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On the cover: Bluffs along the Chattahoochee south of Columbus near the site of Snake Shoals and the 1830s plantation of James Boykin, photograph of Rachel Dobson

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COLUMBUS STATE
UNIVERSITY

C. Dexter Jordan, Jr.
1939-2019



Judith Massey Wickham
1945 - 2019

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From the Editor

It is a testament to the steadfast support of the Muscogee County Genealogical Society's membership that with this issue, we celebrate an incredible thirty years of publication. It is only through your interest, encouragement, and financial backing that the journal has endured. I am proud to have played a small role in this success story over the past few years, and look forward to helping the journal grow and thrive as it enters a new era.

As we start a new year, I wanted to let you know about a small change the MGS Board has recently made which affects how you receive this publication. Beginning with this issue, MGS will offer members digital copies of the current year's issues as part of their membership. Online access to current issues will be via password to all dues-paying members. Any member who prefers to receive, in addition, a print copy of the current year's two issues, will be asked to pay \$5 more in annual dues. Please note these changes on the revised Membership Form, and choose your membership level accordingly. Regardless of the format in which you access it, *Muscogiana* will stay true to its mission to play an important part in the preservation of the history of the city of Columbus and surrounding region.

Speaking of that mission, I believe the articles we are pleased to publish in this issue make that point well. In our feature article, *Muscogiana* assistant editor Rachel Dobson presents us with an intriguing article on James Boykin, a little-known but influential resident of early Columbus. Associated with the curiously-named but important Snake Shoals region south of Columbus and having a section of the city named in honor of his estate of Rose Hill, Boykin is a man readers will surely want to know better. Dobson follows up this informative article with a related one sure to appeal to readers of the journal. The legendary Tie-Snake, a Creek Indian legend associated with the muddy waters of the lower Chattahoochee which flow by the site of Boykins' plantation, is a myth many no doubt have likely heard something about but one with which few likely have much familiarity. Dobson sheds light on this fascinating legend by bringing to us an original account of the story as published in an early edition of a local newspaper. Next, frequent contributor Daniel Bellware unearths another important story from Columbus's past, this time chronicling the history of the Confederate monument which has stood downtown for 140 years. In this fascinating retrospective, Bellware details its origins, purpose, and place in our community for generations. We round out our articles with my chronicle of the life and times of William Dudley Chipley, perhaps the most accomplished native of Columbus most residents of the city probably have never have heard of.

Our regular features on what's happening at the Columbus State University Archives and reviews of books of interest to readers of the journal wrap up the issue. I hope you enjoy it, and encourage you to contact me at any time if you have something you would like to have considered for publication.

Mike Bunn, Editor

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An "Agreeable Villa in the Suburbs" and A Mansion in the Northern Liberties: James Boykin in Stewart and Muscogee Counties

By

Rachel Dobson

James Boykin (1792-1846) was one of the Chattahoochee Valley's wealthiest and most influential citizens, tied in with the state's highest political and religious circles from the late 1820s into the mid-1840s. He came to the area about 1828; ran a large plantation in Stewart County; built a home north of Columbus; corresponded with the governor; worked to remove the Indians; speculated in land; and was a devoted servant in the Baptist church. Yet today, his name has almost disappeared from the Valley's historical memory.¹ I hope this essay – the first of two – will begin to bring James Boykin and his family back into the published record and provide a more complete history of Muscogee County.

James Boykin was born in 1792 into a large landowning family in Kershaw County, South Carolina, that proudly traced its roots back to an immigrant ancestor from Wales who settled in colonial Virginia about 1685.² From Virginia, some branches of the family moved to South Carolina. James' father, Major Francis Boykin, as well as his uncles, fought in the Revolutionary War, and acquired land in Georgia through grants and land lotteries, all made possible after the displacement of the native Creeks and Cherokees. By 1800, Francis Boykin and his wife, Catherine Whitaker (1748-1820?), had moved their family to the former Indian lands on the Oconee River southeast of Milledgeville, then the capital of Georgia.³ Living close to the state capital gave the Boykins opportunities for social and political influence

¹ James Boykin is not mentioned in any of the canonical histories of Columbus, including Robert M. Howard, *Reminiscences* (Columbus: Gilbert Printing, 1912); Clason Kyle, *Images: A Pictorial History of Columbus, Georgia* (Norfolk, Va.: Donning, 1986); Joseph B. Mahan, *Columbus: Georgia's Fall Line "Trading Town"* (Northridge, Ca.: Windsor Publications, 1986); John H. Martin, compiler, *Columbus, Geo., From Its Selection as a "Trading Town" in 1827, to Its Partial Destruction by Wilson's Raid in 1865* (Columbus, Ga.: Thomas Gilbert, 1874); Nancy Telfair, *A History of Columbus, Georgia, 1828-1928* (Columbus: Historical Publishing, 1929); Etta Blanchard Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee* (Columbus: Columbus Office Supply, 1951), 258, mentions James Boykin once in passing.

