a few days after these statistics were reported, Thomas Goldsmith noted, after a trip to New Hanover and Cumberland Island, that the "major part of these people" did reside on Cumberland Island. See *ibid.*, p. 280.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54.

The Board of Trade found such acquiescence of Gray's actions on the part of Ellis intolerable, and in 1758 William Pitt, then prime minister of England, issued orders to remove the settlers from Cumberland Island and New Hanover immediately. Reluctantly, Ellis proceeded to obey these orders, and James Edward Powell, his emissary, was sent to the two areas with a notice of eviction. Powell gave this account of his visit to the island:

> . . . we immediately proceeded for the Island of Cumberland where we . . . summond the Inhabitants together and repeated the same steps we had taken at Sitilly [New Hanover]. The majority of these people attended but many of the most profligate and refractory [stayed] away and are suspected of having received encouragement from the Governor of Florida to go and settle there in conjunction with a number of Spanish Families lately sent from their Islands purposely to establish a Colony in those parts and as Edmund Gray the Leader of our people was apprehensive many bad consequences might result from the desertion of so many of his followers which he seemed desirous to prevent he with our approbation drew up the following Instrument and prevailed on the Majority of his Associates to sign it vizt.
>
> "Whereas the Inhabitants of New Hanover having been duly required to assemble this day to consider of proper places to remove to in obedience to His Majesty's commands published here by Commissioners from Georgia and South Carolina and many failing to attend gives us too much reason to believe what we have heard with regret vizt. That some rash persons are resolved to remove into the Spanish Territorys and are seducing many unthinking people to follow their example. . . .
>
> "But least any should persist in a design so weak and wicked We do hereby appoint John Cubbage to go to their respective places of abode and assure them . . . that we will not suffer them . . . to retire to any place without his Majesty's Dominions. . . . The first immediately inviting all those that may be well disposed to sign this writing and jointly with us enter into measures so indispensibly necessary."[82]

Those who signed this document were as follows:

Edmund Gray	Joseph Blythe
Andrew Maxton	John Copland
James Mathews	Edmund Gilliman
Marmaduke Perry	Saml Richardson
Edward Bristoe	Joshua Latman
William Hester	Henry Bedford
John Hester	John Kerrol
Oliver Shaw	John Cubbage
Joseph Fortner	William McCregor
Samuel Mills	Nathl. Wilson
Edmund Pierce	

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74.

Powell then collected a number of names of heads of families who were settled on Cumberland Island, and in the process learned that there were a considerable number of stragglers who subsisted chiefly by hunting. The heads of families were:

John Williams
William Hester
Saml Mills
Thos Carr
John Loney
John Lofter
John Evans
Jas Bryant
Ephrn Alexander
Saml Richardson
Doctor Brisko
William Chadows
Joseph Blythe
Joseph Gray
Richard Hayard
Wm McCregor
Joseph Wilson
Marmad Perry
John Pemberton
Giles Moore
Patrick O'Neal
Wm. Carpenter
Edmund Gray
John Cane
Saml Piles
Wm. McKintosh
James Westly
Danl Mackey
Philip Sutton
John Bryant
Jacob Whitman
William Gray
Ino Chumby
Jacob Helvenstine
Andrew Palmer
William Ross
Wm Steadman
Thomas Clemons
Andw Maxton
Anty Fernands
Joseph Goodby
John Cubbage
John Cane Junr
Andw Collins
Joseph Goodson
John Duncan
John Hester
Saml Mills Junr
Henry Bedford
John Copland
James Mathews
Edmund Pierce
Oliver Shaw
Joseph Faulkner
John Percival
Francis Cane
James Jones
John Bennet
Joshua Lipman
Jeremh Helvenstine
Edward Gillman
John Carrol
Jame Green
Richard Ogilbie
Robart Lucas
Nathl Watson[83]

By March 1759, Thomas Goldsmith, commanding officer at Fort Frederica, after visiting Cumberland Island, reported to Governor Ellis that he had found that Gray's Gang had abandoned the island except for one man who apparently had been left behind to take care of the effects the rest had no time to carry with them and to take care of the "fields of Rye which grow there in great plenty."[84] Ellis remained somewhat skeptical about the removal; he did not

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83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

believe that it would be effective since Gray was a "fellow of infinite Art and Finesse." He was certain that very soon his followers "will steal back to their habitations," and he did not have the power to prevent it.[85] Ellis was not mistaken. Gray's followers soon returned to the island where they remained as late as 1766. Governor James Wright, Ellis's successor, wrote to the Board of Trade in 1766 that Gray's followers, who had been removed from the island in 1759, "only made a Shew [show] of doing so, but returned again immediately, and that those People with some Vagabonds and Runagates [*sic*] from Virginia, North Carolina, etc. etc. are now on these lands to the number of 70 or 80 Men, besides Women and Children."[86]

Gray's Gang was therefore still on Cumberland Island after the outbreak of war between England and Spain. Nothing more was heard of their settlement after this time, although some descendants may have continued to live there. Nor is there any evidence as to the town's actual location. It is not too unreasonable to speculate that it could have been at old Barrimacke or Mackays town.

3. Land Grants and the Beginning of Permanent Settlements

The Barrimacke and Gray's Gang settlements had been the only sizeable or permanent ones on Cumberland Island. They lasted no more than eight or ten years, and nothing more was heard of them. Some members of these groups, and later their descendants, may have remained on the island for some time, but these were probably isolated cases. Except for a small military detachment, the island remained largely uninhabited. It was used primarily as a hunting ground by those who lived on the mainland. Others who used the island were frequently criminals hiding from the law.

There were several reasons why Cumberland Island was never permanently settled during these years. Chief among these was the fact that the island was adjacent to Florida and right in the heart of that neutral ground so bitterly contested by England and Spain. Raids by both Floridians and their Indian allies were common occurrences. Pirates, smugglers, and others of the criminal element frequently fled to the island, causing much apprehension among those who might be inclined to settle there. Cattle raising, an industry not suitable for the island, was more profitable for the poor to undertake on the mainland. Nevertheless, by 1763, with the absorption of Florida into the English sphere of domination, the political situation had changed so that land grants were now being offered on the island.

This period heralded the beginning of intense speculation in American lands. Both Florida and Georgia shared in the current boom, and many land companies were formed to purchase land. Cumberland Island was involved in this speculation, to a much lesser degree than the mainland of Georgia. After

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85. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

86. *Ibid.*, 28 (Part IIA):419-20; see also 28 (Part IB):586-87.

1763 the English Board of Trade accepted several applications for land grants on Cumberland Island from land companies and men of wealth. Some of these grants were made to former officers in General Oglethorpe's regiment who at one time or another had been stationed on the island. Some applications were not always approved, while others consisted of only small grants. One of the first petitions rejected was a grant for the whole island submitted by Denys Rolle and associates. Rolle was very influential in East Florida where he was responsible for establishing a settlement on the St. Johns River. The petition stated in part that

> The Plot . . . is a small Isle on the Coast of Georgia which they are informed is undisposed of and is known by the Name of Cumberland Isle.
>
> And Whereas the Cultivation of Silk and Cotton would be of great Advantage to this Nation [Great Britain] as being at present extremely wanted; and Large Sums are Annually paid for them to other Countries. . . .
>
> Nor will there Attention be confined only to the above Articles. Several others will be attempted, particularly Wine, Oil and such commodities as may be hoped for in a Warm Climate.[87]

From this petition we learn, for the first time, the agricultural potential of the island, although experience was to prove that not all these commodities could be grown in sufficient quantities. As in the case of other large tracts of land south of the Altamaha River, the Rolle petition was rejected.[88]

Other petitions for land on Cumberland Island were more modest and less ambitious, and most of these were granted. Because many later land transactions mention the original owners, it is important that their names and a description of their lands be given:

1. Jonathan Bryan (a series of four grants).

    a. 1,500 acres of land granted April 7, 1767, and described as follows: bounded on the east by the ocean, south by land of Thomas Williams, west by a tract of 100 acres reserved by Georgia where Fort Saint Andrews once stood and partly by marshes from a

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87. Candler *Colonial Records*, 28 (Part IB):807. See Charles Loch Mowatt, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1943), pp. 50-51, for an account of Rolle's energetic efforts to settle East Florida with British subjects.

88. William B. Stevens, *A History of Georgia From Its First Discovery by Europeans to the Adoption of The Present Constitution in 1838*, 2 vols. (vol. 1, New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1847; vol. 2, Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co., 1859), 2:29-30.

river leading from Cumberland Sound, and north by the same river, marshes, and creek. This land was at the northern end of Great Cumberland Island.

b. 600 acres granted April 7, 1767. This land was described as bounded on the east by the ocean, on the south by a tract of 200 acres owned by Georgia whereon Fort Prince William formerly stood, west by a river leading from the inlet of St. Marys River, and north by land belonging to James Bullock. With the exception of the 200 acres owned by Georgia, this land was at the southernmost point of Great Cumberland Island.

   This is probably the same land petitioned for on December 3, 1765, by Jonathan Bryan that appears in the *Colonial Records*, except that the earlier petition was for 800 acres described as being "near the Southend of Cumberland Island at a Place there called Dungeness." The additional 200 acres was probably the Georgia land.

c. 300 acres granted March 1, 1768. This land is described as bounded on the east by the ocean, on the west by salt marshes, and on the north and south by other lands belonging to Bryan.

d. 870 acres granted March 1, 1768. This land is described as bounded on the east by the ocean, on the west by a creek and salt marshes, and on the north and south by lands "ordered" by Bryan. This land was part of 2,000 acres once reserved for James Bullock, a reserve that had elapsed.

Thus, Jonathan Bryan received a total of 3,270 acres, by far the largest of all grants made during this period.[89]

2. Josiah Bryan (probably the son of Jonathan Bryan). Josiah was granted 700 acres on March 1, 1768. His land was described as bounded on the east by the ocean, west by salt marshes, and south by lands of Jonathan Bryan. This tract was part of the 2,000 acres formerly reserved for James Bullock, a reserve that had elapsed. It was probably the land just to the north of the 870 acres granted Jonathan Bryan (see 1c above).

3. James Bullock was granted 2,000 acres of land on June 5, 1765, and this was described as bounded on the west by marshes and creeks, on the east by the ocean, on the north by lands of James Cuthbert, and on the south by vacant land. Bullock had originally petitioned for an additional 2,000 acres on

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89. This discussion of Bryan's grants and of those of others is developed from a booklet entitled *English Crown Grants for Islands in Georgia, 1755-1775*, compiled by Pat Bryant, Deputy Surveyor General, State of Georgia (Atlanta: State Printing Office, 1972), pp. 8-11, including two plats in the Surveyor General's files, and from Candler, *Colonial Records*, 9:245-711, and 10:189-243, *passim*.

reserve, which he did not acquire and which finally went to Jonathan and Josiah Bryan. (This land had yet to go to the Bryans; hence the reference here to vacant land on the south.)

4. James Cuthbert was granted 1,500 acres on August 5, 1766, described as bounded on the west by a creek, on the east by the ocean, and on the north and south by vacant land.

5. James Habersham was granted 1,400 acres on January 6, 1767. This tract was described as "an island of 1,400 acres known by the name of Little Cumberland and bounded on the north and east by Sea Beach [i.e., the ocean], south by an inlet, marshes and creeks of the same and west by marshes and creeks leading therefrom." This was the whole island of Little Cumberland. In the original petition filed in June 1766 it was erroneously believed that the island consisted of 1,000 acres; however, after the island was surveyed, it was found to contain 1,400. The original petition erroneously referred to Fort Saint Andrews as being "formerly built" on Little Cumberland Island. This was also corrected in the later petition.

6. Lachlan McIntosh was granted 200 acres on September 9, 1766. This land was described as bounded on the north by the marshes of Cumberland Island, south by land belonging to James Cuthbert, and east by vacant land. Cuthbert had originally been granted 550 acres "about two Miles to the Southward of Hester's Bluff near the middle of the Island." However, this grant was later forfeited because Cuthbert had left Georgia for South Carolina.

7. John Smith was granted 2,000 acres on December 5, 1767. This land was bounded on the east by the ocean, south by land granted to James Cuthbert, west by a salt marsh and lands of Lachlan McIntosh and Thomas Williams, and north by land surveyed for Jonathan Bryan. While the grant indicated 2,000 acres, the plat itself shows 2,050.

8. Peter Vandyke was granted two separate tracts.

   a. 150 acres were granted on February 3, 1767. This tract was described as bounded on the west by a creek leading from St. Marys River, south by land belonging to James Cuthbert, and north and east by lands formerly reserved for John Cuthbert, but later forfeited.

   b. 500 acres of land. Originally, Vandyke had petitioned for 350 acres described as bounded on the west by a creek leading from St. Marys River and on the other sides by land formerly granted, but later forfeited, to John Cuthbert. This land was described in the *Colonial Records* as being "at a place called Hester's Bluff." However, because Vandyke became ill with smallpox, he was unable to take possession of his grant, and the land went to James Cuthbert, presumably part of the land described in paragraph 4 earlier. He then petitioned for the 500 acres that adjoined the 350 acres that went to Cuthbert.

9. Thomas Williams was granted 450 acres on February 3, 1767. This land was described as bounded on the north by land laid out for Jonathan Bryan, on the east and south by land granted to John Smith, and on the west by creeks and marshes.

10. Patrick Mackay was granted 1,126 acres, probably in 1765. Patrick was probably related to Hugh Mackay of General Oglethorpe's regiment. According to Patrick, this was land formerly given to Hugh by General Oglethorpe. It is difficult to say where this land was located, but in all probability it was at the north end of Great Cumberland Island near the ruins of Fort Saint Andrews and the old village of Barrimacke where Hugh commanded.

11. Isaac Verree was granted 100 acres sometime in 1765. There is no description of this land, although the *Colonial Records* mention it.

12. Angus Mackay was granted 50 acres sometime in 1766. His petition stated that "he had been twenty Years in the Province being one of the disbanded Soldiers of the Regiment by General Oglethorpe and was desirous to obtain a Peece [*sic*] of Land whereon to settle having had none yet granted him." The place he was granted was called "Graham's old Field." Large lands were apparently not the only ones granted by the Board of Trades; small tracts were also welcomed. This 50 acres is probably the same land that appears on an 1800 property map of Cumberland Island.[90]

The north and south ends of Great Cumberland Island were always considered strategic locations for a military post, however small it might be. A detachment remained continuously at Fort Prince William late into the 1770s, and there might have been a detachment of scouts from time to time near the ruins of Fort Saint Andrews. Fearing that royal land grants might take up all the lands on Cumberland Island, leaving nothing for a military installation in the event of an emergency, on February 3, 1767, the governor and his council ordered the Surveyor General to set aside for "Public Use" 100 acres where Fort Saint Andrews formerly stood and 200 acres where Fort Prince William stood.[91] In his travels through Georgia in 1774, William Bartram spoke of having been an overnight guest of the captain at Fort Prince William.[92]

After Jonathan Bryan had accumulated his large grant, he proceeded to buy up other tracts, and by 1768 he was able to put up for sale 7,500 acres.

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90. Composite map showing division of lands between heirs of Nathanael Greene and Thomas Lynch, January 1800, in *Camden County Field Notes, 1796-1816*, pp. 88-94, 96-102. See Illustration 2.

91. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 10:82.

92. Francis Harper, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram*, 2d ed. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1958), p. 42.

In his advertisment of sale he stated that a great part of this large tract was

> very fit for corn, rice, indigo, and cotton, with a large quantity of live oak and pine fit for ship building; also extraordinary range for cattle, hogs, and horses. . . . This island is esteemed one of the most valuable to the southward.[93]

Several of the products cited in this advertisement were assuming some importance on the island. One such item was live oak. It was just about this time that England was beginning to look towards Georgia for imports of live oak to supply her needs for outfitting a navy. By 1741 Georgia was exporting some timber, but it was not until the close of the French and Indian War that its exports of live oak increased appreciably. In 1762 Georgia exported 417,449 feet of timber, 325,477 staves, and 685,265 shingles. In 1772 she exported 2,163,582 feet of timber, 988,791 staves, and 3,525,930 shingles, representing an average increase of nearly 500% in ten years.[94] The potentialities of this market for live oak were clearly appreciated by the landowners of Cumberland Island, but the full story remains to be told in a later chapter.

The purchasers of Bryan's land were Thomas Lynch and Alexander Rose. It is probable that soon after they acquired this land they purchased additional acreage until most of the island was in their possession. In 1770 they petitioned the governor to grant them the two tracts in Georgia's possession--the lands upon which the ruins of the two forts stood. They argued that since both forts had been abandoned and totally destroyed, the ruins were subject to being occupied by vagrants who might do harm to the property. The petition recommended that Lynch obtain a grant for the 100 acres at the north end of the island and Rose a grant for the 200 acres at the south end. The petition was rejected.[95] It was apparent that the strategic importance of these two locations was still uppermost in the minds of Georgia's officials.

On the eve of the American Revolution, Cumberland Island had yet to experience any sizeable homesteading or any extensive cultivation. The existence of large landowners like Lynch and Rose prevented the first, but it was obvious that the second would eventually assume prominence. Unfortunately, it would have to wait until after the Revolution. In 1774, when William Bartram, the naturalist, visited Cumberland Island (which he mistook for "Little Saint Simons Island"), most of the area was "thinly inhabited."[96]

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93. *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah, Ga.), Feb. 10, 1768, p. 3, col. 2, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

94. Trevor Richard Reese, *Colonial Georgia: A Study in British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1963), p. 127.

95. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 11:178.

96. Harper, *Travels of William Bartram*, p. 41.

CHAPTER III: CUMBERLAND ISLAND IN THE REVOLUTION

By the treaty of 1763 Spain ceded East Florida to England, with St. Augustine continuing as the center of economic and political activity there. As the Spanish were evacuating the area and heading for Havana and other Spanish colonies, the English were doing everything within their power to encourage Englishmen to migrate to East Florida. Most of the trade that transpired centered largely between St. Augustine, Savannah, and Charleston, most of the imported goods coming by way of New York. Boats continually plowed the waters between St. Augustine and Savannah. Most of the time the route taken by these boats was the intracoastal waterway, avoiding as much as possible the ocean route. In 1774 the mouth of the St. Marys River, part of which was the southern tip of Cumberland Island, was described by Governor James Wright of Georgia as follows:

> St. Marys River lyes [*sic*] about Five Miles to the Southward of Crooked River and has very good Navigation. The Bar is set at the Inlet, is an Exceeding Good and Safe Bar and has Seventeen feet Water at high Water Common Tides, and the River Continues to be Deep and Navigable for Large Vessels About Twenty Miles and may be for Small Craft and Boats much further. . . .[1]

With navigation between St. Augustine, Savannah, and Charleston growing daily and friction between the colonies and the Mother Country growing worse, it was inevitable that Cumberland Island would also be drawn into the irrepressible conflict. Although the island did not play as major a role in the Revolution as it had during the War of Jenkins's Ear, small naval engagements were fought all around it and it was used as a staging area for military forces and as a source of supply for British vessels anchored nearby.

Initially during the Revolution, East Florida presented no temptation to the Americans, and in turn Georgia did not represent any military goal for the English. This was especially true of the years 1776 and 1777, even though Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida always feared an attack from the Georgia colonists. As time went by, however, raids in which cattle, horses, and slaves were the prizes became more prevalent on both sides of the St. Marys River. These raids reached such great proportions that Governor Tonyn believed that an invasion of Georgia by English forces was the only means of insuring the security of East Florida. It was not until 1777 that a sizeable British force organized in East Florida, whose primary mission was a foraging expedition, invaded Georgia as far north as the Satilla River. Considerable property damage was done and close to 2,000 head of cattle were taken.[2] There was no

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1. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 38(Part I):112.

2. Mowatt, *East Florida as a British Province*, pp. 119-20.

indication that Cumberland Island was touched to any considerable extent, but the British expedition did point up the fact that, as the war progressed, Georgia and eventually Cumberland Island would be increasingly drawn into it.

At the outbreak of the war, Cumberland Island, like the rest of the lower country of Georgia south of the Altamaha River, was almost completely deserted. The island became the source of foraging parties usually ordered by British naval commanders whose vessels were anchored in the mouth of the St. Marys River. In 1776, of the three British schooners (*St. John, Hinchinbrook, and Lively*) assigned to St. Augustine, at least one was always anchored at the mouth of the St. Marys River, patrolling Cumberland Sound, Cumberland River, and St. Andrews Sound. Sloops and other small vessels could also be found in these waters.[3] On June 28, 1776, the commander of the *St. John* sent a party to Cumberland Island to pick up "fresh beef." This meat, along with other provisions, was sent up the river to a hospital. Again, on July 3 and 13, 1776, the commander of the *St. John* sent a cutter to the island for beef, wood, and fresh water.[4]

On July 15, 1776, the commander of the *St. John* intercepted a canoe with "Messrs Martin & McCredie on board," both living on the island. One month later, the same John Martin reported to an agent of Governor Tonyn that an American schooner and two other smaller vessels were on their way to plunder the area around the St. Marys River. The American party consisted of 240 to 300 men. Inhabitants of Cumberland Island, like most of Georgia, were divided in loyalties. Martin was a Loyalist. Two days after this intelligence from Martin, Lieutenant William Grant of the *St. John* wrote to Governor Tonyn confirming the report and saying that he had strengthened his position off Cumberland Island. He also noted that some Negroes, who "had returned from Lynch's Plantation near the No[rth] End of Cumberland Island," said they had not seen any vessels in the sound. Later, however, Grant saw the boats near Amelia Island.[5]

These were the events that were taking place preceding the attack on Amelia Island. What is significant about this information is that Lynch had his plantation at the north end of Cumberland Island. The Negroes belonged to Governor Wright of Georgia, a Loyalist.

The island remained relatively unaffected by the naval operations surrounding it during the war, although they did tend to isolate the island while the British were using it to supply their needs.

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3. William Bell Clark and William James Morgan, eds., *Naval Documents of The American Revolution,* 6 vols. (Washington, 1964), 5:949.

4. *Ibid.,* pp. 844, 929, 1069.

5. *Ibid.,* p. 1106, and 6:72, 108. George McIntosh, brother of General Lochlan McIntosh, both of whom owned land on Cumberland Island, was arrested on charges of supplying rice to the British. See Mowatt, *East Florida as a British Province,* p. 120.

Military operations by land forces probably had a more direct affect upon the island. The Florida Rangers, highly respected by Governor Tonyn, proved to be a serious threat to Georgia. They attacked the southern part of the State with impunity, taking away slaves, cattle, and horses, and burning and destroying everything in their path. In retaliation, the Georgia Patriots committed their own share of depredations in East Florida.

In April 1777 Jermya Wright, brother of Charles Wright and Governor James Wright, all of whom were Loyalists, recorded the following action that took place on Cumberland Island:

> . . . on the seventh day of August [1776] another large Gang of Rebels commanded by one Joseph Woodruffe with a floating Battery and two or three other Craft arrived at Cumberland Island in the same Province, having with the said Joseph Woodruffe, a commission of which the following is a true copy. . . .
>
> . . . and the same Joseph Woodruffe being so arrived landed upon this appearers [*sic*] Camp on the Same Island of Cumberland where he this appearer and his late brother Charles Wright, had by advice of the Kings Officers only retreated from the Troops of Horse of the Land Insurgents commanded by the Said McIntosh and Scriven the week before, when in the dead of the Night they the s[ai]d Insurgents under command of the said Woodruffe by creeping and hiding through bushes before break of Day following being the Eight of August surrounded this appearers camp on every side and not finding this appearer or his brother . . . had retreated to Amelia Island, and on this retreat the distressed negroes who had kept Garrison many months and fought on behalf of his Majesty and for so doing had been burn'd out of home drove [*sic*] from their Cornfields Plantation and necessarys of Life, were obliged to retreat with so much precipitation that many of the same poor negroes to their further distress lost or left behind them their cloathing [*sic*] and blankets, and this appearer was likewise so much hurry'd that he was obliged to leave live stock and such other provision as he had saved for the support of Life part on Cumberland and part on Amelia Islands. . . .[6]

The Wright brothers owned a plantation near the St. Marys River, which had been raided by General McIntosh's forces in 1776. The Wrights, meanwhile, had armed their slaves and with them retreated to Cumberland Island where they camped on Lynch's plantation. When Woodruffe invaded the island with his 200 or 300 troops, the Wright brothers escaped to Amelia Island, leaving their slaves behind. Many of the slaves were rescued by the British and these were the Negroes of whom Lieutenant Grant spoke. The slaves suffered severely from lack of food, clothing, and shelter during this period.

In 1778 both sides were preparing for an invasion by the other. After an ill-fated attempt by the Americans to invade East Florida, Savannah was

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6. Candler, *Colonial Records*, 39:22-24.

captured by the British in December 1778. Originally the capture of Savannah was to be accomplished by regulars and Rangers under the command of Brigadier Augustine Prevost of Florida and by Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell of New York.[7] Campbell reached Savannah two weeks before Prevost, but in the meantime Prevost used the southern end of Cumberland Island as a staging area, putting together a force of 900 men consisting of regulars of the 60th Regiment then stationed in Florida and Rangers. While there, this force experienced considerable difficulties because of lack of supplies, and was at times reduced to a diet of oysters and rice. One detachment subsisted on an alligator and some Madeira wine from a shipwreck and still later on horseflesh.[8]

This was perhaps the only time that Cumberland Island was used by such a large force during the Revolution. One can only speculate whether Fort Prince William, although in partial ruins at the time, served to house a portion of Prevost's 900 men.

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7. For an account of the capture of Savannah, see the following: Roger Lamb, *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences during the late American War from Its Commencement to the year 1783* (reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1968), pp. 251-52; Christopher Ward, *The War of The Revolution*, ed. John Richard Alden, 2 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), 2:679-81; Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785* (De Land: Florida State Historical Society, 1929), pp. 71-74; and Mowatt, *East Florida as a British Province*, pp. 122-23.

8. Mowatt, *East Florida as a British Province*, p. 122; Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, p. 73.

CHAPTER IV: THE FEDERAL AND ANTEBELLUM PERIODS

A. The Dawn of a New Era (1783-1784)

As the Revolution came to an end, some degree of stability came to the coastal regions of Georgia and to Cumberland Island. The raids that prevailed on both sides of the St. Marys River soon subsided and eventually disappeared altogether. The incursions on the island by the British also stopped. The area remained largely uninhabited, although some of the previous landholders, at least those who had remained loyal to the American cause, returned to their lands. The relative isolation of the island and the anarchy that thrived in the town of St. Marys inevitably encouraged lawlessness. During the transition period when Spain was replacing England in Florida, authorities were helpless to cope with the disorder. Samuel Kelly, an English sailor whose ship lay off Amelia Island for thirty-three weeks in 1784, provides an excellent firsthand account of the banditry, lawlessness, and primitiveness existing in and around St. Marys.[1]

There were those, however, who began to view this period as a time for rebuilding and introducing some social order into the midst of this chaotic scene. Many of the landowners on the coastal islands of Georgia who were farsighted and ingenious, began to realize the agricultural possibilities of Cumberland Island. One of these men described the island and its potential in these glowing terms:

> This Island makes its south point opposite the well known river of St. Mary's forming an excellent harbour with the main land of the State of Georgia; & from this point it extends about twenty miles northerly along the coast enclosing a sound of various breadths from 1/2 to 3 miles.
>
> This sound, receives the waters of three streams, besides the St. Mary's which are all navigable a considerable distance for large Vessels - - - The Rivers are call'd Crooked River, Johnson creek & [illegible] River. The breadth of the Island is in various places two or three miles, in others not more than 1/2 a mile - - - It is in general covered with large quantities of the live oak timber - - - But where this has been removed for the purpose of cultivation the soil appears well adapted to the raising of corn, Indigo, Cotton, [illegible]. And from the uncommon quantity of fine grapes which now grow wild almost every where upon upon [*sic*] the Island, it is believed that vinyards might be planted there to very great Advan-

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1. Crosbie Garstin, ed., *Samuel Kelly: An Eighteenth Century Seaman* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925), pp. 99-110.

tage. (Indeed this is reported to be the case, by a person who has examined the soil & grapes & is a judge of making wine)

The soil of the Island is not all of an equal quality, but has many tracts upon it, that are said by every person who had seen them, to be very fine land - - - There is now upon the Island a stock of two or three hundred horses & many hogs; and is capable from the quantity of nuts which falls from the live oak of keeping a very great number of the last mentioned stock - - -

But what renders this Island particularly valuable is its healthful situation & pure Air - - - It is a well known fact that people who spend their whole time upon it, entirely escape the fevers, to which all the low countries of the Southern States are exposed - - - This of course will render it a place of great preference to the emigrants from more cold & healthful climates - - -

The fisheries which surround the coast are uncommonly good - - - The mullet, drum Blacks black fish & various other kinds of excelling [*sic*] fish are caught there in the greatest plenty, & with such ease as to enable one man with his hook & line to supply food for ten or perhaps twenty others - - -

Little Cumberland is particularly valuable for the very heavy, and fine live oak timber with which it is covered, but is not said to have a very good soil - - - It lies contiguous to Great Cumberland (as it is called) and contains I do not know what number of Acres - - - [2]

One of the natural resources of the island--live oak--would soon attract a sizeable market. A new nation had emerged from the Revolution, and it would need a navy consisting of commercial and war vessels. European nations not blessed with vast timberlands would also seek this product for their ships. It was with this idea in mind that Major General Nathanael Greene, hero of the American Revolution, purchased land on Cumberland Island.

Sea island cotton was soon to emerge as another very important product. Finally, the ultimate realization that the island's healthy environment contributed to the well-being of all those who came in contact with it would soon make it a popular place to visit and enjoy.

B. Major General Nathanael Greene and the Island

By 1783 General Nathanael Greene was in serious financial trouble as a result of guarantees that he had made for loans to support his troops in the southern campaign. Mulberry Grove, a confiscated plantation outside of

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2. Phineas Miller to Edward Rutledge, Nov. 29, 1788, typewritten MS, Coastal Georgia Historical Society, Brunswick.

Savannah formerly belonging to the Loyalist Lieuteneant Governor John Graham of Georgia, had been given to Greene as a gift by the State of Georgia in grateful appreciation for the role he had played in defeating the British. He immediately set about to recoup some of his personal losses, but failures of his rice crops at Mulberry Grove in 1783-85 threw him further into debt. Desperately seeking ways to avoid financial ruin, Greene purchased land on Cumberland Island in August 1783.[3]

How Greene's interest in Cumberland Island came about is not clearly ascertained. Moreover, whether he ever intended the island to become a permanent possession or whether he only intended to speculate with intentions to sell at a later date is problematic. The few records that are available before his untimely death would seem to point to the latter theory. Benjamin Hawkins, the U.S. Indian Agent in the South, seems to take credit, at least in part, for taking Greene to Cumberland Island in 1783.[4] There is no doubt that the sight of huge quantities of live oak must have had a profound influence on Greene's decision to purchase. In fact, his letters and those of his associates leave little doubt that his primary reason for purchasing land on the island was to engage in the timber industry.

In an indenture signed August 11, 1783, John Banks and Ichabod Burnet conveyed to Greene a half interest in nine plantations, or tracts, totalling 10,870 acres. The land in question was described with reference to the royal grants made in the 1760s. The indenture also referred to this land as having been transferred from Jonathan Bryan to Thomas Lynch and Alexander Rose in the 1770s. Since that time, the land passed to John Banks and Ichabod Burnet who were the last tenants in common. This instrument also conveyed the "houses, buildings, gardens, orchards, woods, waters, water courses, privileges [and] profits."[5]

The indenture is not clear as to the purchase price of the land, but one writer notes that the actual price must have been something like £5,000, and

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3. Some modern writers have erroneously concluded that Cumberland Island, like Mulberry Grove, was also a gift from the State. The error has probably arisen from a statement made in 1817 by Dr. William Baldwin that "The southern extremity of this Island [i.e., Cumberland] was formerly granted by [the] government to General Greene." See Baldwin to Darlington, May 28, 1817, in William Darlington, comp., *Reliquiae Baldwinianae: Selections from the Correspondence of the Late William Baldwin, M.D. Surgeon in the U.S. Navy* (Philadelphia: Kimber and Sharpless, 1843), p. 230, microfilm in Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

4. John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (reprint ed., New York, 1925), p. 431, cited in Nightingale, "Dungeness," p. 372.

5. Indenture, Aug. 11, 1783, Liber of Deeds D, pp. 86-96, Camden County Clerk's Office, Woodbine, Ga. (Hereafter all land records in this office will be cited as "Liber of Deeds.") This deed was not recorded until Mar. 27, 1799. It also included the conveyance of 2,000 acres of land on Crooked River near Brunswick, Ga.

another writer states that Greene's share alone was estimated to be worth £40,000.[6] In a letter written by Greene in 1784 he says that "I have a mortgage of one half of Cumberland Island and expect to hold the land and pay the Purchase Money."[7]

Greene did not live long enough to see his property on Cumberland Island achieve its highest value, but soon after he acquired it, he moved quickly to develop it. He never lived long enough to reside on the island, but made several trips there to supervise his lands. One Spanish observer in November 1784, commenting upon the extensive timber on the island, stated that there were American vessels there that were busily carting the timber away.[8]

Early correspondence between Greene and his business associates points to the fact that he also may have had intentions of reselling his property. Jeremiah Wadsworth, writing to Greene in March 1784, stated that Mr. Marbois, French Minister to the United States, "seems likely to be a purchaser of Cumberland Island" and "wants to know every particular respecting it--its situation . . . harbors bays inlets streams produce size of timbers [live] stock if any if not if there is grass for stock--its distance from Continent."[9]

The lawlessness that prevailed along the Florida-Georgia border affected Cumberland Island. In September 1784 Greene received news that some 200 or 300 refugees from Florida were on the island cutting down large quantities of timber on his lands and shipping it away. Greene sought some protection for his lands from the governor, but without the necessary police force at his disposal, the governor was helpless, and he was not sure that he could spare troops. The governor placed the matter before his council, which resolved that the governor write to the Spanish governor of East Florida requesting that he take action to prevent this plundering. Since the matter was later dropped by Greene, it must be assumed that the problem was resolved.[10]

General Greene tried vainly to make his logging business and investment on Cumberland Island atone for his heavy debts. A payment on the mortgage for

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6. Nightingale, "Dungeness," p. 372; Theodore Thayer, *Nathanael Greene: Strategist of The American Revolution* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960), p. 437.

7. Greene to Gibbons, Sept. 12, 1784, Nathanael Greene Manuscripts, Duke University Library, Durham, N.C.

8. Issac F. Arnow, "History of St. Marys, Georgia and Vicinity," MS, n.d., microfilm in Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

9. Wadsworth to Greene, March 1784, Jeremiah Wadsworth Collection, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Conn.

10. Greene to Houston, Sept. 12, 1784; Greene to Gibbons, Sept. 12, 1784; and Houston to Greene, Nov. 12, 1784, Greene Manuscripts, Duke University; (continued)

Cumberland Island would soon be due. His rice plantation at Mulberry Grove was doing poorly, and his old creditors were breathing down his neck. In February 1785 he offered his old friends Jeremiah Wadsworth and Seagrove part ownership in his Cumberland Island property. His plea to Wadsworth was heart-rending:

> On my arrival [at Charleston] I find myself in more distress than I expected to accomodate payments. One of the payments for Cumberland Island on which I have a mortgage is due and the parties press me for a part if not the whole. . . .
>
> If it was or could be made consistent with your interest it would make me very happy if you would [purchase] part of Cumberland Island. I think it a good purchase but I am unable to hold it. If you and Seagrove would take each a share I am confident you cannot vest your money in better property. The purchase is five thousand Guineas. There is upwards of 7000 acres of Land, most of which is fit for planting and the whole is full of ship timber of live oak as it can stand. It is estimated by those best acquainted with the property that the timber alone as it formerly sold and is now selling in Philadelphia paying the freight and cutting out of the Sales would amount to forty thousand pounds. Did I not owe money I would not wish to sell any part of it. If you will take part of it I am so confident of its value that I will engage to indemnify you from loss. Payments are as follow that 1250 Guineas in December 1784 --- & 1250 Guineas in December 1785 1250 Guineas in December 1786 and 1200 Guineas in December 1787. Interest on the whole from December 1783. Speak to Seagrove on the subject and let us all engage in the Spanish trade. It is Seagroves opinion it may be made profitable. Be assured what ever interest you take in my affairs you shall not suffer by it.[11]

Greene wrote Wadsworth again two weeks later, somewhat optimistically, that since his last letter he had learned that he could "improve the purchase" of Cumberland Island. He was offered the bonds of the last payment at a twenty percent discount and he believed that the mortgagee would be willing to give a thirty percent discount for the last, if not for the three last, payments. In the meantime he had asked Robert Morris, the financier, to negotiate a loan with the Dutch banking firm of Wilhelm and Van Aettink of Amsterdam.[12]

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10. (continued) Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia* (1769-1784), 3 vols. (Atlanta: The Franklin-Turner Company, 1908), 2:730-31.

11. Greene to Wadsworth, Feb. 3, 1785, Knollenberg Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

12. Greene to Wadsworth, Feb. 17, 1785, Knollenberg Collection, Yale University.

In answer to his earlier letter, Wadsworth's response was in the negative. Seagrove, he said, was nearly financially ruined, and his plans remained uncertain. Wadsworth had even approached Robert Morris to see whether he was interested in the island, but the latter had his own serious problems and could not get deeper into the red. Although Wadsworth made no mention of his own intentions, he too was having financial difficulties. From the tone of his letter, one could interpret it to mean that Wadsworth might have been willing to invest in the island if others would also enter into partnership.[13] A second letter from Wadsworth was equally disappointing. He repeated his earlier pessimistic views concerning Seagrove and Morris, but did strike one note of optimism. He had approached the Marquis de Marbois who seemed interested, but who, before he would make any commitment, was anxious to know the quantity of timber on the island, the number of acres, and other pertinent information on the area. The latter was thinking in terms of supplying the French navy with timber, but he feared that Cumberland Island was not big enough to supply all the wood needed. Wadsworth was not "sanguine" about a deal ever materializing.[14]

Two days later Wadsworth again wrote Greene, this time noting that Seagrove had indicated an interest in forming a partnership with Greene. Wadsworth, who had become privy to information held by Seagrove's creditors, was convinced that it would be some time before the latter's financial affairs would permit him to undertake such an investment. He cautioned Greene not to assume too much from Seagrove's intentions. Marbois, he said, was the only person in a position to undertake the purchase of the island. As for himself, his financial condition excluded any possible partnership.[15]

Greene had probably not received Wadsworth's letter when he wrote to him on March 8. Again he expressed hopes that Wadsworth would buy an interest in the island:

> The more I inquire into the value of the property of Cumberland Island the more I wish to interest you in it as well as for your sake or mine. Dr. Brownson [*sic*] formerly a member of Congress has given me several calculations founded on experiment of the value of stock and Lumber and the profit is immense. But besides it is one of the best stands for trade in the Country. A Capt. Sample of Philadelphia has opened a store on the Island and sells a [bundle?] of goods

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13. Wadsworth to Greene, Feb. 15, 1785, Wadsworth Collection, Wadsworth Athenaeum.

14. Wadsworth to Greene, Feb. 21, 1785, Wadsworth Collection, Wadsworth Athenaeum.

15. Wadsworth to Greene, Feb. 23, 1785, Nathanael Greene Manuscripts, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

for great profit and all cash. It is contigious [*sic*] to Augustine it can always supply that place with [flour?]. I am confident you may increase your own fortune and [give?] your friends in taking a concern. We can supply all the Northern States with live oak and ship a great deal to Europe. But besides selling timber a large [stroke?] of ship building can be drove at the place and lumber of all sorts may be got in any quantity and it is constantly a cash article.[16]

General Greene was getting ready for one of his many trips to Cumberland Island. On this trip he was also going to St. Augustine to pay the Spanish governor a visit. Before he left, however, he wrote to Mr. Dennis De Bert in London. Since he had written to the governor of Georgia the year before, he had not complained again about the lumber stolen from his property on Cumberland Island. Nevertheless, he now sought some compensation for that loss. In his letter to De Bert, he called attention to the fact that British naval vessels engaged in removing British subjects from East Florida had cut and carried away great quantities of live oak from the island. Greene wanted De Bert to trace the whereabouts of these vessels, and he wanted the owners to make amends for his losses.[17] About one month later, without apparently hearing from De Bert, Greene sent him another letter. Not mentioning the loss of his timber, he asked De Bert to act as his agent in London in seeking outlets for the sale of live oak.[18]

On his trip to Cumberland Island and Florida in March 1785 Greene was again accompanied by Colonel Hawkens. On their way south they stopped at the island, but did not stay long. On returning from St. Augustine, however, they remained there four days. Greene did not say where they slept, but he does mention that they took along mattresses. Thus we may conclude that they slept outdoors. In a letter to his wife, Greene continued to extol the virtues of Cumberland Island: "I find it a very valuable property and had I funds to improve it to advantage it might be made one of the first commercial objects on the Continent."

Theodore Thayer, Greene's biographer, has stated that Greene's purpose in going to St. Augustine was to interest the Spanish governor (Vincent Emanuel de Zespedes) in getting former Loyalists to colonize Cumberland Island and engage in logging. Although the governor appeared willing to help, nothing came of this proposal.[19]

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16. Greene to Wadsworth, Mar. 8, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Connecticut Historical Society.

17. Greene to De Bert, Mar. 1785, Nathanael Greene Manuscripts, Yale University.

18. Greene to De Bert, Apr. 3, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Yale University.

19. Greene to wife, Apr. 14, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Yale University; *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, Apr. 7, 1785, p. 2, col. 3, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; Thayer, *Nathanael Greene*, pp. 439-40.

Just before his return from St. Augustine and Cumberland Island, Henry Osborne, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who had accompanied Greene on several trips to the island and who also owned some land there, wrote to the governor of Georgia that because of the lawlessness that he and Greene had observed in the area of St. Marys, it was absolutely necessary to appoint some strong police authority. No doubt he may have been prompted by Greene to write this. Osborne recommended that a former captain in the army, Alexander Sample, be appointed to this post. Sample, who resided at the southern tip of the island, was a merchant whom Greene had once referred to as running a successful establishment on Cumberland Island.[20] Whether Sample was ever appointed to this post is not clear, but the idea seemed sound to Osborne and Greene who had strong interests in the area. What better person could be selected for such a post than one with a military background who resided on the island as well?

Upon his return from his trip, Greene proceeded to write a lengthy letter to the Marquis de Marbois, describing and extolling Cumberland Island. Because it is the best contemporary description of the area, it is quoted here in full:

> The Island forms one part of the Harbour of St. Marys, into which there is an easy entrance and twenty four feet [of] water on the bar. Shipping when in are perfectly secure from all stress of weather. There is a confluence and communication of Seven Rivers at this place St. Johns Nassau, St. Marys Crooked River Great & Little Satilla and Turtle River. And all of them navigable a considerable distance into the Country and several of them a very great distance. Great Cumberland Island runs paralel [*sic*] with the main and the sound between them is about one Mile wide and the Island is said to be upwards of twenty miles long and in many places more than three miles wide and not less than two upon an average. The shore is bold. Vessels of any burthen may lay close to the banks of the Island in almost every part of it. There has been some few settlements formerly on the Island; but the war coming on they were broken up. The Soil is excellent for Indigo and the greater part of the Island fit for planting. The whole of it except a few old fields is covered with the best of live oak and red bay timber. Both of which are of the best quality for ship building. The size of the oak is fit for the first rate line of battle ships. Towards the North end there is some good pine timber. The Island is healthy, abounds with good water, the prospect delightful and the situation cool the tail of the trade wind's reacting as far as this place. Scale and shell fish are to be got in abundance in all part of this Island. The quantity of Mast or acorns which grow upon the live oak afford food for any number of hogs which neat a prodigious profit to those that will attend to it. Horses thrive admirably on the Island; but horn Cattle not so well.

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20. Osborne to Houston, Apr. 8, 1785, MS, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

There is now on the Island not less than two hundred horses & some Mules. It is an excellent place for breeding either. Near one half of the horses and Mules belong to the purchase. Nothing can be more favorable than the situation for a Spanish commerce or Lumber trade. Nor is it less convenient for an Indian trade up St. Marys and with the settlements on the Rivers of the Southern parts of Georgia. The surveys which have been made on the Island specify only about twelve thousand acres more or less; but from the length and width of it there cannot be less than twenty thousand acres in it. It is estimated to contain forty square Miles and upwards.

Little Cumberland Island lays North of great Cumberland and is parted from it only by a narrow Creek. It is full of timber but the soil is not good. It is good for stock being surrounded with Marshes, and contains upwards of two thousand acres. The half of great Cumberland except three small surveys and the one half of little Cumberland . . . belongs to my purchase. . . . No difficulty will attend a division of any part of the property. I am going to lay out a town towards the south end of Great Cumberland; and many people have spoke for lotts. . . .

There is about twenty families settled on the Island since the war. There is multitudes of Deer and wild fowl to be got on the Island and green [*sic*] turtle in great numbers at some seasons of the year.[21]

Two weeks after Greene made his strong plea to Marbois, Wadsworth, who was working from Connecticut on behalf of Greene's interests, expressed hopes that Marbois, who was then leaving for France, might get a sizeable order for timber from the French government. While hopes for a French contract were rising, Greene's financial affairs had taken a turn for the better. In May 1785 he notified Wadsworth that he would not sell more than a fourth interest in Cumberland Island, but this all depended upon whether he could dispose of his northern properties and get by his creditors without too much loss. "I am," he said, "not very anxious about selling more than one quarter more than I have good offers for here."[22] By September, Greene was again begging Wadsworth to purchase a quarter or half of Cumberland Island. "My funds are unequal to so great a property," said Greene.[23]

In mid-May 1785 Marbois had written to Wadsworth that although the French navy was not interested in purchasing the island, it was interested in buying

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21. Greene to Marbois, Apr. 13, 1785, Knollenberg Collection, Yale University.

22. Wadsworth to Greene, May 6, 1785, Wadsworth Collection, Wadsworth Athenaeum; Greene to Wadsworth, May 11, 1785, Knollenberg Collection, Yale University.

23. Greene to Wadsworth, Sept. 7, 1785, Knollenberg Collection, Yale University.

large quantities of timber, provided the price was right.[24] During the next two months Greene wrote to the Marquis de Lafayette to interest the French navy in entering into a contract with him for the timber. He even wrote to Thomas Jefferson in Paris to help him expedite matters. John McQueen, meanwhile, who owned land on Sapelo Island, was also interested in selling live oak to the French. He believed that by combining his interests with those of Greene, they stood a better chance of dealing with France. Greene was agreeable to this proposition and sought to encourage McQueen, who was then headed for France, to gain French interest.[25]

Lafayette was very agreeable to the idea, and through him the French government in August 1785 directed one of their naval vessels, returning from the West Indies, to pick up a small cargo (about 3,000 feet) of live oak from Cumberland Island to be used only as a "sample" or experiment for their shipbuilding. The vessel arrived at Tybee Island, from which it was to go to Cumberland Island, but at Tybee the commander of the vessel learned that there had been no lumber cut at Cumberland. To investigate the truth of the matter, the ship's captain ordered a small boat to Cumberland Island, where they found neither cut lumber nor any one to provide an explanation, so the naval vessel left Tybee Island for home. Thus, through some obvious misunderstanding, an initial attempt by Greene to get the French to buy his timber ended in failure.[26]

Nathanael Pendleton, who was acting as agent for Greene while the latter was settling his affairs in the north and getting his family ready to move southward, viewed this misunderstanding with alarm. He was convinced that McQueen, whose lumber business at Sapelo Island was apparently in a more advanced stage than that of Greene, would profit from this error. Whether this fear was justified or not, Greene tried to make amends, and from Newport, Rhode Island, he wrote to Lafayette, assuring him that as soon as he arrived in Georgia, a shipment of timber would be ready, and he would be on hand to personally supervise it.[27] Greene's reassurance may have satisfied Lafayette, for in December 1785 he wrote to Greene that "In consequence of the proposals you have made some time ago, I am requested by the French Government, to apply

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24. Marbois to Wadsworth, May 15, 1785, Miscellaneous Manuscripts (Barbe-Marbois), The New-York Historical Society, New York.

25. McQueen to Greene, May 23, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Duke University; Greene to Jefferson, June 11, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Yale University.

26. Pendleton to Greene, Sept. 25, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Duke University; Lafayette to Greene, Dec. 3, 1785, Nathanael Greene Papers, Library of Congress.

27. Pendleton to Greene, Sept. 25, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Duke University; Thayer, *Nathanael Greene*, p. 443.

to you for an assortment of thousands Cubic feet of green Oak . . . cut in your Cumberland Island, and also for some pieces of red Cedar Wood."[28]

The French navy was a good outlet for Greene's timber. While he was working this market, he was also seeking other outlets. Although his attempts to acquire a loan from the Dutch firm of Wilhem and Van Aettink fell through, that firm indicated they might be interested in a contract for live oak. Greene answered that he would be glad to furnish them with the timber, but he died before receiving a reply.[29]

While Greene was attempting to make his investment in Cumberland Island profitable, his earlier debts still hung precariously over him. Hopes of interesting friends like Wadsworth and Seagrove to invest in the island were growing dim. In the meantime, there were some signs of hope in his financial difficulties. By September 1785 Greene had gotten Burnett, one of the sellers of Cumberland Island, to surrender his share of the mortgage, but Banks, the other seller, still remained to deal with.[30] Greene's logging activities were not doing well. He had a small labor force on the island, but when the French had sought lumber in August 1785 there was no one on the island to speak with authority. Greene's attempts to get Loyalists to settle on the Island had also fallen through.

On the eve of Greene's untimely death, Cumberland Island supported only twenty families, not many more than before the Revolution. It is interesting to speculate on whether Greene's plan to establish a village at the southern end of the island would have materialized if he had lived.

The question also arises whether Greene had any serious intentions of moving his family to the island as permanent residents. Some of his correspondence in 1785 refers to this possibility, and it is likely that those were his intentions, but there is no reason to support the thesis held by several writers that he had already made definite plans for building a Dungeness where he could live with his family. Although he spoke of taking his family to the island to spend the summer of 1786--their first trip to the island--and some form of adequate shelter would have been essential, his letters do not reveal any plans for the construction of a dwelling comparable to what finally did appear in the 19th century. The realization of a Dungeness came several years later, and was not his plan but that of his wife and her second husband.

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28. Lafayette noted that "green oak" was the French for "live oak." Lafayette to Greene, Dec. 29, 1785, Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

29. Thayer, *Nathanael Greene*, p. 444.

30. Greene to Carrington, Sept. 29, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Yale University.

C. The Catherine Greene Miller Period (1786-1814)

General Greene died of sunstroke on June 19, 1786, shortly after he and his family had made their home at Mulberry Grove. Nine months before he died, he made out his last will and testament. It was a brief document insofar as wills go, in which he bequeathed all his real and personal property to his wife Catherine Greene and children on an equal basis. He appointed his wife and two close friends--Jeremiah Wadsworth of Connecticut and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina--executors of his estate.[31]

Greene had five children by Catherine: George Washington Greene was the eldest, followed by Martha Washington Greene, Cornelia Lotte Greene, Nathanael Ray Greene, and Louisa Catherine Greene. George drowned in the Savannah River in 1793. For such a large family Greene needed a tutor, and because of the high regard he had for his children's education, this tutor had to be of the highest caliber. In 1785, while making preparations for moving his family to Mulberry Grove, he sought Wadsworth's help and that of others in finding a good tutor. "My Children," said Greene to Wadsworth, "are suffering so much for want of a good Tutor that I must beg you to engage me one on the best terms you can." This tutor would have to accompany Greene and his family to Mulberry Grove, where he would have at his disposal a good library already put together by Greene. He would have to live with the Greenes and have charge of the children, with no other duties required. The person finally meeting these qualifications was Phineas Miller, a graduate of Yale College and a resident of New Haven, Connecticut.[32]

Miller was recommended to Greene by Doctor Stiles, president of Yale College. One person who visited the Greenes soon after they had moved to Mulberry Grove described Miller as "a young gentleman from Connecticut, of amiable qualities, & a mathematical genius equal to any in the United States. . . ."[33] Miller proved to be more than anyone expected.

Changes were taking place on the Georgia mainland and in areas adjoining Cumberland Island. It was during 1787-88 that the town of St. Marys was founded by residents of Cumberland Island. According to one account, the area making up the town, 1,620 acres, was purchased from Jacob Weed of Cumberland Island. Originally it was called St. Patrick, but in 1792 the name was changed

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31. Copy of Greene's Will executed in Newport, R.I., Oct. 7, 1785, Greene Manuscripts, Yale University.