² Edward M. Boykin, "History of the Boykin Family, from their First Settlement in Virginia, 1685, and in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, to 1876," typescript copy, Alabama Department of Archives and History Surname Files, 2. In the record, he is occasionally referred to as James W. Boykin and James William Boykin, but, throughout his life, he signs himself simply James Boykin, so that is how he is known here. I am deeply grateful to my uncle, Cliff Tucker, the great-great-great-grandson of James Boykin, for laying the strong genealogical foundation on which I have built the research presented here.

³ Find A Grave Memorial no. 186798359, page for Catherine Whitaker Boykin (1748–1820), (no source or photo given), <https://www.findagrave.com>: accessed December 12, 2018; Georgia Archives, "Georgia Colonial and Headright Plat Index," <http://vault.georgiaarchives.org/>: accessed 29 March 2017: entries for Francis Boykin in Burke County 1786, 1787, and in Washington County, 1785, 1808; Rev. Silas Emmett Lucas Jr., *Index to the Headright and Bounty Grants of Georgia, 1756-1909*, Vidalia, GA: Georgia Genealogical Reprints, 1970), 59; Sarah Cantey Whitaker Allen, *Our Children's Ancestry* ([Milledgeville, Ga.]: self-publ., 1935), 93; "Boykin, Rev. Samuel," and "Boykin, James," *The Baptist Encyclopedia - A Dictionary of the Doctrines, Ordinances, Usages, Confessions of Faith, Sufferings, Labors, and Successes, and of the General History of the Baptist Denomination in All Lands with Numerous Biographical Sketches of Distinguished American and Foreign Baptists, and a Supplement*, ed. William Cathcart (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 124, 123; Edward Boykin, *History of the Boykin Family*, 9; Anne

like the family had had in South Carolina. In Baldwin County, Georgia, the previously Episcopalian Francis Boykin was active in county public service and in statewide Baptist organizations, and two of his sons became exceptionally wealthy and influential.⁴

James was the youngest, or almost the youngest, of five children. Two siblings, William and Mary, died young and very little is known about them. His two surviving siblings were as successful as James, if not more. Older brother Samuel (ca.1786-1848) was highly educated and became a physician, state legislator, civic leader, banker, planter and slave-owner, as well as an amateur botanist and naturalist who corresponded with the noted botanists of his day. Samuel married Maria Maxwell in 1818; their son Burwell was born in 1819 and Maria died in 1820.⁵ In 1822, Samuel married Narcissa Cooper of Hancock County, daughter of the Reverend Thomas Cooper and sister of Samuel's friend and fellow banker, Mark Anthony Cooper. In the mid-1830s Mark Cooper followed Samuel to Columbus where he founded the Western Insurance and Trust Company and made Samuel a director. James' older sister Eliza married Williams Rutherford of Baldwin County.⁶

About 1813, James married Clarissa Owens, daughter of Elijah Owens and granddaughter of Nehemiah Howard, both wealthy and prominent middle Georgia families. Their children were Francis E. Boykin (1814-1891), Elizabeth Boykin Woodland (ca. 1816-before 1840), Ann Catherine Boykin Jones (1817-1886), Dr. James Owen Boykin (1821-1901) and Clara Boykin Billups (ca.1826-1873). Although I have found no marriage document for James and Clarissa, Clarissa's brother, John J. Owens, married Lucinda Long on June 9, 1813, just two months before General Floyd began assembling his troops at Fort

Jacobs Boykin Murphy, *History and Genealogy of the Boykin Family* (Richmond, Va.: Mrs. Robert Neal Murphy and Bernard Carter Boykin, ca.1964), 57.