32. Greene to Wadsworth, Sept. 13, 1785, and Greene to Wadsworth, Oct. 1, 1785, Knollenberg Collection, Yale University.

33. Briggs to Thomas, Nov. 23, 1785, Catherine Miller Manuscripts (File II), Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Ga.

to St. Marys. Each of the subscribers agreed to erect within six months a house of logs, frame, or brick on each of his four squares of four acres.[34]

Cumberland Island remained relatively uninhabited. Some of the more frequently mentioned residents of the island at this time were John H. McIntosh (descendant of General George McIntosh), who owned land adjoining one of Greene's tracts, Esther Lynch (heir of Thomas Lynch), Jacob Weed, Alen Thomas, Robert and Thomas Stafford, James Vincent, William McIntosh, Samuel Webster, Alexander Sample, John Houston, Henry Osborne, and the Redays. These residents were on lands that had originally been granted by the Georgia colony in the 1760s. There was also a U.S. Marine detachment on the island, probably at the southern end. Patrick mentions this unit in his well-documented work.[35]

At the time General Greene died, little had been accomplished to satisfy his heavy debts; his family was left to inherit them. If hopes were entertained for an improved rice crop at Mulberry Grove, they were soon dashed. The crops were very disappointing in 1787 owing largely to the scarcity of water. Rutledge believed that the total crop obtained would not amount to 400 bushels.[36] Both Wadsworth and Rutledge, as executors of the Greene estate, made strong efforts to sell various properties in New Jersey, South Carolina, Georgia, and New England. Cumberland Island did not escape their attention either. Wadsworth had entertained hopes of selling the island to England, France, or Spain, but by the end of 1788, he had given up this prospect.[37]

Vandalism and other depredations continued on Cumberland Island after Greene's death. While he was alive, his frequent visits to the area usually kept these incidents in check, but without him, these acts increased. In June 1788 Catherine Greene was compelled to give James Seagrove and Jacob Weed, the latter a resident of the island, a Power of Attorney in order to maintain some semblance of order on the land. "Trespasses and other injuries and wrongs have been done by intruders" read this legal instrument. Even this added precaution did not prevent trespassers from illegally utilizing her property. As late as March 1796 they discovered ten or twelve "Brigand Negroes . . . who

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34. Frederick D. Nichols, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1957), p. 15; George Hatcher, ed., *Georgia Rivers: Articles from the Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1962), p. 39; Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border 1810-1815* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1954), p. 42.

35. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, p. 44.

36. Littlefield to Wadsworth, Nov. 26, 1787, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

37. Wadsworth to Rutledge, Apr. 15, 1787, Greene Manuscripts, Connecticut Historical Society; Wadsworth to Rutledge, May 25, 1788, Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

appear to be part of those people employed by the Spaniards on St. Domingo against the French republicans; they are part of the villainous murderers at Port Dauphin."[38]

While Phineas Miller had originally been hired to tutor Greene's children, he soon found himself involved in the financial affairs of the family, and in this respect he was extremely competent. By 1788 he was aiding Wadsworth and Rutledge in their attempts to straighten out Greene's financial affairs. He visited Cumberland Island frequently, and in 1788 he provided Rutledge with the necessary information that was to form the basis of an advertisment of sale.[39]

In writing to Wadsworth, Catherine Greene was hopeful that "we shall do very well" if Cumberland Island was sold and if her appeal for aid to the U.S. Congress was heard. Meanwhile, Rutledge had hopes that with his connections Robert Morris might come up with someone interested in purchasing the island.[40] It is clear from all this activity that in the years following General Greene's death a strong attempt was made to sell this land. It is also evident from the records that during these years little if anything was being done to exploit the timber business of the area.

As Phineas Miller assumed a greater role in the financial affairs of the Greenes, he was soon drawn into the intimacy of the family. In 1796 he married Catherine Greene, and while at Mulberry Grove the well-known partnership of Phineas Miller and Eli Whitney (inventor of the cotton gin) was formed. Nothing in the records indicates a desire to sell Cumberland Island during this period. Instead, in January 1798 Mulberry Grove was put up for sale. Meanwhile, the Miller family looked forward to the time that it would live on Cumberland Island.[41]

Letters written by Miller to his partner Whitney as late as January 1799 are addressed from Mulberry Grove, which is a good indication that the Millers had as yet to move to the island, although they might have vacationed there

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38. Power of Attorney by Catherine Greene to James Seagrove and Jacob Weed, Liber AB, pp. 5-6, County Clerk's Office, Camden County, Woodbine, Ga.; *Georgia Gazette*, Mar. 24, 1796, p. 1, col. 3, microfilm, Johns Hopkins University.

39. Miller to Rutledge, Nov. 29, 1788, typewritten MS, Coastal Georgia Historical Society.

40. Catherine Greene to Wadsworth, Dec. 24, 1788, Knollenberg Collection, Yale University; Rutledge to Catherine Greene, Jan. 8, 1789, Greene Manuscripts, Yale University.

41. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Jan. 4, 1798, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

from time to time.[42] However, on April 29, 1799, in a letter written from Mulberry Grove, Miller announced that "We are making preparations to go down to Cumberland Island where we hope to [regain] again our infeebled health."[43] Shortly after this, the Millers moved permanently to Cumberland Island to start a new life.

By 1802 some signs of development were evident on the island. Although residents were still relatively few, a network of roads and cotton fields was already visible. It was apparent that the famed sea island cotton was taking hold in coastal Georgia. Interestingly enough, an excellent map of 1802 reveals the existence of a sizeable dam, possibly constructed to improve the irrigation of a cotton field north of Plum Orchard in an area that might have been the Rayfield Plantation, a Miller property. A survey made at this time noted that both Great and Little Cumberland islands consisted of 14,398 acres exclusive of marshlands.[44]

D. Dungeness (1799-1814)

To this writer's knowledge, there are no references concerning the house lived in by the Millers during the first years of their residence on Cumberland Island. We are therefore at a loss to determine with some assurance what their house looked like, when it was built, or who designed it. We do know, however, that whatever house they lived in was referred to as Dungeness--the name of a house or area in the earlier history of the island.

Later writers of this period have concluded that the Dungeness lived in by Catherine Greene Miller was designed by General Greene himself, but there is no basis in fact for this conclusion. In his extensive papers, General Greene never once referred to such a plan. Nor did he ever mention any structure, either his own or one belonging to someone else, in which he might have lived during his many trips to the island. We cannot conclude, either, that any permanent or sizeable structure was constructed by his heirs soon after his death. The records are clear that his wife could not have anticipated such a residence under her existing financial situation, and anticipation of selling the island in these years precluded any proposal to construct such a residence. If a house was planned for the Miller family, it had to be after Catherine's marriage to Phineas. It was then that Phineas assumed a growing interest in the island. It was therefore between the year of their marriage, 1796, and 1799, when the family moved permanently to the island, that a home

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42. Eli Whitney Collection, *passim*, Yale University.

43. Miller to Whitney, Apr. 29, 1799, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

44. Map of Cumberland Island, drawn by John McKinnon, Feb. 5, 1802, original in the Georgia Historical Society. The author is grateful to Mr. John E. Ehrenhard, Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, for a copy of this map (Illustration 6, p. 80).

Illustration 6.

Map of Cumberland Island drawn by John McKinnon, Feb. 5, 1802.



JOLLYS RIVER
Tyger Islands
Dº purchased from T. Mc. Mr. Thomas
g. Littlefield occupied by T. Mc. overseer
h. occupied & planted by Mrs Dilworth
i. owned by Thomas Mc Call Esqr.
K. Dº by John T. Ward Esqr.
l. purchased by Doctr. Kallock
m. own'd by John H. Mc Intosh Esqr.
n. Suttles ____ o Springs
p. The Spring tract built upon and occupied by John C. Nightingale Esqr.
Horse Landing Creek
Thos. Mc Call Esqr. grant for 500 - Resurvey 548
Jnº T. Ward Esqr. Dº 200 Dº 545
Jnº H. Mc Intosh Esqr. Dº 450 Dº 530
Suttles grand McKay, lines not to be found 60
a. Fort St. Andrew, with the Reserve 100
b. Fort William, with Dº 200
Acres 1973
State of Georgia
Cotton Field
Large Fresh pond
Willow Pond
New Road to the Orchard
Nº 11
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Scale of Two Miles or Twenty Chains to an Inch

COPY 1977

was built or was in the process of being built. In 1798 Ray Sands, a relative of Catherine from Rhode Island who later managed much of her affairs, particularly after Phineas died in 1803, moved to the island.[45] Could it be that Sands was in charge of construction of the new house?

It may be of interest to note that while the January 1800 map showing the division of land between General Greene's heirs and the heirs of Thomas Lynch depicts structures belonging to landowners adjacent to Greene and Lynch, there are no structures said to belong to Greene or his heirs. This is especially true of Division No. 1 on the map, where Dungeness was ultimately located. While Thomas Stafford's house is depicted in this division, no other structures are shown.[46]

The mansion known as Dungeness was said to have been completed around 1803, but even after this year the house contained unfinished rooms. Tradition has maintained that there was a superstition in the family that if the house was ever completed some misfortune would befall it.

The first known description of Dungeness was provided in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1878 when the mansion was in ruins. This description says that

> The house was built of concrete, or coquina, as the Spaniards called it, or tabby, as the natives less elegantly name it. . . . The house stood on an artifical mound, was four stories high, and contained forty rooms. The exterior was stuccoed above the first story, the facade was adorned with six stone pilasters rising to the eaves, and the entrance, faced with hewn granite, was approached by a flight of massive steps, which are now gone. The four towering chimneys suggest the comfort and good cheer for which Dungeness was celebrated when Mr. and Mrs. Miller there dispensed a liberal hospitality. . . . The place is so full of sentiment, of old-world romance and beauty, that one can hardly believe that what he is gazing on can be in the United States. Exotic palms, gray olive-trees, magnolias and acacias and oleanders and china-trees, interweave their foliage in luxuriant and neglected growth, and blend the fragrance of their massy clusters of flowers with the flowers which still thrive in the neglected garden, while the venerable oak woods close the place in, and increase the almost oppressive seclusion of old Dungeness.[47]

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45. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Apr. 6, 1798, and Mar. 5, 1806, cited in Walter Charlton Hartridge's introduction to Robert Mackay, *The Letters of Robert Mackay to His Wife: Written from Ports in America and England, 1795-1816* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1949), p. 292n.

46. Composite map showing division of lands between heirs of Nathanael Greene and Thomas Lynch, January 1800, in *Camden County Field Notes, 1796-1816*, pp. 88-94, 96-102.

47. "The Sea Islands," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 57, no. 342 (1878): 849.

The granite steps mentioned in the description were probably the ones that Catherine Miller added sometime after 1811. The article contains an excellent illustration of the ruins in 1878.[48] The six pilasters running the full height of the structure are clearly visible, as are the shapes of the chimneys.

Frederick Albion Ober left a more complete description of this structure, which in general agrees with that in *Harper's*. When he wrote his article, in 1880, Dungeness was in ruins. Since the original structure was generally completed about eighty years before this description was written, care must be taken in accepting it as the final word. Moreover, since the structure was last lived in about 1870, ten years before the article was written and before it became a total ruin, one must realize that within seventy years a structure of this size would have undergone several internal and external changes.

Ober noted, perhaps with some exaggeration, that Dungeness was the most elegant residence on the coast. Built upon shell mounds, the result of centuries of accumulation by Creek Indians, the house is described by Ober at some length:

> Upon this base [i.e., shell mounds] raised above the general level of the island, its foundations were laid. It was four stories in height above the basement, and from celler-store to eaves was forty-five feet. There were four chimneys and sixteen fireplaces, and twenty rooms above the first floor. The walls at the base were six feet in thickness, and above the ground four feet. They were composed of the material known as "tabby," a mixture of shells, lime and broken stone or gravel with water; which mass, being pressed in a mould of boards becomes when dry as hard and durable as rock. The walls are now as solid as stone itself. The second story above the terrace contained the principal rooms: the room in the south-east corner was the drawing-room in the time of the Shaws and the Nightingales. The room immediately back of the drawing-room, in the north-east corner, was the dining-room: a wide hall ran through the centre, upon the opposite side of which were two rooms, used respectively as school- and sewing-room. Above these apartments, in the third story, were the chambers. That directly above the drawing-room is the most interesting of all, for it was occupied by General Harry Lee, who was confined there by sickness, and there died. The interior of the house corresponded with its exterior in beauty of finish and magnificence of decoration and appointments.

Ober's description of the gardens was equally imposing and detailed:

> Enclosed by a high wall of masonry (the "tabby" just described) was a tract of twelve acres devoted to the cultivation of flowers and tropical fruits. This wall, now broken down in places and over-grown with ivy- and trumpet-vines, yet divides the garden from the larger fields once devoted to cotton and cane. The gardner's house was next the

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48. *Ibid.* (Illustration 7, p. 86).

mansion, and joined to it by this high wall. The garden lay to the south, reaching the marsh in successive terraces. On and about the semicircular terrace immediately around the house were planted crape-myrtle, clove trees and sago-palms: some yet remain to indicate what an Eden-like retreat was this garden of spices and bloom half a century ago. The first broad terrace, which ran the entire length of the garden-wall east and west, was divided by an avenue of olives, which separated in front of the house, leaving a space in which were two noble magnolias. A broad walk ran from the house to the lower garden, which was divided from the other by a thick-set hedge of mock-orange: in this garden was another walk bordered by olives. This space was entirely devoted to flowers: on each side was a grove of orange trees, and in the lower garden were the fig, India-rubber and date-palm, the golden date of Africa. Of trees there were the camphor tree, coffee, Portuguese laurel, "tree of Paradise," crape-myrtle, guava, lime, orange, citron, pomegranate, sago-palm and many others whose home is in the tropics. The delicious climate of this island, several degrees warmer than that of the main land in the same latitude, enabled the proprietors of this insular Paradise to grow nearly all the fruits of the torrid zone.[49]

This description of the house and gardens is then followed by a lengthy and detailed description of areas surrounding the gardens, such as marshes, avenues, and olive groves imported from Italy and France.

Before he wrote his famous article, Ober made three trips to Dungeness during a time when vactioners, mostly from the north, were coming to Florida. From Fernandina Beach on Amelia Island, which was then a well-known resort, boats were chartered for Cumberland Island, and people were taken by guides to the ruins of Dungeness. A trip to the home of the heirs of the Revolutionary War hero was advertised as an absolute "must."

Ober's observations of the ruins were obviously critical; he must have taken copious notes. Moreover, his description of the island, interlaced with numerous anecdotes, goes beyond the realm of Dungeness. This suggests that he must have done research beyond on-the-spot observations. He even seems to know what each room was used for. One must conclude that he either imagined much of this or that he knew people who had been intimate with the Miller family. Although the first is not impossible, it is more likely that Ober relied on family friends for much of his basic information. At the time he wrote his article there were several people, including former slaves, who had been associated with Dungeness in one capacity or another. Finally, his descriptions of Dungeness and the island are far too detailed and carefully woven to have been made up. The historian must therefore conclude that, aside from his faulty history concerning the circumstances under which General Greene purchased his land on the island and the family established itself there, his descriptions of the island and Dungeness are generally reliable.

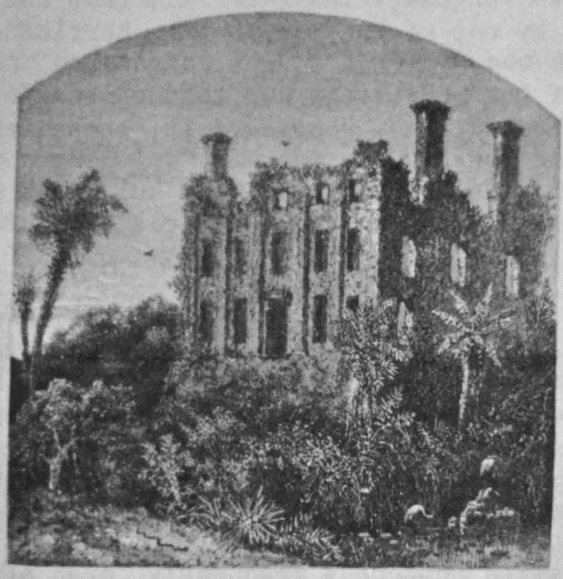
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49. Ober, "Dungeness," pp. 13-15.

Illustration 7.

Dungeness in the Catherine Greene Miller Period.

From *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 57, no. 342 (1878).



DUNGENESS, CUMBERLAND ISLAND.

half a mile from the sea, and called it Dungeness, after a place he had inherited in the old country. The house was built of concrete, or coquina, as the Spaniards called it, or tabby, as the natives less elegantly name it. It is in quite common use in that region, and is composed of lime, sand, and oyster-shells. It hardens by exposure, and is almost as durable as brick. The house stood on an artificial mound, was four stories high, and contained forty rooms. The exterior was stuccoed above the first story, the façade was adorned with six stone pilasters rising to the eaves, and the entrance, faced with hewn granite, was approached by a flight of massive steps, which are now gone. The four towering chimneys suggest the comfort and good cheer for which Dungeness was celebrated when Mr. and Mrs. Miller there dispensed a liberal hospitality. Until within a few years the mansion preserved something of its former elegance; but during the war, when abandoned to the negroes, it was set on fire, and the interior was completely burned. The roofless walls, crumbling and overgrown with ivy, alone remain a majestic ruin, the central object of a picturesque scene of wild wood and pathetic solitude. The place is so full of sentiment, of old-world romance and beauty, that one can hardly believe that what he is gazing on can be in the United States. Exotic palms, gray olive-trees, magnolias and acacias and oleanders and china-trees, interweave their foliage in luxuriant and neglected growth, and blend the fragrance of their massy clusters of flowers with the flowers which still thrive in the neglected garden, while the venerable oak woods close the place in, and increase the almost oppressive seclusion of old Dungeness. In the still air of mid-day the humming-bird darts like a fairy from flower to flower, the murmur of innumerable bees and the drone of the locust blend with the rustle of the tree-tops, and from hour to hour, from day to day, from year to year, the all-pervasive moan of the sea steals up from the shore like the tread of the innumerable army which is evermore marching to the grave.

One relevant point should be made at this time. In his description of the gardens Ober points out that the gardener's house was next to the mansion and joined to it by a high wall. Is it possible that this is the "tabby house," the only existing structure of the Greene-Miller period? Archeological studies undertaken by Mr. John Ehrenhard have revealed the remmnants of a wall between the tabby house and the ruins of the existing mansion.[50]

A frequent visitor to Dungeness noted in 1813 that the roof of the house, which had been blown off by one of the many severe hurricanes suffered by the island, was copper.[51] In one of her frequent letters to Eli Whitney, Catherine Miller spoke of her sufferings due to the dreadful hurricane.[52] "The roof of my house blew off--and can you believe it, those large timbers went from the south side of the house quite over it, and lodged two to three hundred feet on the north side." Almost all the buildings in the area were blown down. She estimated her damage to be at least $10,000, but fortunately no lives were lost.[53]

The following year the same visitor mentioned earlier noted that Dungeness had many beautiful native plants in its gardens. This person also stated that Dungeness was "an elegant house, 4 stories high [made of] (Hispanic, Tapia, a mudwall,--or calcareous cement)--and beautifully situated on a rising ground. A fine garden adorns the front. The prospect is extensive and delightful."[54] This brief description is perhaps the only contemporary account of Dungeness in existence that corroborates most of what Ober had observed.

Eli Whitney, who visited Dungeness frequently, even after the death of his partner, found it lacking the elegance of Mulberry Grove, but nevertheless handsome, roomy, and stoutly built of the local concrete (tabby).[55]

It is true that Dungeness was never really finished in 1803, the date by which the structure was purportedly largely completed, but the reason that Ober has given for this delay is probably not true. There is more reason to

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50. John E. Ehrenhard, "Cumberland Island National Seashore: Assessment of Archeological and Historical Resources" (Tallahassee, Fla.: NPS [Southeast Archeological Center], 1976), p. 71.

51. Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Sept. 15, 1813, in Darlington, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae*, p. 112.

52. Catherine Miller to Whitney, Oct. 16, 1813, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

53. Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Feb. 26, 1814, in Darlington, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae*, p. 123.

54. Baldwin to Darlington, May 28, 1817, in *ibid.*, pp. 230-31.

55. Elswyth Thane, *The Fighting Quaker: Nathanael Greene* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972), pp. 285-86.

suspect that lack of funds was the cause. In 1811 Catherine was convinced that the house had to be finished. She wrote Whitney, in whom she had undying faith, that she wished he was at Dungeness where she could consult with him about finishing the house. Whitney did not get to Dungeness as Catherine had hoped, but two months later she went ahead with her plans. She had made up her mind that a Mr. How was to do the work:

> Mr. How, who I intend shall finish my House, has given me his Formes [i.e., plans] for doing it in the most complete manner. 4000 .. 500 Dollars [$4,500]--including Stone Steps is what he thought it might cost but [he] observes it might be done for less money--but [he] gives me good reasons why it ought to be so expensively finished.[56]

Whether the house was completed at this time to Catherine's satisfaction is questionable since her succeeding correspondence to Whitney and others makes no mention of it. The financial problems she was faced with in settling the estates of her two husbands, and lawsuits brought against her by creditors, would probably have interfered with such plans. She might well have to wait, as she once said, for her heirs to finish it.[57] Nevertheless, it may well be that the work was accomplished at this time, because the stone steps Catherine intended to put on the house do appear in the description provided in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Two years later a hurricane caused considerable damage to the house, which had to be repaired if it was to be made liveable. One would also suppose that the house could have been completed at the time that repairs were underway.

In its day Dungeness must have been a substantial structure equal to the best homes of Georgia. It had to satisfy the sophistication that Catherine Greene Miller had been used to and that was reflected in her life in Rhode Island and later at Mulberry Grove. One could not expect anything less at Dungeness, a home where she could entertain in the opulent and lavish style she preferred.

Early records do not mention the architect of Dungeness, but there is a strong probability that Phineas Miller, a highly intelligent person well versed in mathematics and knowledgable in other areas, may have had much to do with the design. Dr. William Baldwin, who left us a brief description of Dungeness and who knew Catherine and her daughter Louisa well, said that the structure "was erected . . . by a Mr. Phineas Miller, who married the widow [of General Greene]."[58] There is substantial evidence to prove that during this period many of the more industrious plantation owners of Georgia designed

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56. Miller to Whitney, Apr. 3, 1811; Miller to Whitney, May 17, 1811; and Miller to Whitney, June 20, 1811, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

57. Miller to Whitney, May 17, 1811, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

58. Baldwin to Darlington, May 28, 1817, in Darlington, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae*, pp. 230-31.

their own homes, including their gardens. James Habersham, who appears to have owned land at one time on Cumberland Island, describes how he designed his gardens in Savannah. He said that "I laid out a spot of ground of about 7 or 8 Acres at some Expense, under the direction of an English Gardner, who I accidentally met with, and appears to be no mean Artist in that way."[59]

Habersham's plan of his house includes a center hall with end chimneys typical of the Georgian period in the South. Another house, also built by Habersham in 1804, is representative of this same scheme, but here, as a concession to the climate, the house is raised on a high basement story. Frederick Nichols compares this arrangement with Dungeness, which was also built on high ground.[60]

Most plantation houses in this period were designed by their owners, a few of whom called themselves architects. Thomas Spalding and James Hamilton Couper, well known to Catherine and Phineas Miller, were among these. There were also many nameless master masons or carpenter/architects, exceptionally skilled, who worked directly with their clients. Robert Mackay, a Savannah merchant also well known to the Millers, highly extolled the new house designed by Thomas Spalding, owner of a plantation on Sapelo Island.[61]

E. Life at Dungeness

Life at Dungeness during Catherine Miller's lifetime belied the fact that the family was isolated on an island. Catherine found every possible opportunity to have guests, many of them from the north, enjoy the warm climate and the lavish hospitality of their hostess.

There were weddings and births as well as deaths on the island. On April 22, 1802, Cornelia Lotte Greene married Peyton Skipwith, a member of a wealthy Virginia family, but she continued to live on the island.[62] The following year, after a brief career as a member of the Georgia Legislature from Camden County and then as a justice of the Inferior Court of Camden County, Phineas Miller died of lockjaw on December 7, 1803.[63]

In 1806 John Clark Nightingale, who had been married to Martha Washington Greene since 1795, died on Cumberland Island of a bilious fever. Four years

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59. Nichols, *Early Architecture of Georgia*, pp. 36-37.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

61. Mackay to wife, Apr. 2, 1810, *Letters*, p. 93.

62. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Apr. 30, 1802, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

63. Agreement between Eli Whitney and Catherine Miller, May 11, 1804, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

later Martha married Dr. Henry Edmund Turner and left the island.[64] Peyton Skipwith, meanwhile, died in 1808 of yellow fever, and two years later Cornelia married her cousin, Edward Brinley Littlefield, nine years younger than she, after an engagement and ensuing scandal.[65]

Guests at Dungeness always praised the hospitality of Catherine Miller, who carried on a tradition long established in Rhode Island and at Mulberry Grove. She was charming, gracious, and brilliant. Such traits in a woman of her nature were frequently misunderstood, and it is unfortunate that she was frequently the subject of vile gossip. Those who really knew her well, however, found her sincere and honest.

There are several collections of letters, some published, that provide an excellent account of the social life at Dungeness. These include the Eli Whitney Collection, the letters of Dr. William Baldwin, the letters of Dr. Daniel Turner, and finally the letters of Robert Mackay to his wife.

Dr. Baldwin, a naval physician and botanist stationed in St. Marys between 1812 and 1817, visited Cumberland Island and Dungeness frequently. Baldwin, whose sickly daughter had convalesced at Dungeness, had this comment to make of Mrs. Miller long after her death:

> For myself, I would tread lightly, and with solemnity upon the grave of Mrs. Miller. She was to me like a mother, when I first arrived--sick and a stranger, in a land of strangers.[66]

Baldwin's letters are more important for their references to plants and flowers on the island than for their references to people, but more will be said about his experiences later.

While Baldwin's social contacts were largely with Louisa Greene, who had a common interest in botany, Dr. Daniel Turner had more frequent contacts with Catherine Miller. Turner was a doctor from Rhode Island in his early twenties who was just starting his practice. His parents had at one time befriended Catherine Greene in an hour of need, and by taking young Daniel under her wings Catherine felt she would be repaying them. Turner's letters to his parents and brothers are replete with accounts concerning the people and

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64. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, Sept. 17, 1806, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

65. "We have had a most extraordinary report here for a few days from St. Mary's of Mrs. Skipwiths making a runaway match with Ned Littlefield, her cousin, a lad scarcely 22 years of age. I do not credit the thing myself--& really hope it is untrue--but there is no accounting for a woman's whims." Mackay to wife, June 4, 1810, *Letters*, pp. 112-13.

66. Baldwin to Darlington, May 28, 1817, in Darlington, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae*, pp. 230-31.

social conditions around St. Marys where he had his practice. Almost all his letters contain references to Catherine Miller or some member of her family. Catherine immediately took him under her care and, with her usual graciousness and hospitality, won over the young doctor.

Turner's work was largely concerned with the treatment of slaves, although as his practice and reputation widened, he eventually treated many whites. Although Mrs. Miller had Dr. Lemmuel Kollock of Savannah, a close friend, as her physician, Turner often administered to her needs as well as to those of her family. Dr. Turner usually worked on a contract basis as was the practice in those days. He entered into contracts with plantation owners to attend their slaves at a stated price per head for the year. At one point early in his practice planters paid him from $1,500 to $2,000 a year to administer to their slaves.[67]

As a New Englander used to all the refinements of that part of the country, Turner found life at St. Marys extremely dull and lacking in many of the normal conveniences. He complained of a scarcity of provisions. Fish and salt beef and pork were articles on which the people of St. Marys existed, and these were frequently difficult to obtain. Many of the inhabitants of the area were seamen, small merchants, and smugglers. To be taken in by Mrs. Miller as a member of her family and treated as one of her own meant a great deal to Turner under these conditions.

Catherine did everything to make Turner comfortable. Soon after his arrival at St. Marys she made her canoe available to him (a boat with ten oarsmen, which Turner thought was very large). Peyton Skipwith, Catherine's son-in-law, loaned him a mule on which to make his rounds of the sick. Turner found the mule ideal for travel--"They require much less keeping than a horse."[68]

Only two months after he had established himself in St. Marys, Turner's social life and business began to brighten, thanks to Catherine. Writing from Cumberland Island on one of his frequent visits there, he said, "I am treated by Mrs. Miller & family with the utmost friendship, in fact as a branch of it. They make me perfectly at home when with them, which is perhaps twice a month."[69] Another time he wrote: "I receive the most flattering attentions from Mrs. Miller & every branch of her family." The following extract from the same letter is quoted because of the description it provides:

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67. Turner to parents, Mar. 25, 1805, Daniel Turner Papers, Library of Congress, microfilm, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

68. Turner to parents, Feb. 1, 1805, Turner Papers, Library of Congress. In one of his trips to Savannah, this canoe carried as many as twenty people, including the oarsmen. *Ibid.*

69. Turner to parents, Mar. 25, 1805, Turner Papers, Library of Congress.

she [Mrs. Miller] wished me to say to my dear parents . . . she thought me a very clever fellow. She very agreeably makes her house home to me and if I find myself unwell or low spirited & at leisure, I have orders from her to come immediately to Dungeness--the name of her place, there to stay as long as I please & do as I please. Nat[hanael Greene, Jr., sends] his boat for me every two weeks. Miss Louisa Miss Paine & Miss Aitkinson [the latter two being nieces] are agreeable charming girls & I believe much my friends. Mr. Nightingale lives at a place he calls the springs on the Island about 2 Miles from Mrs. Millers is pleasantly situated. he & his wife are everything friendly to me. He is a sociable gentlemanly fellow & she as amiable as any of the family. . . . Mr. Ray Sands from B.T. also superintends the business of Mrs. Miller, settles the estate of Genl. Greene & Mrs. Miller, is very active & capable--has much influence & exerts it in my favour. . . .

These I mention as the family of Mrs. Miller, or attached to it. Maj. Seagrove, Maj. King & many others too numerous to mention are everything I could expect, or wish them to be.[70]

Turner's relations with the Millers were not always smooth. He accused a Mr. Clark, who lived on the island, of being jealous of him and attempting to belittle his work. According to Turner, Clark had suggested to Mrs. Miller that she replace Turner with another physician who could care for her slaves and also superintend her plantation. This would have meant a great loss to Turner. Needless to say, Catherine rejected such a proposal, and in Turner's own words she "observed to me that she should feel it a pleasure & her duty to be serviceable to me as far as was in her power.[71]

A year after arriving at St. Marys, Turner was still speaking of the Millers with high praise. "My friends have not decreased, & are everything to me I could wish. Nath. Greene is particularly attentive to me & all his family." He also felt constrained to mention in his letter that "Mrs. Miller has been extremely ill, but is now much better."[72] Catherine continued in poor health, and Turner suggested that she go to Savannah for two or three months because the change might do her good. She consented on condition that Turner accompany her. This he felt obliged to do, returning after three days there. Although he left her in the hands of Dr. Kollock, Turner felt that she "will never enjoy health again."[73]

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70. Turner to parents, Apr. 20, 1805, *ibid.*

71. Turner to parents, June 8, 1805, *ibid.*

72. Turner to brothers, Feb. 28, 1806, *ibid.*

73. Turner to parents, Mar. 22, 1806; Mar. 23, 1806; and Apr. 6, 1806, *ibid.*

Life on Cumberland Island also had its serious moments. Turner recounts the death of John C. Nightingale in November 1806, and his role in ministering to him:

> On the Monday of the week he died I was under the necessity of visiting a gentlemen sick at Mrs. Millers & as usual . . . when on the Island of Cumberland I made it a point to see my friend Nightingale. I rode up on Monday & finding him in bed with a bellious fever concluded to remain the night with him--which I did--I Prescribed for him & assured him thro the night--next day he was apparently much better--& my business in town requiring my attention I left him fully persuaded he would mend but requested him to send his boat for me on Friday if he continued sick as I then should probably be at liberty to visit him again. Nath. R. Greene the only gentlemen at the time on that end of Cumberland well enough to be with him stayed at his house night & day. The young ladies of Mrs. Millers family were daily with him. On Wednesday he found himself growing more unwell & sent up the island to his & my friend Dr. Nich. S. Bayard the gentleman that formerly practiced in this town & who now resides on Cumb.[erland] about 6 miles from Night.[ingale] as a planter. He directly attended his summons & remained with him until Thursday at sun set--then left him not apprehending danger. Mr. N[ightingale] on Thursday afternoon requested Nath. Greene to take a boat & hands & come for me. He did & at 9 o'clock that night I arrived at his house & found that he had expired 15 or 20 minutes before my arrival. There was no appearances by which I could form a positive judgment respecting the immediate cause of death. The attendants observed no spasm. . . .[74]

In a follow-up letter commenting on the melancholy news of the death of his friend Nightingale, Turner said that he died "very much lamented." "He was to me a warm friend & has been very serviceable." Turner dreaded the consequences of his death on his wife "in her weak & delicate situation." "Poor woman. She was a most affectionate wife & mother & will feel her loss very seriously."[75] Turner found that Martha had still not gotten over her husband's death eight months later. She was constantly sick and saw no one except Turner. "When I go to Dungeness [she] takes me by the hand, but her tears prevents her saying much."[76]

Catherine's health continued to be erratic. In February 1807 Turner wrote from the island that he was "now at Mrs. Miller attending her very sick. I was called over to her last night." He diagnosed her complaints as "chiefly of the nervous kind--A general spasmodic affliction of the whole system but

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74. Turner to parents, Nov. 21, 1806, *ibid.*

75. Turner to parents, Oct. 1, 1806, *ibid.*

76. Turner to parents, May 23, 1807, *ibid.*

in no immediate danger."[77] During the year, Turner continued to minister to the medical needs of the Miller family and its slaves. On one of his trips to the island he found Catherine "much as she has been since I knew [her], very hysterical."[78]

In between his many visits to the island, made either for professional or social reasons, Turner found time to court and then marry Isabella King of Savannah on July 20, 1807. His best man at the wedding was Nathanael Ray Greene, and the bride's maid of honor was Louisa Greene. With thirty guests attending the wedding ceremony, one can well surmise how many were Greenes.[79]

Robert Mackay's relations with the Millers were less intimate than Dr. Turner's, but from his letters one learns much about the Millers and the society of that period. Mackay had been doing business in the St. Marys area before the Millers moved to Cumberland Island. He owned a large ship, and one of his activities was the smuggling of slaves into Georgia. He often spoke of the villainous characters he came in contact with and the sand fleas and mosquitos infesting the place.

Although at first his business prevented him from visiting Cumberland Island, in later years his contacts with the Millers became more frequent, especially since the Millers were helping him in his business. As early as 1801 we learn from Mackay that he had been to visit the Nightingales at "Plumb-Orchard," but by March of the same year he admitted that he had only been to Dungeness once.[80]

As the years went by, however, his visits to Cumberland Island increased so that by 1810 he was reporting that he had been to the island "where the good folks at Dungeness recd. me [in] the usual hospitality, Cornelia was at her own plantation, but came home the next morning to breakfast . . . accompanied by *Brother Ray*. . . ." In this same letter he noted that he had promised to make Dungeness his home "while in this part of the world." Because his boat was being used in his business, however, he was unable to do so.[81] While lack of a boat might have been his original excuse, he later found that his business was occupying so much of his time on Amelia Island that he could not make Dungeness his headquarters. Nevertheless, in one of his letters he stated the hope that Ray Sands would bring him a boatload of vegetables from Dungeness on his next trip to Amelia Island.[82] From these

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77. Turner to parents, Feb. 9, 1807, *ibid.*

78. Turner to parents, May 23, 1807, and Oct. 27, 1807, *ibid.*

79. Turner to parents, July 24, 1807, *ibid.*

80. Mackay to wife, Feb. 20, 1801, and Mar. 12, 1801, *Letters*, pp. 19, 21.

81. Mackay to wife, Feb. 13, 1810, *ibid.*, p. 207.

82. Mackay to wife, Feb. 20, 1810, *ibid.*, p. 214.

letters one concludes that the Millers had offered the facilities of Dungeness to Mackay who, like Dr. Turner, complained often about the inadequate conditions of St. Marys and Amelia Island. When unable to get to Cumberland Island, Mackay requested, and often received, the wholesome vegetables produced there.

In 1810, as in previous years, Mackay was engaged in smuggling slaves into Georgia. Amelia Island was his contact point, and his large boat lay there at anchor. Meanwhile, Catherine and Louisa were playing a role in his plans. Mackay remarked that they had been very cooperative in receiving and taking care of his smuggled slaves. Apparently Dungeness was being used as a temporary station to house slaves until adequate transportation to Georgia was available.[83] The estate, as we shall see, would play this role again in later years.

One of the most prominent visitors to Cumberland Island was Eli Whitney. Whitney first became acquainted with the Millers when he came to Savannah as a tutor in the early 1790s. Disappointed in this pursuit, he was quickly befriended by Catherine Greene and Phineas Miller at Mulberry Grove. A very close friendship soon developed, and Whitney's genius as an inventor was allowed to mature there. In 1793, encouraged by Catherine and Phineas, he invented the cotton gin. Phineas, intelligent enough to appreciate the invention's potential, entered into partnership with Whitney, agreeing to furnish the necessary capital.

While the cotton gin proved to be a great success technologically, it failed to provide the two partners with the revenue that was anticipated. Difficulties in acquiring a patent in Georgia spelled doom to their venture, leaving the two in serious debt that added further to Catherine's financial burdens. The partners finally gave up any hope of recouping their investments and went into separate businesses--Whitney turning to the manufacture of weapons, and Miller becoming more involved in the timber business on Cumberland Island and elsewhere.

Whitney was always a welcome guest at Dungeness. Catherine's usual kindness and affection sought his company long after her husband had passed away. Soon after the Millers settled on the island, Phineas wrote to Whitney to come and visit them.[84] Between 1800 and 1806 Whitney visited there for long periods of time, especially during the winter months. In later years, because of declining health, his visits became less frequent, much to Catherine's chagrin. She had always held Whitney in high regard--at one time she had even asked him to be godfather to her granddaughter--and when he

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83. "The Negroes seem all glad to go to Georgia, but I have been dreadfully pester'd by many of those that were sold, begging to be taken back, saying they were enticed away by wicked people. . . ." Mackay to wife, Mar. 20, 1810, *ibid.*, pp. 223-24. "I have engaged a Drogger . . . to take whole [slaves] from Dungeness. . . ." Mackay to wife, Mar. 27, 1810, *ibid.*, p. 230.

84. Miller to Whitney, Mar. 24, 1800, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

showed little inclination to visit Dungeness, her disappointment was evident. In one of her many letters to him she said, "would to God you were with us now . . . we are as gay as larks--and really pass our time delightfully. Company enough you know we always have."[85] In another letter just before her death she said, "We have a party of Eighteen to eat Turtle with us tomorrow. I wish you were the nineteenth--Our fruit begins to flow in upon us--to partake of which I long for you and a few other friends to partake with us."[86]

Catherine Miller's problems never seemed to end. In the years following Phineas's death she became more involved in the settlement of his estate. In the meantime, she and her children had yet to settle the division of General Greene's estate, particularly his lands in Tennessee. In the process of settling this estate, suits were brought against it by General Greene's former creditors. Finally, and this grieved her very much, she drifted further and further apart from three of her children--Martha, Cornelia, and Nathanael--especially the first two.

After Catherine's second husband died, Ray Sands, her attorney who made his home at Dungeness, was appointed agent of General Greene's estate and in charge of the plantation at Dungeness. Meanwhile, Catherine, as executrix of her second husband's estate, was trying to settle his personal and business affairs. She had Sands draw up an inventory of Phineas's personal effects and had them appraised. Among such items as duelling pistols was an extensive collection of books, an indication of Phineas's wide interests.[87]

Phineas's business affairs were far more complicated to unravel. He had put up much of the capital needed in the production of the cotton gin, and at one point he had even borrowed from the Greene estate through Catherine as executrix. When the firm of Miller and Whitney, suffering severely, could not make payments to its creditors, including the Greene estate, the latter, already in serious trouble, went further into debt. What made it even worse was that Phineas had not made effective arrangements of his affairs before his premature death.

In his lumber business it was obvious that Phineas either had a partnership or maintained extensive business dealings with Josiah Whitney, brother of Eli. They had entered upon several contracts with the United States in order to supply live oak to its navy. Catherine had to see that contractual obligations were fulfilled and payments rendered. In all these matters Catherine

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85. Catherine Miller to Whitney, Feb. 2, 1809, and June 20, 1811, *ibid.*

86. Catherine Miller to Whitney, July 5, 1814, *ibid.*

87. Inventory of effects of Phineas Miller Esqr. Deceased Produced by Ray Sands Atty to Mrs. Catherine Miller only Executrix--appraized by William Johnson William Pit Sands & Henry Sadler, Dungeness, Aug. 5, 1804, *ibid.* (See Illustration 8, p. 98).

Illustration 8.

Inventory of effects of Phineas Miller, Dungeness, Aug. 5, 1804.

Camden County } Dungeness August 5th 1804
Georgia }

Inventory of effects of Phineas Miller Esq. Deceased Produced by Ray Sandy Atty to Mrs Catharine Miller only Executrix — appraised by William Johnson William Pit Sandy & Henry Sadler —

	case Duelling Pistols at 8	10	00
	1 Portable Desk	1	"
	1 Telescope compt	80	"
	16 Vols Encyclopedia Amer. Edition	120	"
	1 Do Rennels Map of Indostan	6	"
	1 Do Barretts Spanish Spanish History	6	"
	3 Do Gazette France	3	"
	1 Do Eulogies & Orations	1	"
	1 Do Delpins Spa. Grammer	1	25
	1 Do Gratos Laws	1	"
	1 " Goldsmiths Greece	3	50
	4 " Robertsons Charls 5th	10	"
	2 " Ditto Scotland	5	"
	2 " Ditto America	5	"
	11 " Malones Shakespear	38	50
	5 " Smolletts England	12	50
	7 " Humes Ditto	17	50
	4 " Temples works	8	"
	2 " Description of China	4	"
	2 " Hooles Tasso	2	50
	Carried forward		

	Brot Over		
2	Vol Cowpers Poems		6 "
1	Do Darwins Botanic Garden		1 "
1 "	Tony Asia		1 "
1 "	History French Clergy		1 "
3 "	Goldsmy History Anticient injured		3 "
3 "	French Dictionary — c 50		1 50
1 "	Buffons Nat History		1 50
1 "	monthly Mag.e		" 75
1 "	Smiths Theory of Sentiment		1 "
1 "	Taulton Campaign		1 "
1 "	Pursuits of Literature		1 "
2 "	Humes Essays		2 50
1 "	New united States Amer.a		1 "
1 "	District of Maine		1 "
1 "	Burke on Politics		" "
1 "	Answer to Ditto		1 50
1 "	Nicholson Chymistry		1 50
1 "	Volneys Ruins of Empire		1 "
1 "	Presedents Message		" 75
1 "	Jeffersons Notes on Virginia		" 25
1 "	Burgoins Expe.n to Canada		" 50
1 "	Atkinsons Epitome		" 87½
3 "	or Pamphlets medical Repository		" 37½
1 "	Cicero		" 50
1 "	Lock on human understand.g		" 43¾
1 "	Simpsons Element Geometry		" 25
1 "	Furgerson on Cœl Society		" 75
1 "	Ditto on astronomy		1 "
4 "	French Encyclopedia		12 "
1 "	Horace		" 50
	Carried forward		

Brot forward		$
130 Piecy wearing Apparel consisting of Coats Vests Boothalls Shirts Stocks &c &c		150 "
1 Trunk		3 50
1 Travelling Case much injured		" 75
1 Negro Boy Grey without feet		
1 Negro Girl ditto		
11 large Wheels Tire only Saliss at 400 Ea		44 "
Sundry Blacksmiths Tools old Iron in Shop		50 "
1 Capson		1 "
13 working Oxen at $15,00		195 "
5 Chains suppose 100 lbs		12 50
6 Ox yokes		3 "
2 Whip Saws half worn		10 "
6 + cut Saws		
150 acres Pine Barren Land near Savah		150 "
1 Lot no 43 situate in St Marys Con[y] GA		200 "
1 Lot no 4 Ditto 200 feet on 4 acres St & 200 feet deep water Lot		2500 "

When Catherine voiced this heartwarming sentiment Martha had yet to remarry, Cornelia's husband Peyton was still alive, and Nathanael had yet to marry the daughter of Catherine's enemy. For some unknown reason, the settlement was not legally recorded and therefore was never legally binding. The settlement that Catherine "took care to have recorded in all due form" had to be made over again. In the space of two years several things happened, however: Peyton died and Cornelia remarried, Martha married Dr. Henry Turner, and Nathanael married Clark's daughter. Although the records are not clear, these events and subsequent ones must have had some affect upon Catherine. In any event, she would have nothing more to do with her children, especially Martha and Cornelia.[91]

The division of property, in addition to all the land owned by General Greene on Cumberland Island and in other parts of the country, also included his slaves. Catherine was to get sixty-seven of them, Martha thirty-two, Cornelia thirty-one, Nathanael thirty-five, and Louisa twenty-nine. As for the land on Cumberland Island, Catherine was to acquire the tract "known by the name of Dungeness" or Tract No. 1 on the 1800 map, as well as Tract No. 8. Martha was to acquire the tract called "the Springs," which was Tract No. 3 on the 1800 map. Cornelia was to get Lot No. 1 at Littlefield, and Louisa was to get Lot No. 2 at Littlefield. Nathanael did not get any land on the island, but his share was the large tract on Crooked River on the mainland. The agreement made clear that all slaves would remain with Catherine until all debts against the estate were paid unless she deemed it proper to give each of her children their share sooner.[92]

Although this legal instrument was recorded in 1810, it apparently was not final, for in early 1812 Catherine noted in one of her letters to Whitney that

> Doctr Kollock I suppose had told you that we have at Length come to a Settlement with the Heirs of Genl Greenes Estate Namely, Louisa, Ned Littlefield [Cornelia's husband] and Henry Turner [Martha's husband]. Nathanael Greene not being here--He still remains to be settled with--and I expect him early. Doctr Kollock who represented me on this occasion--had much difficulty with them for I would not see them--nor permit them through my gate--I leave [?] all and so did Louisa pretty well, until L.[ouisa] and I demanded Their proportion as they *called* it the Honors of Genl Greene. . . .[93]

The events of these last few years took their toll on Catherine, who was now constantly sick. On September 2, 1814, after a fever lasting six days,

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91. Catherine Miller to Whitney, May 8, 1811, and Apr. 3, 1811, *ibid.*

92. Agreement, Division of Estate, Apr. 24, 1810, Liber of Deeds H, pp. 184-87, Camden County Clerk's Office.

93. Catherine Miller to Whitney, Jan. 3, 1812, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

she died at Dungeness.[94] Before her death she was overjoyed to see Louisa marry James Shaw, "A Scotch Gentleman . . . who had resided in my house for near two years passed," in March 1814. "I think they have a fair prospect of happiness," said Catherine.[95] In the months before her death she relied heavily upon Shaw to handle some of her business affairs, having given him a Power of Attorney to act in her behalf.[96]

Her Last Will and Testament left most of her estate to her favored daughter Louisa, who inherited Dungeness plantation as well as other heirlooms dearly valued by her mother. Nathanael, who had inherited a considerable estate from his father, did not receive much from his mother, but Catherine willed Rayfield plantation on the island to his children. Nathanael was to manage the plantation, reserving to himself all rents and profits during his lifetime; the sale or exchange of this land during his lifetime was forbidden. While she gave generously to all her grandchildren, she demonstrated her ill-feelings towards her daughters Martha and Cornelia. To them she left a token inheritance of $50 each. She appointed Louisa, Dr. Lemuel Kollock, and Russel Goodrich as executors of her estate.[97]

F. Timber Industry

Vegetation on the island was extremely plentiful. Plants existed in all varieties, but perhaps the most significant and abundant growth was of timber. In 1798 Jedidiah Morse wrote that the coastal islands of Georgia were covered with large stands of pine, live oak, hickory, and red cedar. Live oak, which Morse noted grew in abundance on Cumberland Island, was an "uncommonly hard and very valuable wood."[98] William Baldwin, who frequently visited the island and the Millers, said that the land, which is "called Hammock, is generally

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94. Josiah Whitney to Eli Whitney, Sept. 22, 1814, *ibid.*

95. Catherine Miller to Whitney, Apr. 16, 1814, *ibid.*

96. Josiah Whitney to Eli Whitney, Sept. 22, 1814, *ibid.*

97. "Catherine Miller's Will, Dungeness, Cumberland Island, State of Georgia," Mar. 10, 1813, recorded in Camden County, Apr. 12, 1815, Will Book A, pp. 122-28, Camden County Clerk's Office, typed copy in Catherine Miller Manuscripts (File II), Georgia Department of Archives and History. Because of the number of interesting points made, including the enumeration of physical items belonging to Catherine, a typed copy of the will has been included here. (See Illustration 9, p. 104).

98. The soil it grew in, said Morse, consisted of a mixture of sand and black mold, making it grey in color. A considerable part of it, particularly that which grew the oak, hickory, and live oak, was very rich, and with cultivation yielded good crops of indigo, cotton, corn, and potatoes. Jedidiah Morse, *The American Gazetteer: Containing a distinct account of all the parts of the New World* (London: A. Millar and J. & R. Tonson, 1762, repr. 1798), p. 186.

Illustration 9.

Typewritten manuscript of Catherine Miller's will.

CAMDEN COUNTY

WILL BOOK A, pp. 122-28

"CATHARINE MILLER'S WILL
Dungeness, Cumberland Island, State of Georgia.

In the name of God Amen.

"I Catharine Miller of Cumberland Island in the State of Georgia - Do make this my last will and Testament.

"As my much beloved son Nathanael Ray Greene has inherited a considerable Estate by the Will of his honored and Illustrious Father General Nathanael Greene, which he can dispose of according to his own wishes, I am more solicitous that the property which I intended for him should descend to his lawful children, I therefore make this my last will in the following manner - In the first place I do give, devise and bequeath all my plantation on Cumberland Island known by the name of Rayfield, together with a number of negroes, Plates, Books & which shall be hereafter named to the lawful children of my Son, Nathanael Ray Greene, who shall forever manage the property so bequeathed to his children as he shall think fit - reserving to himself all the rents and profits thereof for his own use during his life time and that his last will shall determine what proportion each child shall possess of this my bequest - But I positively forbid any sale or exchange of this property during the life time of my son, Nathanael R. Greene -

"And I humbly hope that these my grandchildren may consider this property which I now give to them as a sacred deposit in their hands for their children - but in the case of the death of my son before his children become of lawful age, Then I appoint my Executors to take possession of and manage this property for the sole use of those children

"In the second place and upon the above conditions I give, devise and bequeath to the lawful children of my son, fourteen silver wine cups - and a silver Tankard together with half of the silver spoons marked N.G., and thirty negroes whose names are as follows, with all their future issue: Big Nell, Elie, Warren, Juda, Nutta, Cuffy, Amy, May, Phebe, Dorothy, Nelly, Mary, Warrin, Step, Tom, Cate, Polly, Stephen, Die, Pricilla, Clerysa, Mary, Die, Ellen, Peggy, Lucy, Stepney, Mana, Amonetta.

"And one half of the Books which belonged to the Honorable Nathanael Greene, I do give, devise and bequeath to the lawful children of my son Nathanael R. Greene to their Heirs, Executors and assigns forever -

"In the third place I do give, devise and bequeath to my Excelent and dutiful Daughter, Louisa Catharine Greene and to her Heirs, Executors and assigns forever my Plantation on Cumberland Island called Dungeness, be the same more or less, together with all my household furniture, which I have not already disposed of, namely the articles of Plate mentioned above - withone half of the Books which did belong to her honored father, General Nathanael

Greene, my carriage and horses and my Boat called Nonpareil with all my Books which belonged to Pheneas Miller Esq. (his miniature Picture set in gold and a Brest pin of the Hair of General George Washington which he presented to me) I also give to my daughter Louisa Catharine during her life time to descend to her children if she should have any to survive her, otherwise it is my will that the above Named Picture and pin shall descend at her death to my God Son, Phenias Miller Kollock of Savannah - I also do give, devise, and bequeath to this my beloved Daughter, Louisa Catharine Greene Thirty-seven negroes, whose names are as follows, Ashon, Raina, Billy, Billa, Sarah, Abbo, Bob, Hannah, Dick, Oscar, Isaac, Stephen, Frank, Liberty, Feby, Hilly, Jenny, Daniel, Peter, Hager, Smith, Isaac, Peggy, Eliza, Butler, Will, Driver Billy, Nancy, Jacob, Jonny, Die, Clarinda, Cenda, Andrew, Jude, Sall and Will with all their natural Issue -

"As my beloved nephew, Ray Sands is considered rich and without a family I only give to him my favorite little Boy Charly, as a testamony of my affection for him -

"I also give, devise and bequeath to my beloved and dutiful neice Phebe R. Paine the one half of my right in an undivided tract of land situated on Catfish Creek on St. Marys River be the same more or less to her Heirs, Executors, and assigns forever, and I also give her three negroes whose names are Polly, Betty and Jack, with one thousand Dollars to be paid her by my Daughter, Louisa Catharine within Eighteen months after my death - -

"And it is farther my will and I do hereby give, devise and bequest to my God son, Pheneas Miller Kollock, and son, to my best beloved friend Doctor Lemuel Kollock five hundred Acres of my portion of an undivided Tract of land situated on Duck River in the State of Tennessee - to him his Heirs and assigns forever, and in case (upon the settlement of Mr. Miller's Estate there shall be more property than will pay the debts and defray the expenses of settlement) then I do give to my Beloved Godson, Pheneas Miller Kollock the one half of whatever I may fall Heir to from that estate to him his Heirs and forever - and to the same God son I give a Pr of Pistols, which belonged to my beloved and Ever lamented Husband Pheneas Miller Esqr.