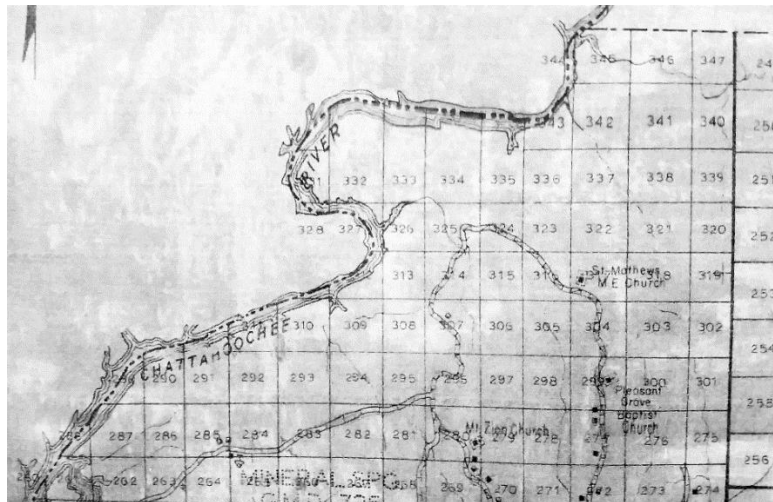
⁴ For example, according to *Georgia Journal*, Jan. 19, and June 5, Francis Boykin is a magistrate in Washington County, Ga., and on the Grand Jury of the Superior Court in Greene County, Ga., in 1810. Allen, *Our Children's Ancestry*,134; Anna Maria Green Cook, *History of Baldwin County, Georgia* (Spartanburg: Reprint Co., 2004), 105. In a discussion of the prominent Baptist leaders, Cook writes, "We should notice that Milledgeville was then the Capital of the State, and members of the Baptist church enjoyed exceptional advantages, social and political, as well as religious and educational." *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia with Biographical Compendium and Portrait Gallery of Baptist Ministers and Other Georgia Baptists*, vol. 1 (Atlanta: J. P. Harrison & Co., 1881), 46, indicates Francis Boykin participated in the Powelton Conferences of 1801-1803, a precursor to the Georgia Baptist Convention. He was the author of a circular letter, "What are the probable causes of the present languishing state of religion?"

⁵ Edward Boykin, *History of the Boykin Family*, 9; Allen, *Our Children's Ancestry*, 92, 109-111. According to Allen, Burwell Boykin (b. Feb. 14, 1819) died Nov. 18, 1835. *Milledgeville Reflector*, March 31, 1818, p. 3.

⁶ Walter G. Cooper, "Mark Anthony Cooper," in *Men of Mark in Georgia: A Complete and Elaborate History of the State from its Settlement to the Present Time, Chiefly told in Biographies and Autobiographies of the Most Eminent Men of Each Period of Georgia's Progress and Development*, William J. Northen, ed., vol. 2 (Atlanta: A.B. Caldwell, 1910), 209; "Cooper, Thomas," *Baptist Encyclopedia*, 276; David B. Parker, "Mark Anthony Cooper (1800-1885)," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/mark-anthony-cooper-1800-1885>, accessed 4 June 2018; "To Incorporate...the Western Insurance and Trust Company of the City of Columbus," Georgia General Assembly, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December 1836* (Milledgeville: P.L. Robinson, 1837), 146; Edward M. Boykin, 1876, 9; Allen, *Our Children's Ancestry*, 93.

Hawkins to fight the Red Stick Creeks in Alabama.⁷ John J. Owens and James Boykin both enlisted to fight in the Creek War with the Georgia Volunteers under Newnan's Command, Owens as a sergeant and Boykin as a private. Adjutant General Daniel Newnan was part of Brigadier General Floyd's forces that reported to Fort Hawkins in the late summer and early fall of 1813, preparing to march southwest through Georgia into Alabama, building forts along the way.⁸ Private James Boykin may have first laid eyes on west Georgia and east Alabama while marching down the Federal Road with the Georgia Volunteers to build Fort Mitchell.

After serving as one of two representatives from Stewart County to the Anti-Tariff Convention in Milledgeville in 1832 - Georgia's early brush with nullification - there is little evidence that James Boykin was involved in public service or politics in the way his peers were.⁹ While his brother, Dr. Samuel Boykin (like several of their elite circle), served in both houses of the Georgia legislature, and on boards, and state and local committees, any political influence James wielded seems to have been less formal and more behind-the-scenes.



1969 map of District 22 of Stewart County where Boykin settled, showing numbered lots
 Courtesy of Rachel Dobson

⁷ Lex S. Owens, "The James Boykin Family," 1953, typescript (Alabama Department of Archives and History), 1; Edward M. Boykin, 1876, 9; Allen, *Our Children's Ancestry*, 108; *Georgia, Marriage Records from Select Counties, 1828-1978*, <https://www.ancestry.com>, accessed Oct 13, 2018.