"And it is further my will I hereby direct my Executors to sell all the rest of my Estate and after paying my debts if there should remain ten thousand Dollars, then I command my Executors to pay to Captain William Littlefield of Rhode Island my only and most beloved Brother the sum of one thousand Dollars, and to my equally beloved sister, Phebe Sands of Block Island the sum of one thousand and all my wearing apparel.

"I also give to my God son Pheneas Miller Nightingale the sum of one thousand Dollars - and to my grand-daughter, Catharine Nightingale five hundred dollars - to my grandson Joseph Nightingale five hundred Dollars

"And it is further my will that fifteen hundred Dollars be equally divided between my three other grandchildren, namely, George W. Skipwith, Paten Skipwith and Gray Skipwith. --

"I do give to my Daughter Mrs. Martha W. Turner of Est. Greenwich - and Mrs. Cornelia D. Skipwith Littlefield, the sum of fifty Dollars each.

"To Dr. Lemuel Kollock who to me has been a friend in deed I give one thousand Dollars, and to my beloved friend Russell Goodrich I give five hundred Dollars as a small, Testimony of my affection for him -

"The residue of my property if any there should be, I give to my son Nathanael Ray Greene, Louisa C. Greene and my neice Phebe R. Paine to share and share alike

"But in case I should not die possessed of as much property as I have given in Legacies then it is my will that my Estate or rather my proportion of the Tennessee Lands be sold to the best advantage and the proceeds divided among my Legatees in the same proportion that I have devised to them in my will - That is to say namely - Phebe Paine, Phineas M. Kollock, Captain William Littlefield, Phebe Sands, Phineas M. Nightingale, Joseph Nightingale, George, Payton and Gray Skipwith -

"I appoint my beloved Daughter Louisa C. Greene - and my Dear Friends Lemuel Kollock of Savannah and Russel Goodrich of Augusta Executrix and Executor, investing them with full power to carry into effect, and I do hereby invest and command that their Judgment shall decide everything relating thereto and it is further my will that no Court take cognizance (?) or interfere with any part of my property

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seal the 10th of March in the year of our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen Catharine Miller (Seal) Signed, sealed, published and declared by the testatrix as and for herself Her last will and testament in the presence of us who in her presence of each other have put our names as witnesses hereto

N.S. Bayard
Samuel B. Parkman
James Shaw

Will Recorded & Examined the 12th Day of April 1815 by ISAAC CREWS, Clerk."

covered with *Live Oak.*" "It is a little elevated, calcerous, still abounding all along the coast with undecomposed oyster shells." He described the considerable quantities of live oak on the island as "fit for ship building." "It is abundant in the Province; but that which is in the immediate vicinity of salt water, is considered *prime* for ship building."[99]

We have already seen how the presence of live oak and red cedar influenced General Greene in his purchase of land on Cumberland Island. Nevertheless, the results of his attempts to start a logging industry in the area were small because he died before he could put any of his plans into action. It remained for Phineas Miller, the man he hired as tutor, to explore the timber's industrial possibilities.

Although Miller assumed the management of Greene's affairs, he did not undertake to cut timber during those early years after Greene died. Indeed, during that time Catherine was inclined to sell her share of the island. After her marriage to Miller, however, a decision was made to retain the property: it was probably then that both decided to explore the potentials of the lumber business. The United States was then building a navy, and it anticipated that the hardwoods of Georgia would supply its needs.

Phineas's letters, and later Catherine's, reveal his close ties with Josiah Whitney of Boston in the ensuing lumber business. Josiah was sometimes seen at Dungeness and at other times in Boston, from which he sent hired hands to Phineas; in return he received shipments of live oak from the island. As early as 1800 Miller was under contract with the United Sates to supply timber for its navy.[100]

In 1800, in the midst of fulfilling his contractual obligations to the government, Miller found himself confronted with insurmountable problems. "Am sorry to acknowledge," he wrote the navy, "that the further I advance in this perplexing contract for the timber, the greater do I find the difficulty the expense & the disappointments become." He complained of all sorts of problems. He noted that the required quantity of live oak needed for shipbuilding had been exaggerated in this part of the country, and General Greene had contributed to this myth. The government had not supplied him with the necessary molds and other equipment essential to the cutting of timber. There were few experienced carpenters who could convert the rough-cut timber into the exact shapes and dimensions: "Among near thirty ship carpenters whom we have in employment, there were but two who were capable of moulding this timber agreeable to directions." Miller was certain that because of this, many pieces of lumber would be rejected and he would suffer financial loss. He complained

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99. Baldwin to Darlington, Apr. 19, 1817, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae*, p. 217.

100. Contract dated 1802 between Phineas Miller and the U.S. Navy Department, Box 10 (1800-1812), Record Group 45, National Archives and Record Services, Washington, D.C. This may have been a second contract since there is evidence of earlier work for the United States.

that it was extremely costly to move equipment, oxen, and men from one place to the next. Since the workers were employed on a contract basis, their time was being wasted while waiting for molds to arrive. He felt that he should be indemnified $5,000 for this loss of time. He had not anticipated all these problems when he entered into the contract, and as a result his estimate had been too low. He had exhausted the advance sums the government had given him, and he complained he needed another $11,000. In the meantime, he had borrowed money at a high rate of interest to carry on the work.

There was a bright side to the story, however. By June 1800 he had about 2,000 pieces ready for shipment at different points, and in another four to six weeks he expected to haul 1,000 more. He had between 50 and 60 "well broken" oxen, "which are constantly fed with grain," employed in transporting the lumber, and he was certain he would have to increase this number to 100 by fall. Miller was sure that if he and Josiah were advanced additional sums and if the molds arrived on time, he would be able to fulfill his contract without any loss.[101]

In September 1800 the contract for the first group of men hired to cut timber had expired, and they left for the north. In the meantime, Miller expected a new batch of workers procured by Josiah. The vessels that Josiah was sending with men and supplies would return to Boston loaded with live oak. The U.S. Navy's cost of freight was 37-1/2 cents per cubic foot.[102]

With the arrival of 240 men in the fall and the expected arrival of an additional 60 or 70 more, the situation began to look brighter. "With these hands," said Miller, "we ought to finish cutting the necessary quantity of timber before the spring if it is to be found in this State."[103]

The timber that Miller was cutting for the U.S. Navy did not all come from Cumberland Island; it was taken from the Georgia mainland as well because the island alone could not supply the quantity of live oak needed. In fact, Miller was uncertain as to whether he could get all the lumber he needed from Georgia itself. In a letter to the Secretary of the Navy he asked if there would be any objections to his cutting timber in the Spanish province of Florida in the event he could not get sufficient quantities in Georgia.[104] From this letter and from others written by Miller we can conclude that much of the timber supplied to the U.S. Navy came not only from Cumberland

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101. Miller to Shubrick, June 21, 1800, and Miller to Stoddard, July 1, 1800, *ibid.*

102. Miller to Whitney, Sept. 1, 1800, and U.S. Navy to Miller, Sept. 8, 1800, General Letter Book No. 4, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

103. Miller to Stoddard, Nov. 14, 1800, Box 10, Record Group 45, National Archives.

104. *Ibid.*

Island but from other nearby points in Georgia as well. Miller nevertheless, did conduct his operations from the island, and supplies and workers were shipped there where they were closely supervised. Finally, the island was used for shipping much of the live oak to Boston, although St. Marys may also have served this purpose. A letter written by Miller to Eli Whitney, who was apparently assisting his brother in New England, points to the role played by the island in this respect. In this letter Miller requested that additional provisions for his work crew be sent directly to Cumberland Island. He needed the following articles: 50 barrels of pork, 35 barrels of beef, 100 barrels of kiln-dryed corn flour, cheese, pine boards, and brick.[105]

In 1802 an interesting event occurred. In a letter to Miller, the Secretary of the Navy revealed the following:

> A piece of the live oak sent to Boston for the 74 gun ship, has been made use of in the repairing of the frigate Constitution & must be replaced. I have therefore to request that you will be pleased to have a similar piece procured. It was a floor timber, No. 14, shipped by Wm. Pitt Sands on board the Schooner Harmless Captain Stodder the 24 October 1801.[106]

This letter may have been the basis for the often-repeated statement that part of the U.S.S. *Constitution* (Old Ironsides) was built from the live oak of Cumberland Island. From one piece of floor timber one can hardly conclude that the entire vessel, or even part of it, was constructed of wood from there. The *Constitution* was launched in 1797, probably before Miller undertook the cutting of timber on the island. Although this does not exclude the possibility that this ship was built from that timber, there is no evidence either that this was so.

In the years following Miller's death there is some evidence that Josiah Whitney continued to supply timber for the U.S. Navy, but this work may have tapered off in time. Catherine Miller, meanwhile, was busily trying to collect money from the U.S. Navy to settle the affairs of her husband's timber business.[107] In 1808 the U.S. Navy paid Catherine $18,328.50 as final payment on contracts fulfilled, and a remittance had previously been made to pay the claims of landowners from whose lands timber had been cut. Even after this,

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105. The vessel carrying these supplies had to be of a certain type and size since it would return to Boston with a load of timber--a heavy and cumbersome cargo. Miller to Whitney, Jan. 3, 1801, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

106. Sec. of Navy to Miller, Jan. 22, 1802, Records of Dept. of Navy, General Letter Book No. 5, Record Group 45, National Archives.

107. Eli Whitney to Josiah Whitney, Dec. 8, 1805, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

Catherine believed that the United States was still in debt to the Miller estate and to Josiah Whitney for $6,000, half of which belonged to the former.[108]

G. Sea Island Cotton

Basically there were two types of cotton grown in Georgia--the green seed cotton in the upper country and the black seed cotton, commonly known as sea island cotton, on the sea islands and coastal regions. Although its yield was much less than that of green seed cotton, sea island cotton was superior. Jedidiah Morse said that the sea island cotton was first brought to Georgia from the Bahamas in 1788.[109] James C. Bonner, in his history of Georgia agriculture, quotes Thomas Spalding, a well-known sea island resident, as having said that a type of sea island cotton was first grown on St. Simons Island as early as 1778, but that it was not until the winter of 1785 or 1786 that parcels of seeds from a superior type plant were sent from the Bahamas to Georgia. Sea island cotton was grown initially on St. Simons Island and Cumberland Island, but it quickly spread to other islands on the coast.[110]

By 1790 substantial shipments of this cotton were being made, and planters, suffering from declining prices in indigo, found the cotton an economic boon. Planters like Spalding and Alexander Bisset experimented with the black seed, and by 1788 Bisset exported the first bags of sea island cotton grown in the United States. It was found that this seed yielded a finer fiber than the one grown in the Bahamas. The plant was tall, the seed was black, and the fiber was long, strong, and silky.[111]

There was a great demand for this cotton on the English market, and by 1802 the price of cotton rose perceptibly, making this crop very lucrative for planters on the sea islands. In 1818 the price of sea island cotton in Georgia averaged about $1.00 as compared with 30 cents for the upland cotton.[112] The growing of this cotton, however, had several disadvantages: it

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108. Sec. of Navy to Catherine Miller, Apr. 5, 1808, General Letter Book No. 9, Record Group 45, National Archives; Catherine Miller to Sec. of Navy, Nov. 3, 1808 (two letters), and Eli Whitney (for Josiah Whitney) to Sec. of Navy, Nov. 1, 1808, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

109. *American Gazetteer*, p. 187.

110. James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture 1732-1860* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1964), p. 51.

111. Guion Griffis Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (New York: Negro Univ. Press, 1969), p. 23. For excellent accounts concerning sea island cotton, this as well as Bonner, *History of Georgia Agriculture*, and Ulrich B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918), should be consulted.

112. Adiel Sherwood, *A gazetteer of the state of Georgia*, rev. ed. (Washington City, Ga.: P. Force, 1837), p. 334.

was slow to harvest; the yield was relatively small each year; it needed careful handling at all stages of growth; and finally, the climate played an important role. Since the Georgia coast was subject to many hurricanes, crops could easily be ruined.

Cumberland Island was one of the first areas to develop the new cotton. An 1802 map of the island reveals several cotton fields already flourishing.[113] It is obvious that the Millers played an important role in this industry. While Phineas Miller was busy developing his live oak business, Catherine was active growing cotton and other plants. Her cotton crop evidently was a sizeable one. However, in 1804 her crops suffered considerable losses as a result of caterpillar infestation.[114]

The following year Catherine cheerfully noted that she was gathering cotton at the rate of 1,200 to 1,400 bushels a day.[115] In 1806 she reported a "fine crop" at Dungeness, "tho' not so good a one at Littlefield." The yield for this year continued to show a steady growth. Dr. Daniel Turner wrote to his parents in August, the beginning of the season, that "Mrs. Miller has already gathered 3 thousand weight of cotton & expects to make a large crop."[116]

Catherine continued to enjoy excellent yields of sea island cotton in succeeding years, and the money she derived from it helped to pay off her debts. Ray Sands, who had taken over the management of her plantation after her husband died, was doing "pretty well" with crops, "and the crop on hand will more than pay" the debts, reported Catherine.[117]

Some of the successes enjoyed by Catherine in growing the cotton were also due to her daughter Louisa's diligence and industry. Louisa was determined to become a good planter, and in later years she was connected with other outstanding planters of the sea islands in experimenting with various crops. Catherine depended a lot upon her daughter and Ray Sands in later years because, according to her own admission, she was "ignorant of the amount

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113. Map of Cumberland Island drawn by John McKinnon, Feb. 5, 1802, original in Georgia Historical Society.

114. Whitney to Catherine Miller, Sept. 29, 1804, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

115. Turner to parents, Nov. 19, 1805, Turner Papers, Library of Congress.

116. Eli Whitney to Josiah Whitney, Jan. 4, 1806, Whitney Collection, Yale University; Turner to parents, Aug. 13, 1806, Turner Papers, Library of Congress.

117. Catherine Miller to Whitney, Feb. 2, 1809, and Apr. 3, 1811, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

of the Crops for the last seven years. I have only seen by accident one Sail [*sic*] of one Lott of Cotton--amount 15,000 Dollars."[118]

H. Fruits, Vegetables, and Flowers

Horticulture had its beginnings on the coastal regions of Georgia during the colonial period. Fruit of all varieties, mostly of a semitropical nature, were grown on Cumberland Island. The records are abundant in showing how well cultivated fruit, vegetables, and flowers grew, particularly at Dungeness. Much of the enormous success of the Dungeness gardens was attributed to Louisa, who was somewhat more than an amateur botanist in her own right.

Oranges grew in great abundance on the island, but in 1811 a heavy frost injured them so severely that the yield was small. While the yield in oranges for that year was disappointing to Catherine, she was boasting that Louisa had measured one strawberry from the garden and it was found to be "four inches round." She observed that they had enjoyed strawberries "more or less" all winter long. She wished that Eli Whitney were there to enjoy her nectarines and large grapes.[119]

In February 1809, while she and Louisa were in New York, Catherine received a letter from Cornelia saying that the garden at Dungeness was full of flowers, bulbs were growing, and fruit was in full bloom.[120] Flowers were a great attraction at Dungeness and were commented upon by visitors. Dr. William Baldwin reveals in his letters how well flowers and plants of every variety were cultivated there. His letters to Henry Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania, an eminent botanist, contain reference after reference to native plants found at Dungeness.[121]

For much of his knowledge of flowers and plants on the island, Baldwin depended largely upon Louisa and sometimes Catherine. Louisa was an indefatigable worker in this respect. She collected and drew specimens, and identified them. Baldwin paid her the highest compliment when he noted that Louisa's knowledge of botany "exceeds that of any other lady in America." The lack of books dedicated to the subject was the only severe handicap to pursuit of this knowledge.[122] Baldwin's letters are replete with references to the Millers and the extent to which they went in helping him discover new species of flowers and plants. Muhlenberg, who received Louisa's drawings through

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118. Catherine Miller to Whitney, May 30, 1811, *ibid.*

119. *Ibid.*

120. Catherine Miller to Whitney, Feb. 12, 1809, *ibid.*

121. Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Feb. 26, 1814, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae*, p. 123.

122. Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Sept. 19, 1812, *ibid.*, p. 66.

Baldwin, expressed his appreciation and admiration for her. Although Louisa was unquestionably the most learned in botany of all the Millers, her mother also displayed sufficient knowledge in this area. At one point Baldwin learned from Mrs. Miller that the young shoots of the *chamaerops serrulata,* or saw palmetto, were edible--sweet and tender. Baldwin described this plant as having a "short, crooked, prostrate stem, from one to three feet in length: but in some situations, and particularly near the seashore, it attains to the height of 8 or 10 feet, and has an ornamental appearance."[123]

In addition to the *chamaerops serrulata,* Baldwin reported to Muhlenberg the following plants and flowers on Cumberland Island. His comments provide us with an insight into these plants:

spomaea
sesamum indicum ("not native, but is now found growing spontaneously in the old fields of Cumberland. Gen. Forman intends to introduce it into the States of Delaware and Maryland, where I encouraged him to hope it might succeed.")
mespilus arbutifolia
E. angustifolius
tetrodynomous, order *sliculosa* ("It is much branched; stem succulent; leaves very fleshy, tasting like cabbage.")
mosses and lichens ("many of these, not in season. Mrs. Miller . . . gave me a few seeds of a shrub, found on St. John's.")
sonchus oleraceus
houstonia serpyllifolia
mitchella repens
alsine media
lamium amplexacaule
lycium carolinianum
("on the 22d of December . . . [these] were flowering.")
L. solsum ("I have only seen the latter in the garden at Dungeness, where many beautiful native plants are to be found.")[124]

I. War of 1812

Soon after the American Revolution, the Spanish, according to the Treaty of Paris, took over their former province of Florida. This area soon became a source of contention, and the inhabitants of Georgia dreamt of the day when it would become an American possession. There was constant friction on the border, and St. Marys and Cumberland Island found themselves in the midst of it. The lawlessness and banditry that prevailed in this area were a constant source of despair to General Greene and other landowners on the island. St. Marys served as a place for evading the Embargo Acts, besides being used as a port for smuggling captured slaves into Georgia. Amelia Island was a nest of

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123. Baldwin to Darlington, Dec. 6, 1816, *ibid.,* pp. 343-44.

124. Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Sept. 19, 1812, and Mar. 20, 1813; Muhlenberg to Baldwin, Apr. 20, 1813; Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Dec. 9, 1813, Jan. 14, 1814, and Feb. 26, 1814, *ibid.,* pp. 66, 71-72, 83, 89, 119, 121, 123.

privateers that preyed on a weak Spanish government by committing all sorts of illegal acts.

In the meantime Britain and France carried on their wars, violating treaties with the United States with impunity. The young Dr. Turner, who was so kindly befriended by the Greenes, referred to one of these incidents in one of his letters:

> A British prize being in possession of a French prize master & crew was cast away on Cumberland Island last month. The crew [was] saved & some of the property which has already led our little place into much disturbance & confusion. Much quarrelling & some fighting has [occurred]. Side arms are not uncommon companions for gentlemen in this place. . . . The French & Spaniards will send their prizes into this river & we have rascals among us--that for the sake of the property will befriend them.[125]

As friction between Georgia and Florida grew, and as the conflict between England and France intensified, there was considerable talk about constructing fortifications around St. Marys and Savannah. Cumberland Island also entered into these discussions, but while fortifications were ultimately built near St. Marys, nothing had been done about Cumberland Island by 1795. However, as English and French violations of American neutrality became more frequent, it became evident that America would be drawn into the conflict. By 1811 a U.S. Marine detachment was stationed at the southern point of Cumberland Island, and United States naval vessels were anchored nearby. The marine detachment was at first not welcomed by the island residents. Catherine Miller had anticipated their arrival when she noted in one of her letters that "I expect to be tormented this summer by the shabby officers who are to be stationed at Cumberland."[126] Catherine's attitude soon changed after she met them, however. "There are," she said, in a later letter to Eli Whitney, "three officers which belong to the Marine Corps stationed at the South Point of Cumberl[an]d who are very Clever People and visit us often. The Old Captain Williams is a great favorite with us all--particularly the young ladies. We are all to dine there [i.e., at the installation] on the fourth of July."[127]

In 1812 Captain Williams played a role in the ill-fated attempt by the Americans to take Florida from the Spaniards. Amelia Island was taken, but

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125. Turner to parents, Aug. 13, 1806, Turner Papers, Library of Congress.

126. Miller to Eli Whitney, May 17, 1811, Whitney Collection, Yale University; Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, p. 44.

127. Miller to Whitney, ca. 1811, Whitney Collection, Yale University. In August 1811 Catherine noted that "The Army near us has been very Sickly." Whether she was referring to the army post at Point Peter on the St. Marys River or to the Marine detachment on the island is not clear. Miller to Whitney, Aug. 30, 1811, *ibid.*

the conquest stopped there. Because there was disorder on Amelia Island, Captain Williams, with a detachment of sixty men from Cumberland Island, was ordered to Amelia with instructions to aid the civil authorities in bringing order and protection to the American supply lines. In the process, Captain Williams was accused of favoring Loyalists over Patriots, and, in addition, of being drunk. Although his actions were defended by the army commander at Point Peter, to avoid further criticism Captain Williams and his detachment were recalled to Cumberland Island.[128]

After the War of 1812 erupted, the people living in the vicinity of St. Marys were in constant fear of an imminent attack from the British. Dr. William Baldwin, the naval surgeon and botanist attached to the U.S. Navy detachment at St. Marys, wrote that "we have some reason to apprehend an attack from the enemy, who are hovering on our coast." The army of 1,000 men at Point Peter as well as the American flotilla to which Baldwin was assigned were preparing to evacuate St. Marys. Although the army left by the middle of 1813, it was not until November 1814 that the navy also left for Savannah.[129] Thus, by the end of 1814 all American forces had been withdrawn from St. Marys and Cumberland Island. The British plan had been to cut off trade between St. Marys and Savannah.

The American general John Floyd, who owned property on Cumberland Island, was in Savannah at the time. He had received intelligence from his patrols in Florida that the infamous Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn was considering occupying Cumberland Island and converting the Dungeness mansion into a hospital. He had learned also that the British planned to spend the winter on the island. Unless aid was forthcoming, thought General Floyd, the inhabitants of the island "must move off or be ruined."[130] Contrary to Floyd's fears, most of the inhabitants elected to stay, and as events proved, little damage was done to the island.

The occupation of Cumberland Island by the British, like the Battle of New Orleans, occurred before news of the Treaty of Ghent was received. The British, consisting of a force of 1,500 men under the command of Admiral Cockburn, landed on Cumberland Island in two divisions--one at Plum Orchard on December 13, 1814, and a second, with Admiral Cockburn in command, at Dungeness on January 11, 1815. In both instances the landings were unopposed be-

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128. Patrick provides an excellent account of these events in 1812. *Florida Fiasco,* pp. 60. 72, 101, 159.

129. Baldwin to Muhlenberg, July 29, 1813, and Nov. 11, 1814, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae,* pp. 102, 148.

130. John F. Stegeman, "The British Raid on Cumberland," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine,* May 3, 1970.

cause American forces had been withdrawn. Cockburn immediately made Dungeness his headquarters and a large part of his force was encamped nearby.[131]

A map in the National Archives depicts the position of the British forces on the island. The map reveals two structures--one undoubtedly representing the Dungeness mansion--as belonging to "Mrs. Miller"; both were used as headquarters by the British forces. British troops were encamped in two rows just to the northeast of Dungeness, and a line of fortifications was drawn from the buildings west to the Cumberland River. These fortifications and the British camp were probably laid out where lemon and orange orchards stood.[132]

Some of the accounts of events that followed while the British remained on the island have been unsubstantiated, and in some cases have been highly romanticized by writers who have left accounts that the British admiral was received at Dungeness with gay parties--events that have little basis in fact. More accurate have been the descriptions of the admiral's raids on Point Peter and St. Marys, where his forces sacked the town using the island as a base of operations. St. Marys was plundered of private and public property, and what was not taken away was wantonly destroyed.[133]

The presence of so large a contingent of enemy troops on Cumberland Island must have imposed severe restrictions on the inhabitants that chose to remain behind. Unfortunately the records are silent on the occupation of the island, but it is inconceivable to suppose that the residents of Dungeness would have entertained at parties under such wartime conditions as some writers indicate. Moreover, one would hardly expect Louisa Shaw to have conducted parties so soon after her mother's death. Most likely the large number of British who were there found the island extremely dull and lonely without much to do to pass the time away. As a result, many were granted leave to go to Amelia Island where there was excitment, for here were the grog shops and loose women that offered momentary pastimes and thrills.

These visits to Amelia Island, often accompanied by rowdyism common to troops wherever they congregate, were met with complaints by the Spanish governor of Florida who wished strongly to maintain his neutrality.[134] One of the governor's main objections was that slaves from East Florida were seeking freedom by way of Cumberland Island where British law protected them from

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131. James T. Vocelle, *History of Camden County, Georgia* (Kingsland, Ga.: *Southeast Georgian,* 1914; repr. 1967), pp. 57, 59; Arnow, "History of St. Marys," n.p. but under chapter titled "War of 1812 Comes."

132. "The River & Town of St. Mary's," n.d., N35, Record Group 77 (Civil Works Map File), National Archives. (See Illustration 10, p. 118).

133. Baldwin to Darlington, Nov. 28, 1816, and Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Apr. 12, 1815, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae,* pp. 164-65, 338-39.

134. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco,* p. 289.

Illustration 10.

"The River & Town of St. Mary's," ca. 1815.

No. 4.

PART OF EAST FLORIDA.

THE RIVER & TOWN OF St. MARY'S.

Scale One Inch to One Mile

The Americans effected their retreat over this causeway after the battle on the 13th January 1815

The Landing Place of the British Troops on the 13 Jany 1815

Proposed Redoubt

St. MARYS.

St. Mary's River.

Millers

Point Peter

CUMBERLAND RIVER.

CUMBERLAND ISLAND.

British Camp

Mr Millers Head Quarters of the British Forces

TYGER ISLAND.

NORTH POINT OF AMELIA ISLAND.

FERNANDINA.

slavery. Admiral Cockburn was quick to remind the Spanish governor that Cumberland Island, because of occupation, was under British law, which prohibited slavery. He denied that there were Spanish refugees on the island, but to console the governor he granted any owner of lost slaves the privilege of searching the island, and if the latter did find his slaves and they were willing to return to their master, the admiral would let them go.[135]

While Admiral Cockburn may have been correct in his disclaimer that he was not harboring slaves from East Florida, he was accused in later years of confiscating slaves from Georgia plantations. In the early 1820s several plantation owners from Jekyll Island--one in particular by the name of Poulain DuBignon--claimed that the British had confiscated their slaves and had removed them to Cumberland Island. Many of the slaves were placed in the employ of the British, and in fact one such slave had been seen on Louisa Shaw's property. In 1822 an American planter by the name of Forbes also brought claim in the Court of King's Bench against Admiral Cockburn in which he was awarded £3,800 in damages for the confiscation of thirty-eight of his slaves "carried off from Cumberland Island."[136]

At the end of February 1815, after an unsucessful attempt to storm the regions of the St. Marys River, Admiral Cockburn and his forces evacuated Cumberland Island. Although St. Marys had suffered considerably from British occupation, the same could not be said for Cumberland Island. Dr. Baldwin, who returned to St. Marys after the British evacuation, has left us with a report that "At Dungeness, on Cumberland, the devastation was comparatively trifling. About 300 lemon trees, and some fig trees, that interfered with the fortifications of the enemy, were cut down."[137]

J. Louisa Shaw Period (1814-1831)

Except for some lands owned by Nathanael Ray Greene's children (but managed by him) on Cumberland Island, Louisa, now married, had inherited all of Dungeness plantation and a smaller estate at Oakland. She was the only member of the Greene family to live continuously on the island after Catherine died. Her brother Nathanael, who lived in Greenwich, Rhode Island, had give Ethan Clarke, his father-in-law, Power of Attorney to act in his behalf on all his

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135. Cockburn to Gov. Don Sebastian Kindelan, Feb. 13, 1815, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, on microfilm, vol. 410, no. 3, in Georgia Department of Archives and History.

136. *Georgian*, Sept. 17, 1822, p. 2, col. 2, microfilm, Rice University; Sworn statements of Poulain DuBignon and others, 1821-1827, manuscripts in the possession of the Jekyll Island State Park Authority. The author is grateful to Superintendent Paul McCrary for acquiring these papers.

137. Baldwin to Muhlenberg, Apr. 12, 1815, *Reliquiae Baldwinianae*, p. 167; Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, p. 289.

interests in Georgia. In 1818 he leased his Rayfield plantation, including his slaves and personal property (except his boat, gun, and horse), to his father-in-law. In return, Clarke was to manage the plantation and account for all profits. In addition to the lease of the plantation, Nathanael was to pay Clarke $400 a year.[138]

With her mother gone, Louisa assumed the position of mistress of Dungeness. While her husband and later her favorite nephew, Phineas M. Nightingale (Martha's son), assumed some of the legal responsibilities of her plantation, Louisa became deeply involved in the cultivation of crops and in making her plantation a successful enterprise. Her knowledge of horticulture and her diligence and efficiency as a planter had made her prominent in the coastal regions of Georgia, and together with Thomas Spalding of Sapelo Island and James Hamilton Couper of St. Simons Island she became involved in various experiments in the cultivation of foreign crops. Muhlenberg had mentioned in one of his letters to Baldwin that Hamilton knew of Louisa's work in horticulture. Her mother had noted with pride to Eli Whitney that Louisa was completely dedicated to the management of the plantation.[139] Dr. Baldwin had the highest regard for her abilities when he referred to her as first among female botanists. In 1829 one Savannah newspaper referred to the experiments that she and Spalding were conducting on the growth of olives on the islands of Cumberland, Sapelo, and St. Simons. Another newspaper described the olives from Cumberland Island, perhaps with some exaggeration, as "equalling the foreign production to all things but size."[140] Well-known members of the Academy of Natural Sciences were visiting Cumberland Island, and it is very likely that Louisa was their host.[141]

While sea island cotton remained a significant product on the island, oranges also assumed an important role. This was especially true at Dungeness and at Oakland. Contemporary newspapers reveal a continuous flow of advertisements on the sale of oranges grown on Cumberland Island. In November 1827 Louisa offered 200,000 "Sweet Oranges," still on trees at Dungeness, for sale. Two weeks later 30,000 oranges and thirty bales of sea island cotton (an indication that this product was still popular on the island) arrived in Savannah from Cumberland Island to be marketed. Ten days later a notice appeared in a

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138. Power of Attorney, Nov. 18, 1816, and Agreement between N. R. Greene and Ethan Clarke, Jan. 26, 1818, Liber of Deeds K, pp. 5-6, 69-71.

139. Miller to Whitney, Apr. 3, 1811, Whitney Collection, Yale University.

140. *Georgian*, Nov. 30, 1829, Savannah, Ga., p. 2, col. 1, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; *Savannah Georgian*, Dec. 12, 1827, p. 2, col. 1, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

141. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette*, Mar. 11, 1818, p. 2, col. 1, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

newspaper advertising the sale of 4,000 "fresh oranges" from the island. About two weeks later still more oranges and cotton were arriving in Savannah, and several other shipments were made between 1828 and 1830.[142]

While orange production remained heavy in later years, Louisa's experiments with olives were also bearing fruit. In 1830 one Savannah newspaper noted that among the articles brought by a steamboat to Charleston were "several kegs and jars of Georgia Olives, produced on Cumberland Island, the residence of Mrs. Shaw." "That lady," said this paper, "has, we believe, upwards of fifty bearing trees at Dungeness."[143]

In between her work on the plantation Louisa found time to function as the hostess of Dungeness, a skill she had learned so well from her mother. It was in February 1818 that General Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, former subordinate of General Greene during the southern campaign, landed on the island on his return from the West Indies. He was aging and infirm, and his days were numbered. At Dungeness he was befriended by Louisa and her husband. After enjoying the hospitality of his hostess, he died on March 25, 1818, in Dungeness. The stories that have been handed down over the years concerning his last days at Dungeness are not documented, but there is no doubt that his presence there must have moved his hostess deeply, for he was buried in the family plot alongside Catherine and Phineas Miller.

In later years his famous son visited the cemetery on at least two occasions.[144] The remains were removed to Lexington, Virginia, in 1913 and buried where his illustrious son Robert E. Lee lies. A memorial still remains in the burial plot on Cumberland Island.

Louisa also found time to travel, because she left many of her affairs, particulary after the death of her husband, in the capable hands of her nephew, Phineas, who in later years did much of the selling of her crops.

It is interesting to note that in later years she sought to rent her

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142. *Savannah Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1827, p. 2, col. 5; *ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1827, p. 2, col. 5; *ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1827, p. 3, col. 3; *ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1828, p. 2, col. 4; *ibid.*, Apr. 12, 1828, p. 3, col. 1; *Georgian*, Dec. 16, 1829, p. 3, col. 1; and *ibid.*, Mar. 17, 1830, p. 3, col. 4, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

143. *Georgian*, Jan. 8, 1830, p. 2, col. 1, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

144. Charles C. Jones, Jr., "Reminiscences of the Last Days, Death and Burial of Gen. Henry Lee," *Southern Review* 9, no. 19 (1870); *Dictionary of American Biography*, 6:107-8; Vocelle, *History of Camden County*, pp. 75-77. Although March 25 is given as the official date of his death, his obituary gave the date as March 27. See *Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette*, Mar. 31, 1818, p. 2, col. 2, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

mansion while on her travels. In 1825 she advertised to rent her house either for one summer or eighteen months, whichever was preferred. The advertisement described the facilities as follows:

> The House is situated within a half mile of a very fine beach and is quite open to the sea. There is an excellent spring of water, and a good garden, and peach orchard, attached to it, with all the out buildings necessary to the comfort of a family. Milk and butter to be supplied if necessary. The post town of St. Mary's is only eight miles distant and vessels are running constantly between that place, Charleston and Savannah.
>
> Also to rent, either with or without an Orangeway. . . .[145]

During the Shaw period, Cumberland Island remained largely a moderate wilderness inhabited by a small number of families. The St. Marys post office delivered mail to the island's residents only once a week.[146] While their size may have been exaggerated, bears were sometimes reported on the island.[147] Shipwrecks, as in earlier days, were still not an infrequent occurrence, and pirates and other characters of ill-repute continued to use the island to hide from the clutches of the law.[148]

While Louisa Shaw was busily occupied with her plantations, other residents of the island were either expanding their properties or selling their lands. Some lost their properties through default. In 1818, 900 acres of land, "about 300 acres of which is planting land," containing a "good dwelling house" were put up for sale by the heirs of Peter Ward.[149] Four years later, 960 acres of land known as Plum Orchard were for sale by Charles Ward to satisfy unpaid taxes.[150] The following year Peter Bernardy purchased two separate tracts of land, each consisting of 500 acres, from John P. and Charles H. Ward.

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145. *Savannah Republican*, Apr. 13, 1825, microfilm, Rice University.

146. *Georgian*, Nov. 25, 1829, p. 2, col. 2, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

147. *Daily Georgian*, Dec. 28, 1820, p. 2, col. 4, microfilm, Rice University.

148. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Gazette*, July 23, 1818, p. 2, col. 4; *ibid.*, July 28, 1818, p. 2, col. 4; and *ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1818, p. 2, col. 4, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; *Georgian*, Oct. 2, 1824, p.2, col. 2, microfilm, Rice University.

149. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette*, Apr. 28, 1818, p. 3, col. 5, and *ibid.*, May 4, 1818, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

150. *Georgian*, Nov. 25, 1822, p. 4, col. 3, microfilm, Rice University.

One of these tracts formerly had been granted to Peter Vandyke in 1776.[151] The following year Bernardy gave one quarter of this plantation (Plum Orchard) that totalled 1,240 acres to Catherine Corb in return for her hand in marriage. He also gave her sixteen of his slaves. At the time he made this agreement he turned over to his mother, Margaret Bernardy, half of Plum Orchard plantation.[152] Thus it would appear that he retained one quarter of Plum Orchard for himself.

An advertisement appearing in 1820 reveals that the heirs of Thomas Lynch owned 5,500 acres of land on Cumberland Island.[153]

Except for six acres owned by the State of Georgia, the southern tip of the island, some 200 acres, belonged to Catherine Fitzgerald and John M. Osborn. This land was just south of Dungeness. In 1824 Louisa Shaw purchased this land, minus six acres, from the county, which had foreclosed on the property to satisfy a judgement brought against the owners. Louisa bid $495 for this land, and its acquisition gave her almost complete control of the southern end of the island.[154]

Other families who were residents of the island during this period were the Staffords, the Downes (who owned a sizeable plantation near High Point), and the Floyds.[155] The cemetery at the north end of the island reveals that during this and later periods, Bunkleys, Millers, and Faders were also residents of the island at the north end.

On April 24, 1831, Louisa Shaw died at Dungeness after a brief illness,[156] thus ending the second generation of Greenes on Cumberland Island. She had no children, and her husband, James Shaw, had died much earlier. In her will she left most of her estate on the island to her nephew Phineas Miller Nightingale, but her other nephews and nieces were also remembered. Her two plantations,

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151. Indenture, Oct. 8, 1823, Liber of Deeds L, pp. 35-37.

152. Indenture, Aug. 16, 1824, pp. 38-39, and Indenture, Aug. 16, 1824, p. 38.

153. *Daily Georgian*, Nov. 27, 1820, p. 4, col. 4, microfilm, Rice University.

154. *Georgian*, Apr. 1, 1824, p. 2, col. 6, microfilm, Rice University; Indenture, May 10, 1824, Liber of Deeds L, pp. 59-60.

155. *Georgian*, Mar. 3, 1831, p. 2, col. 4; *Savannah Gazette*, Mar. 24, 1829, p. 3, col. 1, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; List of the late Robert Stafford's Children, Jan. 16, 1821, Liber of Deeds K, p. 275.

156. *Georgian*, May 5, 1831, p. 2, col. 6, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

Dungeness and Oakland, as well as a small tract at the south end of the island and all her slaves went to Phineas. The following valuable heirlooms, some of which had been passed on to her by her mother, also went to Phineas:

1. Portraits of his grandfather (General Greene) and grandmother (Catherine)

2. Portrait of General Washington

3. All plates marked "N.G." or "C.M." (initials of his grandparents)

4. Half the teaspoons engraved with a buck's head

5. All books bearing his grandparents' name

6. Half the beds, mattresses, pillows, and bed and table linen.[157]

The will brings to light several interesting aspects of Louisa's personality. Although she was very young when her father died, she cherished his memory. In her will she left Phineas responsibility for erecting a monument to the memory of "my honored Father" in the Presbyterian Independent Church in Savannah. Phineas was to consult with Louisa's friend Judge Berrien as to the proper inscription, and the monument was to cost $1,000.

Perhaps more significant in the will were her views concerning her slaves. In this respect she assumed the same paternalism so frequently displayed by slaveholders of that time. Phineas, or his successors in the event of his demise, was forbidden

> Any sale Exchange or alienation of my negroes whatever. It being my will that they should as far as possible be all kept together and descend to my future Heirs in the order which I have hereinbefore dictated, and as in this last solemn act of my life I feel it a very peculiar and binding duty to guard the happiness and comforts of these poor people in every way in my power. I hereby positively prohibit my said negroes from being removed to any place over Fifty miles from Cumberland Island unless a war or some circumstance which menaces their safety should in the opinions of my Heirs and Executors render such a measure necessary in which case one or more of them shall go before a magistrate and swear that in their opinion such removal is positively necessary to the safe keeping of said Negroes, and that they are to be returned to their homes in Camden County as soon as the circumstances of the County will render it safe to them.[158]

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157. Copy of the Last Will and Testament of Louisa C. Shaw, 1829, Recorded May 3, 1831, Book B, pp. 7-14, Camden County Clerk's Office.

158. *Ibid.*

The following excerpt from her will provides additional evidence of the extent to which she went to provide security for her faithful slaves:

> As there is no part of this Instrument of writing that has caused me half the Embarrassment and perplexity I have felt in making a proper provision for and securing as far as in me lies the future happiness and comfort of my faithful affectionate and long tried servant Aboo, I trust that my dear Nephew Phineas Miller Nightingale and my highly respected young friend Henry Sadler Esqr will pardon the liberty I hereby take of naming them for Trustees to her the said Aboo and her infant child Emily. It is my will that my said Servant Aboo should go where and reside where she pleases having full liberty to follow her own inclinations in all matters and things connected with the future mode of life of herself and her child Emily. As however it is my belief that she will be happier and better off at Cumberland Island than any where else it is my particular request to my Nephew Phineas Miller Nightingale that he should build for her a mat [*sic*] house and that she should have possession of the same as long as she lives. I also give devise and bequeath to my said Servant Aboo six of my black chamber chairs a small common bedstead six common cups and saucers, a tea pot, plate etc of common ware, a good mattrass [*sic*], Three pair of Cotton Sheets, three blankets and in short all the little comforts that may be necessary for her with all my clothes not already specified. It is further my will that my said Nephew Phineas Miller Nightingale shall pay to my said Servant Aboo, One Hundred Dollars a year as long as she lives to be paid Twenty Five Dols. a quarter--that he also supplies her with Twenty Five Bushels of Corn and fifty pounds of Bacon a year as long as she lives. I intreat my dear Nephew Phineas Miller Nightingale as he loves my memory and as he shall hope to have his will executed when he too shall be called to render up an account of things done in the flesh that he shall fulfil scrupulously my will in all its parts with respect to this my excellent and highly valued servant--and I do this the more earnestly because I feel that she will require all that he can do for her. Every part of this my will respecting this my Servant Aboo I make by this instrument of writing as binding and obligatory on the successors and representatives of my said Nephew Phineas Miller Nightingale as it is or may be on himself.[159]

Her strong attachment to her nephew and to her niece Margaret, Phineas's sister, is made very clear in her will, where she referred to them as her adopted son and daughter. She gave them advice that only a mother could give to her children:

> I make it my dying and solemn request that they will both endeavor to preserve inviolate their friendship and kindness towards each other. If ever any cause of dissention should unfortunately arise

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159. *Ibid.*

between them let each one bear in mind the commands of Our Blessed Redeemer to bear and forbear.[160]

K. Phineas Miller Nightingale Period (1831-1860), and Slavery

Phineas Miller Nightingale was about twenty-eight years of age when he inherited Dungeness and Oakland plantations from his aunt. One visitor to the island still referred to Dungeness as a "superb mansion."[161]

An extremely interesting and valuable map of 1843 depicts an accurate layout of Dungeness plantation while Nightingale was its owner.[162] The mansion is clearly shown, although outbuildings are not depicted. The mansion lies just to the north of the great gardens, which form what is almost a rectangle. To the north of the mansion and the gardens, divided by a road that runs from the mansion in a northward direction, are large orchards, probably consisting of orange trees with some olive trees. These orchards cover a wide area. To the east of the orchards and the gardens is a huge cleared field extending almost to the ocean, which is probably where the famous sea island cotton was grown. Today this area is covered largely by forest. To the east, about one third of the way between the gardens and the beach, almost surrounded by the cotton fields, is the Greene-Miller Cemetery.

The raising of crops on the island was still a significant industry despite the destruction caused by the frost of 1835, and in some areas production was greater than ever. Although the frost had destroyed several orange trees, by 1846 oranges were still an important export item. Sea island cotton was still growing in significant quantities, and timber was sacrificed to provide larger fields. In 1832 Nightingale advertised the sale of timber on reasonable terms in order to clear his lands for more cotton. He had 30,000 feet of timber to sell that could be used for shipbuilding.[163] George White, writing in the 1840s, reported that sea island cotton on the island averaged 200 pounds per acre. Other crops were doing equally well. Corn averaged twelve bushels per acre and sweet potatoes seventy. He also reported that wildlife--deer, raccoons, oppossums, and fish of every variety--was abundant on the island. Although half of all the land was not suitable for cultivation, the other half was worth eight dollars per acre. Tropical fruits such as

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160. *Ibid.*

161. *Georgian,* Apr. 26, 1834, p. 2, col. 4, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

162. "Map of Cumberland Sound and Amelia Bar. Surveyed by Captain J. Mackay, Corps Topl. Engineers. Commanding. Lieuts. M. L. Smith and J. Pope . . . J. S. Williams, Civil Engineer. 1843," N16A-1, Record Group 77 (Civil Works Map File), National Archives. (See Illustration 11, p. 130).

163. *Georgian,* Oct. 18, 1832, p. 3. col. 2, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

oranges, lemons, figs, dates, pomegranates, and olives continued to grow in sufficient quantities, but not all to satisfy exports.[164]

White had other significant statistics to offer concerning the island. In 1846 the population consisted of 36 whites (13 adult males, 8 adult women, 8 boys, and 7 girls) and 400 blacks.[165] These figures differ somewhat from those in 1837. At that time the island's white population was 30 and the black population was 200.[166] The doubling of the black population may have been due to an increase in the growth of cotton and other crops.

Social life at Dungeness continued under Nightingale pretty much in the style of Catherine Miller and Louisa Shaw. Visitors were always welcomed, and weddings were a familiar sight. In December 1836 Nightingale's sister Emily was married at Dungeness to George H. Johnston of St. Catherine's Island. Six months later his other sister, Louisa S. Turner, was also married there to Byron M. Morel.[167]

Dungeness also suffered its share of traumas. In 1838 the steamboat *Pulaski*, carrying Mrs. Nightingale, her child, and a servant in company with James Hamilton Couper from St. Simons Island, exploded and sank off the coast of North Carolina. Due mostly to Couper's heroism, Mrs. Nightingale and her party were saved.[168]

Nightingale followed other interests in addition to growing crops. In 1837 he sought twenty slaves to work for four months cutting out a road between St. Marys and Columbus. It was common practice for a planter to loan his slaves for hire on construction jobs when there was a temporary lull in plantation work. That same year Nightingale and James Hamilton Couper were in partnership as contractors building the State-supported Brunswick-Altamaha Canal. Here again, the partners advertised for slaves as well as for Irish laborers.[169]

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164. George White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia: including an account of its Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History* (Savannah, Ga.: W. Thorne Williams, 1849; repr. 1972), pp. 139-40.

165. *Ibid.*

166. Sherwood, *gazetteer of the state of Georgia*, p. 160.

167. *Georgian*, Jan. 11, 1837, p. 2, col. 5; *ibid.*, June 27, 1837, p. 2, col. 5, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

168. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1838, p. 2, col. 3, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-1839*, ed. John A. Scott (London: Longman, Green, 1863; repr. 1961), p. 338.

169. *Georgian*, June 15, 1837, p. 3, col. 1, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; Kemble, *Journal of a Residence*, p. 104.

Illustration 11.

Map of Cumberland Sound and Amelia Bar, 1843.

MAP

OF

CUMBERLAND SOUND

AND

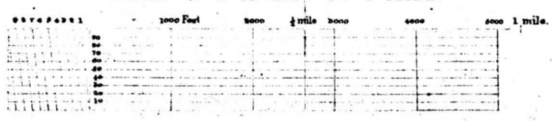
AMELIA BAR.

SURVEYED BY

CAPTAIN J. MACKAY Corps Topl Engineers. Commanding
Lieuts. M.L.SMITH and J. POPE do. do.
J. S.WILLIAMS Civil Engineer.

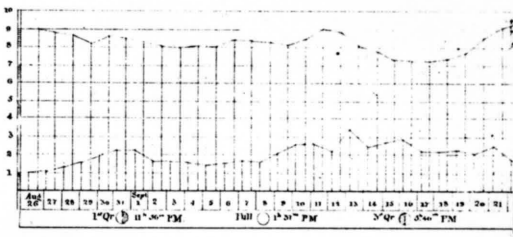
1843.

SCALE OF 6 INCHES TO 1 MILE.



The soundings are given in feet at ordinary low water.

Tide scale



Dungeness
CUMBERLAND ISLAND
BEACH CREEK
Point Petre
ST MARY'S RIVER
CUMBERLAND SOUND
Line of deepest water
JOLLY RIVER
TIGER ISLAND
Cumberland Channel
Pelican Bank
Line of ordinary Low water
Line of ordinary High water
Fernandina
AMELIA RIVER
AMELIA IS
Fernandez
BELL'S RIVER
Line of Jetties
Oak Scrub

Nightingale may also have dealt in the slave trade during these years. One descendant of slaves has said that his grandfather had been sent to Dungeness "to trade in slaves" and was never seen again. Another descendant, when still a youngster, was told by his great grandmother that she had come to America on a large boat that landed off Cumberland Island "on a big dock" during the time of Mr. Nightingale. She and other slaves were placed in a small "pick house" for safety. This descendant noted that the chimney of this house was still standing (1940) about 200 yards out in the river off Cumberland Island.[170] Once before, during Catherine Miller's time, Dungeness had served as a temporary station for slaves. This was a fairly common practice among plantation owners.

Soon after he assumed the ownership of Dungeness and Oakland, Nightingale began to increase his holdings by purchasing lands from his neighbors. In one major sweep he picked up five tracts of land from the heirs of Thomas Lynch, Jr. These were tracts Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, and 11 in the plat of 1800 that divided Cumberland Island between the heirs of Greene and Lynch. This purchase cost him $13,500.[171] He also sold some of his land to his neighbors. One year after he made this large purchase, Nightingale sold Lot No. 4 (600 acres) to Robert Stafford, who already owned land adjacent to this property. On the same day he sold to Winefred Downs 250 acres bounded on the north by Downs's plantation.[172]

The records of the period reveal that Nightingale was engaged in several ventures. He bought and sold land, and borrowed extensively while mortgaging his holdings on Cumberland Island. The results of these ventures were not always favorable.

In August 1839 Nightingale placed an advertisement in a Savannah newspaper indicating a willingness to sell a plantation, consisting of 3,820 acres, on Cumberland Island. Because of the description of this plantation, the advertisement is quoted almost in full:

For Sale on Cumberland Island

A Valuable Plantation, which for advantages of climate, soil and situation cannot be surpassed on the Coast of Georgia. It contains 3,820 acres (by actual survey) exclusive of salt marsh, of these 2100 are hammock lands of which 850 are cleared and in good condi-

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170. Writers Program, Georgia, Works Progress Administration, *Drums and Shadows, survival studies among the Georgia coastal Negroes* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1940), pp. 182, 192.

171. Deed, May 27, 1831, Liber of Deeds M, pp. 37-40; Agreement between P. M. Nightingale and Heirs of Thomas Lynch, Jr., May 27, 1831, in *ibid*, pp. 58-59.

172. Deed, Mar. 27, 1832, in *ibid.*, pp. 44-45; Deed, Mar. 27, 1832, in *ibid.*, p. 44.

tion, 400 having been lately cleared. Also on is [*sic*] and swamp of 400 acres of a quality of land equal to any in the world, 200 are cleared, drained and in perfect order. The corn now on it is estimated at 50 bushels the acre. The whole crop of corn, cane and cotton will show its [produce evenly?] The scrub and pine lands [contiguous?] afford an excellent range for horses, cattle and hogs. The whole may be conveniently divided into three tracts, with a good landing on each. The buildings on the place are stables, a smith's shop, *22 negro houses*, a large and commodious cotton house, a gin house, with 2 gins, an overseer's house, and other convenient out houses, with corn cribs for housing 4000 bushels of corn. Adjoining the planting land are extensive marshes convenient for manuring[?] and the waters abound in fish and oysters. Cumberland Island is not only healthy, but also favorable to the production of tropical fruits. The orange, citron, lemon, lime and olive, are now growing there in perfection, and may be seen at any time.

* * * * *

P. M. Nightingale [173]

It should be of interest to note that while this advertisement contains a detailed description of facilities, including a house for the overseer, it says nothing about a mansion, house, or living quarters for the owner. This leads one to suspect that the plantation referred to is not Dungeness, but might be Oakland. In any event, no deed has been found immediately following this advertisement that would indicate that the land was sold. On the other hand, a long series of land transactions follow, which, while confusing to a clear understanding of events, leave little doubt that Nightingale was in trouble.

A legal instrument dated August 1, 1843, reveals that Martha Washington Turner, Nightingale's mother, successfully bid $500 for 2,000 acres of the "Dungeness Tract," land which went into receivership in default of a loan.[174] In these years Dungeness is described as "going to ruin."[175] Four days after the above instrument was finalized, 1,200 acres of Oakland plantation that had gone into receivership and its slaves were sold at auction to Robert Stafford.[176] To the south of this land was Stafford's Rayfield plantation. On the same day Stafford assumed ownership of 3,000 acres of land formerly owned by Nightingale but now also in receivership. Stafford bid $3,000 for this

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173. *Georgian*, Aug. 30, 1839, p. 3, col. 2, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

174. Indenture, Aug. 1, 1843, Liber of Deeds V, pp. 498-99.

175. White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia*, p. 139.

176. Indenture, Aug. 5, 1843, Liber of Deeds N, pp. 522-24.

property, which was located between Rayfield plantation on the north and Oakland plantation on the south.[177] This might have been the land that was put up for sale in 1839 but never sold.