⁸ Gordon Burns Smith, *History of the Georgia Militia, 1783-1861* (Milledgeville, Ga.: Boyd Publishing, 2000), 2:150. Under Newnan's Command, Georgia Volunteers, were Sergeant John I. (or J.) Owens, and Lt. William Rutherford, and LTC Joseph H. Howard, all kin by marriage to James Boykin. LTC Howard led the Baldwin Independent Blues. "James Boykin," National Archives and Records Administration, *Index to the Compiled Military Service Records for the Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the War of 1812* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration), M602, roll box 22, <https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/1812muster/?F000643C=Newnans&fh=0>, accessed Oct. 20, 2017; John K. Mahon, "Daniel Newnan: A Neglected Figure in Florida History," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 74, no. 2 (Fall, 1995): 148; Mike Bunn and Clay Williams, *Battle for the Southern Frontier: The Creek War and the War of 1812* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2008), 59-60, 155.

⁹ *Georgia Telegraph*, November 21, 1832; Lee G. Barrow, *Stewart County Georgia, Superior Court Minutes: Stewart County Records*, ([Gainesville, Ga.: BarGraphica], 2013), 28-29. Georgia's Anti-Tariff Convention came about in response to South Carolina's declaration that federal tariffs imposed by President Jackson were "null and void" in the Nullification Crisis.

SNAKE SHOALS PLANTATION

Early on, James Boykin's business enterprises were wide-ranging and highly productive. He bought and sold land, slaves, cotton, corn, and other commodities. Alone, with his brother Samuel, or other partners and associates, James was an enterprising land developer and speculator whose holdings spanned Barbour, Lee, Macon, and Russell counties in Alabama, and Baldwin, Muscogee, and Stewart counties in Georgia. In the early 1830s, Boykin's Stewart County plantation totaled between 3,200 and 3,400 acres. By 1830, Boykin had established himself as the wealthiest and largest slave-owner in Randolph County at his "Snake Shoals" plantation. According to the census, among all slave-owners in Randolph and Muscogee counties, he ranked third in terms of slaves held, just behind the two largest slave-owners in Muscogee County, Seaborn Jones and Daniel Haught.¹⁰

James Boykin's Snake Shoals plantation was located on the Georgia side of the Chattahoochee at two large bends in the river roughly thirty river miles south of Columbus, encompassing modern day landmarks Bickerstaff Landing and Upper Bradley Place.¹¹ After the 1832 Treaty of Cusseta divided Indian lands in Alabama into individual allotments, white speculators immediately began acquiring land from Creeks by any means, including deception, stealing, and even murder. Although James Boykin worked closely with several of the men who were later implicated in unethical and illegal behavior regarding these sales, there is no evidence that he was directly involved in the land frauds. During the year 1834, he bought land from seven Creek Indians, all from the town of Tolowarthlocko, in Russell County, directly across the Chattahoochee from his Georgia holdings. These purchases increased the plantation's area by

¹⁰ This section of Randolph County became Stewart County in December of 1830. Deeds in which James Boykin is selling off lots in the later 1830s reveal the land he originally owned: *Stewart County Deed Book A*:165, Thomas G. Gordon to James Boykin (Tract 325, District 22), November 25, 1829 (the earliest purchase by James Boykin I have found); *Stewart County Deed Book H*, James Boykin to John D. and Richard M. Pitts, July 4, 1837, tracts 337, 338, 339, 342, 344, 345, District 22, (pp. 288-289); *Stewart County Deed Book A*, James Boykin to Western Insurance and Trust Company of the city of Columbus, November 16, 1839, District 22, (pp. 516-518); the 1839 deed was copied in *Muscogee County Deed Book A*, 321-22; 1830 U.S. census, Randolph [County], Georgia, p. 248, line 15, James Boykin, <https://www.ancestry.com>, accessed March 12, 2018, citing NARA microfilm publication M19, roll 20; 1830 U.S. census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Columbus, p. 290, line 6, Seaborn Jones, <https://www.ancestry.com>, accessed March 12, 2018, citing NARA microfilm publication M19, roll 19; 1830 U.S. census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Columbus, p. 292, line 26, Daniel Haught, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed March 12, 2018), citing NARA microfilm publication M19, roll 19. James Boykin owned 55 slaves, Seaborn Jones owned 58 slaves, and Daniel Haught owned 56 enslaved people.