Three months later, in a series of transactions, Martha Washington Turner conveyed Dungeness plantation with "houses, outhouses, edifices, buildings, stables, yards, gardens" to Margaret Greene, Nathanael Ray Greene's daughter, for $6,000. On the same day Margaret conveyed 4,000 acres "known as Dungeness" to Phineas Miller Nightingale for $10,000.[178] In the absence of further information, these transactions might appear odd, but in all probability they were accomplished as part of a plan designed to prevent these lands from falling into the hands of individuals other than Greene heirs.

Nightingale's business dealings employing his lands did not end here. At the end of 1856 he placed 3,000 acres of land "known as Dungeness" as security for a loan of $40,000 from James Legare and John Colcock.[179] While there are no records of what became of this mortgage, it is safe to say that on the eve of the Civil War Dungeness plantation remained in Nightingale's possession. It may be also significant to note that while Margaret Greene had sold 4,000 acres of Dungeness plantation to her cousin, Nightingale, the latter gave as security only 3,000 acres. Nightingale may have reserved for himself that portion containing the mansion. Thus, even if he defaulted on his loan, at least 1,000 acres, containing the mansion, would still remain in his possession.

As Nightingale's fortunes on Cumberland Island declined, the fortunes of other plantation owners on the island grew. Robert Stafford, Jr., in particular, profitted from Nightingale's misfortune. By the 1840s he was by far the biggest plantation owner on the island. His uncle, Robert Stafford, and his father, Thomas, had purchased land on the island sometime before General Greene moved there. In 1820, after his father's death, Robert Stafford, Jr., his mother (Lucy Stafford Spaulding), and his sister (Susan Hawkins) divided his father's slaves and horses among themselves. Stafford, Jr., must have inherited most of the property. After Louisa Shaw died, Stafford purchased much of the land held by Nathanael Ray Greene and Nightingale. From the former he purchased Rayfield plantation, including fifty-three slaves.[180]

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177. Indenture, Aug. 5, 1843, in *ibid.*, pp. 524-25.

178. Indenture, Nov. 9, 1843, Liber of Deeds O, pp. 133-34; Indenture, Nov. 9, 1843, Liber of Deeds P, pp. 424-25.

179. Deed to Negotiate a Loan, Dec. 30, 1856, Liber of Deeds P, pp. 425-26.

180. Division of Stafford Estate, Jan. 4, 1820, Liber of Deeds K, p. 228; Deed, Apr. 2, 1834, Liber of Deeds M, pp. 191-94.

On the eve of the Civil War, Stafford owned about 8,000 acres of land, and the largest number of slaves on the island, whose primary duties were to cultivate sea island cotton. His cotton, it was said, could command the high price of seventy-five cents a pound. His land was divided into two plantations, each under separate management. He thus was able to stimulate enough competition between the two plantations to produce the largest and best crops. Stafford also raised wild ponies, known as marsh tackys, that were often sold to parties willing to catch them.[181]

There were other plantation owners on Cumberland Island during this period, but none were as big as Stafford. Plum Orchard, purchased by Peter Bernardy in 1823, was in the hands of his daughter Margaret Bernardy in the 1840s.[182] Thomas P. Bunkley, James A Clubb, Isham Spaulding, David Thompson, and John W. Dubose also owned land, sometimes jointly at the north end of Great Cumberland Island. Some of this land had been sold to them by Nightingale in 1832.[183] John W. Gray owned about 500 acres, known as Spring Garden plantation, which were just to the south of Stafford's land. Gray, who lived there with his wife and five children, raised sea island cotton with the help of twenty-five slaves. In the 1840s Gray died and his children prevailed upon their mother to sell the land and move to Savannah. The Gray property was purchased by Stafford.[184] Catherine Lehn (or Laen) also owned property near Plum Orchard, some of which may have been absorbed by Stafford in 1842.[185]

Winefred Downs and Thomas Hawkins owned lands at the north end of the island, the former consisting eventually of the Longwood, Fairmont, and High Point plantations--some 3,000 acres. Downes's property was severely damaged by one of several hurricanes on the island. Robert J. Delaney had at one time owned the Longwood plantation, consisting of about 700 acres, and Alexander Holsendorf was the owner of another of these estates.[186]

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181. James S. Silva, *Early Reminiscence of Camden County, Georgia By An Old St. Marys Boy In His 82nd Year, 1914-1915* (Kingsland, Ga.: The Southeast Georgian, Inc., [1976]), [p.8].

182. Indenture, Dec. 28, 1841, Liber of Deeds N, p. 372.

183. Deed, Mar. 27, 1832, in *ibid.*, pp. 245-47.

184. Indenture, Mar. 13, 1842, in *ibid.*, pp. 383-84; Indenture, Feb. 5, 1844, in *ibid*, pp, 556-57; Silva, *Early Reminiscence*, [p. 8].

185. Indenture, Sept. 10, 1842, Liber of Deeds N, pp. 433-34; Works Progress Administration, *Annals of Savannah 1850-1937: A digest and Index of the Newspaper Record of Events and Opinions in Eighty-Seven Volumes, 1857*, abstracts from files of the *Savannah Morning News*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1937), pp. 3-4.

186. Indenture, Feb. 1, 1832, Liber of Deeds M, pp. 36-37; indenture, July 9, 1844, Liber of Deeds O, pp. 30-31.

Slavery on Cumberland Island, as on all plantations in the south, was an important institution. One source during the Nightingale period noted that there were 200 slaves on the island. A second source, reporting several years later, said there were 400.

Slavery existed here from the time plantations came into existence, and it flourished during Catherine Miller's residence. The growing of sea island cotton and the introduction of other crops undoubtedly had much to do with the institution's development. On the other hand, Phineas Miller had to bring in white labor from New England to cut his timber. The leasing of slaves for construction work may have become more prevalent in later years; Phineas Nightingale participated in this activity from time to time.

Because of its relative isolation and its location, Cumberland Island may have done much to influence the character of its slaves. As was true on other islands off the coast of Georgia, the slaves of Cumberland Island had their own unique character. George White observed in 1846 that because of the temperate and healthy climate of the island, its Negroes lived to a great age.[187] Guion Johnson, in his thorough study of the social history of the sea islands, has concluded from travelers in the South and from slave masters themselves that the island slaves were less advanced culturally than the up-country or Piedmont slaves, simply because they had less contact with civilizing forces. He also observed that the slaves on small plantations were more culturally civilized than those on larger plantations of the same island.[188] The isolated nature of the island slave made him less mobile than his mainland counterpart. At least this was true in the earlier years before slaves were hired out for construction work. One could conclude from all this, therefore, that the slaves from Cumberland Island were more docile and passive than the slaves of the mainland, and thus more dependent on their masters.

The isolated nature of Cumberland Island did not prevent runaways. In 1811 two runaway slaves belonging to Mrs. Brailesford, who lived at the north end, were apprehended as far north as Savannah. In 1827 one of Louisa Shaw's slaves also ran off. It was believed that he had gone to visit his wife near Darien, Georgia. Louisa offered a reward of fifty dollars for his capture.[189] It may be of interest to note in this respect that while many southern planters preferred to keep slave families together, Louisa Shaw did not necessarily abide by this practice.

Attitudes of slaves often reflected their relationships with their owners. If their owners demonstrated a deep concern for their well-being, slaves usu-

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187. White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia*, p. 139.

188. Johnson, *Social History of the Sea Islands*, p. 126.

189. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, May 6, 1811, p. 4, col. 2, and *ibid.*, July 22, 1811, p. 2, col. 1, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; *Savannah Gazette*, Jan. 4, 1828, p. 2, col. 6, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

ally remained loyal. The attitude of such owners was usually a paternalistic one. Catherine Miller, who normally was inclined to be protective of everyone she liked, demonstrated a deep concern for her slaves. She avoided at all costs selling any of them in order to satisfy a debt. Louisa also demonstrated a very deep concern for her personal slave and her child by giving them their freedom and providing for their future in her will.

The ruins of slave cabins on Cumberland Island are significant evidence of the manner in which slaves lived during the plantation era. Historical accounts of slave quarters and the life of a slave on the island are few and sketchy. However, James S. Silva, who lived in St. Marys as a teenager and who visited Cumberland Island frequently, has left us with a vivid description (if not a defense of the institution of slavery) of how the slaves lived on the Stafford and Gray plantations. Although Silva's description often includes the slaves in the St. Marys area, one can be certain, because of the closeness of that area to Cumberland Island, that the customs and practices of the mainland slaves did not vary greatly from those on the island. Silva says that the slaves

> were comfortably housed in small cabins, each with sufficient ground for a garden, hen house and a pig pen. Married couples and their children were quartered together and the unmarried males and females were located separately in different sections. They were furnished with bedding, clothing and shoes, though many of them went without shoes during the warm season. Rations of corn or grits, meal, bacon, salt and articles of food grown on the plantations varied occasionally, were issued weekly. Oysters, fish, crabs and shrimp were abundant and could be had for the taking. Coons and 'possums stocked the marshes so with the products of their little gardens, these people fared sumptously, as compared with the poverty stricken whites that circle the globe.
>
> There were houses used as hospitals, where the sick were cared for and given medical attention.
>
> Places for church meetings and Sunday schools were provided and the Christian religion was expounded to the old and the young. For reasons deemed sufficient they were not taught to read. The labor expected from them did not overtax their strength. Each day of the week except Sunday they were alloted a reasonable amount of work, called tasks, which could be performed by a diligent worker in from eight to nine hours.
>
> All worked, men, women, and children who were old enough, and to each was given a task in proportion to their ability to perform it. The work was principally by hand, the hoe being the main implement. Labor saving agricultural devices were few then. After the completion of the task they were at liberty to devote the remainder of the day as suited their inclinations, for rest, sport or the cultivation of their gardens. Sometimes for extra work for several days they earned a holiday.

They planted little patches of sugar cane, pumpkins, melons, or whatever they cared for and raised chickens and hogs. At times when they had earned a holiday they were allowed the use of the large plantation boats to carry their produce to St. Marys for sale and the money received was invested in luxuries not supplied by their owners. The Fourth of July was one of their regular holidays and the arrival at St. Marys of many boatloads of fine sea island watermelons announced the opening of the melon season.

Christmas week was the greatest time of enjoyment for all the slaves in the neighborhood of St. Marys. Dancing was the most popular amusement for that week, but not the questionable dances of the present, but the Virginia Reel and jigs and breakdowns. I remember the old vacant house near the river, just around the corner from where I lived at St. Marys, where they gathered and capered to the music of the violin and tambourine made by two dusky amateurs and kept it up all day. These gatherings were peaceful, as they were not allowed to own pistols and the use of the razor as a weapon of offense had not yet been developed.

On the less agreeable side was the calaboose and the whipping post for the refractory and the vicious, but there was no patent right on these, as the same punishments were meted out to the white seamen of the navies of the world. Cruelty to the slaves of the south was the exception and not the rule. There was in a majority of cases a bond of friendship between the families of the owners and of the slaves. Their children grew up and played together and the white boy often fought in defense of his slave companion. The white children called the old Negroes daddy and mammy and the younger ones, uncle and aunt.

It afforded me much pleasure to be allowed to go out into the kitchen at night and sit at the broad fireplace and listen to the folklore stories of Brer Rabbit and Brer Fox and the other animals and the tar baby, told by Aunt Jane, our slave cook. They were just like some of the stories you read in "Uncle Remus" now.[190]

Frances Kemble, the English actress who was a resident of one of the Georgia islands for some time, and Frederick Law Olmsted, the American landscape architect who travelled in the south, have left us with accounts of their experiences with slavery.[191] Olmsted, with an eye for architectural detail, has provided an excellent description of slave quarters. Although his description concerns Negro settlements common to the very large plantations found on the mainland, much of what he described was also relevant to the smaller plantations of Cumberland Island. He writes that

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190. Silva, *Early Reminiscence,* [pp. 10-11].

191. Kemble, *Journal of a Residence, passim;* Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States In the Years 1853-1854,* 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904).

> After a ride of several miles through the woods, in the rear of the plantations, we came to his largest negro--settlement. There was a street, or common, two hundred feet wide, on which the cabins of the negroes fronted. Each cabin was a frame building, the walls boarded and whitewashed on the outside, lathed and plastered within, the roof shingled; forty-two feet long, twenty-one feet wide, divided into two family tenements, each twenty-one by twenty-one; each tenement divided into three rooms--one, the common household apartment, twenty-one by ten; each of the others (bedrooms), ten by ten. There was a brick fire-place in the middle of the long side of each living room, the chimneys rising in one, in the middle of the roof. Besides these rooms, each tenement had a cock-loft, enter by steps from the household room. Each tenement is occupied, on an average by five persons. There were in them closets, with locks and keys, and a varying quantity of rude furniture. Each cabin stood two hundred feet from the next, and the street in front of them being two hundred feet wide, they were just that distance apart each way. The people were nearly all absent at work, and had locked their outer doors, taking the keys with them. Each cabin has a front and back door, and each room a window, closed by a wooden shutter, swinging outward, on hinges. Between each tenement and the next house, is a small piece of ground, inclosed with palings, in which are coops of fowl, with chickens, hovels for nests, and for sows with pig. There were a great many fowls in the street. The negroes swine are allowed to run in the woods, each owner having his own distinguished by a peculiar mark. In the rear of the yards were gardens--a half acre to each family. Internally the cabins appeared dirty and disordered, which was rather a pleasant indication that their homelife was not interfered with, though I found certain police regulations were enforced.[192]

The experiences of Kemble and Olmsted corroborate much of what has been uncovered by recent archeological studies conducted on Cumberland Island. One of these, undertaken by Robert Ascher and Charles H. Fairbanks, provides an excellent and systematic description of what was found. From the study one can reconstruct the cabins. Moreover, the artifacts that have been found provide some idea of the life of a slave on the island.[193]

There are seventeen chimneys standing among the ruins of slave quarters on Cumberland Island, indicating that there were that number of cabins. At least ten chimneys are grouped in two parallel lines, suggesting that five cabins faced another five. The ruins are on the old Stafford property. (See Illustrations 12-13, pp. 142-45). Eighteen chimney bases arranged in two parallel rows of nine chimneys each (an indication that there were eighteen cabins) have also been found in the Rayfield area. Only one chimney is standing.[194] The Rayfield plantation, which had been the property of Nathanael Ray Greene for many years, was sold to Robert Stafford in 1834.

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192. Olmsted, *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, 2:49-50.

193. Robert Ascher and Charles H. Fairbanks, "Excavation of a Slave Cabin: Georgia, U.S.A.," *Historical Archaeology 1971*, 5:5-17.

194. Ehrenhard, "Cumberland Island National Seashore: Assessment," pp. 79, 81.

Illustration 12.

Ruins of Slave Quarters at the Stafford Place (1976).

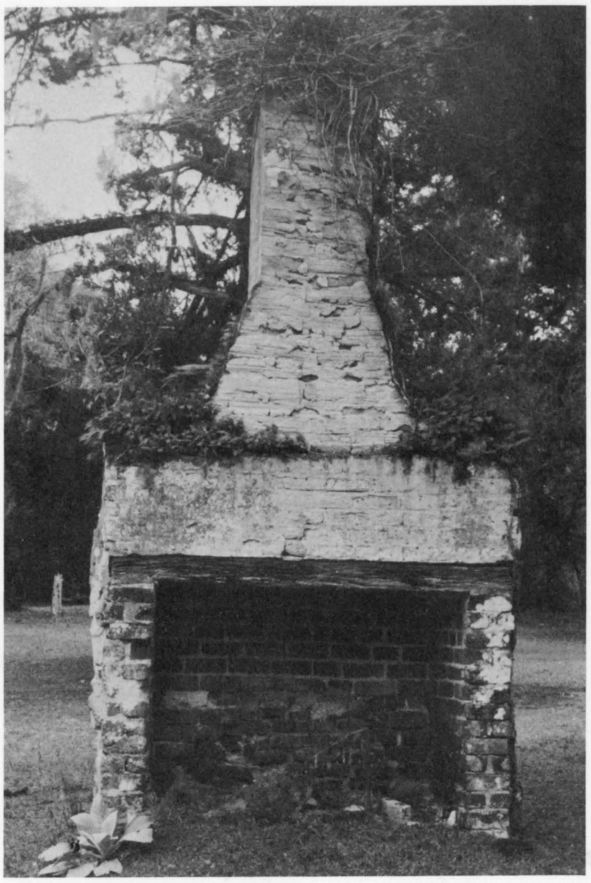
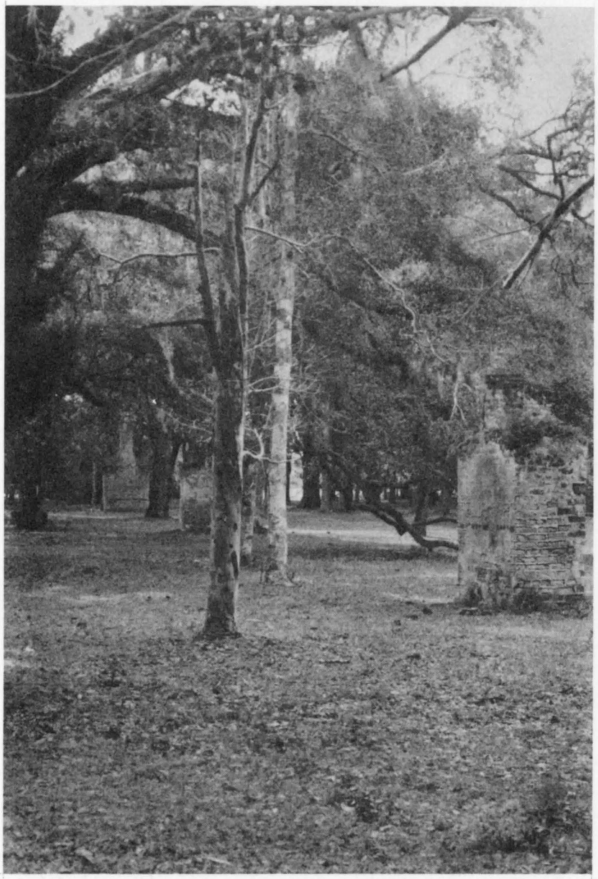
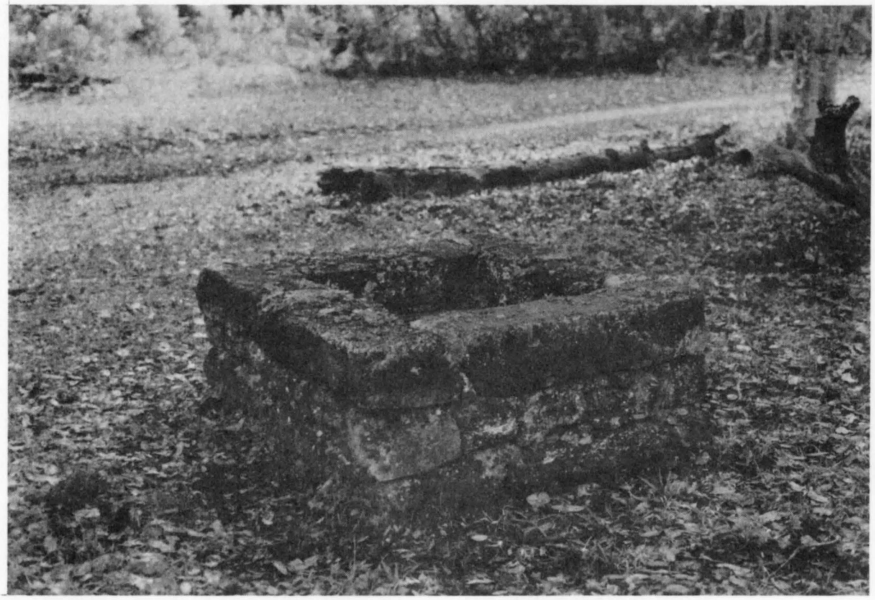




Illustration 13.

Ruins of Slave Quarters at the Stafford Place (1976).





CHAPTER V: THE CIVIL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

At the outbreak of the Civil War, the sea islands of Georgia found themselves in a defenseless position. The Union army was contemplating the capture of Savannah, thereby cutting off Georgia from the Confederacy. The Union navy was to play a major role in this effort.

Nightingale was clearly aware of what might happen to the island if some effort was not made to construct defenses. He wrote to the governor of Georgia asking what plans, if any, were being considered for the defense of the coastal regions and particularly of Cumberland Island.

> We have on this Island five white men, and about four hundred slaves. I reside on the south end of the Island, and probably there is no man on the coast more exposed to marauders than myself.
>
> If the state intends to protect us, I shall rely on her, if not it is my purpose to place my family and my people at once, in a more safe position.[1]

There can be little question about the number of slaves on the island given by Nightingale; this number had remained the same since 1846. The five white males he speaks of, however, require some explanation. Nightingale must have been speaking of adult male inhabitants. There had to be women and children on the island. In fact, Nightingale refers to the removal of "my family" if necessary. The number of inhabitants of the island never did exceed more than twenty-five or thirty whites at any one time. Thus, assuming that he was referring to families, one must conclude that by 1861 some of the residents, in anticipation of Union raids, had already begun to flee the island.

The governor of Georgia turned over Nightingale's letter to his adjutant general for reply. The answer came quickly. The question of defenses had been given considerable thought. Suitable vessels to patrol the coastal islands were in the process of being purchased. No other arrangements beyond arming the coast with small arms had been ordered, although two batteries of field artillery were being held in readiness to move to any point at a moment's notice. While these efforts might not be adequate for the defenses of the area, the state was organizing two regiments of regulars that could be deployed anywhere along the coast as soon as possible.[2]

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1. Nightingale to Brown, Jan. 29, 1861, Beatrice Lang Collection, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

2. Wayne to Nightingale, Feb. 7, 1861, Manuscript in Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, cited in *Camden County Tribune*, Apr. 24, 1953.

Nightingale seemed satisfied with the adjutant general's response. "The arrangements made and proposed I consider appropriate and judicious, and shall rely upon them without apprehension for the safety of my property." Displaying some of the hospitality that his grandmother and aunt had been known for, he offered Dungeness as a military headquarters for officers visiting Cumberland Island.[3]

If Nightingale seemed satisfied with these arrangements for the moment, it was soon apparent that Georgia and the Confederate command were not. Soon after this, Fort Clinch on Amelia Island, one of the strongest forts on the southern coast, was considerably strengthened, as were Cumberland Island, St. Marys, and St. Simons Island. The commander of Fort Clinch has left an excellent account of the defenses of that area:

> I have six companies of infantry on this [Amelia] island, two at the mouth of St. John's, and two at St. Augustine. On this island there is a sort of battery, but incomplete. The guns, four in number, 6-pounders, are baddly mounted, and would not stand continued firing. I regard the battery and guns as very little protection, the range of the guns being too short to protect the channel. I have heard that forty 32-pounders were ordered over here, also a competant engineer. I hope this is so. . . . Our companies here are composed of from eighty to one hundred men, more than enough to manage the guns at the battery. . . .
>
> The enemy's war vessels are in sight every day; one, supposed to be the Vincennes, having on Monday burned a prize within a mile and a half of the shore, opposite this town, making the distance, land and water, from the town three and a half miles. . . .[4]

The Secretary of War replied that Colonel Dilworth, commander at Fort Clinch, would get additional artillery and that an artillery company and a cavalry company would also be assigned if needed.[5] It must be assumed that most of Colonel Dilworth's requests were filled, for three months later a report prepared by an army officer concerning the defenses between Savannah and Fernandina (Fort Clinch) described the defenses on Cumberland Island as follows:

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3. Nightingale to Wayne, Feb. 14, 1861, Manuscript in Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, cited in *Camden County Tribune*, Apr. 24, 1953.

4. Dilworth to Morton, Aug. 12, 1861, in Robert N. Scott, ed., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 73 vols., 128 pts. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. 1, 1:470-71 (hereafter cited as *O.R.*).

5. Walker to Dilworth, Aug. 19, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 473.

> The battery on the south end of Cumberland has one 42-pounder gun en barbette; four 32 pounder navy guns en barbette. They appear to work well, and have each about 60 rounds shot and shell; not a sufficient number of the latter. This battery is scantily furnished with implements. I have arranged to send them, through Lieutenant Harden, acting ordnance officer at Brunswick, all that will be required.[6]

The report revealed that all or most of the sea islands had some form of defense and that only the southern end of Cumberland Island had defensive works.

No sooner had these defensive measures been taken than Union forces launched their offensive against Savannah and the coastal waters of Georgia. The plan of the Union forces was to take Savannah and the sea islands, rounding up all slaves as they went. In December 1861 fear of imminent attack led planters from St. Simons Island to evacuate it. In the meantime, in order to reinforce the Confederate troops in Savannah, General Robert E. Lee ordered the Confederate detachments on all the islands to withdraw to the mainland. Without these troops, the islands were defenseless, and by March 1862 Union forces were in control of practically the entire coast of Georgia with the exception of Savannah.[7]

The Union naval forces immediately set about to gather together the slaves from abandoned plantations and to locate them in colonies in order to "protect" them. Colonies of former slaves were formed on St. Simons and Amelia islands. It was probably just before the occupation of Cumberland Island that Nightingale and other planters had left, for to have stayed behind would have placed them in serious jeopardy not only from an invading enemy but from their own freed slaves. One writer has said that when Nightingale deserted Dungeness, he left behind only a few slaves and a white gardener.[8]

On March 2, 1862, Cumberland Island was completely overrun by Union forces. The plan of occupation outlined by the invaders was to have transports

> enter St. Andrew's [Sound] preceded by gunboats and to proceed to Cumberland Sound by the inland passage. Arriving near the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, a portion of the land force is to be landed in connection with the howitzers of the Navy and a force of seamen to carry the batteries at that point and prevent the escape

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6. Report of Lt. Col. Gill, Nov. 27, 1861, *O.R.*, ser. 1, 12:830.

7. Thomas C. Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1953), pp. 68, 70.

8. B. N. Nightingale, "Dungeness," p. 381.

of their garrisons; the gunboats previously to open fire on these batteries. At the time the remainder of the fleet will attack the batteries on Amelia Island.[9]

On March 2 the flag officer commanding the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron was able to report that the enemy had abandoned Fort Clinch and the south end of Cumberland Island "which are in fact, the objects of this expedition."[10] He also dispatched a message to Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, stating that "I have now the pleasure to inform you that I am in full possession of Cumberland Island and Sound, of Fernandina and Amelia Island and the river and town of St. Mary's." Apparently there were still some people on Cumberland Island, for in describing his assault on the island he said he learned from them that all Confederate forces had abandoned the area before he had arrived. In abandoning the island, Confederate forces left behind a battery of four guns. The Union forces found an unfinshed earthwork intended to mount at least twelve guns. Among the four guns that were mounted were a 120-pound and a 40-pound rifle gun.[11]

Immediately after the occupation of Cumberland Island, Flag Officer DuPont issued orders for the protection of property there. One of his first orders was to recover the lenses belonging to the lighthouse on Little Cumberland Island and St. Simons Island, which the Confederate forces had dismantled and placed in a warehouse in Brunswick. Fortunately, the lighthouse on Little Cumberland Island was found to be in good condition, but the same could not be said for the lighthouse on St. Simons Island, which had been destroyed by the retreating Confederate army.[12]

DuPont also issued an order for the protection of Dungeness. The mansion's connection with General Greene, a national hero, was well known to the Union forces. Writing from Dungeness, DuPont said,

> This property, belonging originally to General Nathanael Greene, a Revolutionary hero and a native of Rhode Island, is now the property of his grandson, Mr. Nightingale. It is hereby ordered and enjoined upon all who may visit the place to hold everything about the premises

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9. Memorandum of instructions regarding plan of operations, Mar. 1, 1862, *O.R.*, Ser. 1, 12:572.

10. Order of Flag Officer DuPont to Commander Drayton, Mar. 2, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 573.

11. DuPont to Welles, Mar. 4, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 573-75; Defenses of Fernandina, Mar. 4, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 579.

12. DuPont to Gordon, Mar. 5, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 581; DuPont to Sec. of Lighthouse Board, Mar. 5, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 582.

sacred, and in no case to disturb or take away any article without a special order from Commodore DuPont or General Wright.[13]

About eighteen years after the occupation of Cumberland Island, a former Union soldier who was present at the time recalled this event rather vividly:

> The historical plantation of "New Dungeness" on Cumberland Island, opposite Amelia, also fell into our possession. The whole island had been given to General Nathaniel Green of Revolutionary fame, by the State of Georgia, as a mark of esteem for his gallant services at the South during the war of Independence. "Dungeness" had been his residence. It was in good order, but deserted, except a few negroes, and was then owned by a grandson of the general living in Rhode Island. Stringent orders were given by both Gen. Wright and Commodore DuPont, regarding the protection of this time-honored landmark against any act of vandalism. A noncommissioned officer with six privates were stationed there, and no one was allowed to enter without written permission from the senior naval officer, and guard.[14]

While most of the residents of the island had wisely abandoned it, Robert Stafford chose to remain behind. It was not long, however, before he began to encounter trouble. After the Union forces had occupied the island, all slaves, including Stafford's, were rounded up and sent to Amelia Island. However, some of these freedmen, particularly Stafford's former slaves, were armed by the Union commander at Fort Clinch and granted passes to return to Cumberland Island. To return them to the island and their former homes might be understandable, but to arm them in the process could only be interpreted as intending some mischief.

On the evening of September 1, 1862, Lieutenant Commander Truxtun of the U.S.S. *Alabama*, which was anchored in nearby waters, received an urgent message from Stafford stating that his former slaves as well as others from Fernandina had returned and quartered themselves on his plantation. He accused the commander of Fort Clinch of arming them and providing them with a pass, indicating that the passage to Cumberland Island had official sanction. As proof, Stafford produced the pass in his message to Truxtun. He complained that the Negroes were riotous and were threatening him, and that they had killed his cattle and were overrunning his private dwelling.

Truxtun immediately proceeded with a steamer up Brickhill River as far as he could go. He then dispatched an armed party under Acting Masters West and

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13. Order for the preservation of the property belonging to General Nathanael Greene, Mar. 6, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 583; Detailed Report of Flag Officer DuPont, Mar. 13, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 598-99.

14. *Florida Mirror* (Fernandina), July 31, 1880, p. 3, col. 1.

Stimson to Stafford's plantation to find out what was going on. West found Stafford, who was then old and feeble, extremely frightened, and, as West put it, "with good reason." The Negroes were found lounging in Stafford's house, watching Stafford's every move, and using his property as they wished. West searched all the former slave quarters and found several guns, pistols, and ammunition. Stafford pointed to nine men whom he considered dangerous, and demanded protection.

West returned to Truxtun with this information and the nine unruly negroes, leaving a temporary guard under Stimson with Stafford. The latter, however, wanted a permanent guard because he planned to remain at the Plantation. Since Truxtun could not afford to leave behind a permanent guard, Stafford suggested that the naval commander remove the Negroes from his land. Truxtun declined on the grounds that it would be useless to do so as long as other Negroes were armed and permitted to return to the island.[15]

While West returned to the U.S.S. *Alabama*, Master Stimson remained behind with the temporary guard for Stafford. If Truxtun could not provide a permanent guard, perhaps the army at Fort Clinch would. Accordingly, Stimson sent Mr. Stockwell, a resident of the island, to Fernandina to see whether he could procure such a guard. When Stockwell arrived at Fernandina, he was placed under arrest and jailed, for what reason Truxtun was unable to ascertain. Stimson's request for a guard, meanwhile, went unanswered. It was apparent that none would be forthcoming, and Stafford, very much disturbed, finally consented to leave his plantation. In a message to Truxtun, Stafford implored him, "For God's sake, send a boat and hands to take me to that place [i.e., Fernandina], where I can be made comfortable."[16] Thus ended Stafford's long and painful vigil at his plantation.

Other residents of the island besides Stafford also encountered difficulties. E. E. Spaulding had successfully escaped from Confederate forces alleged to have carried him, his wife, and two young children away in July 1862. His family, however, still remained in Confederate hands. Spaulding sought Truxtun's aid in freeing them, but the latter's attempts in this regard seem to have ended in failure.[17]

In February 1863 another problem arose involving Cumberland Island. Recalling memories of years past when the island provided game and other supplies for military forces, the Union navy anchored in Cumberland Sound frequently sent sizeable contingents to the island to hunt game. A naval commander received intelligence that Mr. Stockwell, who apparently had been re-

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15. Report of Lieutenant Commander Truxtun, transmitting reports regarding affairs at Cumberland Island, Sept. 1-4, 1862, *O.R.*, ser. 1, 13:299-301.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

leased from jail the year before, was in the habit of reporting these hunting expeditions to Colonel Clinch, commander of Confederate forces at Waynesville, Georgia. According to the Union naval commander, Stockwell, who had two grown daughters and a young child living with him, had suggested to Colonel Clinch that these hunting parties could easily be surprised. As a result, Stockwell was again placed under arrest and temporarily confined on the U.S.S. *Midnight* until further orders for his disposition were received.

In the meantime, in order to tighten security, a directive was issued to destroy all small boats and canoes in the neighboring waters of Cumberland Island. Not knowing what measures Colonel Clinch would take if he decided to send a force to Cumberland Island, the Union naval commander cautioned his vessels in the area to be careful in permitting men to land on the island. If landing parties were necessary, they would have to be made under the cover of guns.[18]

If Stockwell had been alone, it would have been simple to just send him to Port Royal for permanent detention. However, the problem was complicated by Stockwell's family, "the removal of whom, with their effects, is rather puzzling." The naval commander requested further instructions on how to handle the situation.[19] Unfortunately, since the records are silent, we are unable to determine what did become of Stockwell and his family.

During the remainder of the war there were no attempts by Confederate forces to retake Cumberland Island. Union gunboats continued to patrol the inland waterways maintaining order. Few whites, if any, continued to reside on the island. On the other hand, it is likely that blacks, such as those who had returned from Fernandina, lived on the island in slave quarters that belonged to plantation owners. Since these freedmen lived in relative security from any Confederate attempts to retake them, the Union army at Fernandina was only too willing to have them shift for themselves in their old familiar environment. There on Cumberland Island these freedmen eked out a miserable existence, living on crops they had learned to grow, but without the guidance and protection of their former masters.

The cotton fields, meanwhile, lay wasted. The homes of the planters, at one time attractive structures, lay in ruins as much from neglect as from the depredations committed by strangers. Frederick Ober, who viewed the island in 1879, has said that Dungeness was burned by Union soldiers and freedmen, either deliberately or through carelessness.

After General William Sherman overran Georgia, all lands were confiscated. With the creation of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands,

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18. Order of Commander Steedman to Acting Master Kirby for the arrest of Mr. Stockwell, Feb. 3, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 642.

19. Report of Commander Steedman requesting instructions regarding the disposition of Mr. Stockwell, Feb. 5, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 644.

freedmen were allowed to live on their former plantations, which had been confiscated. With the passage of time, former planters were permitted to reclaim their lands, and Nightingale, Stafford, and other residents returned to Cumberland Island to recover what was left of their properties. Small property owners, like William R. Bunkley and Rebecca Clubb, had little difficulty in regaining their lands in 1868.[20] The large landowners, such as Stafford and Nightingale, had the problem of contending with freedmen placed on their lands. Once the previous owners reclaimed their lands, Nightingale felt they had every legal right to warn the freedmen off their property.[21]

According to some writers, Stafford, who probably suffered the most because of the war, burned all the slave quarters, sending away all freedmen who had returned to the plantation. Most of these former slaves abandoned the island to reside on the mainland, where some were later employed in running boats through the inland waterways. Others retreated to the north end of the island where they became squatters. Many of their descendants resided there until recent years, and one or two still make it their home.

The years following the war were a period of desolation and ruin on Cumberland Island as was true of most of the Georgia islands. Although the majority of planters returned to their former homes, there was little left of the order and serenity they had known and enjoyed in antebellum days. Houses and mansions were in a state of decay, slave quarters were in ruins, and fields lay wasted. Some of the furniture left behind and not stolen also was destroyed. The fields of sea island cotton were never again to be as abundant. It is interesting to note the reaction of one plantation owner returning to St. Simons Island after the war:

> Major D_____ wrote me that the caterpillars had again attacked the cotton, and that for the third time we should probably see the entire crop eaten up before our eyes, within three weeks of perfection. Such beautiful crops as they were too! This gave the deathblow to the Sea Island Cotton, at least as far as I was concerned, for I had not capital enough to plant again after losing three crops, and the place has never been planted since, but is rented out to the negroes for a mere nominal rent, and they keep the weeds down and that is about all.[22]

Firsthand accounts of conditions on Cumberland Island after the war are few and sketchy, but from what is available it would appear that conditions were not much better than on the neighboring islands. When he visited the

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20. Bunkley to Risley, Jan. 10, 1868, and Clubb to North, Mar. 6, 1868, Record Group 105 (Letters of Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands), Boxes 12 and 13, National Archives and Records Center, Denver.

21. Hammond to Risley, Jan. 23, 1868, *ibid.*

22. Frances B. Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War* (1883; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), pp. 151-52.

island in 1870 to view his father's grave, General Robert E. Lee found Dungeness in ruins and the old cotton fields a sad picture to behold. In commenting upon the fields, one Savannah newspaper had this to say:

> Cumberland Island, which before the war had ten or twelve large plantations devoted to the production of the valuable staple, has now [1876] not one acre in cultivation. The same may be said of its neighbors, Jekyl and St. Simons, of Skidaway and doubtless of Ediste. The houses have been burned, the fences have rotted, and the fields have grown up in weeds. Reconstruction and radicalism freed and made citizens of the laborers who formerly made the island fields fertile, and enriched the world with the fruits of their toil. The freemen and the citizens abandoned the cotton plantations and retired to the coast of the mainland, and the sea island cotton has become almost a thing of the past.[23]

This was the scene that met Stafford and Nightingale when they returned to the island. While some plantation owners encouraged their former slaves to work for them in an attempt to rehabilitate their lands, Stafford, old and bitter after his frightening experiences, preferred to do otherwise. He lived out the rest of his years on the old plantation, dying in 1877 at the age of eighty-seven. His property was inherited by two nephews--John Tomkins and Thomas D. Hawkins--after litigation among the heirs.

Nightingale returned to the island and had his former slaves removed, but the records seem to indicate that he probably did not live there permanently. There is little evidence to prove that he did anything to rehabilitate his plantation or his mansion. Dungeness was in such a terrible state that it is very likely that during the brief periods of his visits to the island he must have lived in one of the smaller structures in the Dungeness area. In the Ravenel (Thomas Porcher) Papers and Sanger Collection at the Georgia Historical Society are several of his letters, which reveal that he had a sizeable rice plantation on Camber Island in Glynn County, Georgia. Many of his letters are addressed from Brunswick, Georgia. Thus, there is undeniable evidence that Nightingale was living most of these years in Brunswick, where he had his law practice, and not on Cumberland Island.

Nightingale had borrowed considerable sums of money after the war, partly to expand his rice plantation, and he ran into difficulties when it came to repaying his creditors. Like his famous grandfather in earlier days, he tried to interest others in investing in his extensive holdings. By 1870 it was obvious that he had serious intentions of getting rid of his Cumberland Island property. "If you could only get the Cumberland Island scheme through you would be all right," wrote one of his creditors hopefully.[24]

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23. *Annals of Savannah*, Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1876 (Savannah, 1968), Apr. 2, 1876, issue, p. 137.

24. Sanger to Nightingale, May 7, 1870, Ravenel (Thomas Porcher) Papers, Georgia Historical Society.

By mid-1870 Nightingale reported that "Mrs. [Eliza H.] Molyneux [wife of Edmund Moyneux] who is my largest creditor has consented to take my Dungeness place and relieve me in full." This action apparently was in settlement of a large debt that Nightingale owed Molyneux. However, this settlement could not be realized until other creditors with prior claims were satisfied.[25] One such person was William H. M. Sanger. In order to collect his claim, Sanger had suggested that Nightingale go into bankruptcy. However, Nightingale did not believe he could do this, since "Mrs. Moyneux and Mr. Spalding who hold the first lien in the property [i.e., Dungeness] will absorb every dollar that the whole place can bring under a forced sale at this time when everything is unsettled and depressed."[26]

Nightingale died soon after. Before his death he had received a loan from Molyneux for which he gave Dungeness as security. In 1871, after Nightingale's death, Dungeness became the property of the Edmund Molyneux estate as a result of a judgment for $51,250 brought against Nightingale's heirs. In 1879 Mrs. Katie Sanger brought a suit against William Nightingale, son of Phineas Nightingale and executor of his father's estate, asking that he declare this earlier transaction invalid and recover Dungeness. Because Molyneux remained the owner of Dungeness, it must be assumed that Mrs. Sanger did not win her case.[27]

One year after this case was tried in court, W. G. M. Davis, a former Confederate general, purchased Dungeness.[28] Although Davis made several attempts to restore the property, the mansion remained in ruins. He even considered reestablishing the olive groves that the Millers (primarily Louisa) had planted in earlier years as a commercial venture. In 1880 he investigated the possibilities of employing practical methods then in use in Italy and France for growing olives and extracting oil. He had hopes of proving that olive-growing was just as profitable as orange-growing in Georgia.[29]

Davis had other interests besides olives. In 1881 he proposed securing a number of marsh ponies from the Carolina islands to raise on Cumberland Island. He was certain that the Carolina pony was far superior to the marsh tackeys on the island. Whether he actually did follow through on this plan is not

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25. Nightingale to Sanger, June 17, 1870, Sanger Collection, Georgia Historical Society.

26. Nightingale to Sanger, July 4, 1870, *ibid.*

27. Judgment [1871], recorded Sept. 27, 1789, Liber of Deeds R, p. 404; Action of Ejectment and Demesne, Oct. 9, 1879, and Sworn Statement, William Nightingale, Nov. 26, 1879, *ibid.*

28. *Florida Mirror*, Jan. 21, 1880, p. 3, col. 1.

29. *Ibid.; Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1880, p. 1, col. 4.

certain, but in all probability he did not, because his ownership of Dungeness lasted only a short while.[30]

While General Davis lived at Dungeness, the mansion ruins became a tourist attraction for vacationers to Florida, and Cumberland Island became a hunting ground for guests on nearby islands. Members of the Georgia Legislature and guests from the north found their way to the area. Although still in ruins, the Dungeness mansion with its historical associations was a lure to the romanticist. The beautiful gardens, which had received some care while Davis was the owner, attracted northern visitors. Said one writer, "No one should ever think of visiting this portion of the country without seeing Dungeness." So popular was this attraction that steamers made scheduled trips to Dungeness from Fernandina, Brunswick, and other cities along the coast.[31]

In 1880-81, in order to improve navigation in Cumberland Sound, a popular route long recognized historically, the construction of jetties was begun between Cumberland Island and Amelia Island. The object of the jetties was to confine the water to a narrow passage as it flowed from Cumberland River to the ocean, thus permitting vessels of increased size and draft to enter and leave the sound. Work on the jetties continued until 1893 when they were finally completed. Issac Arnow, whose father supplied some of the materials for this work, described the jetties as follows:

> This was first undertaken by forming pine logs into a raft, or batch, that was firmly bound together with long pine poles, called binders, after which each raft was towed into the proper position, and sunk to the bottom by weighing it down with large sections of stone.[32]

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30. *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1881, p. 8, col. 2. In March 1880 a tragedy occurred at Dungeness when General Davis's four-year-old grandson was accidentally shot and killed by his father while the latter was cleaning his gun. See *ibid.*, Mar. 13, 1880, p. 3, col. 1.

31. *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1878, p. 1, col. 1; Feb. 15, 1879, p. 1, col. 2; Mar. 15, 1879, p. 1, col. 4; Feb. 19, 1881, p. 8, col. 2; Margaret D. Cate, *Early Days of Coastal Georgia* (St. Simons, Ga.: Fort Frederica Association, 1955), p. 97.

32. Issac F. Arnow, "History of St. Marys and Camden County, Ga.," *Camden County Tribune*, Apr. 2, 1950-Jan. 1953.

CHAPTER VI: THE CARNEGIE PERIOD (1881-1916)

A. The Carnegies and the Island

Like so many visitors to the south, Thomas Morrison Carnegie and his wife, Lucy Coleman Carnegie, also visited Cumberland Island. Tradition says that Mrs. Carnegie became extremely interested in Cumberland Island after she read Ober's famous article on Dungeness in *Lippincott's Magazine*. Whether she read the article first and this compelled her to view the island herself or whether she heard of the article after visiting the island is not entirely clear. An account that appeared some years after the land was purchased by the Carnegies had this to say concerning the circumstances surrounding the purchase:

> Mrs. Carnegie heard of Dungeness about the time that Mr. Andrew Carnegie became the possessor of Cluny Castle in Scotland. She visited Dungeness and determined that it should be hers, if possible, so, with woman's persistence she told her husband that he must buy it, at whatever cost. He found that there were complications as to the title, etc., that rendered this anything but an easy task, but he resolved that he would overcome them, and he did.[1]

An event that occurred early in Lucy Carnegie's life may have influenced her desire to purchase Dungeness. She had attended boarding school in Fernandina as a young girl, and it is very probable that she was familiar with Cumberland Island. According to Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, Mrs. Carnegie's granddaughter, when Thomas was thinking of retiring, his wife had suggested Cumberland Island as the proper place to raise their nine children. Hence, it may have been a combination of circumstances rather than any particular one that prompted the Carnegies to purchase land on Cumberland Island.[2]

Thomas Morrison Carnegie was the younger brother (by eight years) of the great steel magnate Andrew Carnegie. He was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1843, and came to America in 1848. Little is know about his life, particularly since he was overshadowed by his famous brother. Nevertheless, Thomas had proven his ability and his business acumen, for according to one authority, "in business ability he was entirely worthy of the name he bore." Andrew Carnegie surrounded himself with talented men, and Thomas was one of them.

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1. "Dungeness, The Winter Home of the Carnegies," newspaper or magazine unknown, n.d., Carnegie Scrapbook, microfilm, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

2. Interview, Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller with author, July 11, 1976.

Only a short life (he died in 1886 at the age of forty-three) prevented him from achieving the fame that his brother enjoyed.[3]

Whether the Carnegies encountered difficulties in establishing title to the land as some have claimed is not clear from the records. However, they did meet with problems in convincing the owner of Dungeness of their interest to purchase the property. Thomas Carnegie's first encounter with General Davis was not under the most amiable circumstances. Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller recalls that her grandfather had made several attempts to see General Davis in order to make him an offer, but the general's response was a curt reply in the negative. The general was determined not to sell his land to a "damn Yankee." It took several attempts, some through an intermediary, to convince Davis that although Carnegie was a "Yankee," he would "love, cherish, and preserve Dungeness." Davis finally accepted Carnegie's offer, but only after much supplication.[4]

On November 17, 1881, General Davis transferred to the Carnegies 4,000 acres of land "known as Dungeness," together with houses, outbuildings, stables, yards, gardens, orange groves, and olive groves, for the sum of $35,000.[5] This was the first of several purchases. In April 1882 Thomas Carnegie and Leander M. Morris of Pittsburgh together purchased 8,240 acres of land from Thomas D. Hawkins and John and Robert Tompkins, heirs of Robert Stafford, for the sum of $40,000. This land was described as "being bounded on the North by a small River called Crooked River and the Longwood tract on the East by the Atlantic Ocean on the South by Dungeness Plantation [already in Carnegie's possession] and on the West by Cumberland River." The deed further described the land as formerly belonging to the late Robert Stafford, consisting of eight tracts or parcels of land that appeared in the 1800 partitioning map, and a tract of land formerly belonging to Peter Bernardy.[6]

Leander Morris, who resided in Stafford's old mansion, did not retain his half interest in this large piece of land very long. In March 1886 he conveyed his interest to Walton Ferguson, who one year later transferred it to Lucy Carnegie for $38,176.73.[7]

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3. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964, 2:499-506; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 9:153.

4. Interview, Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller.

5. Because the deed is made out to Lucy Coleman Carnegie, it may be that her husband had intended to make Dungeness a gift to his wife. Deed, Nov. 17, 1881, Liber of Deeds S, pp. 66-67, Camden County Clerk's Office.

6. Deed, Apr. 6, 1882, *ibid.*, pp. 131-33.

7. Deed, Mar. 3, 1886, *ibid.*, pp. 544-46; Deed, Aug. 22, 1887, Liber of Deeds T, pp. 172-74.

In 1899 six of the Carnegie children, having come of age and having inherited the 8,240 acres of the Stafford Place, transferred their interest in this land to their mother, giving her full reign over the destiny of this property. This formed the basis of her later leadership of the family and control over its properties.[8] By 1900 Mrs. Carnegie, in a series of transactions, purchased several parcels of land at the northern end of the island, that is, north of Stafford Place.[9] She now owned approximately ninety percent of the island.[10]

When the Carnegies purchased Dungeness, much of the old Miller-Shaw-Nightingale gardens, which had been maintained by Davis, still remained intact. The old ruins of the Greene-Miller mansion also remained. The old tabby house, which may have been the gardener's house in Ober's article, remained essentially untouched. Other outbuildings, at leastsome from the Nightingale period may also have been standing.

An interesting map published in 1882 (Illustration 14, p. 162) reveals the remarkable resemblance of the Dungeness area purchased by the Carnegies to the Dungeness plantation owned by Phineas Nightingale in 1843 (Illustration 11, p. 130). The contours of the 1882 Dungeness area coincide almost exactly with those of the old plantation. Even the lines of the old cotton fields are evident in the 1882 map. Cotton was no longer grown; instead trees are interspersed, though not densely, throughout the fields. The famous orange orchards are no longer evident by this time, although trees are depicted as growing in a random pattern in that same area. Important for our consideration is the fact that the contours of the gardens are almost the same as in 1843. The 1882 map depicts one large structure in addition to three smaller ones. Thus, one can conclude from the 1882 map, as well as from an 1896 map (Illustration 15, p. 164) that the Dungeness gardens of the Carnegies occupied essentially the same area as the gardens of the Nightingale period.[11]

Thomas Carnegie lost little time in transforming and rehabilitating the area. Money was no obstacle in his efforts to build a new mansion and other needed structures, and to restore the lawns, gardens, and walks. Wherever he could he retained what was historically and aesthetically significant, but he did not hesitate to clear the area of needless debris. He kept the old tabby

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8. Deed, Feb. 4, 1899, Liber of Deeds W, pp. 572-74.

9. Liber of Deeds X, pp. 72-76, 76-79, 81-83, 87-89.

10. Lang to Johnston, July 7, 1960, Beatrice Lang Collection, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

11. Map, "Fernandina Entrance, Florida," U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Issued June 1882, Chart No. 453, Edition No. 4, Plate No. 1673, Record Group 23, National Archives; Map, "Fernandina Entrance, Florida," U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, published October 1896, Chart No. 453, Edition No. 5, Plate No. 1673, Record Group 23, National Archives.

Illustration 14.

Map of "Fernandina Entrance, Florida," 1882.



81°29'50" 28'50" 27'50" 26'50" 25'50"

CUMBERLAND ISLAND

CUMBERLAND SOUND

CUMBERLAND CHANNEL

ST. MARYS R.

OLLY R.

TIGER R.

BELLS R.

AMELIA R.

Pelican Shoal

Fort Clinch

Kingsferry Bank

OLD FERNANDINA

FERNANDINA

RANGE LIGHTS

Submerged Jetty

This channel flooded by a jetty

City of Austin

dry at Low wa

N O R T H B R E A K E

AUTHORITIES

Triangulation by A.W. Fraser U.S.A. Assistant ..... in 1856
and by F.P. Webber Assistant ..... in 1861
Topography by A.M. Harrison Assistant ..... in 1857
and by W.H. Dennis Assistant ..... in 1871
Hydrography of the Entrance and approaches by Lieut. T.D. Tremaine U.S.N. Assistant ..... in 1855, 56 & 57
with additions by R.E. Halter, C. Junken and F.P. Webber Assistants, and F.D. Granger Sub-Assistant ..... between 1869 & 1874
Astronomical observations by Edward Goodfellow Sub-Assistant ..... in 1856
and by C.A. Schott Assistant ..... in 1857

ABBREVIATIONS

Materials in Capitals	Colors or Shades two small letters	Other qualities three small letters
M. for Mud	bk. for black	hrd. for hard
S. " Sand	gy. " grey	sft. " soft
Sh. " Shells	br. " brown	fne. " fine
		brk. " broken
		stk. " sticky

TIDES

The plane of reference is Mean Low Water	Fernandina	St. Marys
Average time of High Water after Moon's meridian passage	7h 48m	8h 20m
Average Rise of Tides above the plane of reference	5.9 ft.	6.3 ft.

The time and height of the tides are predicted for every day in the year, in Tide Tables for the Atlantic Coast, published annually.

SOUNDINGS

The soundings are expressed in feet to 18 feet, or within the dotted surfaces; beyond these in fathoms; and show the depth at mean low water, the plane of reference. The dotted surfaces beyond low-water mark represent the bottom within the respective depths of 6, 12 and 18 feet.

The characteristic soundings only are given on the chart; they are selected from the numerous soundings taken in the surveys, so as to represent the figure of the bottom.