¹¹ Thomas H. Foster II, *Archaeology of the Lower Muskogee Creek Indians, 1715-1836* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 258. Hitchiti speakers had been there since at least the early seventeenth century and Muscogee-speakers since the mid-seventeenth century. See also pages 45-49, 53-57, 63-65, 70. District Plats of Survey, Survey Records, Surveyor General, RG 3-3-24, Georgia Archives (Lee County, District 22); Joe Cook, *Chattahoochee River User's Guide* (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 181-186. Cook's coordinates for Bickerstaff Landing are: 32.195370, -84, 964210. Mark E. Fretwell, *This So Remote Frontier: The Chattahoochee Country of Alabama and Georgia* ([Eufaula, Ala.]: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 1980), 255. A separate "Boykins Landing," is below Burr's Landing, possibly on land that Boykin's grandson, James William Boykin owned later. James H. Wheatley, General Land Office Records, "Fractional Township No. 14 of Range No. 30 East," Sections 1-33 (Washington, D.C., Bureau of Land Management, 1834), accessed <https://gloreCORDS.blm.gov>, Nov. 28, 2018.

more than one third, adding 1,891 additional acres by 1837. By 1839, the Boykin land on both sides of the river totaled more than 4,770 acres.¹²

The land that James Boykin purchased along the Chattahoochee had been the site of native settlements for hundreds of years and had included the important town of Apalachucla (or Palachooche). In the late 1600s, to defend their territory against the English, the Spanish built Fort Apalachicola nearby. In 1775, William Bartram visited both the old abandoned town of "Apalachucla" or "Talwa Thlako," and the newer settlement "upon a high bank of the river," to which the inhabitants had moved, in part because of recurring floods. Bartram described traveling to the long-settled area "over a level plain, consisting of ancient Indian plantations, a beautiful landscape diversified with groves and lawns." When he was taken to the "site of the ancient Apalachucla," he described the land and the distinctive river formation that would become part of James Boykin's plantation:

"[the old town] had been situated on a peninsula formed by a doubling of the river, and indeed appears to have been a very famous capital by the artificial mounds and terraces, and a very populous settlement, from its extent and expansive old fields, stretching beyond the scope of the sight along the low grounds of the river."¹³

Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins reiterates what was by 1799 common knowledge about the town of "Palachooche" on the west bank, about a mile below Ihagee Creek:

"This was formerly the first among the Lower Creek towns; a peace town, averse to war, and called by the nation, Tal-lo-wau thluc-co (big town.) The Indians are poor, the town has lost its former consequence, and is not now much in estimation."¹⁴

Hawkins goes on to note that the land on the west side of the river was a "poor, pine barren flat; the land back from it is poor, broken, pine land; their fields are on the left side of the river, on poor land."