LIGHT HOUSES

Name	Latitude	Longitude West from Greenwich	Character of Light	Interval of Flash	Height above Sea	Visibility Nautical miles
Amelia I. Light	30°40'27"	81°28'26"	Flashing White	1m 30s	112 ft.	16½

The visibility of Lights is given for an elevation of 15 feet above the level of the sea.

WEATHER SIGNAL

At Fernandina are displayed the U.S. Weather Bureau flags indicating the weather to be expected.

BUOYS

Red Buoy to be left in entering on Starboard hand.
Black " " " " Port "
Black and Red horizontal stripes - Danger Buoy.
Black and White perpendicular stripes - Channel Buoy.

30°00'

81°29'50" 28'50" 27'50" 26'50" 25'50"

Illustration 15.

Map of "Fernandina Entrance, Florida," 1896.

81°30'30" 29'30" 27'30" 26'30" 25'30"

CUMBERLAND ISLAND

CUMBERLAND SOUND

CUMBERLAND CHANNEL

ST. MARYS R.

OLIVE R.

TIGER R.

ISLAND

BELLS WEST R.

BELLS RIVER

AMELIA R.

LANCEFORD CR.

Beach Creek

North Jetty

South Jetty

Pelican Shoals

Fort Clinch

RANGE LIGHTS

Williamsburg Island

OLD FERNANDINA

FERNANDINA

AMELIA I. LIGHT

Buoy

Tower Bluff

City of...

30°30'

AUTHORITIES

Triangulation by A.W. Evans U.S.A. Assistant ..... in 1856
and by F.P. Webber Assistant ..... in 1861
Topography by A.M. Harrison Assistant ..... in 1857
and by W.H. Dennis Assistant ..... in 1871
Hydrography of the Entrance and approaches by Lieut. N.D. Trenchard U.S.N. Assistant ..... in 1855 '56 & '57
with additions by R.E. Halter, C. Junken and F.P. Webber Assistants, and F.D. Granger Sub-Assistant ..... between 1869 & 1875
Astronomical observations by Edward Goodfellow Sub-Assistant ..... in 1856
and by C.A. Schott Assistant ..... in 1857
Corrections of Hydrography at Entrance to Cumberland Sound from Surveys by the U.S. Engineers in 1895

ABBREVIATIONS

Materials in Capitals	Colors or Shades from small letters	Other qualities from small letters
M. for Mud	blc. for black	hrd. for hard
S. " Sand	gy. " grey	sft. " soft
Sh. " Shells	br. " brown	fne. " fine
		brk. " broken
		stk. " sticky

TIDES

	Fernandina	St Marys
The plane of reference is Mean Low Water		
Average time of High Water after Moon's meridian passage	7h 48m	8h 20m
Average Rise of Tides above the plane of reference	5.9 ft.	6.3 ft.

The time and height of the tides are predicted for every day in the year, in Tide Tables for the Atlantic Coast, published annually.

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The Soundings are expressed in feet to 18 feet, or within the dotted surfaces beyond them in fathoms, and show the depth at mean low water, the plane of reference. The dotted surfaces beyond low-water mark represent the bottom within the respective depths of 6, 12 and 18 feet.
The characteristic soundings only are given on the chart; they are selected from the numerous soundings taken in the surveys, so as to represent the figure of the bottom.

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At Fernandina are displayed the U.S. Weather Bureau flags indicating the weather to be expected.

LIGHT HOUSES

Name	Latitude	Longitude West from Greenwich	Character of Light	Interval of Flash	Height above Sea	Visibility in nautical miles
Amelia I. Light	30° 40' 24"	81° 28' 28"	Flashing White	1m 30s	112 ft.	16½

The visibility of Lights is given for an elevation of 15 feet above the level of the sea.

BUOYS

- Red Buoy to be left in entering on Starboard hand
- Black " " " " Port "
- Black and Red horizontal stripes, Danger Buoy
- Black and White perpendicular stripes, Channel Buoy

81°30'30" 29'30" 27'30" 26'30" 25'30"

house and the Greene-Miller Cemetery, and while he retained the main road running north and south, he also opened magnificent driveways through dense forests. In the spirit of former owners, he planted rare bulbs, plants, and trees, some obtained in remote parts of the world.

If Thomas Carnegie entertained great plans for Cumberland Island, he did not live long enough to enjoy them, for, like another figure 100 years before him, he died before his ideas came to fruition. Therefore his wife must receive credit for the ultimate development of Dungeness and the island itself. It was she who was responsible for creating a fuedal fiefdom on the island that was self-sufficient in almost every respect. At the core of this system was a mansion of sizeable proportions that could be described as being in the late Victorian eclectic style. From this mansion, which the Carnegies called "Dungeness" in the tradition of its predecessor, and the many supporting facilities at her disposal, Mrs. Carnegie supervised her estate like a feudal lord over his principality.

A description of the new Dungeness with its later additions will appear in Part Two (Historic Structure Report) of this study. Suffice it to say here that the foundation stone of this structure was laid on February 26, 1884, in the midst of a formal ceremony.[12] It was also at this time that plans were made for the erection of a lodge to accommodate Captain Baker, who commanded the Carnegie steam yacht *Missoe*.[13] It was soon after the foundation stone was laid that Mr. Carnegie notified all excursionists that henceforth no more visits would be permitted to Dungeness except by special permission.[14] Such visitations probably interferred with the construction work that was going on. Moreover, Mr. Carnegie may have felt, justifiably perhaps, that they were an invasion of his privacy.

The new Dungeness was completed in 1885, and Thomas Carnegie died the following year. Although he may have lived in his new winter home, he had little time to enjoy it. Soon after his death, Lucy proceeded to expand the house, calling upon prominent architects for advice. The additions that were made to the mansion undoubtedly reflected her own tastes. By the turn of the century the new Dungeness stood as a magnificent structure. Other estates of some significance were also built in the Dungeness area at about this time.

As her nine children grew up and married, and as she acquired more land on the island, Mrs. Carnegie built elaborate homes for each of them. The Cottage, a fairly large house but smaller than those that followed, was the first such structure built by Mrs. Carnegie, and was for her son Thomas Morrison Carnegie, Jr., and his wife. This house (Illustration 16, p. 168) was in the

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12. *Florida Mirror*, Mar. 1, 1884.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1884, p. 8, col. 3. Up to this time between thirty and fifty people visited Dungeness every week from hotels in Fernandina. See *ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1884, p. 8, col. 1.

Illustration 16.

The Cottage, Dungeness area, before 1940.

Courtesy of Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller.



Dungeness area near the present site of the park superintendent's residence. It was begun before Thomas's father died, and was completed by his mother in later years. A bedroom wing was added at the rear. The Cottage was a frame house with upper and lower porches on two sides and a lower porch on one side. It resembled many of the old plantation houses of the lower Mississippi River. The columns of the porch were narrow and delicate, with capitals of the Ionic Order on the second story and Doric below.

A pergola about 175 feet long and 12 feet wide eventually "connected" the Cottage with the old tabby house. The pergola had a low concrete wall about three feet high on either side with several piers supporting a pitched timber framework. Ivy covered this open roof, providing the pergola with shade (Illustration 17, p. 172). The timbers are gone except for a few fragments, but the walls and piers are still in fair to good condition.[15]

In the 1940s the Cottage was destroyed by fire, and in its place, although not on the same site, the Carnegie heirs built a brick house that is now (1977) used as the park superintendent's residence.

When the Carnegies purchased Stafford Place, the old Stafford house was still in good condition, and Mrs. Carnegie gave this structure to her son William Coleman Carnegie and his wife Martha Gertrude Ely. Little is known about this structure except that it is of the antebellum period and was the home of Robert Stafford. Stafford was held prisoner here by his former slaves, who made threats on his life and property. The house was a frame structure. While in the possession of the Carnegies it was richly furnished, the furnishings alone reputed to have cost $50,000. The library, parlor, and drawing rooms were located on the first floor and the bedrooms on the second. The house was probably remodeled when the Carnegies moved into it. On January 5, 1900, the Stafford house was completely gutted by a fire of unknown origin. Very little of the furnishings were saved, and the loss was estimated at between $60,000 and $75,000.[16]

William Carnegie, a golf enthusiast, had a nine-hole golf course built nearby. Much of this golf course has been covered by the wild growth of trees and vegetation, and part of it is used for an airstrip.[17]

To take the place of the old Stafford house, Mrs. Carnegie had a new residence (the existing one) built on the same site a year later. The architect

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15. The author is grateful to Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller for this information and for illustrations of the Cottage and pergola.

16. Unknown article in *Dispatch*, n.d., Carnegie Scrapbook.

17. Six weeks before fire destroyed the Stafford house, Thomas Hutchison of Scotland, a reputable professional golfer and friend of William Carnegie, was thrown from his horse and killed while on Cumberland Island. He is buried in the Stafford Cemetery. *Ibid.*

of this house is not known, but at the time it was planned one newspaper reported that William Carnegie was his own architect.[18] While the structure was under construction, Mr. and Mrs. William Coleman Carnegie lived in a small cottage known as the "golf house," still extant, which might have been built during the Stafford period.[19]

The new Stafford house, as it continued to be called, generally resembled its predecessor except that the new one was built to be less susceptible to fire (Illustration 18, p. 174). The house is a two-story structure with a gable roof and three shed roof dormers. There is an open porch across the front with a gable-roofed center extension. The house has three chimneys. Most of the windows are six-over-six panes. Unlike its predecessor, this structure's exterior walls are white-painted stucco.

There were several outbuildings constructed at Stafford Place during the Carnegie period. Some of these still stand, while others are in ruins. In addition to the old "golf house," there were stables and servants quarters. The ruins of the old Stafford slave quarters, mostly chimneys with their fireplaces, still stand. The two silos are both constructed of weatherboard curved to fit the circular structure. The silos are round and about thirty-five to thirty-seven feet high. Each silo has a series of five small (three to four feet high) doors going up the sides. There is a double-width board and batten door on opposite sides of each silo.[20]

The Greyfield house (now known as Greyfield Inn) was constructed by Mrs. Carnegie soon after the turn of the century for her daughter Margaret "Retta" Carnegie, who married Oliver Garrison Ricketson. Its design is patterned somewhat after the old Stafford house, with three stories and an attic. (Illustrations, 19-21, pp. 174-77). There are two large chimneys at each end of house. On the east side, or front, is a large, open porch running the full length of the structure. When the house was first erected, there was another open, full-length porch on the second story. In later years this porch was enclosed, adding several rooms to the structure.

At the front of the house, running from the northeast corner, was a wall, partially standing today, that connected the main house to a smaller structure. There is a beautiful marble birdbath midway on this wall similar to one at the rear of the tabby house at Dungeness. It is probable that both were put up at the same time. The small structure extending from the wall is no longer in existence. The rear of the main house is plain except for a very small second-story porch, which provides access to the house through a Palladian-style window.

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18. Article and newspaper unknown, Carnegie Scrapbook.

19. Interview, Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller.

20. Much of this information is developed from the Classified Structure Inventory Report prepared by the Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, Atlanta, Ga.

Illustration 17.

Pergola, Dungeness area, ca. 1900.

Courtesy of Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller.



Illustration 18.

Stafford House, Stafford Place, Cumberland Island, post 1910.

Illustration 19.

Greyfield, Cumberland Island, ca. 1910.





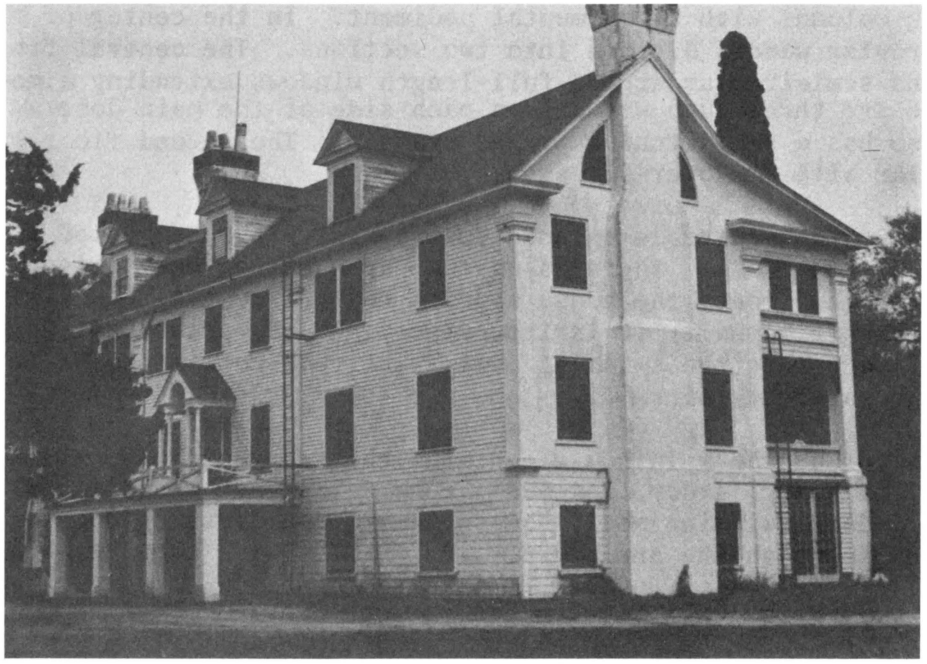
Illustration 20.

Greyfield (front), 1976.

Illustration 21.

Greyfield (rear), 1976.





Running about 150 feet from the southeast corner of the main house and at right angles to it are the ruins of a pergola. Brick piers held an open timber roof covered with ivy. The piers and some timber are still visible (Illustrations 22-23, p. 180).

Next to the Dungeness mansion in order of architectural significance is the Plum Orchard mansion (Illustrations 24-26, p. 182).[21] This handsome structure was built by Mrs. Carnegie for her son George Lauder Carnegie and his wife Margaret Thaw. This structure exhibits the most outstanding architecture in existence on Cumberland Island. In addition to the main house, the Plum Orchard complex consists of a carriage house, a chauffeur's house, dormitories, a laundry, stables, cow barn, chicken houses, greenhouse, water tower, and a variety of smaller support structures (Illustrations 27-32, pp. 184-87). Most of the ten to fifteen support structures are of frame construction, all built about the same time as the main house. Many of them are in a dilapidated condition. In the Plum Orchard area are also the interesting ruins of a structure possibly built during the period that Peter Bernardy owned the land. In fact, Peter Bernardy is buried in a small graveyard behind the main house.

The main structure, a property of the park, is in the Georgian Revival style and was designed by the well-known Boston firm of Peabody and Stearns, who also designed the later additions to the Dungeness mansion. The principal structure was erected around 1898, and a later extension, also designed by Peabody and Stearns, was put up around 1906.

The house consists largely of brick and stucco with wood joists and some steel frames. It features a two-story porch on a central pavilion supported by four Ionic columns with a monumental pediment. In the center of the pediment is a circular window divided into two sections. The central front of the house contains semicircular arched full-length windows extending almost to the floor. There are three such windows on each side of the main doorway. The main door also has a semicircular arched transom. The second floor windows are rectangular with six-over-six sash.

A porch with a balustrade extends to two side wings connected to the central portion of the house. There is an end porch on the west side of the building. From the front, the house appears to be a central block with symmetrical wings, but actually it is irregularly shaped because one wing was extended to incorporate the swimming pool. The roof consists of tile and a modified cross gable style.

The interior of the main house contains thirteen bedrooms, a dining room, entrance hall, library, study, and music room. The east wing, added around 1906, has an indoor swimming pool, squash court, and dressing rooms. There is a full basement beneath the structure.

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21. Much of the information concerning the main house and other structures in the Plum Orchard area is developed from the Classified Structure Inventory Report prepared by the Southeast Regional Office. Several original drawings of the main house are in the Peabody and Stearns Collection in the Boston Public Library.

The carriage house, a handsome building in its heyday, is said to have been built in the 1890s, before the mansion arose. It was used to house the workmen who were building the main house and other structures. It housed carriages (later automobiles), harnesses, and some horses. This structure is one and a half stories, with the south wing twice as long as the north wing. The roof is a cross gable style shingled with cedar. The windows in the center portion and the second story gables are either six-over-six or nine-over-nine panes. The windows in both wings are six-over-six panes. The main door is ten feet wide by nine feet five inches high.

The total Carnegie estate included such building complexes as Dungeness, Greyfield, Stafford Place, and Plum Orchard. Other less pretentious structures were also built throughout the Carnegie estate on the island. Many of them were recreational facilities: a nine-hole golf course was built at Stafford Place; new roads were built to facilitate duckshooting, deerhunting, and horseback riding; beach houses were erected along the ocean. Every conceivable facility that contributed to the island's self-sufficiency, convenience, and recreation was constructed.

The heart of this large operation was Dungeness, where Mrs. Carnegie resided. The homes that she had built for her children were owned by her, and she paid the employees who maintained them and their grounds, roads, and gardens. Only the family servants were paid by the respective occupants.

The operations of so big an estate on a relatively isolated island demanded that it be self sufficient and able to support itself with a minimum of outside help. The much-admired Carnegie steam yacht *Missoe* plowed the waters between Fernandina Beach and Cumberland Island daily, carrying supplies to the island. Seventeen men were required to operate this yacht.[22]

Dungeness supplied much, though not all, of the food and services for the other areas of the island. Greenhouses experimented with every type of vegetable and plant, pretty much in the style of the Greene-Miller period. Marshes were even reclaimed and a rich abundance of fruit and vegetables was grown there. One newspaper noted how useful these marshes could be and hoped to see other Georgia marshes utilized in this way.[23]

Ice was manufactured, as is evidenced by the extant icehouse. At least 40 milk cows produced milk for all the Carnegie children twice a day. This milk was pasteurized, bottled, and delivered to the different houses.[24] From 400 to 500 cattle roamed the island, providing much of the meat consumed.

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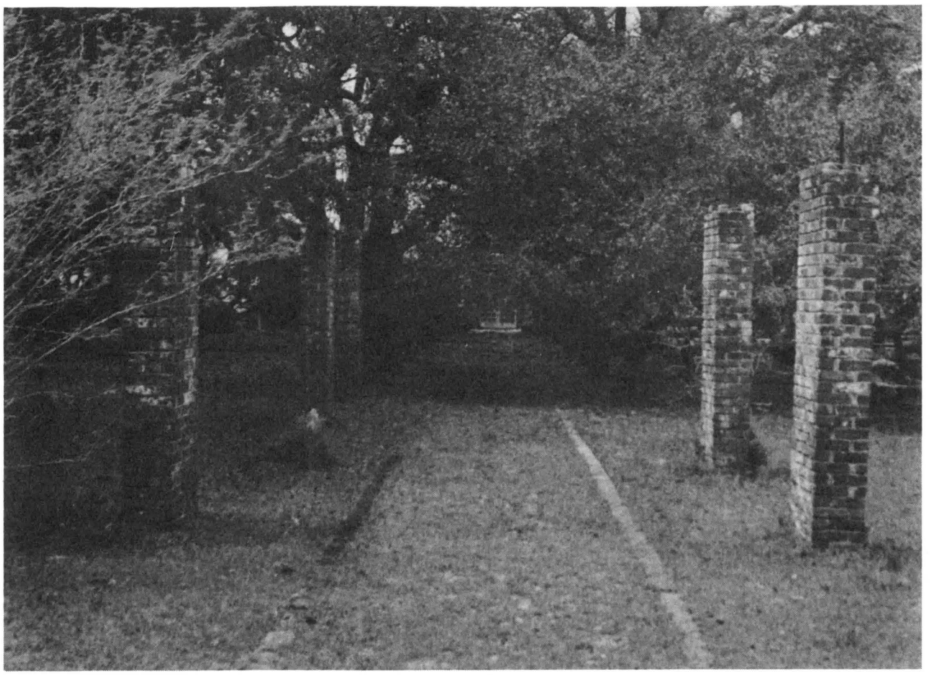
22. *Florida Mirror*, Feb. 16, 1884, p. 8, col. 1; *ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1884, p. 8, col. 1; article unknown, n.d., Carnegie Scrapbook.

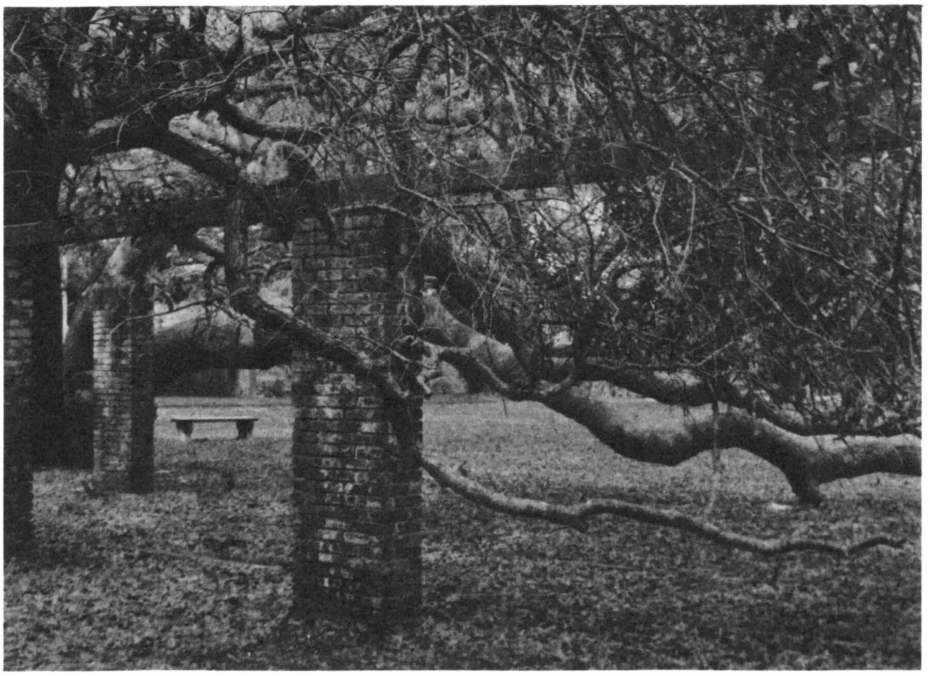
23. "Dungeness," newspaper unknown, n.d., Carnegie Scrapbook.

24. Much of the data concerning the operations at Dungeness is derived from the author's interview with Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller on July 11, 1976. Mrs. Rockefeller, daughter of Andrew Carnegie II, remembers the plantation where she lived for many years as a child with her grandmother and parents.

Illustrations 22-23.

Two views of ruins of pergola, Greyfield, Cumberland Island, 1976.



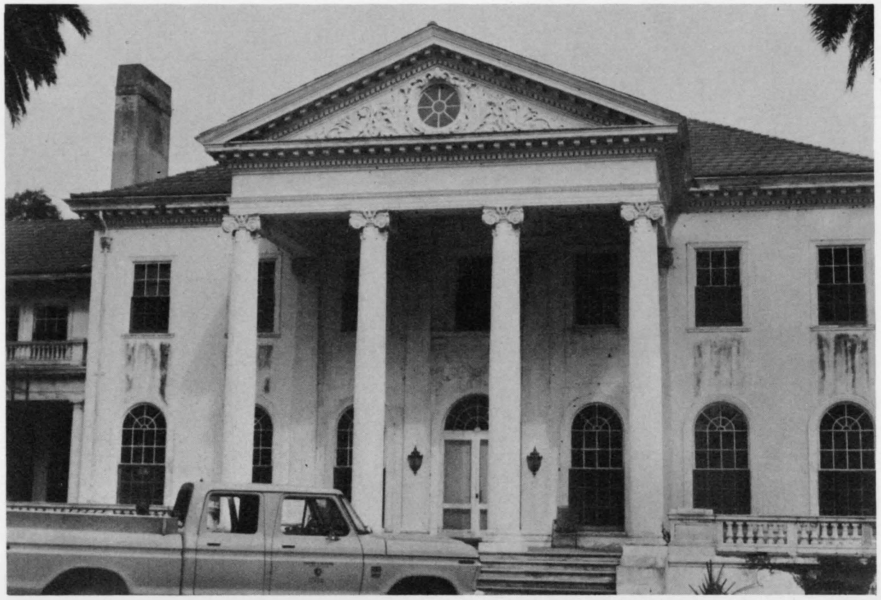


Illustrations 24-26.

Plum Orchard (front and side views), Cumberland Island, 1976.







Illustrations 27-29.

Outbuildings, Plum Orchard, Cumberland Island, 1976.







Illustrations 30-32.

Outbuildings, Plum Orchard, Cumberland Island, 1976.





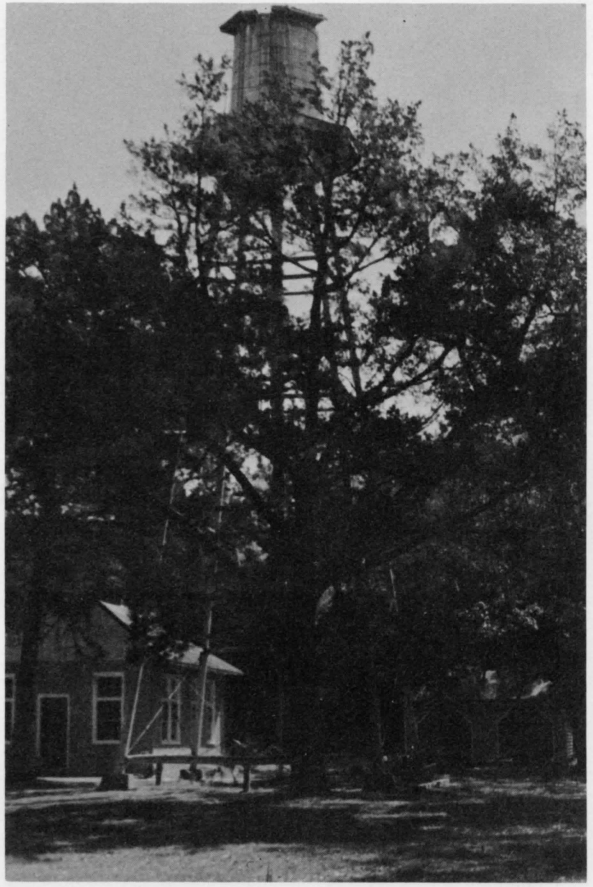
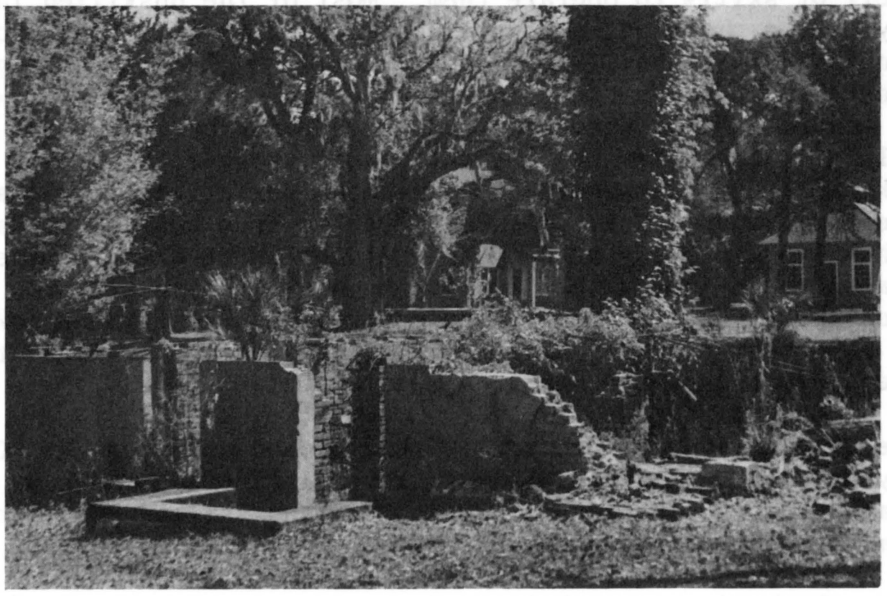


Illustration 33.

Probable ruins of the Bernardy home (former owners of Plum Orchard), Plum Orchard, Cumberland Island, 1976.





A large woodworking shop, now partially in ruins, provided the necessary maintenance for all the Carnegie homes. A commissary received packaged goods from the yacht *Missoe*, and these were stored in bins marked for each house. The mail for each family was also placed there. The groceries and mail were then delivered by wagon to each of the Carnegie homes on a daily basis.

A bakery at Dungeness produced bread daily for each of the families. A laundry building, still standing, provided this essential service, although areas like Plum Orchard had their own laundries.

The stables at Dungeness alone maintained about fifty to sixty horses. Originally, horse-drawn carriages supplied transportation for the island. The coachmen were usually white employees, but several blacks worked under them. Later, after the turn of the century, electric-powered cars, referred to as "electrics," replaced many of the carriages.

Each member of the Carnegie family had his own "electric," and every evening their batteries were recharged. To accomplish this, and to service other electrically-operated equipment on the island, a sizeable powerhouse was needed at Dungeness. This building, which was operated by three engineers, is now in ruins.

Poultry was raised in abundant quantities. The dilapidated chicken coops, still standing, are testimony to this fact.

Such extensive facilities required an equally large number of employees with a variety of skills to operate them. Most of the unskilled labor was performed by blacks, some of whom were descendents of ex-slaves who lived at the north end of the island. Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, daughter of Andrew Carnegie II, recalls affectionately "Uncle" Primus and his wife "Aunt" Amanda, who worked for the Carnegies and who are now buried in the cemetery at Half Moon Bluff. One writer has estimated that there were as many as 300 employees working for the Carnegies.[25] A more conservative figure, according to Mrs. Rockefeller, was probably 200. She recalls from childhood that there were more than 100 employees at Dungeness alone. Most of them were blacks who worked on maintenance jobs around the island under the supervision of whites. Dungeness had three white gardeners who supervised a staff of black workers. The stables were operated similarly. Individual homes maintained their own household servants and stable hands.

Employees received wages common to that period and area--$1.00 a day for white employees, $.50 a day for blacks. This distinction may have been due to the fact that white employees held supervisory and skilled positions, whereas the black employees may have been unskilled.

Life for the employee on the island was restricted. Except for employees in fairly high positions, most were prohibited from having their families on

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25. Andrew Sparks, "A Tide of Change for Cumberland," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, Mar. 9, 1969.

the island. However, on weekends or nonworking days those who had families on the mainland were permitted to visit them. Jim Crow laws operated on the island as on the mainland, and blacks and whites ate and slept in separate facilities. Dormitories and dining halls for blacks and whites still exist in relatively good condition as reminders of another era. The dormitories and dining halls bear a remarkable resemblance to army facilities of World Wars I and II.

In charge of this extensive operation was Mr. William E. Page, who lived with his wife in what is now known as the Grange. In plantation days he would have been regarded as the overseer. Mr. Page, a Harvard University graduate from Massachusetts, was originally hired by Mrs. Carnegie (soon after her husband died) as a tutor for her six sons. These boys received their schooling from Mr. Page in the old tabby house. As they grew older and there was less need for this tutoring, Mrs. Carnegie placed Mr. Page in charge of the operations of the island. Mr. Page died at the Grange in 1922, and both he and his wife, who died in 1941, are buried in the Carnegie Cemetery.

The Carnegie estate, with Dungeness as its heartbeat, was the center of social activity, especially while Mrs. Carnegie was alive. Celebrities in the world of business, politics, finance, science, arts, and letters were frequent guests at Dungeness and at other Carnegie houses on the island. The weddings of Carnegie children were celebrated with the elaborateness common to high society of that age. Prior to his marriage, Andrew Carnegie, the great financier, spent two months convalescing on Cumberland Island after an attack of typhoid. Hunting, horseback riding, and golf, in addition to indoor and outdoor swimming, were some of the more common sports indulged in by guests at the Carnegie estate.[26] At one time a number of deer were imported from the north and set free with the existing deer of the island in order to increase the population for sporting purposes.[27]

Much of the elaborate social life enjoyed on the island was due to Mrs. Carnegie. In the tradition of Catherine Greene Miller, Mrs. Carnegie was known as the gracious hostess of Dungeness. Her enthusiasm for this type of living led her to become the first female member of the New York Yacht Club, a considerable achievement for a woman of her day. In this endeavor she had her yacht *Dungeness* (which had replaced the old *Missoe*) to thank. The captain of this yacht lived at the Captain's House, still existing near Dungeness Wharf.

The Carnegie estate on Cumberland Island received national fame in the early 1900s when a waltz entitled "Dungeness," composed by J. T. Wamelink, was performed at the Cleveland Opera House under the direction of Professor John Faust.[28]

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26. One contemporary newspaper, while reporting the wedding of one of Mrs. Carnegie's daughters at Dungeness, remarked that every Carnegie house on the island was filled with guests. Article and newspaper unknown, n.d., Carnegie Scrapbook.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Unknown newspaper, n.d., Carnegie Scrapbook.

B. North End of Cumberland Island

1. High Point

At the time the Carnegies purchased their land on Cumberland Island, the north end, known generally as High Point, was inhabited by only a few families. Together these residents owned approximately 1,500 acres, the Carnegies having purchased the rest of Great Cumberland Island. At one time the Bunkley family was the largest landholder of this group, which included the Faders, Clubbs, Lambs, Martins, Millers (no relation to Catherine Greene Miller), Bensons, Burbanks, Haywoods, Sheppards, and Fordhams.

After the end of the Civil War, people in northern and central Georgia found the north end a popular place to visit, and they increasingly spent summers there. It also became the location for annual conventions and meetings of professional groups, such as the State Dental Society of Georgia and teachers' associations.[29]

To handle this influx of tourism, hotels and other facilities were constructed on a reasonable scale. One of the earliest was the Occidental Hotel, located on what was then Clubb Place. In 1880 Mason T. Burbank purchased this hotel with the purpose of enlarging it to accommodate 100 guests. One newspaper described its location as one of the most beautiful and convenient for hotel purposes, being "right on the bluff, overlooking the sound." Burbank, meanwhile, sought partners to invest in this venture.[30] Whether he succeeded, and subsequently expanded the structure as planned, is not clear from the records. There is evidence, however, that he purchased additional land in later years, perhaps to further his plans for expansion.

Six years after Burbank purchased the Occidental Hotel, William R. Bunkley, who already resided at the north end of the island, purchased 1,000 acres of land from Matilda and Thomas Lamb. This land is described in the deed of transfer as follows:

> bounded North by lands owned by Haywood, and a tract of land Known as Macon Company property and W. R. Bunkley land and Inlet Creek, South by lands owned by Shepard [*sic*] and Fordham, West by a Public Road leading from High Point to Dungeness, and East by the Atlantic Ocean. . . .[31]

In 1890 Burbank transferred part of this land to the newly-formed Cumberland Island Company for $75,000. This company had been formed to purchase land on the island for the establishment of a hotel and resort. From this it can be deduced that when Burbank purchased his land in 1880, he formed the

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29. *Savannah Morning News Index*, May 24, 1887, p. 262.

30. *Florida Mirror*, Nov. 20, 1880, p. 8, col. 2.

31. Indenture, Apr. 27, 1886, Liber of Deeds U, pp. 93-94.

nucleus of what later became the Cumberland Island Company. Bunkley and others may also have been partners. After the company absorbed the Bunkley property, hotel facilities were expanded. Because of the history of land ownership that it reveals, the deed transferring Bunkley's land to the company is quoted at length:

> That tract of land containing 1,000 acres bounded North by lands owned by Benson (formerly by Haywood) and the tract of land known as the Macon Company property and Inlet (or Christmas) creek. South by Shepard [*sic*] and Fordham's lands. West by the public road leading from High Point to Dungeness and East by the Atlantic Ocean. the said tract of land hereby conveyed being on Cumberland Island and including all that land plotted and described in deed of Matilda R. Lamb and Thomas W. Lamb, Guardian, April 27, 1886 and recorded in Book "U," pp. 93, 94, and 95, except that portion in plot described as Haywood land and except also 4 small parcels of land included in said plot amounting in all to about 30 acres which Bunkley has heretofore deeded to his 4 children all 4 deeds being recorded in Superior Court showing the amount of land location as conveyed to each of the children and excepting also the Church lot and the tract of land includes also all pieces of land situate on the Island containing 46 acres described in deed of David Thompson to Thomas P. Bunkley on January 13, 1847 recorded in Book "O" pp 185-6. being same land conveyed to William R. Bunkley by his father Thomas P. Bunkley on May 16, 1860 deed recorded in Book "O," p. 4 and the tract of land hereby conveyed also includes that parcel of land deeded by said William R. Bunkley to his son W. H. Bunkley on January 20, 1881 deed recorded in Book "R," pp. 538 and 589. And also all other lands on Island claimed or possessed by W. H. Bunkley included in the boundaries of said plot except that parcel [his] father [gave to him] . . . and the tract hereby conveyed includes all the lands on Island within the boundaries of said plot now owned by W. R. Bunkley
>
> And also all the other property to wit: all the furniture and other personal property belonging to or connected with the Hotel Cottages and other buildings and improvements on the land conveyed and not belonging to W. H. Bunkley. and does likewise sell . . . with warrants forever in fee simple the Railroad its cars and all its equipment (except live stock) on said island and [illegible] from Cumberland River to the Ocean Beach. Also all the right of way heretofore acquired by W. R. Bunkley of George W. Benson of Cumberland Island.[32]

In addition to citing the several properties surrounding the land in question, this legal instrument reveals that Bunkley's four children owned parcels of land (a total of 30 acres), within the 1,000 acres, that were part of this transfer. Very significant in this instrument is the reference to a church lot on Bunkley's property. A plat drawn in 1887, three years be-

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32. Indenture of Mortgage, Nov. 11, 1890, and Deed, Nov. 11, 1890, *ibid.*, pp. 169-73, 204-6.

fore Bunkley sold his land, shows the church to be on Bunkley's property (Illustration 34, p. 196).[33] Archeologist John Ehrenhard of the Southeast Archeological Center has recently identified the foundations of this church on the Candler Estate. The church's congregation is said to have been Methodist.[34] Up to this point in the history of the island the author has seen no evidence of the existence of any church there, except during the Spanish occupation. When George White wrote his account of Georgia in 1849 he specifically noted that there was no church on Cumberland Island, the inhabitants attending church services in St. Marys.[35] Apparently sometime between 1849 and 1887 a church had been erected, possibly for the convenience of vacationers.

The reference to personal property and to structures is equally significant. This legal instrument establishes that there were hotel cottages on Bunkley's land. Whether this is the Occidental Hotel noted earlier or another nearby resort is unclear. One source published in 1913, in referring to Bunkley's land, said that the "hotel is situated in a grove of live-oaks."[36] Another account, written in the 1930s, pointed out that William Bunkley built the "present" hotel at High Point about forty years earlier (i.e., about 1890) "The original building has been enlarged and is now a famous summer resort, conducted by Mr. Bunkley's son, R. L. Bunkley, Sr."[37] (See Illustrations 35-36, p. 198).

Also mentioned in this deed is a railroad consisting of four cars that ran on tracks and were drawn by mules and horses from the Cumberland River (Cumberland Wharf) to the hotel and then to the ocean beach. There is an excellent early illustration of one of these cars (Illustration 37, p. 200). The route of this railroad is clearly depicted on a 1926 map. Midway along the railroad, the tracks converge on a dirt road that ran east to the hotel and beach (Illustration 38, p. 202).[38]

The resort hotel shut down around 1920, and the Cumberland Island Club, a private organization established on December 7, 1920, purchased the hotel property from R. L. Bunkley. After the Club failed, Howard Candler, Sr., of Atlanta

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33. Indenture, Dec. 20, 1887, Liber of Deeds T, pp. 156-58, with plat attached.

34. Information provided by Mr. John Ehrenhard, Southeast Archeological Center, National Park Service, Jan. 13, 1977.

35. White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia*, pp. 139-40.

36. Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends*, 1:349-50.

37. James T. Vocelle, "Cumberland Island, The Home of the Carnegies," newspaper unknown, n.d., but ca. 1930, in scrapbook at Fort Frederica National Monument.

38. Map, "United States--East Coast, Georgia, St. Andrew Sound," Chart No. 448, Edition No. 3, Oct. 18, 1926, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D.C., Record Group 23, National Archives.

and his son, both members of the club, purchased the property in 1930; the family still owns it. Although considerably altered, the old hotel is still distinguishable (Illustrations 39-41, p. 204).

2. Half Moon Bluff

At the north central part of Cumberland Island, just northwest of High Point, is an area known as Half Moon Bluff. This area has been associated historically with a resident of the island known as Luther Martin, and in the land records this area was known alternately as Martin's Half Moon Bluff Tract and Martin's Fishing Bluff Tract. Martin, who also owned land in St. Marys, first appeared on the scene in Cumberland Island by purchasing land on Little Cumberland Island at a sheriff's sale on December 8, 1870.[39] The following year he purchased half interest in 104 acres of land known as the "Estate of James A. Clubb on Great Cumberland Island."[40] It was probably part of this acquisition that eventually became known as the Martin Half Moon Bluff Tract.

This tract is depicted in a plat attached to a deed of 1887. Although the plat is a schematic drawing, the Martin property boundaries are clearly depicted in relation to other properties and sites. The Old Clubb Road is shown cutting through the Martin property and eventually merging with the Old Bunkley Road, which touched the southwest corner of the Martin tract. The old "Methodist" church appears on the Bunkley property to the south of Martin's tract. Finally, of extreme importance is the site of the "Grave Yard," which appears just to the northwest of Martin's tract (Illustration 34, p. 196).[41] This is undoubtedly the existing cemetery at Half Moon Bluff.

In June 1890 Martin sold that portion of the Half Moon Bluff Tract that lay on the west side of the Old Clubb Road. Half, or five acres, of this parcel adjacent to the Old Clubb Road was sold to Mason T. Burbank, and the remaining five acres were sold to Charles A. Miller, both of whom already owned land at the north end of the island.[42] Although the plats attached to the transfer deeds are schematic and without dimensions, it is obvious that Burbank's newly acquired five acres formed the shape of a rectangle, the long side (or that which ran north and south) on the east coinciding with the Old Clubb Road. The Burbank deed further describes this parcel of land as

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39. Deed, Dec. 17, 1871, Liber of Deeds Q, p. 367.

40. Deed, Feb. 7, 1871, *ibid.*, p. 314.

41. Indenture, Dec. 20, 1887, Liber of Deeds T, pp. 156-58, with plat attached.

42. Indenture, June 17, 1890, Liber of Deeds U, pp. 108-9 (Illustration 42, p. 206); Indenture, June 14, 1890, *ibid.*, pp. 81-82 (Illustration 43, p. 210).

Illustration 34.

Plat of 1887. North End of Cumberland Island from Indenture, Dec. 20, 1887, Liber of Deeds T, pp. 156-58, Camden County Clerk's Office.

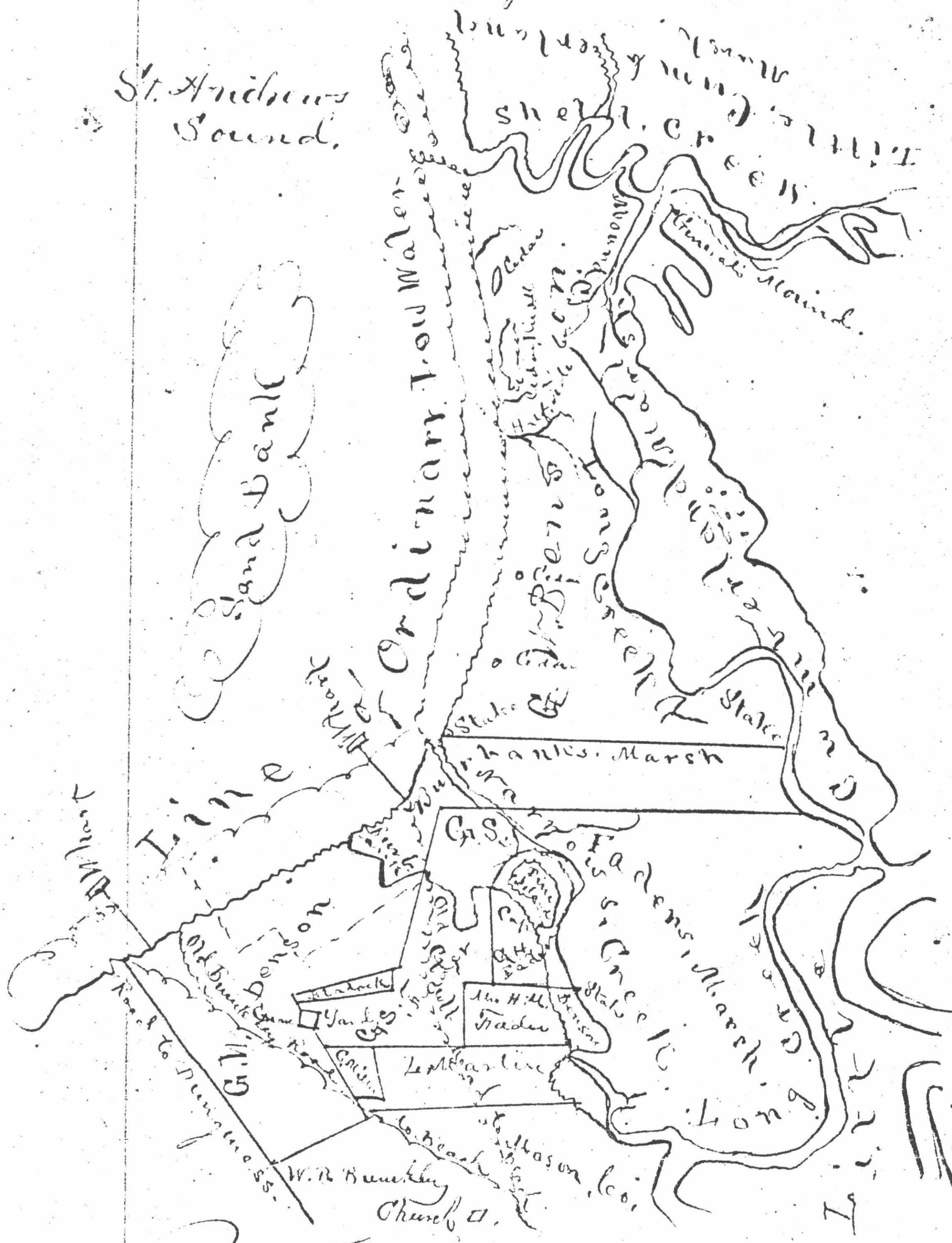
for the purposes therein mentioned, and that deponent subscribed the same as a witness, and saw Charles L. Miller do so likewise, Sworn & Subscribed before me this twenty third day of December 1887.

F. F. Atkinson

Harry F. Dunwody

Notary Public Glynn Co Georgia.

L. C. Miller.



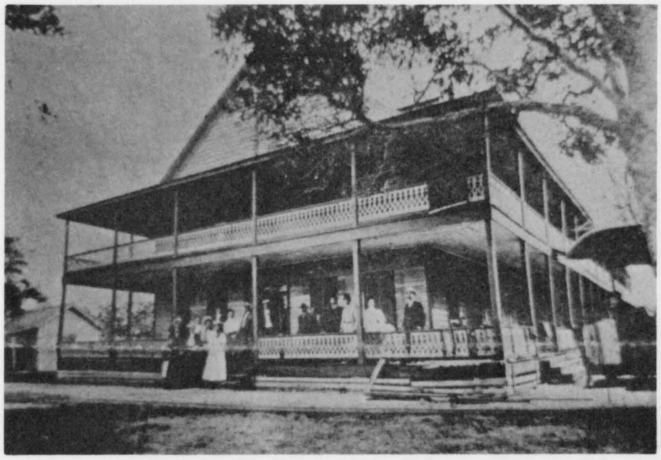
Recorded, January 31st 1888.

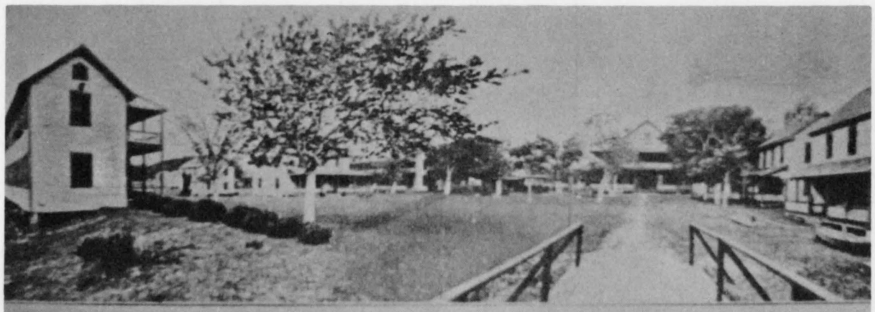
Edwin J. Rudulph

Deputy Clk Sup. Ct. C. C. Ga.

Illustrations 35-36.

Hotel and Cottages, north end, Cumberland Island, ca. 1900.





HOTEL AND COTTAGES LOOKING FROM PAVILION.

Illustration 37.

Railroad, north end, Cumberland Island, ca. 1900.

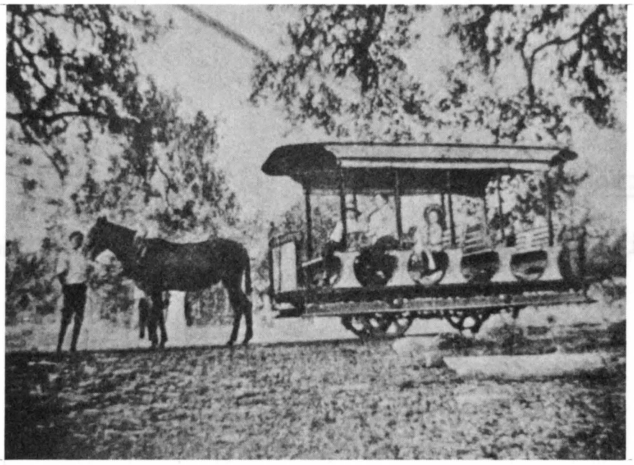


Illustration 38.

Map, "United States--East Coast, Georgia, St. Andrew Sound," 1926.

PLATE No. 3876

81°30′ 25′ 20′

31°

55′

UNITED STATES — EAST COAST
GEORGIA
ST. ANDREW SOUND

Scale 40000

SOUNDINGS IN FEET
AT MEAN LOW WATER

TIDES — St. Andrew Sound
High water interval — 7h 43m
High water height — 6.8 ft.
Lowest tide — -3.5 ft.

ABBREVIATIONS
Lights: F. fixed. Fl. flashing. Occ. occulting. W. white. R. red. Alt. alternating. Gp. group.
Sec. sector. m. miles. nm. nautical. ms. seconds. m. every. vis. visible.
Color white unless otherwise indicated.
Buoys. C. can. N. nun. S. spar.
M. mud. S. sand. G. gravel. Sh. shells. gy. gray.
brk. hard. sft. soft. stk. sticky. brk. broken.
P. D. position doubtful. E. D. existence doubtful.

AUTHORITIES
Surveys to 1926
Surveys by U.S. Engineers to 1925 and other sources.

HEIGHTS in feet above high water.

VARN 0°50′ E IN 1925
ANNUAL CHANGE 2′E0

Nautical Miles
Yards

VARN 0°45′ E IN 1926
ANNUAL CHANGE ZERO

This Bar is shifting. Sixteen feet can usually be carried over it at low water. The Buoys should be followed.

ST. ANDREW SOUND

JEKYLL ISLAND

CUMBERLAND ISLAND

Jekyll Creek
Jekyll River
Satilla River
Jekyll Sound
Cumberland River
Floyd Basin
Todd C.
Raccoon Key Spit
Pelican Spit
Brickhill River
Table Pt.
Shellbluff Creek
Christmas Creek
Whitney Lake
Old Tower
Terrapin Pt.
Abraham Pt.
Cumberland Bluff
Brickhill Bluff
Shellbluff
Embankment Cut left June 1926

81°30′ 25′ 20′

Illustrations 39-41.

Candler Estate (former hotel above, and at left outbuildings and general area), north end, Cumberland Island, 1976.







Illustration 42.

Plat, June 17, 1890, Liber of Deeds U, pp. 108-9.

Martin Fishing Bluff Tract

All that certain Five acres, parcel of land . . . known as part of Martin's Fishing Bluff Tract lying West and adjoining the Old Clubb Road to the Beach represented in the accompanying plat.[43]

Soon after Burbank acquired the five acres, he proceeded to divide them into small lots of 50 by 100 feet. The result was the creation of fifty-two lots of equal size plus three access roads, each ten feet wide. A plat, probably drawn in the late 1890s, describes these lots and their original owners (Illustration 44, p. 212).[44] The lots were then sold to Negroes, some of whom were either former slaves or their descendents. Some purchased more than one lot. Others, after purchasing property, sold it to other Negroes. Some of the blacks who purchased the lots in the 1890s were Charlie Trimings, William Alberty, Quash Merrou, Eillen Alberty, Caroline Stiles, Morgan Hogendof, Elizabeth Mitchell Stiles, Nelson Merro (or Merrou), George Alberty, Primus Mitchell, and Fannie Alberty. The deeds involving these purchases describe the lots more fully.[45]

Several of these lots, including their structures, have since passed into the possession of persons who have no connection with the original owners. Today there are four structures of modest size (main houses as well as outbuildings) standing on the old Martin Half Moon Bluff Tract. These structures were built in the 1930s, 1940s, and even later, and have been altered considerably. All except one are constructed of wood, the exception being a single-story red brick house erected in the 1950s.[46]

The significance of Half Moon Bluff to the history of Cumberland Island lies in the traditional account that after the Civil War the former slaves of Stafford, Nightingale, and other plantation owners of the island settled in the area. These freedmen, it has been said, acquired squatter's rights and built simple huts for shelter, eking out a poor existence. These former slaves and their descendents started working for the Carnegies as they purchased land and for the hotels that were being established.