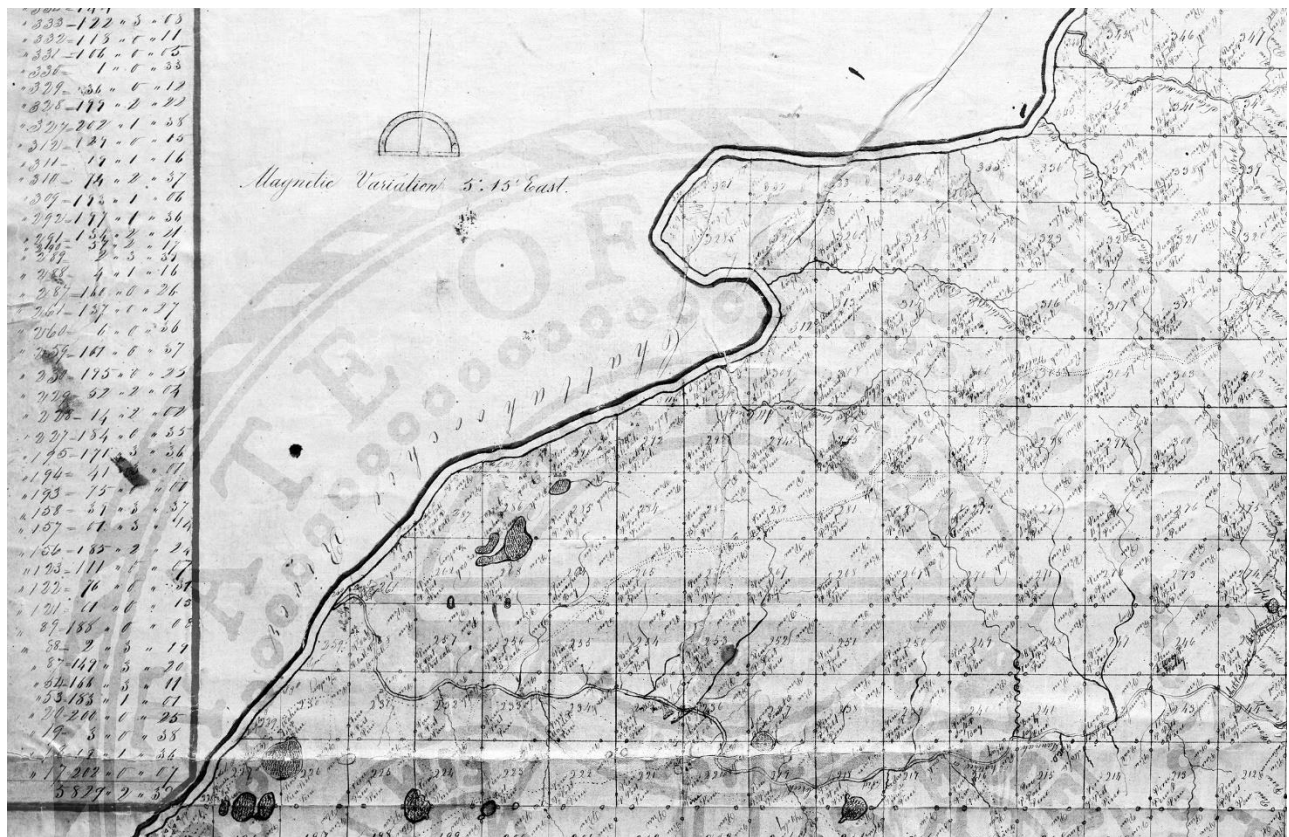
¹² *Sen. Docs.*, No. 425, 24 Cong., 1st Sess.; *Sen. Docs.*, No. 452, 25 Cong., 2nd Sess.; Winn, *Triumph*, 372-393, and *passim*. *Russell County Deed Book A*: Fi its ho ya to James Boykin, Jan. 29, 1834, Township 14 Range 30, fractional section 7; Sar ho ye to James Boykin, Feb. 4, 1834, Township 14 Range 30, fractional Sec 24 (pp. 104-106); Harpelik hadjo to James Boykin, Feb. 7, 1834, Township 14 Range 30, west half Sec 23 (pp. 101-103); Ne har Thlocco (principal chief) to James Boykin, Feb. 7, 1834, Township 14 Range 30, fractional Sec 13 (pp. 106-108); Chow ho ye to James Boykin, Feb. 10, 1834, Township 14 Range 31, fractional section 18 and 19 (pp. 108-110); Parlarthly to James Boykin, Mar. 19, 1834, Township 14 Range 30, east half Sec 23 (pp. 99-101); Tuk o sar Yoholo to James Boykin, Mar. 20, 1834, Township 14 Range 30, east half Sec 22, (pp. 96-98); Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, Alabama land patents, Patent No. 046: Aug. 2, 1839, Township 14, Range 30, west half Section 22, originally sold by Fola ti ka to John J. Owens, April 23, 1834, "subsequently duly assigned to Samuel Boykin." John J. Owens was James' brother-in-law. Total acreage includes Bureau of Land Management General Land Office Records, Alabama land patents, Patent No. 046, Nov. 13, 1839, Township 14, Range 30, Section 14, originally sold by Ene ha tus he he ne haw to James Wadsworth, "subsequently duly assigned to Samuel Boykin." By 1839, the Russell County lands originally owned by James Boykin were held by Samuel Boykin or by the Western Insurance and Trust Company.

¹³ *Travels of William Bartram*, 246.

¹⁴ Benjamin Hawkins, *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins 1796-1810*, H. Thomas Foster II, ed. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 65s.



Historic marker commemorating Fort Apalachicola in Russell County, AL
 Photograph by Rachel Dobson



Detail of Lee County, District 22, District Plats of Survey Map, 1827, Courtesy of the Georgia Archives

If the land was still in poor condition in 1834, it did not discourage James Boykin from buying Indian allotments on the west side of the river. By at least 1831, he had established what was known as Boykin's Ferry, although it was likely to have been one of the first improvements he made to the land by 1829. The ferry, probably near present-day Bickerstaff Landing in Russell County, below the Blessed

Trinity Shrine Retreat, was located on a major thoroughfare used by settlers and Indians traveling to Fort Mitchell and points farther along the Federal Road. The 1833 survey map of allotments in Russell County indicated the existence of a "Road from Ft. Mitchell to McCloud's Ferry," leading southwest from Fort Mitchell, past the more southerly of the two curves in the river to the edge of what would soon be Boykin's land, where Daniel McLeod's ferry was located at the mouth of Bluff Creek. Travelers headed south would reach Boykin's Ferry, just a short way off the Fort Mitchell Road, before they got to McCloud's. A crossing near Snake Shoals was a prime site for a second ferry and another source of income for James Boykin.¹⁵