Frederick A. Ober, who wrote his article on Dungeness in 1880, spoke of the existence of "a remnant of the old slave population" living "houseless

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43. Indenture, June 17, 1890, Liber of Deeds U, pp. 108-9.

44. Plat, n.d., showing division of part of Martin's Half Moon Bluff Tract. The author is grateful to Mrs. Frances Walker of Brunswick, Georgia, owner of the plat and descendent of an original owner of some of the lots, for providing this information.

45. Deed, May 9, 1894, Liber of Deeds V, pp. 422-23; Deed, May 25, 1894, *ibid.*, pp. 423-24; Deed, May 9, 1894, *ibid.*, p. 430; Deed, Aug. 25, 1896, Liber of Deeds W, pp. 198-99.

46. The owners of these structures, latecomers to Half Moon Bluff, are Robert and Adele Rischarde and J. Grover Henderson.

and poverty-stricken, clinging to the island that once gave them so delightful a home."[47] Ober did not mention whether these former slaves lived at the northern end of the island, much less whether they squatted on what later was known as Half Moon Bluff. Nevertheless, tradition has placed them at the northern end of the island. It must be noted that in general Ober was a careful researcher, seeking out the smallest detail. Since he was reporting about what he saw and heard around him when he visited the island in 1879, only fourteen years after the Civil War, this writer is convinced that Ober was a dependable and accurate reporter.

Moreover, there is the evidence of the cemeteries at Half Moon Bluff, which contain the remains of former slaves, people who died after the Civil War. This, it would appear, is reliable evidence to support the thesis that those who were buried there were once freed slaves who had inhabited the north end of the island.[48]

While primary source material is generally lacking in establishing the permanent Negro settlement at Half Moon Bluff as the specific area where former slaves settled at the conclusion of the Civil War, there can be no mistake that the general area at the north end was settled by them. As we have already said, these former slaves and their descendents were eventually employed by the Carnegies and the hotels. That they later became landowners at Half Moon Bluff may have been the design of the hotel owners. By setting aside five acres for these people, Burbank, who was probably one of the owners of the hotel at High Point, was providing the business with some assurance that the blacks would remain long and loyal employees. In return, by acquiring property, the blacks were given a permanent stake in the island.

3. First African Baptist Church

The history of the First African Baptist Church is tied in with that of the Negro settlement at Half Moon Bluff. This structure is unique to the area, not because of any architectural value, but because as a religious institution it provided the post-Civil War Negro of Cumberland Island with the solace he so much needed to relieve him of the burden of poverty and suffering.

The First African Baptist Church was founded in 1893--at the time that Burbank was selling plots to blacks--by the Reverend T. Lockett and Deacons William M. Alberty, Charles Trimings, and Primus Mitchell, the last three all becoming property owners at Half Moon Bluff.[49] As the settlement grew, the

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47. Ober, "Dungeness," pp. 8-9.

48. Aside from peoples' names and dates of births and deaths, the tombstones contain little information about their lives. The few living descendents of those buried in the cemeteries that were interviewed by the author were unable to provide very much information.

49. Plaque on church front.

Illustration 43.

Plat, June 14, 1890, Liber of Deeds U, pp. 81-82.

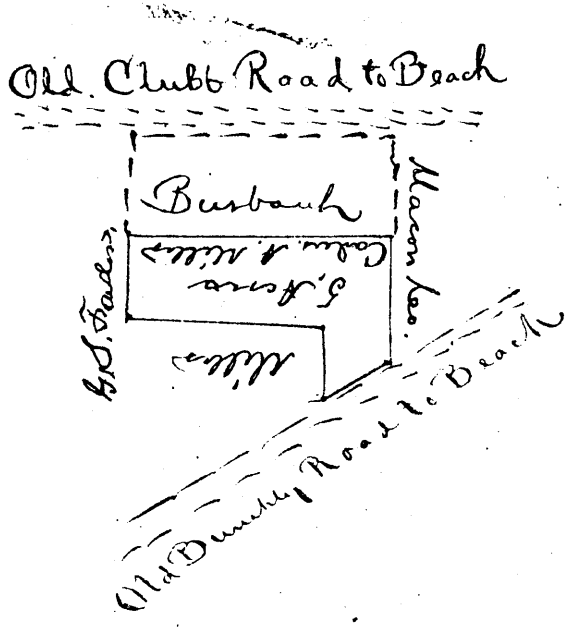

Old Clubb Road to Beach
Burbank
Macon Sea.
Old Bundy Road to Beach

Illustration 44.

Plat, division into lots of Martin's Half Moon Bluff Tract, ca. 1890. Author's schematic drawing.

FADER'S TRACT

LOT 36. DOCK TISON	LOT 37. DOCK TISON	LOT 38. DOCK TISON	LOT 39. DOCK TISON	LOT 40. ?	LOT 41. ?	LOT 42. FANNIE ALBERTY
ACCESS ROAD						
LOT 35. GEO. ALBERTY	LOT 34. GEO. ALBERTY	LOT 33. GEO. ALBERTY	LOT 32. GEO. ALBERTY	LOT 31. PRIMUS MITCHELL	LOT 30. NELSON	LOT 29. NELSON
LOT 22. NELSON MERRO	LOT 23. NELSON MERRO	LOT 24. NELSON MERRO	LOT 25. NELSON MERRO	LOT 26. PRIMUS MITCHELL	LOT 27. CHAS. TRIMINGS	LOT 28. CHAS. TRIMINGS
ACCESS ROAD						
LOT 21. ELIZABETH MITCHELL STILES	LOT 20. ELIZABETH MITCHELL STILES	LOT 19. CAROLINE STILES	LOT 18. ?	LOT 17. ROGERS ALBERTY BY CHAS. TRIMINGS	LOT 16. CHURCH LOT	LOT 15. CHURCH LOT
LOT 8. MORGAN HOGENDOF	LOT 9. MORGAN HOGENDOF	LOT 10. CAROLINE STILES	LOT 11. CHAS. TRIMINGS	LOT 12. CHAS. TRIMINGS	LOT 13. WM. ALBERTY	LOT 14. WM. ALBERTY
ACCESS ROAD						
LOT 7. SAM ALBERTY	LOT 6. EILLEN ALBERTY	LOT 5. QUASH MERROU	LOT 4. CHAS. TRIMINGS	LOT 3. CHAS. TRIMINGS	LOT 2. WM. ALBERTY	LOT 1. WM. ALBERTY

MILLER'S TRACT

PUBLIC ROAD

MACON TRACT SOUTH

need for a church to take care of the spiritual needs of the people was recognized. When constructed, the church occupied Lots 15 and 16 on the Martin Half Moon Bluff Tract plotted by Burbank. Lot 15 was adjacent to the old Clubb Road (Illustration 44, p. 212). According to one resident of the island, a member of the congregation, the original structure conisted of a one-room log cabin. The church was used as a schoolhouse as well as for church services.[50]

A search of the land records at the Camden County Clerk's Office failed to uncover information concerning the church and its ownership. Similarly, a search of the Georgia Baptist Historical Society (Macon, Georgia) also failed to produce anything significant. This writer was unable to find any records indicating that the church was incorporated, and has therefore concluded that perhaps the land upon which the church rests was privately owned and was leased to the founders for their church. This is true inspite of the impression given from Illustration 44.

In 1937 the old log cabin church was replaced by the existing structure. At that time the church officers were C. Alberty, P. Trimings, N. Merrou, and Beulah G. Alberty (clerk), and the clergy was the Reverend L. Morrison.[51] All except the latter lived on the island at Half Moon Bluff. The new church was built by the members themselves. One of these was George Merrou, whose father was Nelson Merrou, son of a former slave who owned Lots 22, 23, 24, and 25 on the Burbank plot of Half Moon Bluff. Charles Howard Candler, who purchased the old hotel, provided the blacks with lumber from an abandoned house on his property with which to build the new church.[52]

The existing structure has three windows (six-over-six panes), one on each side and one at the rear. The entry is a double door with two panels on each side. The structure is painted white with weatherboard siding. A gable roof is covered with tin. Inside are ten to thirteen pews and a small plain altar (Illustrations 45-47, p. 216).

4. North End in 1928

An interesting map of the north end of Cumberland Island reveals that in 1928 land was owned by the following families and groups:

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50. Interview, George Mayo (Merrou) with author, Apr. 1, 1976.

51. Plaque on church front.

52. John Pennington (employee of the Candler estate) to Superintendent Paul McCrary, Oct. 13, 1976, in Denver Service Center files; Interview, the Reverend L. Morrison, Fernandina, Florida, with the author, Jan. 12, 1977.

	Highland	Marsh
G. W. Benson estate	162 acres	none
Burbanks	19 acres	126 acres
Mrs. E. R. Fader tract	65 acres	200 acres
W. W. Miller tract	70 acres	54 acres
Kemp and Bunkleys	31 acres	none
Negro property	7 acres	none
Cumberland Island Club	1,200 acres	(including)

Beneath the Cumberland Island Club's estate, which today is owned by the Candlers, the map shows the Carnegie estate. Thus, in 1928 the Carnegie estate consisted of all of Great Cumberland Island except the above property. It may also be of interest to note that the Negro settlement consisted of seven acres, two more acres than when Burbank first laid out his lots.[53]

C. The Later Years (1917-present)

On January 16, 1916, Lucy Coleman Carnegie died at the age of sixty-nine and was buried in the Carnegie Cemetery in Dungeness. She left five sons (a sixth having died during her lifetime) and three daughters as heirs to her estate. Before her death, Mrs. Carnegie created a trust whose basic purpose was to maintain her 16,000 acres as a home for her children. Under the trust, none of her lands could be sold while any of her children were alive.

The passing of Mrs. Carnegie was the beginning of a new era on Cumberland Island. While alive, she was the binding and central force behind her large family. For a while the unity that she hoped to retain within her family by the creation of a trust continued, but it was soon cut short, first because of a lack of interest in the island displayed by later Carnegie generations, and secondly because of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The heirs soon found themselves financially unable to retain the vast properties that their mother had left them. Ironically, the Dungeness mansion, the heart of the Carnegie estate and its operations, was the first structure to fall victim to the inevitable. Except for a brief period of occupation by Andrew Carnegie II and his family, the mansion, too costly to maintain, was left vacant soon after 1925.[54] Without the needed maintenance, and left to the whims of the weather and the vandals who made their appearance on the island from time to time, the mansion eventually fell into ruins. Finally, in June 1959 a fire of undetermined origin (but suspected to be the act of an arsonist) wrecked the mansion. One official observer noted that Dungeness had deteriorated so badly that

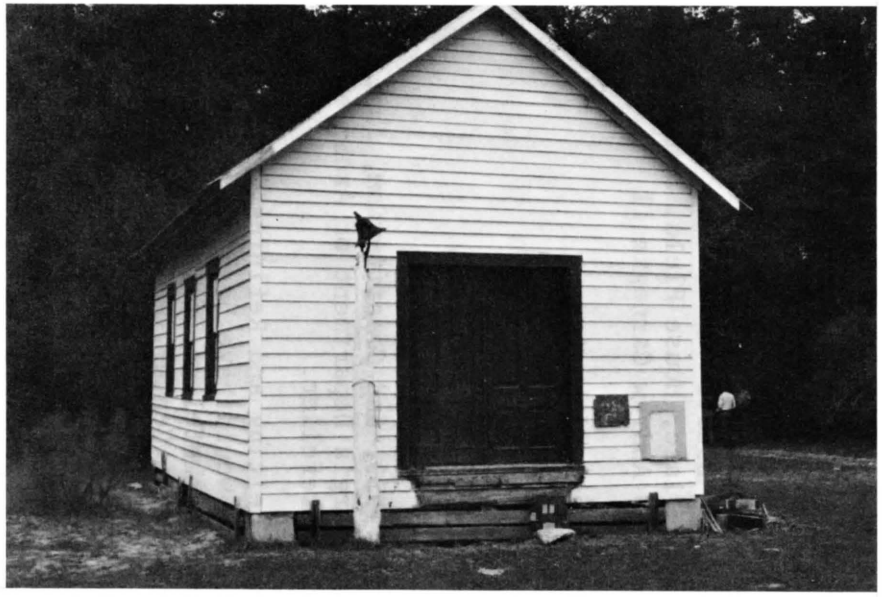
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53. Map Showing North End Cumberland Island and Part of Little Cumberland Island, Camden County, Georgia, July 1928, Plat Book 3, p. 138, as part of Deed between A. P. Miller and L. S. Miller, Jr., Henry Burr Miller, and Mary K. Miller Cannon, Liber of Deeds 75, pp. 493-96.

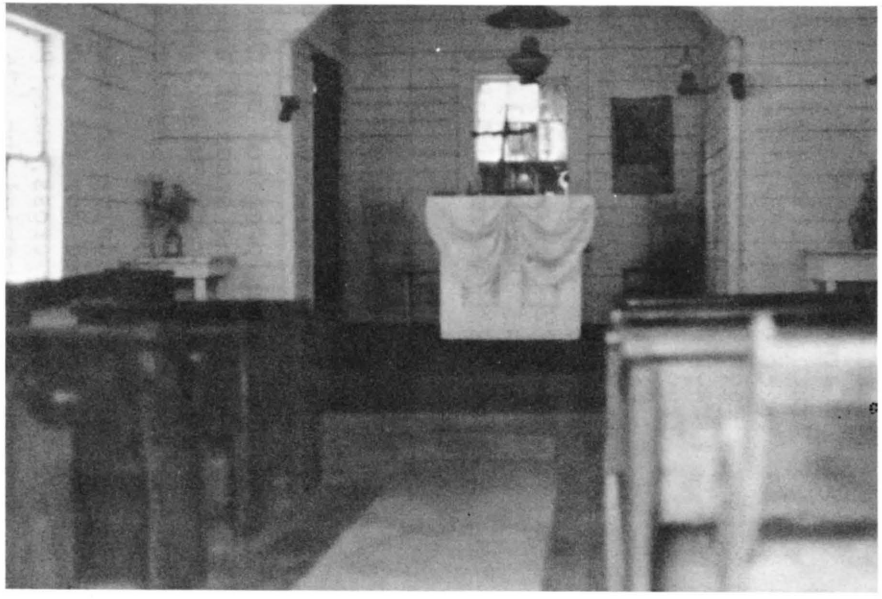
54. Interview, Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller.

Illustrations 45-47.

First African Baptist Church (exterior, interior, and plaque), north end, Cumberland Island, 1976.




1ST A.B.CHURCH
Founded 1893 by
Rev. T. Lockett.
Deacons
W. M. Alberty
C. Timings
P. Mingo
Officers 1937
C. Alberty
P. Trimings
N. Merrey
Beulah G. Alberty.
Chu. Clk.
Rev. L. Morrison.
Pastor.



"no great financial loss was involved."[55] In time, docks rotted, roads became impassable, and structures deteriorated, the result of years of neglect. Soon after Mrs. Carnegie died, the heirs began to reduce the large number of people employed on the estate, until by 1930 there were only a few employees left.

The severe depression of the 1930s led to a retrenchment on the part of the Carnegie heirs. Saddled by a trust that permitted them little leeway in the management of their properties, various heirs sought means of utilizing the resources of the island to bring in a financial return. One heir attempted to experiment with the production of tung oil from tung trees, but this proved a failure. Other heirs seriously toyed with the idea of strip-mining for titanium and ilmenite found in the sands of the island.[56] This second plan would have considerably altered the topography and ecology of the island, but might have provided a solution to the financial management of the Carnegie estate by the heirs. Fortunately, the provisions of the trust prevented the realization of such a plan, and the idea was dropped after some litigation. In 1946, contemplating the day when the trust would terminate, the Carnegie heirs prepared to divide the estate. A map of 1946 depicts how the Lucy Coleman Carnegie estate would be divided among the heirs once the trust came to an end. The land was divided into fourteen tracts, each going to the following heirs:

Tract 1 (South Point) - Thomas M. Carnegie, Jr.
Tract 2 (The Grange) - Florence C. Perkins
Tract 3 (Dungeness) - Lucy C. Carnegie Estate
Tract 4 (The Cottage) - Thomas M. Carnegie, Jr., and Carter C. B. Carnegie
Tract 5 (Nightingale) - Carter C. B. Carnegie
Tract 6 (Greyfield) - Lucy Ricketson Ferguson
Tract 7 (Old House) - Nancy Carnegie Johnston
Tract 8 (Eagle Nest) - Lucy C. Carnegie Estate
Tract 9 (Stafford, including Stafford Place, House Field, Benne Field, Beach House, and Long Field) - Andrew Carnegie II
Tract 10 - Lucy C. Carnegie Estate
Tract 11 - (Plum Orchard) - Nancy Carnegie Johnston
Tract 12 (Squaw Town) - Thomas M. Carnegie, Jr.
Tract 13 (Brick Kiln) - Florence C. Perkins
Tract 14 (Terrapin Point) - Oliver J. Ricketson, Jr.[57]

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55. *Camden County Tribune*, June 26, 1959, and *Constitution*, June 26, 1959, both in Beatrice Lang Collection, Georgia Department of Archives and History; Interview, Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller.

56. A map prepared by the American Smelting and Refining Company, ca. 1954, outlines the areas of the island that would have been mined. Copy of map made available by Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, filed in office of Historic Preservation Division, Denver Service Center, NPS.

57. Map Showing Proposed Division Cumberland Island, Camden County, Georgia, prepared for the Lucy C. Carnegie Est., Nov. 1, 1946, by Watts Engineering Co., Waycross, Ga., Plat Book 1, p. 224, Camden County Clerk's Office. The plat was recorded Aug. 26, 1964, in Minute Book M, pp. 496 ff. Map was revised January 1965, and recorded May 4, 1965, in Plat Book No. 3, p. 118.

After the last of Lucy Carnegie's children died in 1962, the trust came to an end, and the estate was divided up among individual owners.

While the heirs of the Carnegie estate were debating over the manner in which their land was to be employed to their personal advantage, outside forces were at play to determine how Cumberland Island could best be utilized for the benefit of the public. Long known as an area of natural beauty and historic significance, state and national conservation groups sought to have the island acquired for public use. In 1955 the state of Georgia created the Cumberland Island Study Committee to look into the possibility of establishing the island as a state park. In their report to the legislature, this committee recommended that such a park be established.[58] Georgia, however, later dropped the idea, possibly for two reasons: first, because Jekyll Island, just north of Cumberland Island, had only recently been established as a state park, and secondly, because the National Park Service was also showing a strong interest in the island as an excellent area worthy of preservation.

In 1954 the National Park Service had been prompted to undertake a study of all remaining stretches of outstanding land areas along the Atlantic and Gulf seaboards. At the conclusion of the study in 1955, the report cited Cumberland Island as being second (the first being Cape Cod) on the list of sixteen areas of national significance. Feasibility studies immediately followed, and these recommended that the island be authorized as a national recreational area.

While public efforts were underway to make the island a recreational area, many of the Carnegie heirs, now free to do as they pleased with their private lands, elected to sell their holdings. It was not difficult to find willing buyers for their choice lands. One such buyer was Charles Fraser, a well-known developer who had visualized the day when Cumberland Island would become a combination resort, wilderness, and park. By March 1969 he had purchased a fifth of the island from Carnegie heirs. Another purchaser was Robert Davis, who proceeded to divide his acquisition into small lots that were then sold.[59]

For a time it seemed as if a contest would arise between developers like Fraser and Davis and conservation groups. On October 23, 1972, Cumberland Island National Seashore was established by Congress (Public Law 92-536). Ultimately the park was to incorporate all of Cumberland Island. The legislation establishing the new park placed a limit of $10,500,000 dollars on land acquisition based on current appraisals of value. Fraser transferred his interest in the island to the National Park Foundation, and at the time of this writing the park has acquired about eighty percent of Cumberland Island.

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58. State of Georgia, House of Representatives, Cumberland Island Study Committee, Report to the 1956 Session of the General Assembly, copy in the Special Collections, University of Georgia Library.

59. Andrew Sparks, "Tide of Change for Cumberland"; "Portion of Cumberland Sold," *Southeast Georgian*, Jan. 23, 1969.

CHAPTER VII: LIGHTHOUSES

There is sufficient evidence that as early as 1802 the United States had considered the possibility of erecting a lighthouse at the southern end of Cumberland Island, overlooking Cumberland Sound. The sound separated Cumberland Island from Amelia Island, and at the time, was part of the border separating Spanish Florida from the United States. Warships and commercial vessels usually entered the inland waterway through the sound rather than take the more dangerous route offered by the ocean. With the eventual growth of St. Marys as a seaport on the mainland, just opposite Cumberland Sound, the need to improve the sound and make it safe for vessels was clearly appreciated.

According to an agreement in 1802 between Georgia and the United States, the former was to acquire six acres of land at the southern end of Great Cumberland Island, build a lighthouse upon it, and transfer both land and lighthouse to the United States Lighthouse Bureau. The matter would have been simple enough had not a question of title to the land surfaced. Under British rule, 200 acres had originally been set aside for public use where the ruins of Fort Prince William stood. The British had thought of using this land for defense purposes. After the Revolution, it would have been normal for Georgia, as a state, to have assumed jurisdiction over this public land. However, in the rush to make grants available immediately after the war, the 200 acres in question fell into private ownership. Georgia was now certain that such a grant was invalid and requested the State Attorney General to investigate the whole matter and report to the legislature at its next meeting.[1] Although the records are silent, it must be assumed that the outcome was favorable to the State, for later deeds of the southern tip of the island refer to the 200 acres as belonging to Georgia.

The original Act of Congress appropriating money for the erection of a lighthouse was passed in April 1802. Following this appropriation, no lighthouse was built. Several appropriations were passed at different intervals, the last being on April 11, 1820. With the passage of this last appropriation, a lighthouse was finally built.[2]

The long lapse of eighteen years between the time a lighthouse was first proposed and its final construction must have been the result of difficulties

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1. Resolution of the Georgia General Assembly, June 16, 1802, Record Group 26 (U.S. Coast Guard Records, Lighthouse Site File, Georgia, No. 5), National Archives and Records Center; Tattnall to Bullock, June 17, 1802, and Tattnall to Gallatin, June 17, 1802, Beatrice Lang Collection, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

2. Form 152, "Statement of Appropriations etc." from Mar. 4, 1789, to June 30, 1882, Record Group 26 (Clipping File), National Archives and Record Center.

arising from a final decision over the title to the land. It was not until an indenture was entered into between Archibald Clark and the United States in August 1816 that ownership of the six acres in question passed to the latter for the sum of $400.[3] Clark was then Superintendent of Buoys for the State of Georgia.

The question of title did not end here, for on July 19, 1820, while the lighthouse was actually under construction, an indenture was entered into between the heirs of Henry Osborne and the United States, transferring the six acres of land to the latter for $600. In this instrument reference was made to the land "in the actual possession of the said United States." Reference was also made to the fact that Henry Osborne was the original grantee of 200 acres, including the six acres in question, on January 24, 1787. Finally, this instrument also notes that the six acres in question was the same land "which [was] intended to be conveyed by Archibald Clark Esq. to the said United States" by the 1816 deed.[4] The question of title to the six acres was now finally settled. There is no doubt that the question of title had prevented the United States from constructing a lighthouse on the southern end of Cumberland Island for many years.

In April 1817, before title was finally settled, Clark wrote to the U.S. Commissioner of Revenue outlining specific conditions for the construction of the lighthouse that were essential before proposals for its erection were advertised. He described the site for the lighthouse as being a flat area "solid and free from quick sand" to a depth of four feet. The height of the lighthouse itself was to be eighty feet from the surface of the water to the platform on which the lantern was to rest, "making it five feet higher than [the] S. Simons Light." Clark suggested that the foundation of the lighthouse be made of stone obtained in East Florida at a cost of twenty-five cents a cubic foot. The superstructure was to consist of hard brick that could be obtained for $10 or $12 per thousand which, Clark believed, would be better than tabby, the material that was commonly used locally. As for the shape of the superstructure, he felt that it should be octagonal. The lighthouse keeper's residence, which was also part of the plan, was to be a frame structure about eighteen by thirty feet, enclosed and properly finished at a cost of about $700 or $800.[5]

In March and April 1819 proposals for erecting the lighthouse were issued.[6] On July 7 and 8 of the same year the United States entered into two

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3. Indenture, Aug. 1, 1816, Camden County, Ga., copy in Record Group 26 (Site File), *ibid.*

4. Indenture, July 19, 1820, Camden County, Ga., copy in Record Group 26 (Site File), *ibid.*

5. Clark to Smith, Apr. 3, 1817, Record Group 26 (Correspondence of the Superintendent of Lighthouses, St. Marys, Ga.), *ibid.*

6. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette,* Mar. 29, 1819, p. 2, (continued)

contracts with Winslow Lewis of Boston to erect the lighthouse and keeper's dwelling. One contract was for the lighthouse and dwelling, the other was for the lantern.

The contract for the lighthouse varied considerably from the suggestions offered by Clark two years earlier. The contract called for a round structure rather than octagonal. Instead of a stone foundation, it was to be lime mortar. The height was to be sixty-five feet from the ground to the platform rather than eighty feet as Clark had recommended. The diameter of the base was to be twenty-five feet, and at the top, twelve feet. The tower was to contain six windows on different levels and a door measuring three by five feet.

Unlike Clark's suggestion, the keeper's dwelling was to consist of brick, and its dimensions were to be twenty by thirty-four feet. It was to be a one-story house containing two rooms with a chimney in the center. A center chimney meant that there was a fireplace in each room back to back. The house contained six windows, three to a room, and a six-foot doorway. In addition to the dwelling, the contractor was to build a well nearby.[7]

The lighthouse was completed on July 4, 1820, and on that day it was also lighted. The lantern, elevated seventy-four feet above sea level, was a revolving light that turned once every four minutes, during which time the greatest intensity of light and total darkness could be produced twice alternately.[8] The construction of the lighthouse cost the United States $17,000.

The lighthouse remained active for more than eighteen years. In that time it had two keepers--Robert Church, who served from 1820 to 1829, and Amos Latham, who was appointed in 1829 and served until 1838. In 1838 the lighthouse was removed to the north end of Amelia Island, the keeper's dwelling remaining on Cumberland Island.[9] This structure is no longer in existence.

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6. (continued) col. 4, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; *Daily Georgian*, Apr. 24, 1819, p. 1 col. 5, microfilm, Rice University. Proposals had been advertised as early as June 1817, but because the question of title had not yet been settled, these were abandoned. Advertisement, unknown newspaper, June 24, 1817, Record Group 26 (Advertisements for Proposals), National Archives and Records Center.

7. Articles of Agreement, Lighthouse Dwelling, July 17, 1819; Articles of Agreement, Lighthouse, July 8, 1819, Record Group 26 (Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Vol. C), National Archives and Records Center.

8. Notice to Mariners, July 4, 1820, Record Group 26 (Correspondence, Superintendent of Lighthouses, St. Marys, Ga.), *ibid.*

9. Form 152, Statement of Appropriations, Mar. 4, 1789, to June 30, 1882, Record Group 26 (Clipping File); *Georgian*, Jan. 4, 1839, p. 2, col. 6, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; Mrs. Hope K. Holdcamper, National Archives and Records Center, to author, May 7, 1976.

Among the lighthouse papers at the National Archives and Records Center (Record Group 26) there is a drawing of this lighthouse made at the time that it was moved to Amelia Island. This drawing seems to fit the description that appeared in the proposals for its construction in 1819. A current illustration of the lighthouse on Amelia Island closely resembles the 1819 drawing, with one major exception. The lantern that appears in the current illustration is considerably different from the 1819 one. What accounts for this difference is the fact that in 1881 a new lantern was placed on the lighthouse.[10]

With the removal of the lighthouse from the southern tip of Cumberland Island, the six acres owned by the United States remained under its jurisdiction. According to the records that are available, it remained unoccupied for several years. In June 1909 the United States granted a five-year revokable license to Coney, King & company to utilize it for a fishing camp.[11] It may be that the land was used for the same purpose from time to time in later years.

At the same time that the lighthouse was removed from the southern end of the island, a need arose for a lighthouse at the northern tip of Little Cumberland Island. This island was owned by General John Floyd, who had seen distinguished service in the War of 1812. In April 1838, for the sum of $500, Floyd conveyed six acres of his land at the northern tip overlooking St. Andrews Sound to the United States for purposes of building a lighthouse. The land in question was a rectangular plot.[12]

Before the transfer of land was finally consummated, the United States entered into a contract with Joseph Hastings of Boston to erect a lighthouse and keeper's dwelling. The tower was to be constructed of brick and to be round in shape. The height of the tower was to be 50 feet from the surface of the ground to the platform; the diameter of the base was to be 22 feet and of the top, 11 feet. The tower was to contain three windows and a door measuring 3 by 6-1/2 feet. The iron lantern was to be octagonal in shape.

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10. Drawings, Cumberland Island Lighthouse, No. 230, 6th District, erected 1820--removed to Amelia Island, 1838, Record Group 26, National Archives and Records Center; Amelia Island, light-station, Fla. St. Marys River, Established 1839, New lantern 1881, undated, Record Group 26 (Clipping File), *ibid;* Jan H. Johannes, Sr., *Yesterday's Reflections Nassau County, Florida: A Pictorial History,* (Callahan, Fla.: Thomas O. Richardson, 1976), p. 24.

11. Revocable License to Coney, King & Company, June 11, 1909, Record Group 26 (Site File), National Archives and Records Center.

12. Deed, Apr. 16, 1838, Camden County, Ga., copy in Record Group 26 (Site File), *ibid.* One writer has erroneously stated that Floyd had sold his land to a Captain Thompson, who saw the need for a lighthouse at this point and recommended that one be erected. Vocelle, "Cumberland Island, The Home of the Carnegies."

The keeper's dwelling was to consist of brick and measure twenty by thirty feet. It was to be one story high, containing two rooms with a chimney at each end. There were to be five windows in all--three in one room and two in the other. Attached at one end was a porch or kitchen, ten by twelve feet. A six-foot-square privy and a well were to be erected nearby. One source stated that the lantern was to be stationary, containing fourteen lamps, a type that distinguished it from the revolving light at the south end of Great Cumberland Island. Construction was to be completed by April 15, 1838.[13]

Because of poor weather conditions, the contractor was unable to complete construction in the allotted time, and it was not until mid-May 1838 that the structure was finished. The lighthouse was placed in operation on June 26, 1838, under its first keeper David Thompson.[14]

Thompson was appointed on March 26, 1838, at a salary of $400 a year, and he was to reside at all times in the dwelling constructed for the keeper. A copy of instructions on the operation of the lighthouse were made available to him.[15] He held that post for eleven years, after which there were twenty-one more persons who held the post until 1915 when the lighthouse ceased to operate. Some of the keepers to hold that position, like J. A. Clubb and William Bunkley, were residents of Great Cumberland Island. Thus, the lighthouse was a source of revenue, albeit small, for some residents of the island.[16]

In his descriptive account of the island, in the 1840s, White noted that at the north end of Little Cumberland Island was a lighthouse sixty feet high containing a revolving light that could be seen for twenty miles.[17] Earlier records in the National Archives have referred to a stationary light, and there can be little question about their reliability. Either White mistook the lighthouse for one on some nearby island or the lantern on the lighthouse on Little Cumberland Island had been replaced by a revolving one within those

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13. Contract for Building a Light House and Keepers dwelling at Little Cumberland Island, Georgia, Dec. 9, 1837, Record Group 26 (Lighthouse Deeds and Contracts, Vol. F), National Archives and Records Center. One newspaper, quoting Archibald Clark, Collector and Superintendent of Light Houses, noted that the lighthouse was to be completed by April 1, and the lighthouse was to be in operation by April 15. *Georgian*, Jan. 1, 1838, p. 2, col. 7, microfilm, Savannah Public Library; *ibid.*, June 21, 1838, p. 3, col. 2, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

14. Note of May 8, 1838, by Archibald Clark, to contract; note of May 9, 1838 by David Thompson, to contract, Record Group 26, National Archives and Records Center.

15. Pleasonton to Clark, Mar. 26, 1838, Record Group 26 (Lighthouse Letters, Vol. 13), *ibid.*

16. Mrs. Hope K. Holdcamper to author, May 7, 1976.

17. White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia*, pp. 139-40.

eight years before White wrote. Because the records in the National Archives are so complete, it is difficult to understand why this fact would not have been recorded.

During the years of its operation, several mechanical and physical changes were made to the lighthouse. In 1857 the lighthouses on Cumberland Island, St. Simons Island, and Amelia Island were fitted with lens apparatuses "adapted to the height of the respective towers."[18]

When Union forces occupied the island in 1862, it was reported that the lighthouse was in a perfect state of preservation. This report contradicted a later one (1867) in which it was recorded that extensive repairs were necessary because of damages caused by "the rebels." A light from a new lens and a lantern of the third order were placed into operation on the night of September 1, 1867.[19] It may be that from the time when the first report was issued to the end of the war the lighthouse, particularly its lantern, may have been damaged, so that the earlier report may not have been misleading.

The lighthouse remianed in operation until 1915. During that time repairs were made. Large pieces of timber that were built into the brickwork had decayed and these were replaced with iron. A second keeper's dwelling was built in 1881, the old one being repaired and used by an assistant keeper, presumably a new appointment. The new dwelling was much larger than the first, consisting of seven rooms. The sea was a constant encroachment upon the lighthouse and dwellings, and retaining walls had to be erected in order to ward off the shifting sands. In 1890 a fireproof oil house, 9 by 11 feet, was built at this station. Six years later, a new boathouse, a 185-foot picket fence, a 125-foot low plank walk, and a 200-foot sand fence were also built. In 1900 a second boathouse was constructed on posts sunk deep in the ground above the high water mark. It was fitted with a windlass and rollers by which a boat could be hauled into place. A new iron deck on the lantern also replaced the old rusted one.[20]

The lighthouse ceased to operate in 1915, but although keepers were no longer assigned to the station, the lighthouse continued to provide navigational aids to vessels for some years after. The United States concluded that the six acres of land need not be used exclusively for lighthouse purposes. Thus, in 1919, a five-year revokable license was issued to L. A. Miller of

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18. Little Cumberland Island light-station, Ga. St. Andrew Sound, undated, Record Group 26 (Clipping File), National Archives and Records Center.

19. *Ibid.;* Flag Officer DuPont to Sec. of Light House Board, Mar. 5, 1862, *O.R.*, ser. 1, 12:582.

20. Little Cumberland Island light-station, Ga. St. Andrew Sound, undated, Record Group 26 (Clipping File), National Archives and Records Center; *Florida Mirror*, June 26, 1880, p. 8, col. 1.

Brunswick, Georgia, for commercial purposes.[21] In 1924, when the lease terminated, the property was sold to R. L. Philips & Company of Brunswick, the highest bidder, for $800.[22]

The lighthouse and its two dwellings, still in existence today, remain as part of the private property of the owners of Little Cumberland Island.

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21. Revokable License, Dec. 6, 1919, Record Group 26 (Site File), National Archives and Records Center.

22. Memorandum by Asst. U.S. Solictor, Jan. 22, 1924; Supt. of Lighthouses to Comm. of Lighthouses, Jan. 31, 1924; L. A. Miller to Supt. of Lighthouses, Jan. 25, 1924; T. H. Gregg to L. A. Miller, Jan. 24, 1924; and deed, Dec. 27, 1923, Record Group 26 (Clipping and Site Files), *ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII: CEMETERIES

There are several cemeteries on Great Cumberland Island, each containing from one to several graves. They are located in the following areas; two--Greene-Miller cemetery and Carnegie cemetery--at Dungeness; one at Greyfield; one at Stafford Place; one at Plum Orchard; and one, the largest, at Half Moon Bluff. Some of these cemeteries, particularly at Half Moon Bluff, contain unmarked graves. Some, like the Greene-Miller cemetery, contain memorials for people who are no longer buried there.[1]

Not all the owners of plantations, or members of their families, are buried on the island. Many, like Phineas Miller Nightingale, had left the island even though they had spent a great part of their lives there. On the other hand, there were several visitors, like General Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee and Charles Jackson, who died on the island and were buried there. The cemeteries contain prominent as well as unknown people, plantation owners and slaves and servants, residents and visitors, and the wealthy as well as the poor.

A. Greene-Miller Cemetery

Because it contains the remains of the Greene-Miller family, who played an important part in the history of Cumberland Island, this cemetery is entitled to the highest degree of preservation. It is in the Dungeness area, overlooking Beach Creek, only a short distance from the carriage house. It measures forty-two by thirty feet (with a fifteen by nineteen-foot-six-inch extension on the north side) and is surrounded by a tabby wall about three feet high. Entrance to the cemetery is through an old iron gate that was probably put there during the first half of the 19th century (Illustrations 48-51, pp. 230-33).

The following gravestones with inscriptions are in this cemetery:

> In Memory of CHARLES JACKSON, esq., who was born at Newton Mass. on the 23rd April 1767. He was educated at Harvard College and was a commissioned officer in the American Revolutionary War, and for several years a Counselor at Law. Died on 23rd Oct. 1801 at the Mansion of Phineas Miller, Esq., on Cumberland Island.

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1. The information contained in this chapter is largely developed from Beatrice F. Lang and Mary Givens Bryan, comps., "Camden County Geneological Records Consisting of Bible Records, Cemetery Records, Family Charts Etc.," Beatrice Lang Collection, Georgia Department of Archives and History; Bryan and Lang, typed MS, "Tombstones on Cumberland Island," *ibid.;* and the author's own observations.

Illustrations 48-49.

Greene-Miller Cemetery, Dungeness area, Cumberland Island (1976).





Illustrations 50-51.

Greene-Miller Cemetery (left - General Lee Memorial; below - John and Catherine Rikart grave site outside walls of cemetery), Dungeness area, Cumberland Island (1976).




JOHN RIKART

In Memory of Catherine Miller (widow of the late Major General Nathanael Greene, Commander in Chief of the American Revolutionary army in the Southern department in 1783) who died Sept. 2nd, 1814 aged 59 years.

She possessed great talents and exalted virtues.

- - - - - -

Sacred to pure affections
This Simple Stone Corner the remains of
JAMES SHAW
his virtues -
not to be learned from perishable marble but when
the record of heaven shall be unfolded it is
believed they will be found written there in
characters as durable as the volume of eternity.
Died Jan. 6, 1820, Aged 35 years.

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LOUISA C. SHAW
relict of
James Shaw Esq.
and the youngest daughter of
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene of the Army
of the Revolution
Died at Dungeness, Ga.
Apr. 24, 1831 Aged 45 years.

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In Memory of Catherine Rikart
Born in Mulhouse, Alsace, France,
July 26, 1831
Died in Dungeness, May 12, 1911
Erected by the family of Thomas M. Carnegie,
in affectionate memory of faithful and loyal
Service during many years.

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In Memory of John Rikart
Born in Niederville, Switzerland,
Nov. 22, 1841
Died in Dungeness, Feb. 13, 1899.

Charles Jackson had been visiting Dungeness when he died. His obituary, appearing in the *Georgia Gazette*, a Savannah newspaper, stated that he died

"at the plantation of Phineas Miller, Esq. on Cumberland Island."[2] The gravestone gives his date of birth as April 23, 1767. It also states that he was an officer in the American Revolution. This would have made him sixteen years old as late as 1783, hardly old enough to have qualified him as an officer in the Revolution.

When Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee died at Dungeness, Louisa and James Shaw saw fit to bury him in the family plot. His body remained interred there until 1913. In 1861 Virginia's General Assembly appropriated a sum of money to transfer his remains to Virginia. However, because of the war, this was never accomplished.

Again on March 12, 1912, the Virginia General Assembly appropriated $500 for this purpose. The plan of the Assembly was to reinter Henry Lee in the mausoleum where his famous son, Robert E. Lee, was buried at Washington and Lee University in Lexington. There was some opposition in Georgia to the removal of his remains, but this resistance soon waned. On May 28, 1913, in a ceremony attended by dignitaries from the States of Virginia and Georgia, Lee's remains were removed from Dungeness and placed on Mrs. Lucy Coleman Carnegie's yacht on the first step of his journey to Virginia.[3]

Lee's son, Robert E. Lee, had visited his grave at Dungeness in 1829 and again in 1870. In a letter to his wife, recalling this second visit, Lee wrote:

> Agnes [his daughter who accompanied him] decorated my father's grave with beautiful fresh flowers. . . . The cemetery is unharmed and the grave is in good order, though the house of Dungeness has been burned and the island devastated. Mr. Nightingale, the present proprietor, accompanied me from Brunswick.[4]

The original headstone, which was probably placed by the Shaws, had the following inscription:

> Sacred to the Memory of General
> Henry Lee of Virginia
> Obit, March 25, 1818
> Aetat, 63. 5

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2. *Georgia Gazette*, Nov. 12, 1801, p. 2, col. 3, microfilm, West Virginia University.

3. "Report of the Committee Appointed Under Act of the General Assembly Approved March 12, 1912, for the Purpose of Reinterring the Remains of General Henry Lee--'Light Horse Harry' Lee--At Lexington, Virginia," copy in MS Division, University of Georgia Library.

4. Douglas Southall Freeman, *Robert E. Lee, a Biography*, 4 vols. (New York, 1935), 4:452; Robert E. Lee, *Recollections and Letters* (Garden City, N.Y.: 1924), p. 398.

After Lee's remains were reinterred, Mrs. Lucy Coleman Carnegie had a memorial placed on the original grave site with the following inscription:

> Sacred to the memory of Gen. Henry Lee
> of Va. Died 25 March 1818
>
> The remains of Gen. Henry Lee were
> removed under Act of the General Assembly
> of Virginia, and buried at Lexington, Va.,
> May 28, 1913.

This memorial is still in the cemetery.

Catherine Rikart and her husband John were servants of the Carnegies. Their two graves are not within the walls of the cemetery, but are on the outside adjacent to the tabby wall. Obviously the Rikarts were not related in any way to the Greene-Miller family.

There is only one unmarked gravestone in this cemetery, and it probably marks the grave site of Phineas Miller, second husband of Catherine Miller, who died on the island in 1803.

B. Carnegie Cemetery

The following gravestones appear within this cemetery:

> THOMAS MORRISON CARNEGIE II
> Jan. 6, 1874
> Sept. 22, 1944
>
> VIRGINIA BEGGS CARNEGIE
> Feb. 5, 1878
> July 3, 1952
>
> ANDREW CARNEGIE 2d
> June 1, 1870
> June 8, 1947
> A kiss of the sun for pardon
> The song of the bird for mirth
> We are nearer God's heart
> In a garden
> Than anywhere else on earth.

---

5. His obituary gives the date of death as Mar. 27, 1818. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Daily Gazette*, Mar. 31, 1818, p. 2, col. 2, microfilm, Savannah Public Library.

BERTHA SHERLOCK
Wife of
ANDREW CARNEGIE 2d
Jan. 21, 1863
Mar. 3, 1943

COLEMAN CARNEGIE
Born July 24, 1880, Pitsburgh, Pa.
Died Aug. 6, 1911, Raquette Lake, N.Y.
He was very Human and Greatly loved.

LUCY COLEMAN CARNEGIE
Born Pittsburgh, Pa.
Aug. 12, 1847
Died Jan. 16, 1916

THOMAS MORRISON CARNEGIE I
Born Dunfernline, Scotland
Oct. 2, 1844
Oct. 19, 1886

FRANK MORRISON CARNEGIE
Born Pittsburgh, Sept. 12, 1868
Died Feb. 22, 1917

WM. COLEMAN CARNEGIE
Born Pittsburgh
Apr. 24, 1867
Died Ligonier, July 28, 1944

MARTHA GERTRUDE ELY
Beloved wife of Wm. Coleman Carnegie
Born Cleveland Feb. 25, 1871
Died Stafford Mch. 26, 1906
None knew her but to love her,
None named her but to Praise.

OLIVER GARRISON RICKETSON
Born in Pittsburgh
Oct. 15, 1864
Died in Washington, Mar. 16, 1943
I ask no greater gift of
Life so much am I life's lover
When time comes to turn the page
And read the story over.

MARGARET C. RICKETSON
Born in Pittsburgh June 11, 1872
Died in Boston Oct. 9, 1927

OLIVER GARRISON RICKETSON JR.
Born in Pittsburg, Pa., Sept. 19, 1894
Died in Bar Harbor, Maine, Oct. 17, 1952
I launch at paradise and
I sail towards home

FAITH NEVER FAILS
1870 Frederick Curtis Perkins 1935
1879 Florence Nightingale Carnegie Perkins 19__[?]
1903 Frederick Curtis Perkins Jr. 1937
of
Pittsburgh, Penna.

WILLIAM E. PAGE
Died at Dungeness 1922

ELINOR BICKFORD PAGE
Died Mar. 17, 1941

Although this cemetery is under National Park Service jurisdiction, it is maintained by Carnegie heirs.

All of the above people were members of the Carnegie family except the Pages, who were employees of Mrs. Carnegie.

C. Greyfield Cemetery

This cemetery contains two gravesites. One, holding the remains of John C. Nightingale, first husband of Martha Washington Greene, oldest daughter of General and Catherine Greene, lies about 150 yards from the Greyfield Inn (Illustration 52, p. 240).

INSCRIBED BY HIS AFFECTIONATE BROTHER
TO THE MEMORY OF
JOHN C. NIGHTINGALE, ESQ.,
who in the endearments of
domestic life as husband, [as] parent,
[as] master, was equaled by few; as a citizen
patriotic and extremely useful,
As a companion fastidious and agreeable
As a member of society the patron of
language & learning & religion
As a man, the friend of men
He departed this life
On this Island
Sept. 11, 1806
AEtis--suce
36 years
Sic Sic transit
gloria Mundi

The second gravesite, located near the entrance gate to Greyfield and marked by a bricked-up vault above ground, is unmarked. There is no indication of who is buried here, but it has been suggested that perhaps it is the gravesite of Phineas Miller. However, it is more logical to suppose that Miller's gravesite is in the Greene-Miller cemetery.

D. Plum Orchard Cemetery

The one grave in this cemetery is enclosed with an iron fence at the rear of the Plum Orchard mansion (Illustration 53, p. 242). Peter Bernardy, who purchased Plum Orchard in 1823, is interred here, and his stone is partially inscribed as follows:

> Erected in the memory of
> Mr. Peter Bernardy
> who died
> Mch. 7, 1827
> in his 43 year

E. Stafford Cemetery

There are four marked gravesites at this cemetery, which is located a short distance south of the plantation house. The stones read as follows:

> Sacred to Memory of
> SUSAN HAWKINS
> who departed this life
> July 26th, 1836
>
> In Memory of Lucy Spalding
> who departed this life on this
> Aug. 15, 1856
> Aged 70 years.
>
> THOMAS HUTCHISON
> Golf Professional
> Eldest Son of
> Helen Hutchison of St. Andrews, Scotland
> Born Oct. 6, 1877
> Died Dec. 8, 1900
>
> Sacred to Memory of
> ROBERT STAFFORD
> Born on Cumberland Island, Ga.,
> Dec. 8, 1790 and died Aug. 1, 1877

Hutchison, as we have seen, was a professional golfer and friend of the Carnegies. He is the only one buried in this cemetery who is unrelated to the Staffords.

According to the late Mary G. Bryan, State Historian and Director of the Department of Archives and History, Georgia, who with Beatrice F. Lang did

Illustration 52.

Greyfield Cemetery (John C. Nightingale grave site)
Greyfield, Cumberland Island (1976).

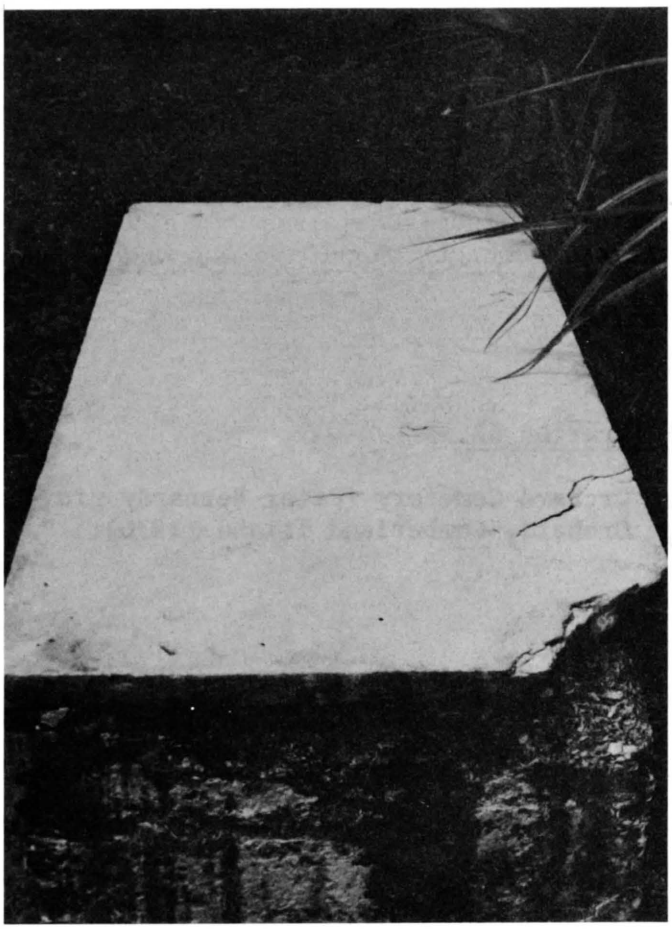


Illustration 53.

Plum Orchard Cemetery (Peter Bernardy grave site)
Plum Orchard, Cumberland Island (1976).



considerable research into the genealogical records of Camden County, Georgia, in 1950, she recalled seeing a gravesite just outside the cemetery, but was unable to identify it.[6]

F. Half Moon Bluff Cemetery

This cemetery is the largest of all those on Cumberland Island and is located between Terrapin Point and Half Moon Bluff at the northern extremity of Great Cumberland Island (Illustrations 54-60, pp. 246-51). No specific lines in the shape of a wall or fence mark off this cemetery, although family plots are sometimes designated by iron or stone fences of varying heights. With the exception of these family plots, many of the gravesites are located in irregularly marked-off areas quite isolated from the rest. Both black and white inhabitants of the north end of the island are buried within the cemetery. A closer study will inevitably reveal a line of demarkation between the two.[7]

Many names of known white families that are buried here have appeared in deeds and other records. Many of the known blacks buried here are said to have been either slaves or descendents of slaves who had lived at the northern end of the island since the Civil War. The appearance of some of the graves indicates that blacks have been buried here in recent years. Many are unmarked.

Some of the gravestones reveal that the following people are buried here:

Charlie Trimings - born September 2, 1862,
died October 5, 1940 (Note: he was
the grandfather of an employee, George
Mayo, presently working at the Candler
estate.)

Chester Alberty, 1889-1945.

Rogers Alberty, 1873-1957.

Louisa Alberty (Roger's wife), 1877-1938.

Brenda Alberty, 1861-1939.

William Alberty, born in Fernandina Beach
March 10, 1860 - died 1929.

---

6. Bryan to Sloss, Aug. 17, 1954, MS, Beatrice Lang Collection, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

7. Because of its irregular boundary lines, and because burial areas were at one time segregated along racial lines, this cemetery actually consisted of three distinct cemeteries known as Fader, Alberty, and Miller-Bunkley.

"Primus Mitchell and wife Amanda,
born slaves at Stafford. Faithful
fieldhands on Cumberland Island
until death." (Note: they were
employees of the Carnegies at
Dungeness at one time.)

Isabel Miller Bunkley, wife of William R.
Bunkley, Born on Cumberland Island,
October 17, 1832, died in Abbeyville,
Georgia, October 6, 1917.

William R. Bunkley, born on Cumberland
Island, Georgia, November 23, 1825,
died at St. Mary's Georgia,
April 16, 1897.

G. A. Miller, born July 22, 1844, died on
Cumberland Island, March 18, 1901.

Rebecca Bunkley, born December 21, 1791
died January 28, 1879.

Thomas Ted (?) Bunkley, born November 7, 1828,
died June 22, 1854.

Anne Elizabeth, wife of Charles A. Miller
born on Cumberland Island, August 12, 1833,
died at Brunswick, Georgia, November 5, 1905,
Age 72 years, 2 months, and 22 days.

M. Clubb, born on Cumberland Island, May 18, 1837,
died March 29, 1857, age 19.

Louise Caroline, daughter of George and Henrietta Fader
died June 27, 1880, age 16 years and 6 months

Frederick Fader, died November 17, 1880, age 36 years.

George H. Fader, born December 18, 1832,
died December 3, 1907.

Mrs. H. M. Fader, born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
November 1, 1835, died on Cumberland Island,
December 26, 1916.

George S. Fader, born February 24, 1857,
died December 13, 1905.

Viola A. George, November 26, 1898 -
August 8, 1936.

Beulah Alberty, died 1968.

Illustrations 54-55.

Half Moon Bluff Cemetery (grave sites), Cumberland Island (1976).