Ferrying was not the only navigational issue James Boykin faced in choosing the land around the "doubling of the river." In James' lifetime and later, a natural formation known as Snake Shoals, located just north of the ferry, was a perilous navigational hazard and a geological fascination for scientists.¹⁶ Its shallows and rocks sank the steamboat *Viola* in 1849 and kept the War Department and the Army Corps of Engineers busy into the twentieth century.¹⁷

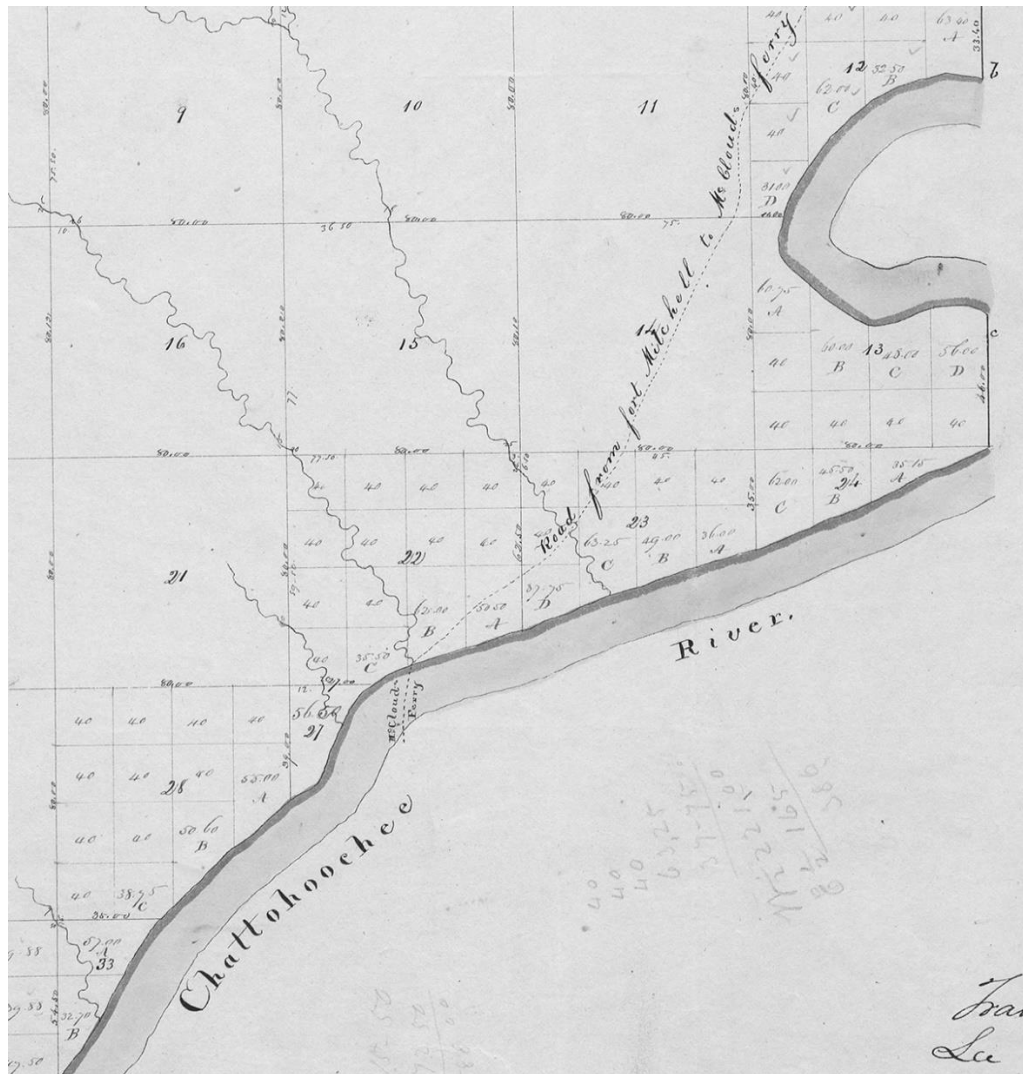
By late January of 1828, a steamboat had navigated as far north as the port of Columbus, ensuring the embryonic town's future success in the all-important cotton trade. But safe passage was not always a sure bet. In fact, James Boykin purchased land along one of the Chattahoochee's most dangerous sections, possibly because he knew he had the skills to deal with the navigational problems that might arise. Quoting a lost issue of the *Columbus Enquirer*, the *Richmond Enquirer* wrote in 1831: "the principal and indeed only obstructions of an important nature are the Auchee and Snake Shoals, between Columbus and Fort Gaines." James, like his father before him, had served as "commissioner of the Oconee navigation" in Baldwin County, where his responsibility was to oversee the clearing of the waterway for river traffic. With years of experience working on the Oconee River, James would have been well aware of the dangers of these shoals before he made the purchase. It is likely that he did not hesitate at the challenge but used those same management skills (and may have even brought some of