CHARLIE
TRIMMINGS
BORN SEPT. 2, 1862
DIED OCT. 15, 1940



Illustrations 56-57.

Half Moon Bluff Cemetery (grave sites), Cumberland Island (1976).



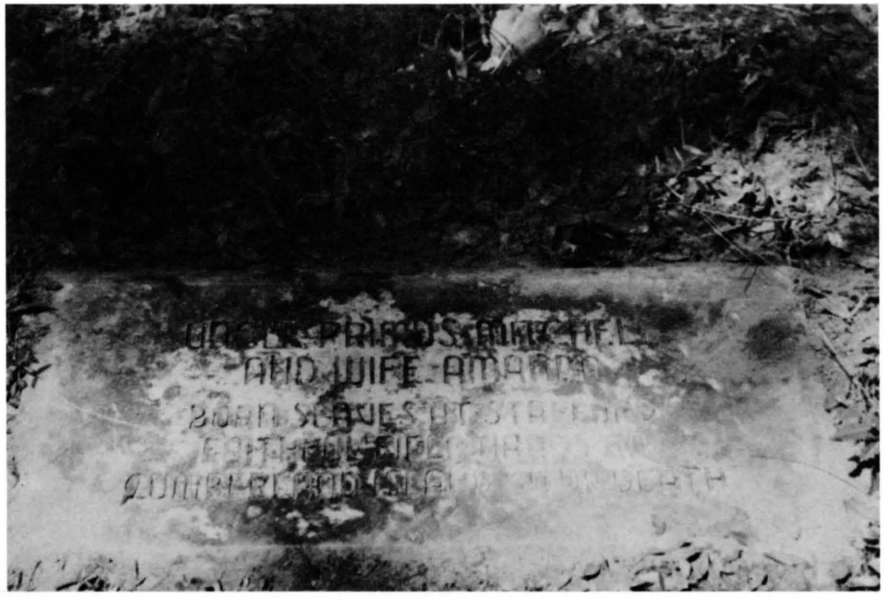

ALBERT

Illustrations 58-60.

Half Moon Bluff Cemetery (grave sites), Cumberland Island (1976).







CHAPTER IX: THE MAIN ROAD

As early as the Spanish period of occupation of Cumberland Island, particularly when Francsican missions existed, there may have been trails of varying dimensions connecting Indian settlements on the island. Similarly, during the English period of occupation when two forts and other temporary settlements thrived on the island there were probably trails connecting these points in order to facilitate communications. In fact, there is some evidence in the colonial records to indicate that troops were moved from one fort to the other over land routes rather than by water. The movement of troops and equipment over land would have called for some system of trails however primitive. Moreover, one would suppose that the settlement known as Gray's Gang would also have led to the development of some roads on the island. Yet, in spite of such reasonable speculation, no documentary evidence to prove the existence of even the most primitive road system has been found for this early period. If such trails did exist, they may have long since been obliterated.

After settling Dungeness, the Millers quickly established other plantations. Rayfield plantation, which was inherited by Nathanael Ray Greene, was located at the northern end of the island. Oakland plantation, which became Louisa Shaw's property after her mother's death, was located just to the north of Stafford Place. Separated from Dungeness by such distances, these plantations needed to be connected by fairly adequate roads. Moreover, the timber business carried on by Phineas Miller required roads to cart lumber from wooded areas where it was cut to the docks for shipment. There are several references in documents to people communicating between these points. Dr. Daniel Turner, who administered to the Miller family and to its slaves, speaks frequently of visits to other parts of the island from Dungeness. He probably used horses, mules, or horse-drawn carriages; this latter conveyance would certainly have been employed by the female members of the Miller family. In addition, there were other property owners on the island who needed roads to communicate between points.

Therefore, although specific documentation is absent, one must conclude that by 1800 Cumberland Island had a network of roads to facilitate transportation between different points. Dungeness, as the heart of a sizeable operation, had to have a road connecting it to the north end of the island. Fortunately, an excellent 1802 map of the island reveals the existence of an interesting network of roads. Some ran north and south, and others crossed the island at different points. Those that ran north and south are referred to as "new road to Plum Orchard," "Road to Suttles [*sic*]," "path to high point," or simply as "road" and "path." Those that crossed the island are referred to as "avenue to beach" or "path to Beach." In addition to these main arteries, there were also paths connecting the main arteries to residences.[1] Judging by

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1. Map of Cumberland Island, drawn by John McKinnon, Feb. 5, 1802, original in the Georgia Historical Society (Illustration 6, p. 80).

this map, the roads that ran north and south did not form a continuous pattern. Instead, they ran for a distance, ended abruptly, and another road, beginning nearby, would continue northward until it too would terminate suddenly. It would be difficult to conclude from this that all these roads form what we know today as the Main Road. On the other hand, one can readily say that in all probability portions of today's Main Road may be coterminus with some of the roads shown on the 1802 map.

The existing Main Road has been known by different names. A map of 1898 has referred to it as Stafford Road (Illustration 61, p. 256), and a map of 1946 refers to it as Main Road.[2] Frederick Ober, in his famous article on Dungeness in 1880, referred to this road as Grand Avenue. He describes it as "running midway the length of the island" and "cleared eighteen miles to High Point."[3]

The earliest known map containing evidence of a road connecting the south end of the island with the north end in a continuous pattern was drawn around 1860 (Illustration 62, p. 258).[4] This map is in great detail, considering that it covers a large section of Georgia. It contains roads, railways, and post offices, and was probably drawn to encourage tourism. Although Cumberland Island is not accurately drawn, the map shows a single main road beginning at Dungeness and running northward to a point just beyond Plum Orchard. At this point it becomes a fork, one prong reaching out to High Point Post Office on the west, the other reaching out to Sea Side House on the east. The drawing of the road is obviously schematic, but it is intended to show the existence of a road that ran north and south, connecting Dungeness with High Point in a continuous manner.

A much more accurate map of the Main Road is one that was drawn in 1870. Although the map omits the southern tip of the island, it is obvious that the Main Road was intended to continue southward to Dungeness. On this map, the Main Road, and other roads, meander more naturally, following the topographical features of the land. There is no question that this is the earliest known map that depicts the road with considerable accuracy. The map also shows minor roads that either intersect or join up with the Main Road (Illustration 63, p. 260).[5]

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2. Map, "Dungeness and Stafford Place, Cumberland Island, Georgia. The Property of Mrs. Lucy C. Carnegie." Surveyed by E. A. Meader, January, 1898, original filed in Plat Book A. J., p. 297, Georgia Surveyor General Department, Atlanta; Map Showing Proposed Divison Cumberland Island, Camden County, Georgia, prepared for Lucy C. Carnegie Est., Nov. 1, 1946, by Watts Engineering Co., Waycross, Ga., Plat Book 1, p. 224, Camden County Clerk's Office.

3. Ober, "Dungeness," pp. 18-19.

4. Map, no title, n.d., but including section of eastern Georgia, including Cumberland Island, Cartographic Division, Library of Congress.

5. Map, "Part of Cumberland Island and Vicinity, Georgia, 1870," Register No. 1152, U.S. Coast Survey, Benjamin Peirce, Superintendent, Georgia General Surveyor Department, Atlanta.

After 1870 several maps of the island were drawn that not only depict the Main Road but lesser roads as well very accurately. Of all these later maps, however, none is better than a 1930 edition, which should be employed to compare the modern road system of the island with the one that existed in 1870 (Illustration 64, p. 262).[6]

During the Miller-Shaw-Nightingale periods, much of the Main Road must have been primitive, but after the Carnegies acquired their land and developed it and as hotels flourished at the northern end, the road probably received greater maintenance. In 1880, just before the Carnegies purchased their land, Ober observed that only three miles of Grand Avenue had been cleared, and one could "look straight down beneath the arch of live-oaks for more than a mile."[7] The later use of electric cars and automobiles by the Carnegies must have called for a better graded road and the pruning of trees to prevent obstruction of one's view while driving.

Today the Main Road is about eight to ten feet wide. The roadbed consists primarily of worn oyster shell. However, the shell base is not consistently present throughout the course of the road, appearing only intermittently. Where the shell base is not present, only sandy ruts are found. On either side of the road are dense wooded areas made up largely of live oak and a heavy underbrush of saw palmettos. The southern portion of the road is graded in places, whereas closer to the northern end the road becomes more primitive (Illustrations 65-66, p. 264).

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6. Map, "Georgia (Camden County) Cumberland Island Quadrangel," U.S. Geological Survey and War Dept., Corps of Engineers, 1930 edition, (first published in 1918), reprint 1944, Record Group 57, National Archives; other maps are in Record Group 23, National Archives.

7. Ober, "Dungeness," p. 19.

Illustration 61.

Map of Dungeness and Stafford Place, 1898.

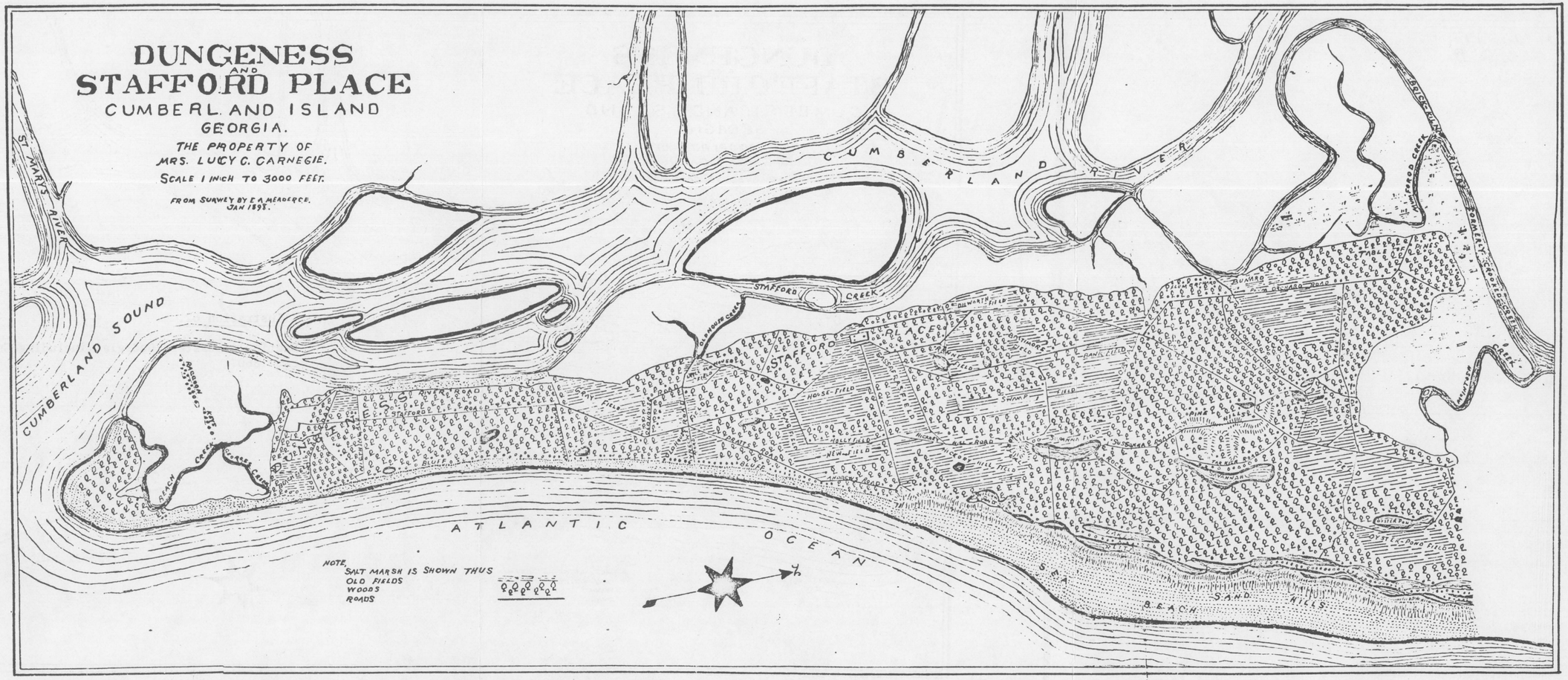

DUNGENESS
AND
STAFFORD PLACE
CUMBERLAND ISLAND
GEORGIA.
THE PROPERTY OF
MRS. LUCY C. CARNEGIE.
SCALE 1 INCH TO 3000 FEET.
FROM SURWEY BY E.A. MEADERCE. JAN 1898.
ST. MARYS RIVER
CUMBERLAND SOUND
CUMBERLAND RIVER
STAFFORD CREEK
DUNGENESS
STAFFORD
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SEA BEACH
SAND HILLS
NOTE
SALT MARSH IS SHOWN THUS
OLD FIELDS
WOODS
ROADS

Illustration 62.

Section of eastern Georgia, including Cumberland Island, ca. 1860.


Kate P.O.
WESTERN
Old Co.
RAILROAD
ALBANY
Gaffs P.O.
Schutterville P.O.
Hobleken
Santilla
Yahnuma P.O.
Olaton P.O.
WAYNESVILLE
Sherwood
Lodge
Retreat
Sand Hills
Ashburn
Marengo
Little Buffalo Swamp
Green Cr. Swamp
Buffalo Swamp
Eichlahn
Hall
Jamaica
Cabbage Hill
Peck
Bethel
King
College Swamp
Bonaventure
Stirling Sta.
Sterling
Church
Hopkins
Elliott
Evelyn P.O.
Broadfield
New Hope
Carter et's Pt.
Cannings
Pikes Bluff
Fredonica
Village
Long I.
Blythe I.
Burt
Fancy Bluff
Half Moon Bluff
Pilot
Curse of Gomerie
Colonels I.
Spring Bluff
Hickory Bluff
Langsbury
Santilla River
ST MARYS BRANCH RAIL ROAD
White oak Cr.
Crow Harbor
Noddings Pt.
Dover Cr.
Dover I.
Jekyl I.
Jekyl Sound
St Andrews Sound
Light House
Little Cumberland I.
Horse I.
Floyd
Todds Cr.
Horse Cr.
Sea Side House
Fort Mudge
Pace Poud
1st Section
Martins Bluff
Satilla Bluff P.O.
Jaques Bluff
Owens Ferry P.O.
Jeffersonton
Turboro P.O.
Cabin Bluff
Black Pt.
Grover I.
Baleys Bluff
Burnt Fort
Spanish Cr.
Camp I.
Centre Village
Camp Pinkney
Folkston
Woodstock
TRADERS HILL
Orange Bluff
Boulogne
Kings Ferry
Woodstock
Marys R.
ST MARYS
ST MARYS RIV.
Cumberland Island
Dungeness
FERNANDINA
Light Ho.
Hilliard
Kirkland
NASSAU
Harts Road
Dijals
Alligator Cr.
JACKSONVILLE
ST MARYS RIVER
Nassau River
Callahan
Thomas Cr.
FLORIDA R. R.
Dinsmore
Dutton
Trout Cr.
AMELIA
Nassau Inlet
TALBOT

Illustration 63.

Part of Cumberland Island and Vicinity, 1870.


St. ANDREW'S SOUND
High Bluff.
Nth Prong
Creek
Mumfords Cr.
Malwintoon Cr.
R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ISLAND
U. S. COAST SURVEY
Benjamin Peirce, Superintendent.
PART OF
CUMBERLAND ISLAND
AND VICINITY
GEORGIA
Scale 1/20000
1870.
Surveyed by
Aided by
Register No 1152.
Projection in Red is Clarkes Spheroid.
C.T.I.
81°27'
81°26'
81°25'

Illustration 64.

Cumberland Island quadrangle, 1930.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

WAR DEPARTMENT
CORPS OF ENGINEERS, U. S. ARMY

(Bladen)

81°30′ 25′

SATILLA RIVER

ST ANDREWS SOUND

Dover Creek

LIGHTHOUSE (ABANDONED)

LITTLE CUMBERLAND ISLAND

Shell Cr.

Brickington Cr.

Christmas Creek

Long Point

RIVER

CUMBERLAND WHARF

Terrapin Point

Halfmoon Bluff

Stockwell Bluff

B.M. 15

High Point

Floyd Creek

CUMBERLAND

Abraham Point

Hawkins Cr.

Whitney Lake

Mud Cr.

Brickhill Bluff

RIVER

BRICKHILL

Marlow Cr.

Mackinton Cr.

Table Point

B.M.

SAND

Sweetwater Lake

McCall Pond

Johnson Pond

CUMBERLAND R.

PLUM ORCHARD WHARF

CROOKED R.

Floods Island

Willow Pond

STAFFORD WHARF

Stafford Island

Old House

CUMBERLAND ISLAND

KINGS BAY

Greyfield

Drum Point Island

SOUND

Big Marsh

DUNGENESS WHARF

(Kingsland)

820 000 YARDS

30°45′ 81°30′ 950 000 YARDS 25′ (Fernandina)

(St. Mary's)

R.B. Marshall, Chief Geographer.
W.H. Herron, Geographer in charge.
Topography by R.L. Harrison.
Surveyed in 1917

U.S.C.&G.S. R.L.H.

Scale 1/62500

1 0 1 2 3

1000 500 0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 6000

1 0 1 2 3 4

SURVEYED IN COOPERATION WITH THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

Contour interval 10 feet

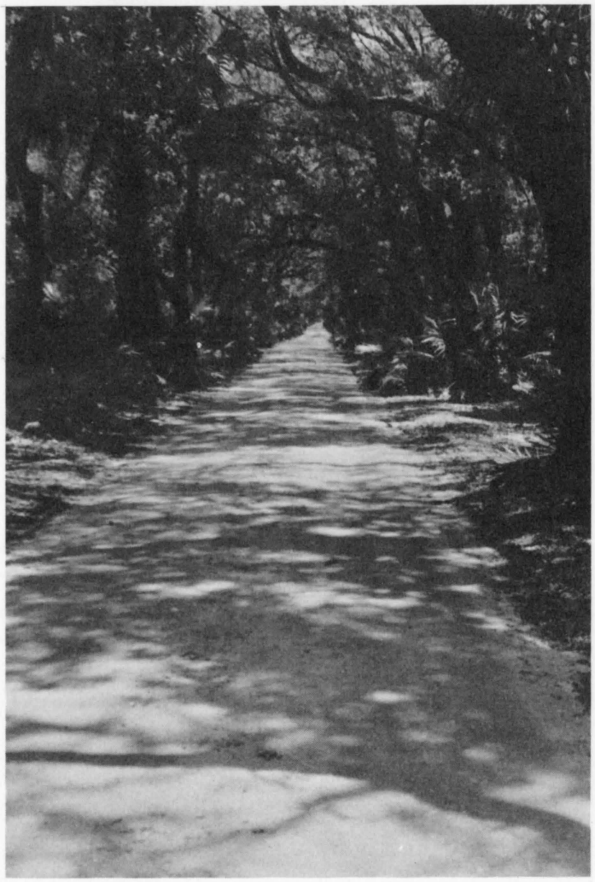
Datum is mean sea level

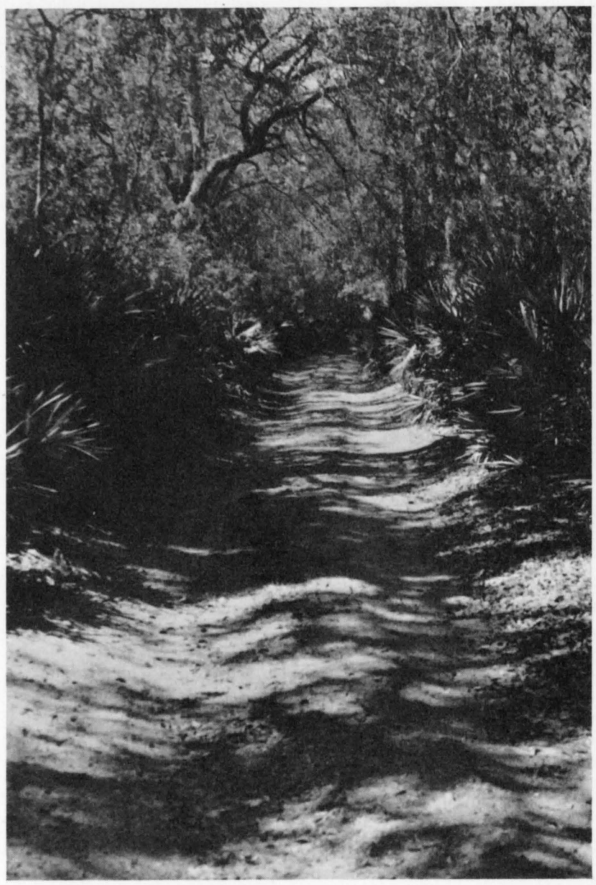
Illustration 65.

Main Road looking south near Greyfield at south end of island (1976).

Illustration 66.

Main Road near Brick Kilm Bluff at north end of island (1976).





PART TWO

HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

DUNGENESS AREA

HISTORICAL DATA

CUMBERLAND ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE

INTRODUCTION

One of the serious problems encountered when attempting to research the history of structures in the Dungeness area is the lack of available documentation. There are numerous illustrations of structures in the Carnegie Papers at the Georgia Department of Archives and History, but those that are available to the public on microfilm in the so-called Carnegie Scrapbook cannot be reproduced and the rest of the papers are not available to the public. With such restrictions placed on the core of those papers that document the Carnegie period, the historian and historical architect are at a serious loss.

Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, grandaughter of Mrs. Lucy Coleman Carnegie, has a large collection of photographs and other historical data that shed light on this period. She has been very generous and considerate in making some of this material available, and it is hoped that more data will be forthcoming from that quarter.

Much of the historical analysis in this study is the result of on-the-spot observations coupled with illustrations published in secondary works and brief reminiscences from people who were once familiar with the structures and their use.

The following structures, with numbers supplied by the National Park Service Inventory of Classified Structures, make up the complement of buildings in the Dungeness area requiring some form of preservation (in some cases the names of buildings are not the historic ones, but are names that have been assumed over the last few years because of some particular use to which the structure was put. Because of a lack of documentation, some of the smaller structures have not been treated in this study):

Mansion (60)
Tabby House (61)
Carriage House (62)
Dungeness Cemetery (63)
Recreation/Guest House (the Pool) (64)
Kitchen, (YCC [Youth Conservation Corps]) (67)
Dairy Manager's House (68)
Dormitory (69)
Smokehouse (70)
Laundry House (71)
Kitchen (YCC Recreation Building) (72)
Water Tower Foundations (73)
Carriage House Cistern (74)
Black Servants' Quarters (75)
Woodworking Shop (76)
Wagon Shed (frame portion) (77)
Grange (78)
Greene (Beach Creek) Dockhouse (79)
Waterwheel House Foundation (80)

Greenhouse (81)
Garden House (82)
Dungeness Dock (83)
Dungeness Dock Cistern (84)
Dock Ice House (85)
Captain's House Cistern (86)
Boat Captain's House (87)
Carnegie Family Cemetery (88)
Silo (89)
Dairy Barn Foundation (90)
Poultry Manager's House (91)
Chicken Houses (frame portions) (92-100)
Children's Playhouse (frame portion) (101)
Tabby Concrete Walls and Pillars (102)
Frame Cottage (103)
Frame Shed (104)
Frame House near Dock (105)
Seawall (106)
Large Formal Gardens (107)
Small Formal Gardens (108)
Ice/Powerhouse Foundation (109)

I. THE MANSION (60) AND LARGE FORMAL GARDENS (107)

On February 26, 1884 the cornerstone of Dungeness mansion was laid in the midst of a ceremony during which a number of Carnegie friends from Pittsburg were present.[1] The architect of the mansion was Andrew Peebles of Pittsburgh and the firm of McKenzie and Patterson of Boston was the building contractor. Unfortunately, a search of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh and the Avery Library of Architecture, Columbia University, and other repositories in the East, as well as *Who's Who in American Art* and the *Obituary Index of Architects and Artists* failed to reveal anything about Andrew Peebles's background or professional work. Available information at the Georgia Department of Archives and History reveals that on one blueprint dated January 1884 McKenzie and Patterson signed their names as "Architect of Dungeness." It should be noted, however, that even as late as 1884 it was a fairly common practice for prominent builders in charge of actual construction to call themselves architects. Unfortunately, a search of architectural directories failed to produce any information on McKenzie and Patterson, so it may well be that these builders were not known as architects.

This writer has found two excellent contemporary descriptions of the mansion, one written at the time the cornerstone was laid (essentially a discussion of the plans), and a second one, much more detailed, completed when the structure was finished. Because of their timeliness, these descriptions are extremely important to an understanding of the mansion, and they are therefore presented here for the record. Since Historical Architect David Henderson has evaluated these descriptions at some length in the Architectural Data section of the Historic Structure Report, no attempt is made here to repeat this step.

At the time of the laying of the cornerstone, the architectural plans were described by the builder as follows:

> The extreme length and breadth of the ground covered by the structure is about 120 x 56 feet. It will be two stories in height with an attic, built in the Queene Anne style, with a tower 100 feet high at the east end. The exposed portion of the outer walls will be faced with the best quality of rock-faced light colored granite, while the main roof, dormer windows and the pyramid of the belvedere will be covered with the best quality of Vermont slate, the combs of the higher portions of the main roof being crested with ornamental iron crestings.
>
> The main entrance of the building will be on the north side, opening into the vestibule 10 x 11 feet, the floor of which will be

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1. "The Carnegie Mansion," *Florida Mirror*, Mar. 1, 1884.

laid with marble, with ornamental borders. To the left of the vestibule is the grand hall, twenty-one feet wide, and extending nearly the entire width of the building. The spacious parlor and dining rooms are on the south side of the building. The former, on the east side of the grand hall, is 18 x 22 feet, with bay windows upon the broad veranda, extending around the entire east and south sides of the building. Opposite the parlour is the large dining room 18 x 24, which is connected with the pantry and china closets. The gun room, with a lavatory, are at the north end of the grand hall. Next to the gun room, and also reached from the hall, is a large chamber, 17 x 18 feet, with both rooms, etc., attached. A corridor, 6 feet wide, leads from the hall to the kitchen scullery, etc. The second story contains the living apartments of the family, guests' chambers, and library and reading rooms, etc., while the attic has six bed-chambers.

The windows of the first two stories of the main building will be of the best quality of polished plate glass, while the windows of the main stairs and grand hall will be of ornamental cathedral glass.

Dumb waiters will extend from cellar to attic. The laundry and storerooms are in the cellar. The mansions will be provided with all modern conveniences, and when completed will be one of the handsomest private residences in the Southern States, costing over $100,000.[2]

While the mansion was under construction, one local newspaper observed the it was being built of hewn gray stone and that it would cost about $200,000.[3] The cost noted in this later report is so at variance with the earlier figure that it is obvious that neither figure is the official one. Nevertheless, it is probable that the earlier figure is more correct.

A later news report, made while the mansion was under construction, noted that progress was rapidly being made: "A large force of workmen is employed, and from the portion already erected some idea can be had of the beauty, elegance and size of the building."[4]

The mansion was completed about one year after it was begun. The same newspaper that provided the earlier description now described its completion in the most glowing terms. It is quoted here in full:

Turning to the right in this arcade of most majestic forestry, the visitor soon comes in sight of the new mansion, of which the whole southwest front, extending some 110 feet, presents a noble facade.

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2. *Ibid.*

3. *Florida Mirror*, May 17, 1884.

4. *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1884.

On the extreme right stands the main tower, rising to a height of ninety feet. Immdediately beneath is the main entrance, leading through massive doors of polished Georgia pine into the vestibule, which is square and paved with blocks of blue colored Bordillio marble with an inlaid border of black marble. The windows here are polished plate with borders of colored glass, illumination being furnished at night by a very artistic Eastlake lantern, composed of rich ruby glass with brass mountings.

From the vestibule we enter the great hall. Here a scene of real beauty, combining the highest artistic skill with solid domestic comfort, at once delights and satisfies the most critical. The noble apartment wisely designed for daily occupancy, is a perfect triumph of domestic architecture, 25 feet wide and 55 feet long, with an altitude ranging from 16 feet in that portion where the great fire-place is situated to 26 feet over the music gallery and grand staircase. The ceilings are paneled in polished pine, and the walls are wainscoted in like manner, as also are the massive doors leading to the various adjacent appartments. A magnificent fire-place and mantel-piece, standing 16 feet high, made of highly-polished quartered oak, bearing the legend, carved in bold relief:

. . . . . .
. The Hearth our Altar: .
. .
. Its Flame our Sacred Fire. .
. . . . . .

The whole flooded with the light from great windows filled with splendid specimens of American art in cathedral glass, forms a *coup d'oeil* at once unique, and, so far as we know quite unrivaled in any residence south of Washington.

The hall is octagonal in shape. The appartments leading from it are the drawing room and dining room, with massive sliding doors, the vestibule and armory, or gun room, and lavatory. Immediately opposite the great fire-place is the grand staircase leading to the music gallery and second floor, a beautiful speciman of the highest handicraft. The main features on this side of the hall are the great stained glass windows, superb works of art, in three panels ten feet high and covering all one side, filled with cathedral glass treated in domestic style--flowers, fruit and foliage surrounded by Japanese tracery--the lower panels showing examples of the famous mediaeval jewelled glass. These windows reflect the highest credit on the artists and manufacturers (Gibson & Sons, New York), who in their "riot" of rich and fanciful designs have not forgotten to embody in a prominent position a veritable Scottish thistle, the national emblem of the worthy owner. On the second stair, leading to the second floor, light is given through two smaller windows, but with equally beautiful chromatic treatment showing tropical birds and fruit.

On this floor are found the six principal bed rooms, each differing from the other in the arrangement of the lighting, two bath rooms, linen closet, etc. From this floor a smaller stairway leads to the third floor, where we find again six bed rooms, bath rooms, etc., and a most original school room for the little folks, the gaily decorated windows being so placed that while they admit abundance of light, the youngsters cannot feed their fancy with the doings of the outer world below.

From the third story a flight of stairs, still lighted in richly tinted glass, conduct to the "belvedere" in the great tower. Here from conveniently arranged settees the visitor can enjoy an almost unexampled panorama, on every side some new and different scene claims the delighted attention. Beneath are the terrace and gardens blending in harmonious tints the various shades of emerald in oak and olive, giant magnolias, scented orange and stately palms. Beyond, to the east, the mighty ocean, "exulting as a giant," after its race of over 3,000 miles, breaks with a roar of thunder on the forest-shaded beach. To the north, "billow upon billow" of living green, the emerald domes of the forest of live oak stretching mile upon mile and sheltering many a herd of noble deer. To the west, Cumberland river, dotted with grassy islands and bordered by the southernmost penisula in Georgia, Point St. Peter. To the south, the roadstead and harbor of Fernandina, with the confluence of the Amelia and St. Mary's rivers beneath the walls of Fort Clinch. Truly a glorious panorama! A steep pitched roof surmounted by a handsome vane, some 120 feet from the ground completes the finish of the tower.

On the lower floor are pantry, kitchen, scullery, and other offices; in the basement the servants' apartments, cellar, strong room and the laundry, with enameled iron fittings and an unlimited supply of hot and cold water. Immense cisterns conserve the rain fall from the roofs, a Rider's compression engine stationed near the river pumps a continuous stream of salt water to the house, while an Ericson hot air engine forces a supply of both salt and fresh water, hot and cold, to all the bath rooms, lavatories, etc., throughout the house.

Should our Southern air take a degree or two of cold from our northern blasts, a hot air apparatus wards off the enemy. The whole of the premises are furnished with electric appliances both for the signal service and the lighting of 500 burners, the gas for which, manufactured on the premises, can be lighted at any moment by touching the electric illuminants. These beautiful arrangements are supplyed by Mr. Rousseau, the patentee, of New York.

In conclusion, we can hardly praise too highly the great success which has attended the execution of the beautiful designs prepared by Mr. Andrew Peebles, of Pittsburgh, for Mr. Carnegie. The style of architecture adopted was the Eastlake, with certain

additions to render it more suitable for our Southern climate; this is manifest in the broad projecting eaves and the magnificent illuminated veranda's which run round two sides of the buildings.

The outer walls are of New Hampshire granite, ashlar treated, lined with brick and hard finished, where wood is not used. The general contract for the stone and works has been ably carried out by the firm of McKenzie & Paterson, of Quincy, Mass., who have been fortunate in obtaining the contract for the Vanderbuilt mausoleum on Staten Island, valued at $250,000.[5]

An illustration in the possession of Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, a copy of which was made available to the author, shows the mansion when it was first completed (Illustration 1, p. 276). This view was probably an architectural rendering, and is very significant to a study of the mansion since it depicts it at an early age before major alterations were made. One can view the tower, wide verandas, dormer windows, crested iron, and chimneys pretty much as they were described in the two newspaper accounts.

When the Carnegies purchased their property on Cumberland Island, much of the garden area and landscape architecture left from the Shaw-Nightingale period had been preserved and restored by General Davis, the previous owner. This was not true in the case of the old remaining structures, however. One exception to this, of course, was the old Tabby House and the Greene-Miller Cemetery, which remained as part of the Carnegie Dungeness area. The Carnegies appropriated and embellished many of the old roads, trails, orchards, and gardens. While the new Dungess mansion was under construction, one visitor to the island observed that the grounds were very lovely and were kept in perfect order by Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie who encouraged every visitor to find his way along the many walks and drives that ran in every direction.[6] It is obvious, therefore, that during this early stage the Carnegies did not have new gardens designed.

The 1885 description of Dungeness after it was completed provides a good account of the gardens and landscaping. Another description of the grounds also appeared in the 1890s, corroborating much of what that earlier account had to say. It is quoted in part as follows:

Shaded avenues rise gracefully from the water's edge, leading in sweeping curves to the castle (Dungeness). The roads are of shells, wrought to fantastic designs, knit into a hardened compound mass of mortar, but never losing their outlines, which are artfully preserved in all their distinctness throughout. There are deep woods at the back of the house, through which the rays of the sun cannot penetrate until tempered by the leaves to a grateful coolness. Through the woods paths have been cut, leveled and smoothed so that the surface

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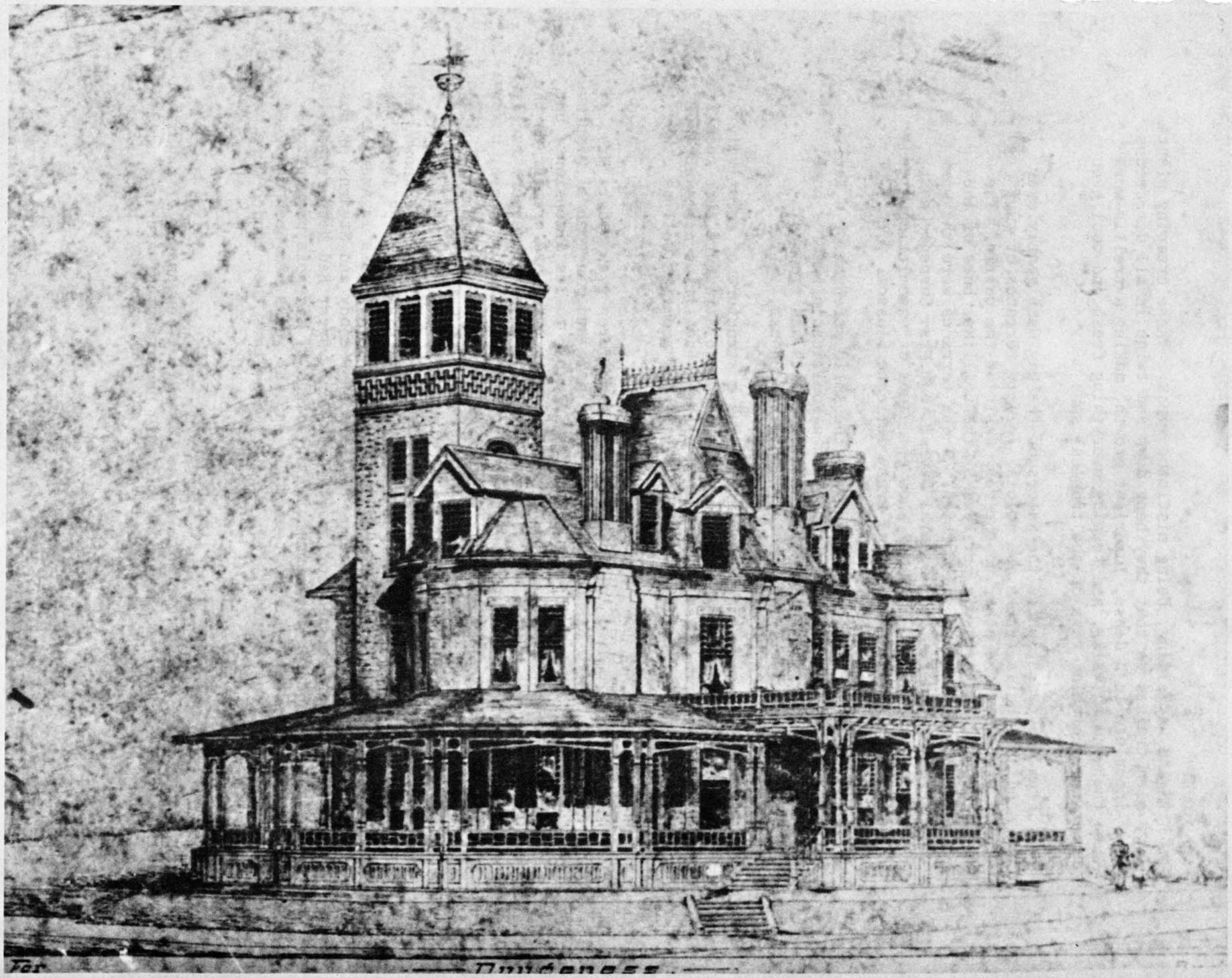
5. *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1885.

6. *Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1884.

Illustration 1.

Dungeness Mansion, Cumberland Island, ca. 1885.

Courtesy of Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller.


For Residence

is hard and unyielding, being mistletoe vines. These creeping plants have been trained so that they hang down and twine in all directions. They interlace in a dense, luxurient growth, making a trellis-work over the winding walks, and keeping everything fresh and cool even under the scorching rays of the tropical sun.

From the beach, where the waters of the bay wash gently over the sand and shells, there are smooth, velvety terraces of turf rising one above the other to the very walls of the castle. The deep green of the grass is relieved by the brilliant hues of the choicest plants, native and foreign. These terraces were the work of the former owner [i.e., General Davis], but Mrs. Carnegie has them carefully tended, and they show evidences of unremitting attention in every blade of grass and every delicate blossom. . . .

The house at "Dungeness" combines the solid strength of a Kenilworth Castle with the summary aspect of a Louisiana planter's home. A spacious porch, half hidden in creeping plants and tropical flowers, extends nearly the whole width of the house. . . .[7]

The Dungeness mansion completed in 1885 was a structure of relatively modest proportions and style when compared to the huge structure that resulted in later years. Nevertheless, it contained all the facilities necessary for the convenience of a large family--a laundry and gun room, as well as other untility and recreation areas.

After Mr. Carnegie died in 1886, and as the children grew older, Mrs. Carnegie felt the need to expand and remodel her home and, in general, improve upon it. In doing so, she not only added considerably to its dimensions, but also gave it a more elaborate style and formal design than were present in the original structure. In making this change, she added separate support facilities of every conceivable nature in the Dungeness area: laundry house, powerhouse, carpentry shop, poultry house, barns, carriage house, and other facilities, some in the most elaborate designs.

Without more data, the specific dates of these changes are not known, but it is generally agreed that they probably occurred between 1890 and 1905. Mrs. Carnegie employed one of the most prominent architectural firms in America to remodel the mansion and its landscape--the firm of Peabody and Stearns of Boston. This firm, which existed for about forty-five years, had been responsible for innumerable residences and commercial buildings of sizeable proportions throughout the United States. Most of their earlier works had been designed in the Shingle and Queen Anne styles, but in later years they tended more and

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7. "Dungeness, The Winter Home of the Carnegies," newspaper or magazine unknown, ca. 1890s, Carnegie Scrapbook, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

more to a free interpretation of the Italian Renaissance style.[8] Included among their clients were such people as J. P. Morgan, Pierre Lorillard, and Cornelius Vanderbilt.[9]

The Boston Public Library contains a large collection of Peabody and Stearns' drawings of the remodelled Dungeness mansion, Plum Orchard mansion, and other structures commissioned by Mrs. Carnegie. Incidentally, in this collection are three drawings of Andrew Peebles's original Dungeness, which were apparently acquired by Peabody and Stearns prior to the remodeling of the mansion.

The drawings have not been cataloged, but are grouped according to projects. Thus, all drawings of Carnegie structures are grouped under "Cumberland Island, Georgia." After surveying the drawings, this writer has pinpointed those that he believes can be of help to the historical architect. After the architects have viewed them personally, it may be their decision to set others aside as useful also. For the time being, this writer has identified the following drawings:

A. Three drawings under the heading of "Additions to House for Mrs. Thomas M. Carnegie, Cumberland Island, Ga., Peabody and Stearns, Arch'ts."

1. Elevation of Front
2. (in three parts)

    a) Foundation Plan
    b) Plan of Third Story
    c) Through Entrance Looking Southeast (showing side of new gable, new dormer, new stair windows, and tower).

3. Section of Tower, Support of Tower.

B. Four blueprints. Three are the same as in "A" above, but the fourth is "Plan of Entrance Floor, Elevation of Music Room" and "Plan of Second Story." (From this plan we conclude that the music room consisted of two stories.)

C. "Plan of Grounds Around House of Mrs. Carnegie, Peabody and Stearns Architects." (No. 67, on linen).

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8. Allen Johnson, ed., "Robert Swain Peabody," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 7:341-42. An example of the type of commercial structure that they designed was the Boston office of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, a building that cost $900,000. See Louis Torres, *Tuckahoe Marble: The Rise and Fall of an Industry in Eastchester, New York, 1822-1930* (Harrison, N.Y.: Harbor Hill Books, 1976), p. 51.

9. Sinclair H. Hitchings, *A Survey of Boston Architectural Drawings and Photographs* (Boston: Boston Public Library, 1974), pp. [11-14].

D. Blueprint, "Pergola at Dungeness, Cumberland Island, For Mrs. Andrew [*sic*] Carnegie, Peabody and Stearns Architects, Boston, Mass."

E. Three drawings (on linen) of grounds and sides (not rear). "Scale Detail of Entrance Post Etc. Grounds Around House of Mrs. Carnegie, Peabody and Stearns Architects." No. 68.

F. Three drawings of the original Carnegie Dungeness. "Dungeness--Residence for Thomas M. Carnegie Esq--Cumberland Island, Ga., Andrew Peebles, Architect, Pittsburgh."

1. Plan of First Floor.
2. Plan of Second Floor.
3. Plan of Attic.

G. Nine blueprint drawings. "Servants Ell[evation] Addition to House of Mrs. T. M. Carnegie, Cumberland Island, Ga.--Peabody and Stearns Archts."

H. Several drawings of "Tomb at Dungeness Estate. Mrs. L. C. Carnegie, Cumberland Island, Ga. Peabody and Stearns, Archts."

Although these drawings pertain to the mansion and to existing structures within the Dungeness area, there are other drawings that pertain to structures no longer in existence or to the Plum Orchard area. These are identified as follows:

A. Six drawings of "House for Mr. T. Morris Carnegie, Cumberland Island, Georgia, Peabody and Stearns, Architects." This structure is probably the Cottage, which was destroyed by fire in later years and which is discussed in Chapter VI of Part One (Historic Resource Study) of this report.

B. Two drawings.

1. No. 1, "Basement Plan. House for Geo. Carnegie Plum Orchard, Cumberland Island, Georgia, Peabody and Stearns, Architects."
2. No. 3, "Second Floor Plan. House for Geo. Carnegie Plum Orchard, Cumberland Island, Georgia, Peabody and Stearns, Architects."

C. Ten drawings of the George Carnegie stable at Plum Orchard.

The plan of additions and remodeling of Dungeness mansion that Peabody and Stearns designed for Mrs. Carnegie sometime in the mid-1890s produced a structure that was vastly different from that which Peebles had designed. What had been largely a structure done in the Queen Anne and Eastlake styles had now become Italianate. The remodeling produced a substantially larger and more elegant structure. A series of views of the mansion during various periods appear on pages 282 to 289, Illustrations 2-9. Any attempts to describe the vast changes made by Peabody and Stearns would be redundant since much of it is treated in the Architectural Data section of the Historic Structure Report.

Little is known about the furnishings of the mansion, although there are several interior views of the structure, many of which are in the Carnegie Scrapbook in the Georgia Department of Archives and History.[10] In almost every case, furnishings are shown in these illustrations. It was not possible at this time to gain permission to obtain copies of illustrations in the Carnegie Scrapbook.

One observer, writing in the mid-1890s, said the following concerning the furnishings:

> The furniture of the mansion has been chosen with the artistic taste characteristic of wealthy Americans. The massive, ugly chairs and tables that suited our grandfathers find no favor with this generation save as objects of curiosity. So the delicate blending of colors, the careful selection of articles so that there shall be harmony throughout, and the combining of utility and beauty, and all to be felt, almost unconsciously, by the visitor to 'Dungeness.' While there is an utter absence of that aggressive atmosphere of wealth which makes an unpleasant impression in some households otherwise faultless, one feels that mere sordid considerations have had no power to mar the perfection of the *menage*. Those fortunate Pittsburghers who have spent a month or so at "Dungeness" describe it as the ideal home.[11]

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10. Carnegie Scrapbook, original as well as microfilm, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

11. "Dungeness, The Winter Home of the Carnegies," newspaper or magazine unknown, ca. 1890s, Carnegie Scrapbook.

Illustration 2.

Dungeness Mansion viewed from the southwest side, architectural rendering, ca. 1895.

Illustration 3.

Dungeness mansion fountain, 1976.

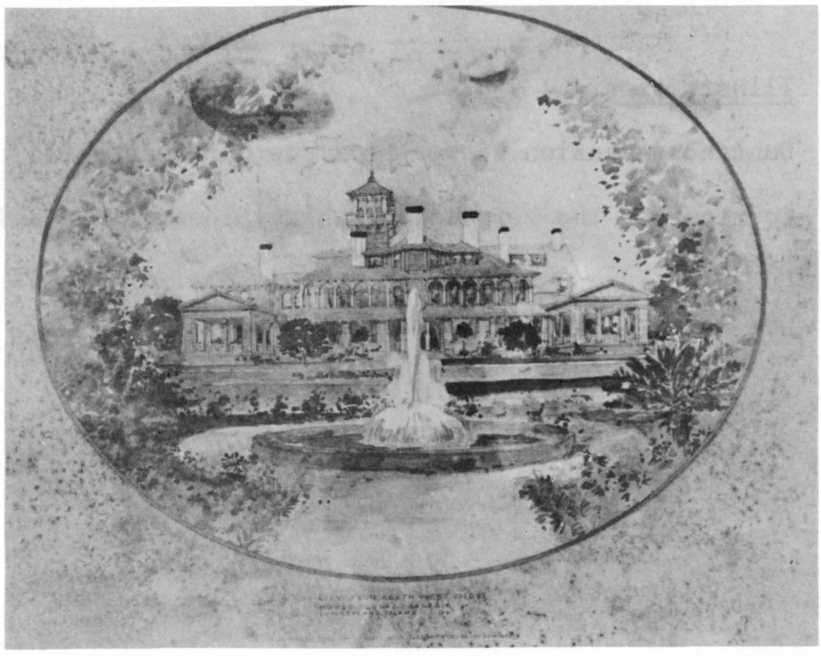




Illustration 4.

Dungeness mansion viewed from the northeast side, ca. 1910.

Courtesy of the Fernandina Public Library, Fernandina, Florida.

Illustration 5.

Dungeness mansion viewed from the southwest side, ca. 1912.



Carnegie's Place, "Dungeness," near Fernandina, Florida

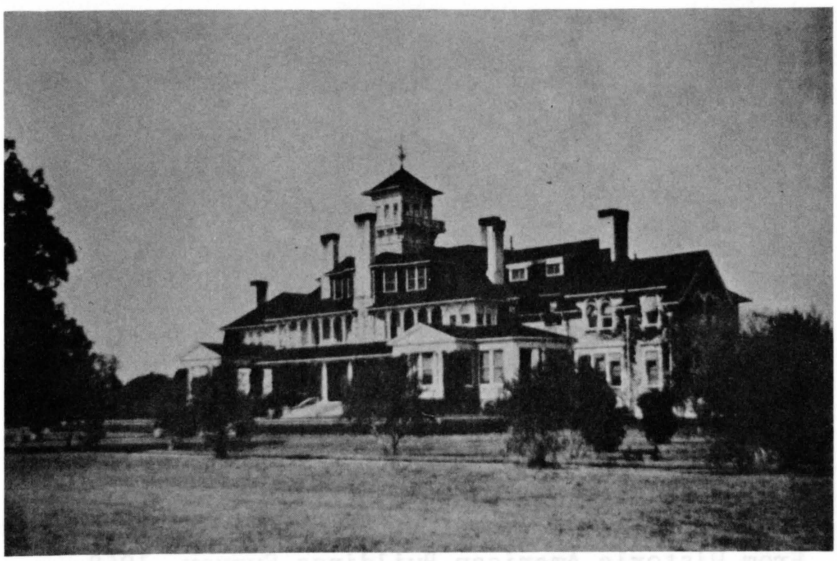


Illustration 6.

Dungeness mansion, north elevation.

From Historic American Buildings Survey, 1958.

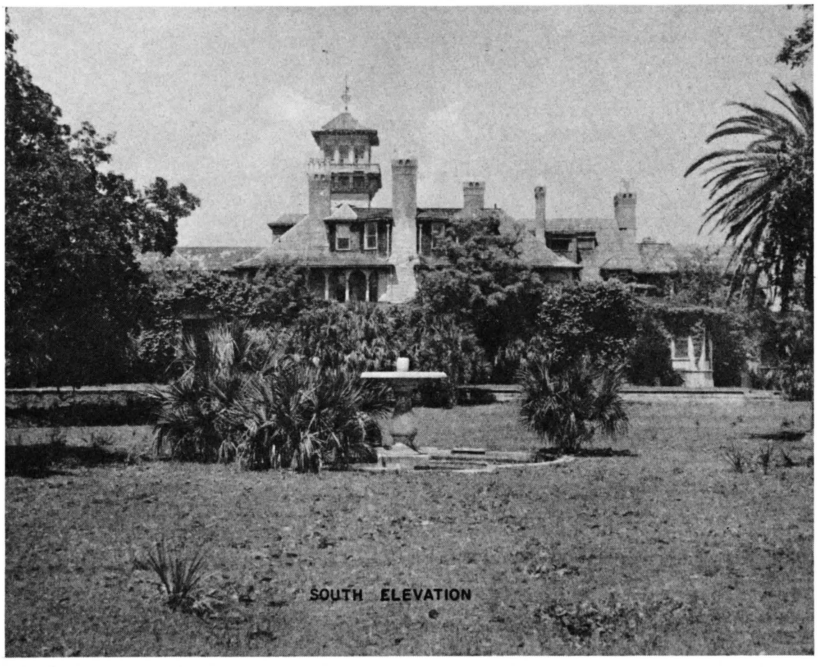
Illustration 7.

Dungeness mansion, south elevation.

From Historic American Buildings Survey, 1958.



NORTH ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION

Illustration 8.

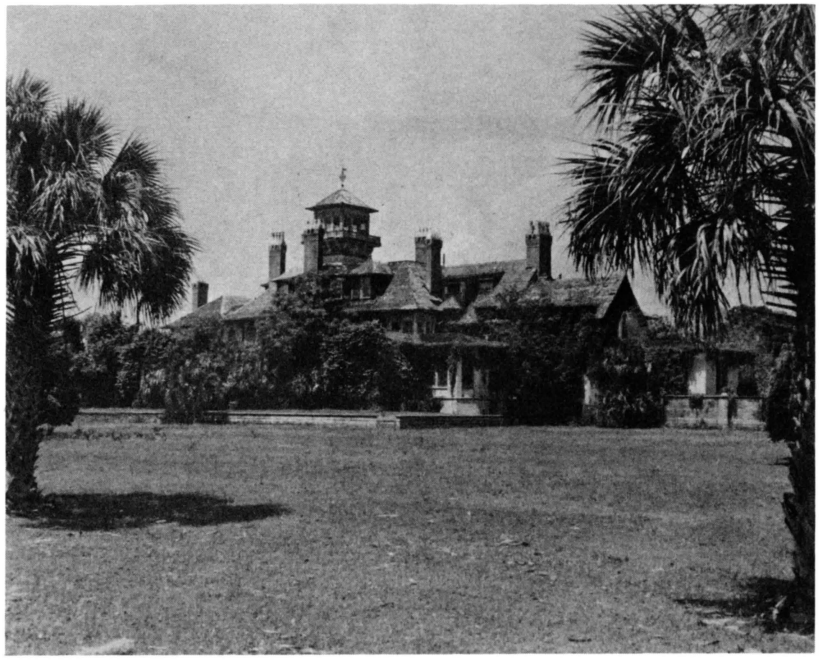
Dungeness mansion, southeast view.

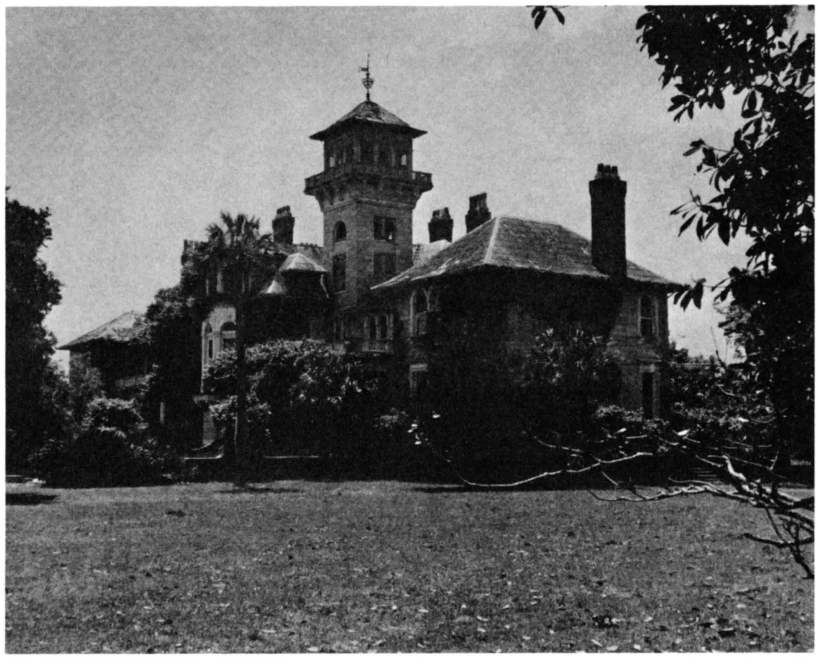
From Historic American Buildings Survey, 1958.

Illustration 9.

Dungeness mansion, northwest view.

From Historic American Buildings Survey, 1958.





II. OTHER STRUCTURES

A. Tabby House (No. 61)

The so-called Tabby House is undoubtedly the oldest structure in the Dungeness area, if not on Cumberland Island. Documentation concerning this structure is lacking. Judging from its style, material composition, and its site, this structure was built around the same period that the old Greene-Miller Dungeness was constructed, that is, around 1800. Frederick Albion Ober, in his 1880 article, speaks of the gardener's house as being only a short distance from the old mansion and connected to it by a high wall.[12] It may be that the Tabby House was the gardener's house mentioned by Ober, because Mr. Ehrenhard, archeologist of the Southeast Archeological Center, has uncovered a wall between the Tabby House and the mansion.

The Tabby House, as the name suggests, was made of tabby (a concrete of lime, aggregate, and oyster shells). It is a one-story structure with a gable wood-shingled roof containing four dormer windows, two in the front and two in the rear. It features a central chimney made of tabby. There are two doors at the front (northeast). Originally there were also two doors at the rear, but these were converted (probably during the Carnegie period) to windows. In addition to these, there are four windows at the southwest side, one window at the northwest end, and one at the southeast. The two full-sized windows at the upper level may indicate that there was a functional area at the attic level at one time. The central chimney would also indicate that there were at least two rooms on the lower level, and possibly two in the attic, with fireplaces back to back.

Along the front, or north side, is a five-bay porch running the full length of the building. The porch roof is supported on six square wooden pillars that rest on a three foot wall also constructed of tabby. The porch appears to date from the late 19th century.

It is obvious that the Tabby House has undergone many changes. In addition to those features already discussed, which may have been added or changed in later years, there is presently no attic floor, suggesting that it may have been removed during the early Carnegie period. Thus, the first floor level is carried to the full height of the roof. The interior at the lower level is still divided into two rooms, but the separation is accomplished by a large vault as well as the central back to back fireplaces. The vault seems to date from the latter part of the 19th century and was probably installed by the Carnegies when the building was used as a business office for the manager.

It is interesting to speculate that the present location of the vault may have been the site of a staircase or ladder leading to the attic. Other

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12. Ober, "Dungeness," p. 14.

changes to the house might have been the conversion of two doors to windows on the southwest side. There is also an attractive plaster of paris birdbath attached to the outside of the south wall, resembling one at the Greyfield Inn. This suggests that the birdbath was added to the Tabby House during the Carnegie period.

The Tabby House measures 44 feet 4 inches long by 20 feet 2-1/2 inches deep (minus the porch). The porch is 7 feet 3 inches deep. (Illustrations 10-14 pp. 294-97).

B. Recreation/Guest House (The Pool) (No. 64)

Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller has always known this handsome structure as "The Pool." It was built around 1900 in the Queen Anne style, and it was perhaps the most attractive building in the Dungeness area. Parts of the structure were one story and other parts two stories. Its wood frame, including its roof, was clad with cedar shingles, and it contained a heated tile swimming pool, steamroom, baths, recreation room, a squash court, and guest rooms on the second floor. There were two large fireplaces at each end of the recreation room. The building was about 150 feet long. (Illustrations 15-17, pp. 298-301).

While the building was under construction, one observer, who referred to it as the "Casino," had this to say about it:

> The Casino which is being built for Mrs. Lucy Carnegie at Dungeness, Cumberland Island, under the direction of James McGiffin, of this city, has been projected on an elaborate scale, and will probably cost $8,000 or $10,000. It is to contain a large swimming pool, with dressing rooms, etc., a gymnasium, and billiard room. The length of the building is about 150 feet, and that portion containing the billiard room will be two stories in height. The remainder will be one story, and artistically finished within in natural woods. Ten mechanics are employed in the construction, besides laborers. The building will probably not be finished till late in the spring.[13]

While James McGiffin may have been the builder of this structure, information available at the Georgia Department of Archives and History reveals that John W. Ingle, a New York architect, was its designer.[14]

An article written at the time The Pool was in use sheds further light on the structure.

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13. "Mrs. Lucy Carnegie's Casino," newspaper unknown, n.d., Carnegie Scrapbook.

14. Ingle is listed as an architect in *Trow's New York City Directory* for 1906-7, and his address is given as 109 West 42nd Street.

> The swimming pool with surrounding marble floors and gleaming marble steps luring one to its coolness and limped depths might have been transported from some ancient Grecian bath. In the gun room the rows of guns remind one of a small arsenal, etc.[15]

Architectural studies of The Pool show no evidence of marble floors and steps, only tile.[16]

Mrs. Rockefeller has also left us with an excellent account of how The Pool was used. In addition to her notations on drawings (see pp. 302-9), she has also provided the following information:

> Apt. [apartment] for my bachelor Uncle Frank Carnegie. Billiard and pool room for games. Doctor's office in South Tower. Gun Room in other. . . . Guns stood upright waist high [in gun racks]. Cupboards below for cartridges. Trophys were on the walls in Billiard Room. . . . Doctor was on the island to care for blacks . . . and employees. He had office hours daily. . . . He lived in one of the guest rooms and ate with the family at the "The Big House" (Dungeness).
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> I am quite sure [that] only the squash court and Uncle Frank's apt. in the wing were added a few years later. I cannot remember when the lawn looked any different than now so they must have been added 1900 to 1904.[17]

In an interview between Mrs. Rockefeller and the author, the following dialogue either adds to or corroborates what has already been said about this building:

> *Mrs. Rockefeller:* And the front part of it, if you're facing it, there were two little round things. You went in that door--that was the pool room and pool tables. And that's all that was ever done. There were pool tables and Christmas tree. And one little chart [*sic*] towards the north was the gun room where all the guns and ammunition were kept there. And the other one was the doctor's office. We always had a doctor on the place. That was his office. And the pool itself was just pool. And bathhouses on either side and steamroom on one side. And then the sports court on the back is still there.

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15. Alice May Massengale, "Historic Georgia Islands," newspaper unknown, n.d., scrapbook at Fort Frederica National Monument.

16. Observations of David Henderson, Historical Architect, Historic Preservation Division, Denver Service Center, NPS.

17. Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller to author, [August, 1976], in author's file, National Park Service, Denver Service Center.

Illustration 10.

Front view, Tabby House, Dungeness Area, 1976.

Illustration 11.

Rear view, Tabby House, Dungeness Area, 1976.





Illustration 12.

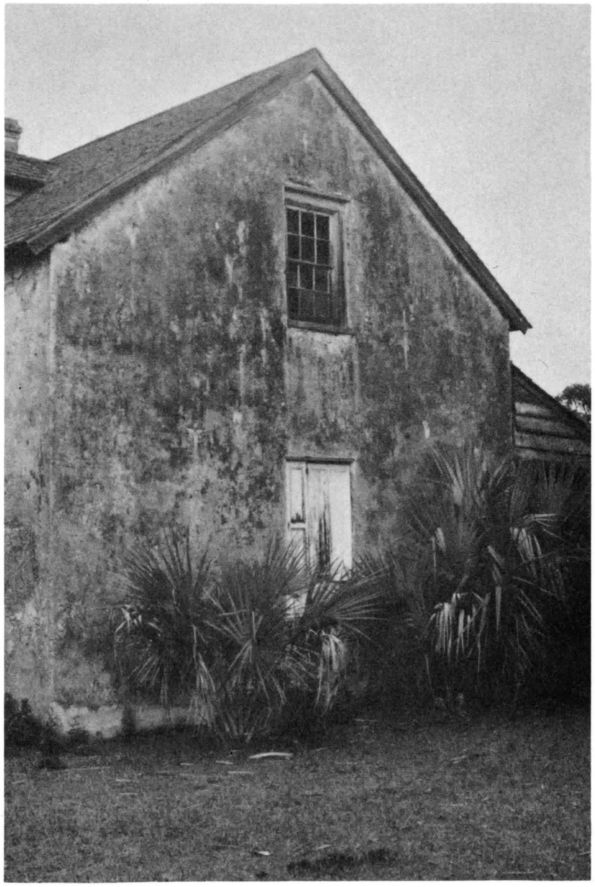
East side view, Tabby House, Dungeness Area, 1976.

Illustration 13.

West side view, Tabby House, Dungeness Area, 1976.

Illustration 14.

Birdbath, Tabby House, Dungeness Area, 1976.



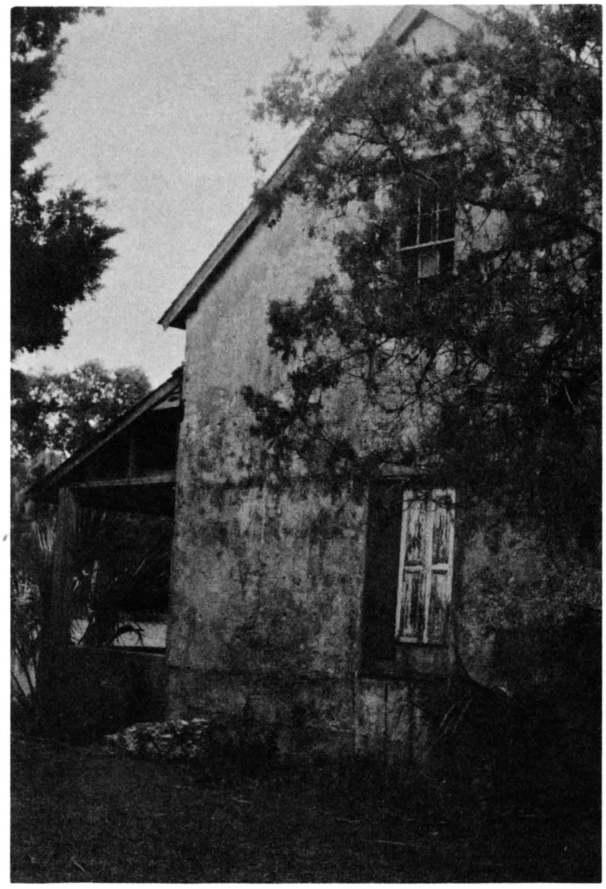




Illustration 15.

The Pool, Dungeness area, ca. 1910.



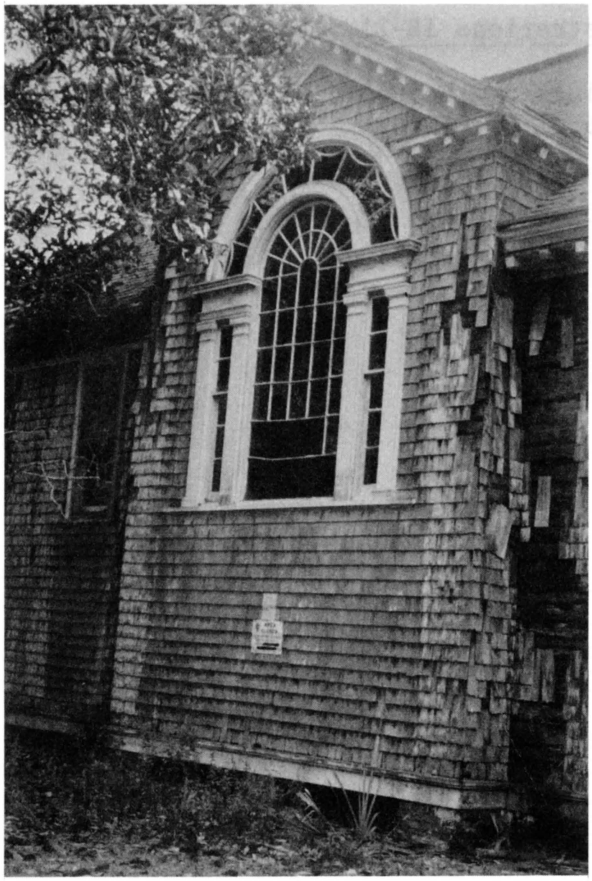
Illustration 16.

The Pool, Main Entrance (1976).

Illustration 17.

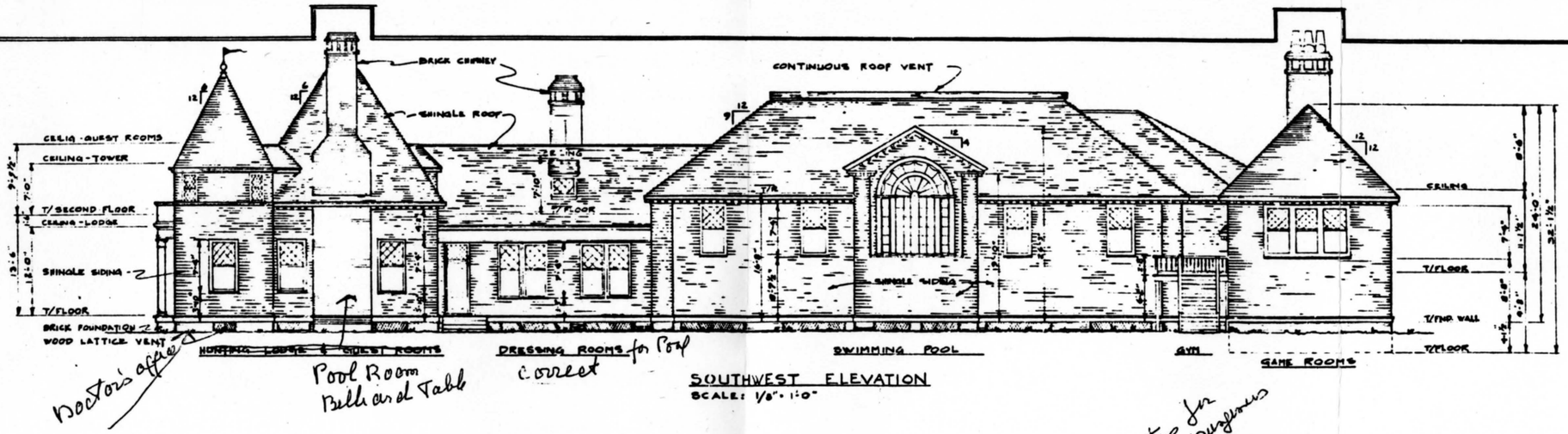
The Pool, Paladium Window (1976).



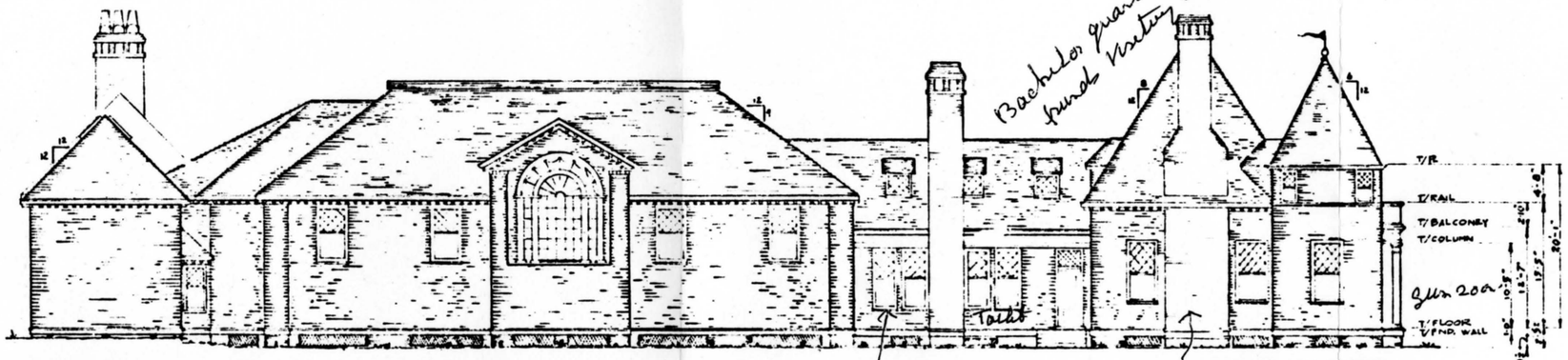


Illustrations 18-21.

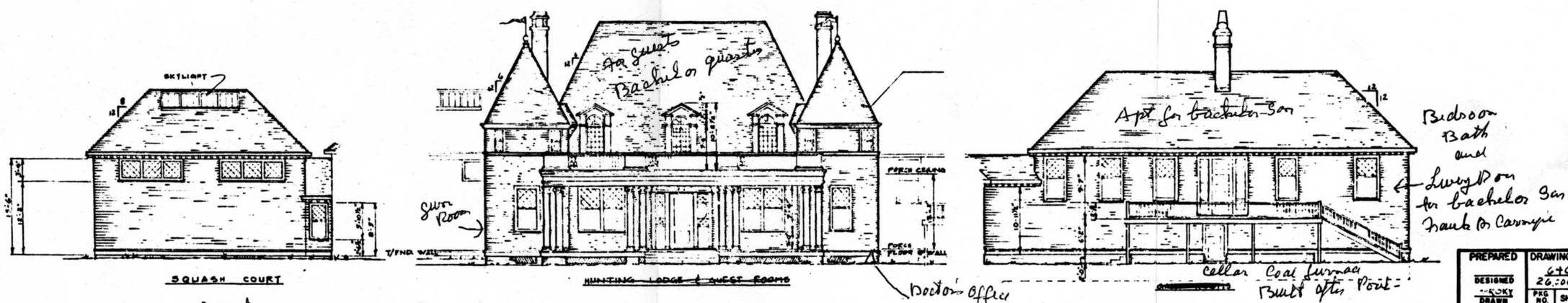
Drawings of The Pool, with notes by Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, 1976.



SOUTHWEST ELEVATION
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"



NORTHEAST ELEVATION
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"



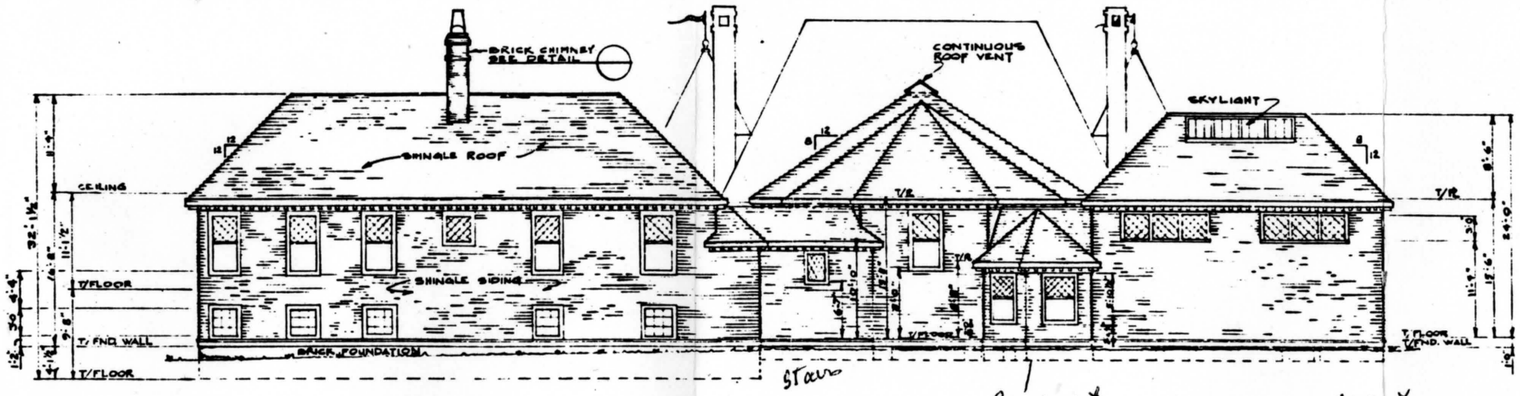
NORTHWEST ELEVATIONS
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"

HS #64—DUNGENESS SWIMMING Pool RECREATION BUILDING

HALF-SIZE REPRODUCTION

PREPARED	DRAWING NO.
DESIGNED	640 26.06
DRAWN KOKY	PKG NO. / SHEET 1
CHECKED	OF 6
DATE	

GPO 1974 678 710

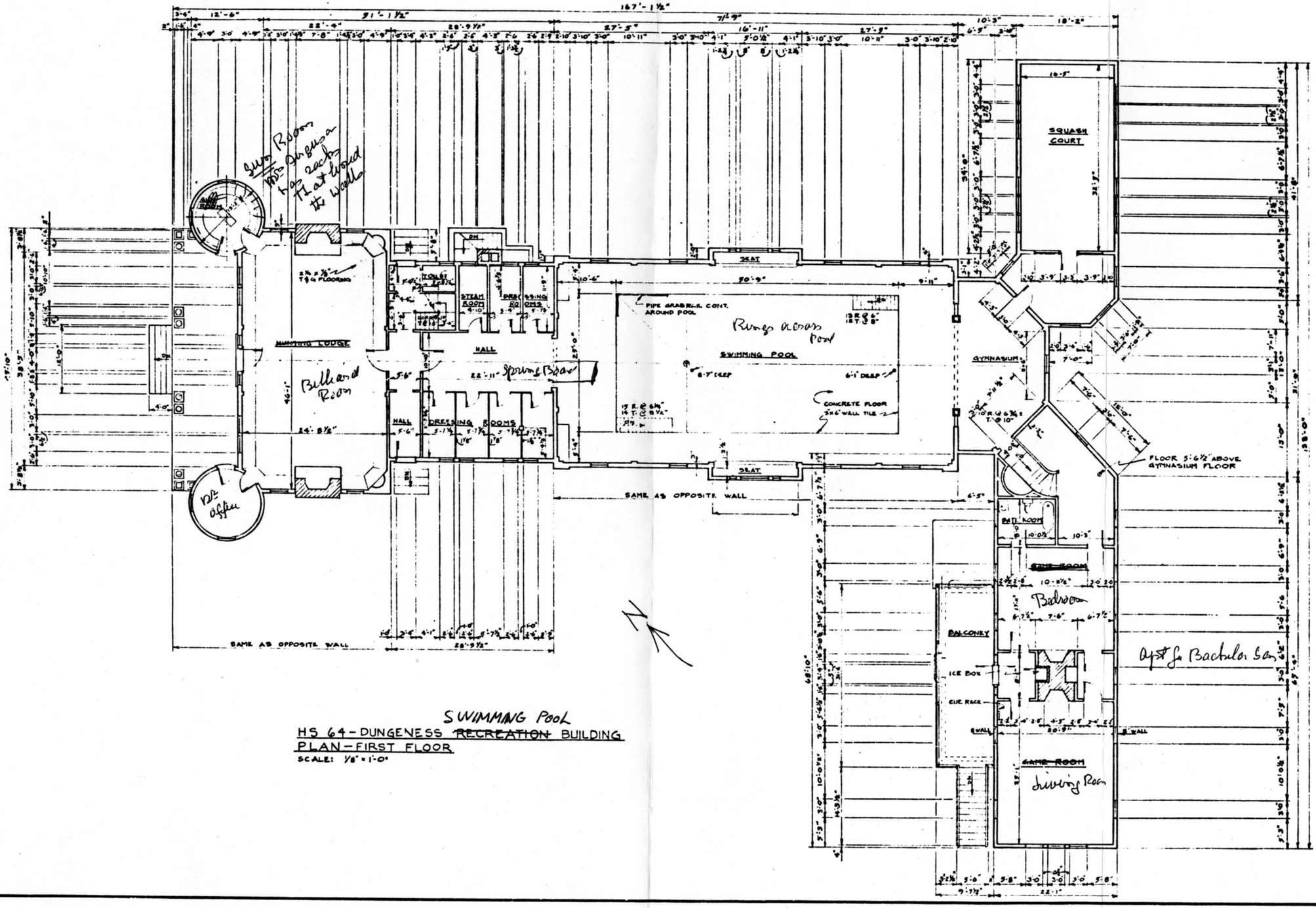


SOUTHEAST ELEVATION

SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"

PREPARED	DRAWING NO.
DESIGNED	440 26,006
DRAWN	PKG. NO. / SHEET 2
CHECKED	OF 6
DATE	

GPO 1974 678 710



SWIMMING POOL

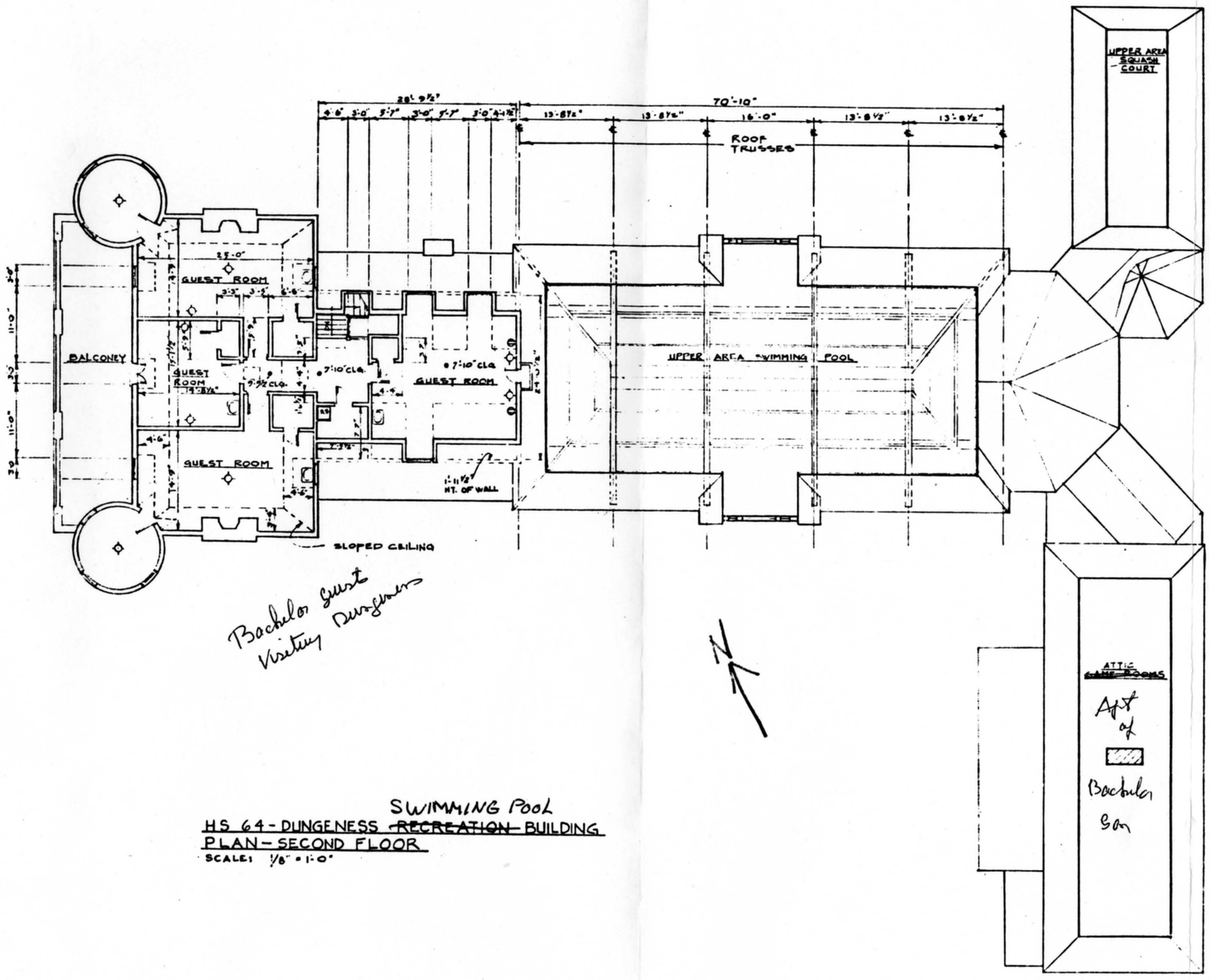
HS 64 - DUNGENESS ~~RECREATION~~ BUILDING

PLAN - FIRST FLOOR

SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"

PREPARED	DRAWING NO.
DESIGNED	640 26,006
~~DRAWN~~ DRAWN	PKG NO. / SHEET
CHECKED	4
DATE	OF 6

GPO 1974 678 710



Bachelor Guest Visitors Bungalow

Apt of Bachelor Son

SWIMMING POOL

HS 64 - DUNGENESS ~~RECREATION~~ BUILDING

PLAN - SECOND FLOOR

SCALE: ⅛" = 1'-0"

PREPARED	DRAWING NO.
DESIGNED	640
~~DRAWN~~	26,006
CHECKED	PRG NO. / SHEET 5
DATE	OF 6

GPO 1974 678 710

Author: Were they built originally or did they come in the addition?

Mrs. Rockefeller: No. This was all at once. And the wing that goes out to the south was built--put on probably a few years later for one uncle who was never married. And that just had a big bedroom and a bathroom and a living room. Well, it's still standing there. You see it there. And then over the second floor over the front of the building there are four bedrooms. They are still there. And that was for all the bachelors--all my uncles. I had two bachelor uncles. One lived in the back part and the other lived upstairs there. And they had all their friends there. And that was all there was. And there were two tennis courts out to the south were theirs. But, heaven sakes, don't call it the casino.[18]

C. The Grange (No. 78)

Built between 1895 and 1900, the Grange is a two-story structure located between The Pool and the carriage house. In earlier years it served as the residence for Mr. William Page, manager of Dungeness, and his family. After Mr. and Mrs. Page died, it was used as a residence for one of Mrs. Carnegie's daughters, and to this day it is used by Carnegie descendants as part of a Reserve Life Estate. The exterior of the building has remained essentially the same as when it was first built, although the interior is said to have undergone some modifications over the years. (Illustration 22, p. 312).

D. Woodworking Shop (No. 76)

This shop was used to fabricate much of the woodwork and repairs at Dungeness and throughout the Carnegie properties. As a self-contained production shop, it was an important element of the operation of the Carnegie estate. Both the west and east ends consisted of a high one-story section. The east end had a walkway running its length with a small storage loft. There was a larger loft near the center over the office. Both this loft and the office were added in later years. The rear section is two stories over an open shed or work area. Most of the windows are six-over-six or four-over-four sash. The present condition of the structure is deteriorated with considerable loss of roofing and siding. The interior is littered with structural members and machinery once used in the shop. (Illustrations 23-24, p. 314).[19]

E. Black Servants' Quarters (No. 75)

This structure, which is in good condition, is located just north of the woodworking shop. It is a two-story frame structure with weatherboarding. It

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18. Interview with Mrs. James Stillman Rockefeller, July 11, 1976.

19. Much of this description and the descriptions of other structures that follow are developed from the Classified Structure Field Inventory Report prepared by the National Park Service Southeast Regional Office.

Illustration 22.

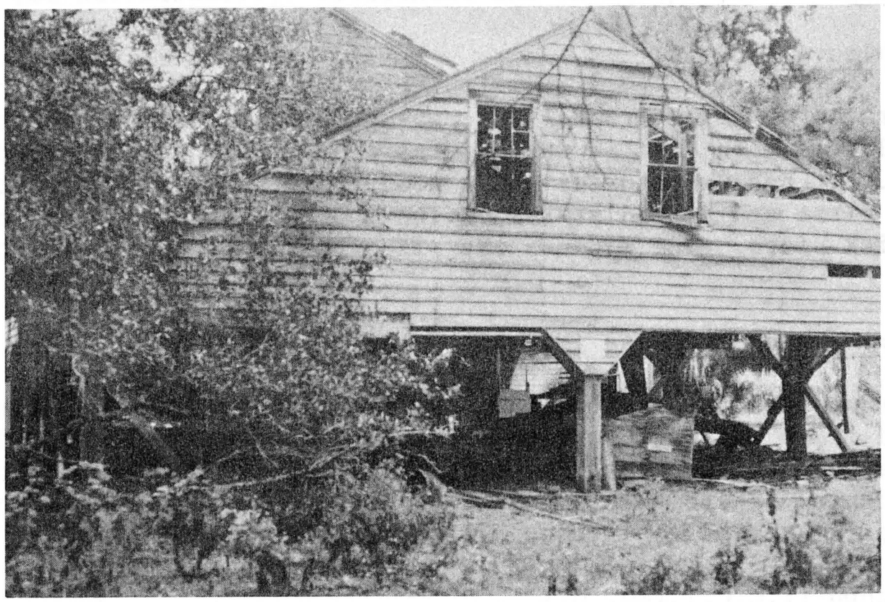
The Grange, Dungeness area, 1976.



Illustrations 23-24.

Woodworking Shop, Dungeness area, 1976.





has a hip roof with a shed roof over a two-story veranda on the south side. A center stairway, off the open first floor porch, leads to the second floor porch. The building stands on brick piers, as do most of the support frame structures in the Dungeness area. It has a galvanized steel roof, and the first floor windows are six-over-six sash. (Illustrations 25-26, p. 318).

This building served at one time as a residence for black employees of the Carnegie estate.

F. Kitchen (YCC Recreation Building) (No. 72)

This sizeable structure was used as a kitchen and dining hall for Carnegie employees. In 1974 it was employed as a recreation building for a Youth Conservation Corps camp. The structure consists of a wood frame on brick piers that have been stuccoed. It has a rear wing attached to the main building by a breezeway, and the roof is galvanized steel. There are several brick chimneys and two cupolas with louvres. A large porch exists on one side of the building. Most windows are triple hung sash with six-by-six-by-six lights. Doors are five panels, with horizontal board siding. (Illustrations 27-29, p. 320).

G. Laundry House (No. 71)

This structure served as the laundry for the Dungeness area and possibly for other Carnegie areas of the island. It consists of wood and stucco with a hip tin roof. An interior chimney is offset to one side. Windows are elongated and screened. The structure is in fair condition and is presently being used for storage of old equipment and furniture. (Illustration 30, p. 322).

H. Dormitory (No. 69)

This structure, built around 1900, was originally used as a dormitory for Carnegie employees. In 1974 it was used as a dormitory for the Youth Conservation Corps. It has two stories and a wood frame. There is a porch on the front of the first and second stories. The roof is gable, and the building stands on brick piers. The windows are six-over-six panes. (Illustration 31, p. 324).

I. Dairy Manager's House (No. 68)

Built around 1900, this structure was the residence of the dairy manager. It has a wood frame and a gable roof. It also has four gable roof dormers in the front and four in the rear. An exterior brick chimney stands at the west side of the house. There is a screened porch at the front with a shed roof. The structure is in good condition. (Illustrations 32-33, p. 326).

J. Kitchen (Y.C.C.) (No. 67)

Built in the 1890s, this structure was probably used to house Carnegie employees. In 1974 it was used as a kitchen for the Youth Conservation Corps. It has also served to house National Park Service personnel for short periods.

The structure is a two-story frame building with a medium hip roof. It has a shed roofed screened porch on the west side and a side door on the southwest side. Windows on both floors are six-over-six panes. (Illustration 34, p. 328).

K. Dock Ice Building (No. 85)

The exact use of this building during the Carnegie Period is not known, but it appears to have been used as an ice and storage house. It is a frame building with weatherboard siding. A gable roof has a gabled cupola extending the length of the building. There is a lean-to with a shed roof on the south side. A large door is located on the north side, and there are three small doors, one above the other, on the west side. The structure has sawdust insulation and a full-length ventilator along the ridge line, which are characteristic of 19th-century ice storage structures. (Illustrations 35-37, p. 330).

L. Chicken Houses (Nos. 92-100)

There are nine chicken houses in the Dungeness area, all of which are identical. They are located north of the poultry manager's house. They are simple frame structures with shed roofs, and their condition varies from good to poor. (Illustration 38, p. 332).

M. Poultry Manager's House (No. 91)

This structure, a large wood frame house, was the residence of the poultry manager. It is a two-story structure with a porch and gable roof. Its condition is very poor. (Illustrations 39-40, p. 334).

N. Greene-Miller Cemetery (No. 63)

See Chapter VIII of the Historic Resource Study for a discussion of this cemetery in the Dungeness area.

O. Carnegie Cemetery (No. 88)

See Chapter VIII of the Historic Resource Study for a discussion of this cemetery in the Dungeness area.

P. Boat Captain's House (No. 87)

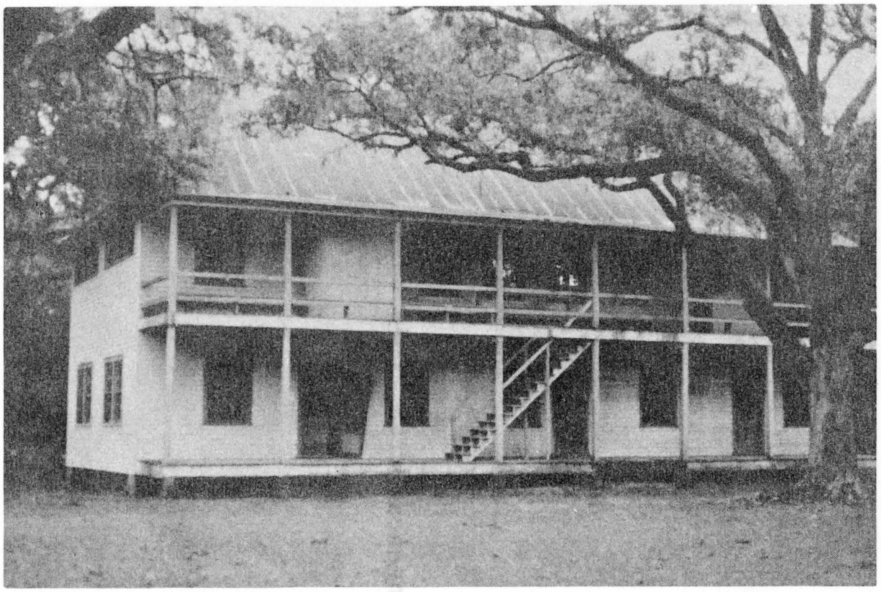
This house, built for the captain of the Carnegie yacht, may date from around the period that the Dungeness mansion was built. In 1884 a newspaper refers to plans being considered for the captain's house, but it was not certain at the time whether the house would be built.[20] Additions on the north side were added in later years.

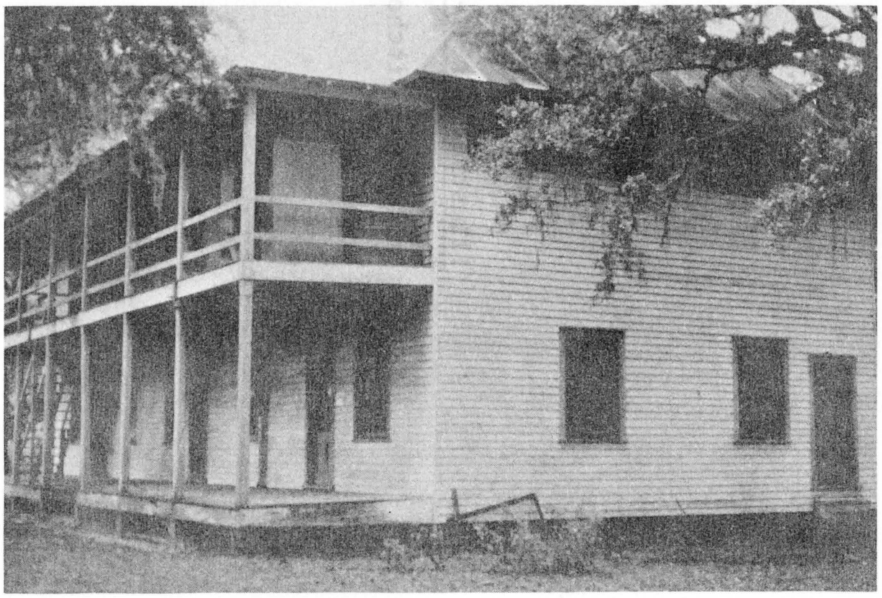
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20. "The Carnegie Mansion," *Florida Mirror* (Fernandina), Mar. 1, 1884.

Illustrations 25-26.

Dormitory for black employees, Dungeness area, 1976.

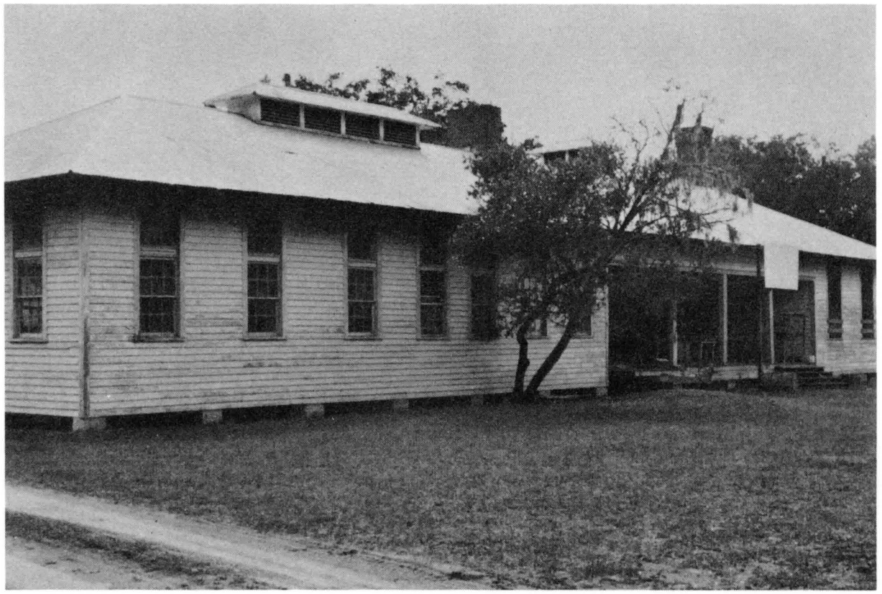




Illustrations 27-29.

Employees' Kitchen, Dungeness area, 1976.





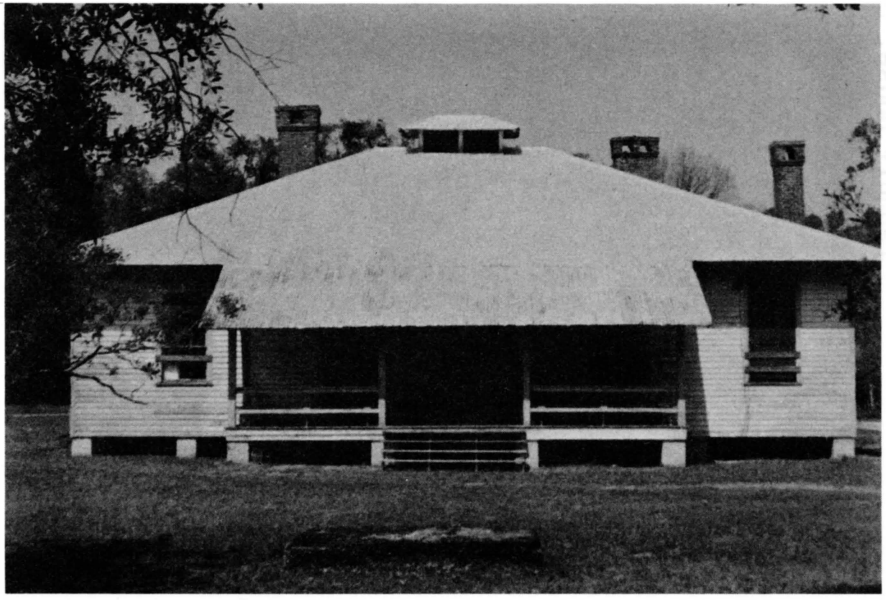


Illustration 30.

Laundry House, Dungeness area, 1976.



Illustration 31.

Dormitory, Dungeness area, 1976.



Illustrations 32-33.

Dairy Manager's House, Dungeness area, 1976.



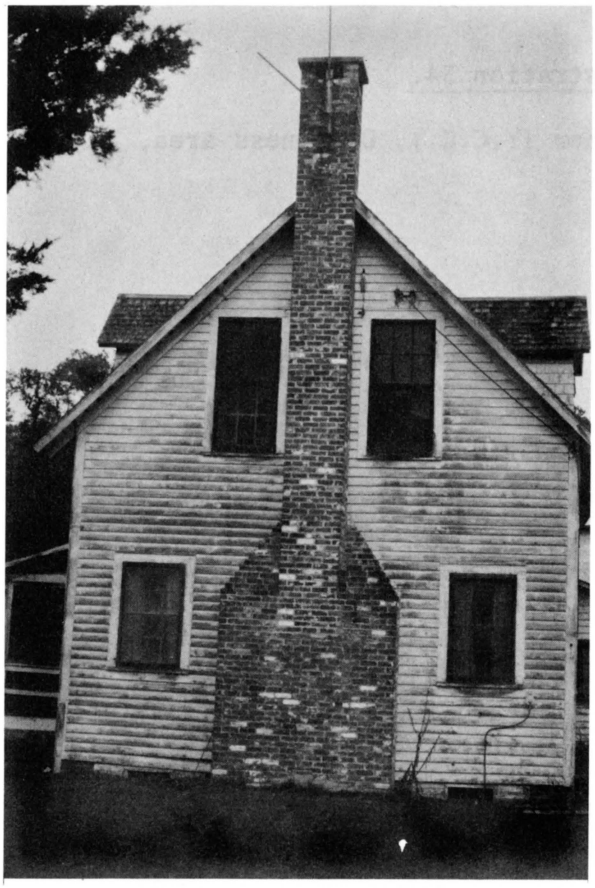
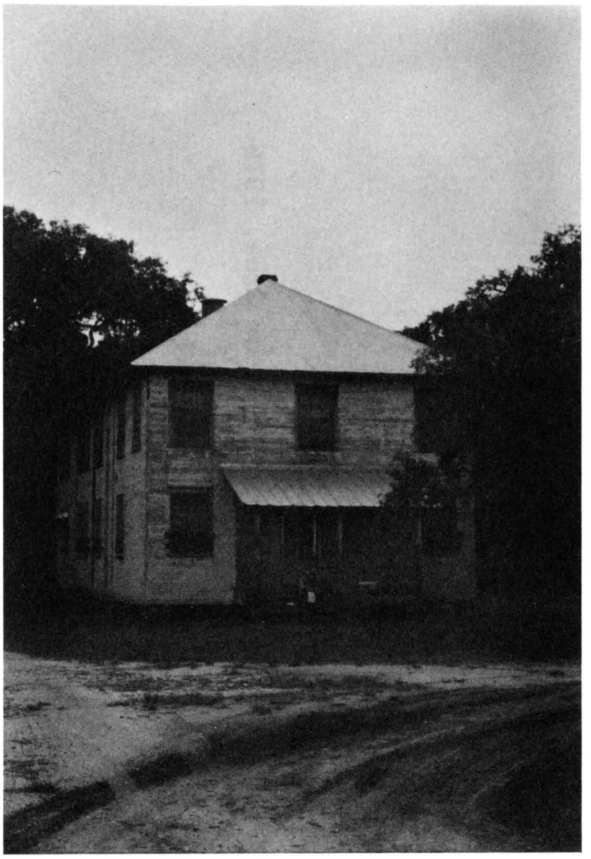


Illustration 34.

Kitchen (Y.C.C.), Dungeness area, 1976.



Illustrations 35-37.

Dock Ice House, Dungeness area, 1976.





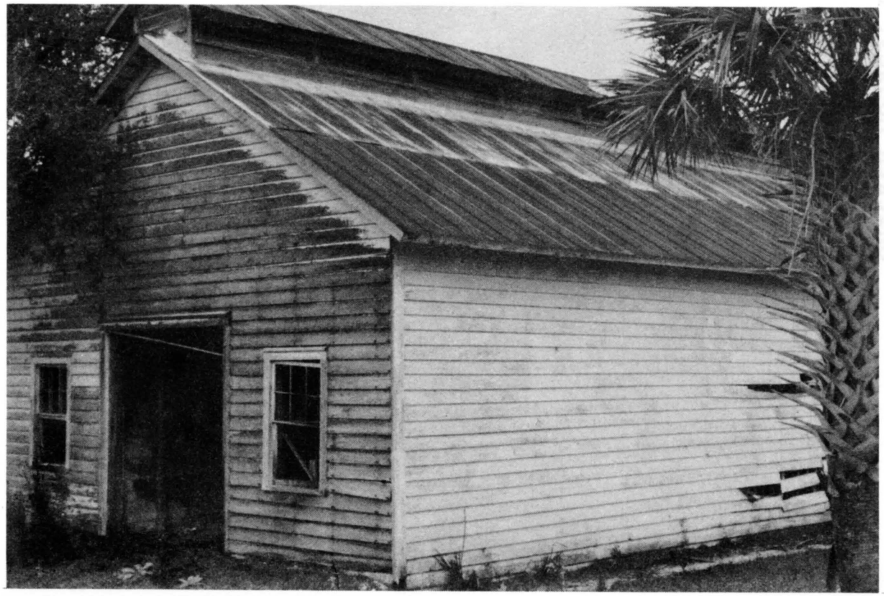


Illustration 38.

Chicken Houses, Dungeness area, 1976.



Illustrations 39-40.

Sections of Poultry Manager's House, Dungeness area, 1976.

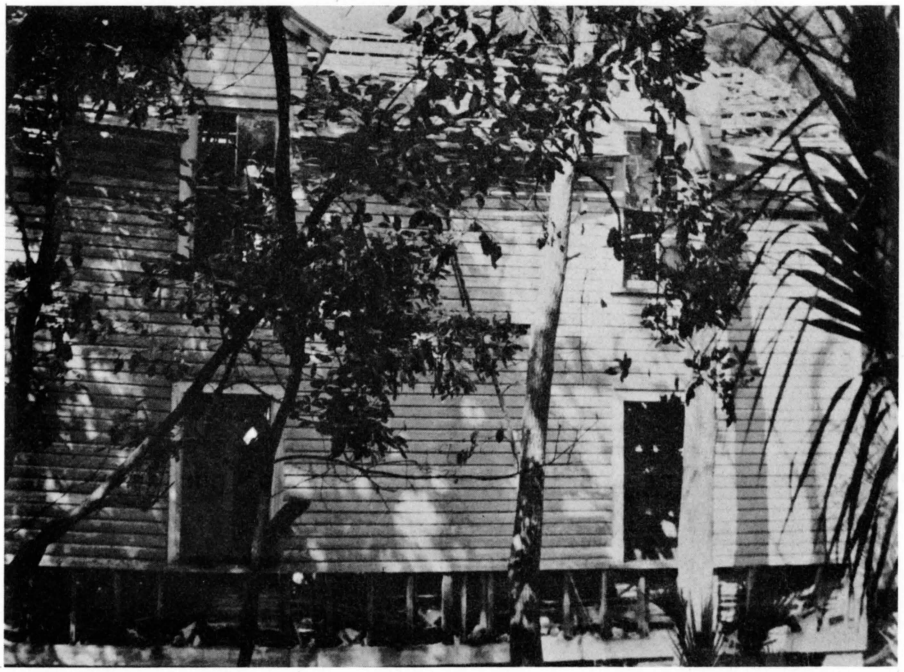




Illustration 41.

Captain's House, Dungeness area, 1976.



Illustration 42.

Carriage House, Dungeness area, 1976.



The structure is frame with weatherboarding and a gable roof. The roof has three gable-roofed dormers. A shed roofed porch lies on two sides of the building. There is also a rear wing with a gabled galvanized steel roof. The structure rests on brick piers, and a brick chimney runs up through the center of the main building. The structure is in fair condition. (Illustration 41, p. 336).

Q. Carriage House (No. 62)

This large building is a two-story, H-shaped frame structure covered with stucco. The roof is metal and contains several hip roof dormers on all four sides. One wing of the carriage house was used for storing and housing carriages and the other wing was used for stables. In later years the building served as a garage for automobiles. The second floor contained quarters for stable hands. The building is in good condition, and is presently being used by the park as a maintenance headquarters. Its dimensions are 148 by 139 feet. (Illustration 42, p. 338).

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