¹⁵ *Macon Telegraph*, March 26, 1831, reprinted from the *Columbus Enquirer*, is the earliest mention I have found of Boykin's Ferry, regarding a shooting that occurred there on March 19, 1831; Helen Eliza Terrell et al, *History of Stewart County Georgia*, (Columbus, Ga.: Columbus Office Supply, 1975), 2: 52; Telfair, *A History of Columbus*, 14; Wheatley, "Fractional Township No. 14 of Range No. 30 East," Sections 4-9, accessed <https://glorerecords.blm.gov>, Nov. 28, 2018; John Ellisor, *The Second Creek War – Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 141, fig. 3. Ellisor places the location of the Battle of Boykin's Ferry in 1836 in the general area of Boykin's 22nd District lots at what is now Upper Bradley Place, but does not cite a source for the location.

¹⁶ For more about Fort Apalachicola, see Mark E. Fretwell, *This So Remote A Frontier*, 102; and Mike Bunn, "All Roads Lead to Coweta: A Center of Colonial Era International Diplomacy on the Chattahoochee, Part Two," *Muscogiana*, 24, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 1-2; *The Travels of William Bartram: Naturalist's Edition*, Francis Harper, ed. (reprint, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 246, 399-400. Harper notes that Peter Brannon said that Fort Apalachicola was at Burr's Landing.

¹⁷ *Columbus Enquirer*, Feb 27, 1849; *The Executive Documents Printed by the Order of the House of Representatives During the First Session of the 33rd Congress, in Eighteen Volumes*, (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson Printer, 1854), 495, for example. *The Executive Documents Printed by the Order of the House of Representatives During the 2nd Session of the 42nd Congress* (Washington, DC.: General Printing Office, 1872), 27. In 1872, the Corps estimated it would cost \$26,000 to remove "34,800 cubic yards of marl" at Snake Shoals.

the same experienced enslaved workers with him to west Georgia) to manage this famously dangerous-to-navigate part of the Chattahoochee.¹⁸



1832-33 survey map indicating "Road from Fort Mitchell to McCloud's Ferry" beginning at the mouth of Bluff Creek and passing through some of James Boykin's lands, bypassing fractional section 13 which may be where Boykin's Ferry was located.

James H. Wheatley, General Land Office Records, "Fractional Township No. 14 of Range No. 30 East," Sections 1-33 (Washington, D.C., Bureau of Land Management, 1834), <https://gloreCORDS.blm.gov>

¹⁸ Edward A. Mueller, *Perilous Journeys: A History of Steamboating on the Chattahoochee, Apalachicola, and Flint Rivers 1828-1928* (Eufaula, Ala.: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 1990), 17; *Richmond Enquirer*, May 10, 1831; Katherine Bowman Walters, *Oconee River Tales to Tell* (Eaton, Ga.: Eaton Historical Society, 1995), 55; *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia*, Resolutions-1823, No. 216, 30.

FINANCIAL LOSSES

The latter half of the 1830s in the Chattahoochee Valley were turbulent for everyone, rich and poor, and James Boykin was no exception. Clarissa Owens Boykin, James' wife, died about 1835. By 1836, ongoing sporadic violence between Creeks and white settlers turned into the larger skirmishes – including one at Boykin's Ferry – of the Second Creek War, which resulted in the final removal of the Creeks from their homeland to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi. Cotton prices plunged during the national financial crisis of the Panic of 1837. The drop dealt a hard blow to Boykin and others who made their money on cotton sales. Likely related to this financial chaos, sometime in the mid-1830s or the first half of the 1840s, Boykin lost \$100,000 in a "security debt" to someone he knew, very likely a friend. Equivalent to more than two and a half million dollars in today's currency, the loss must have been a devastating turn of events.¹⁹

James Boykin took several actions during this time that may have been in response to this momentous financial loss. In 1837, he sold off parcels of his lands in the 22nd District of Stewart County. In 1839, he took another major step when he deeded his Snake Shoals plantation – including fifty-seven enslaved people and livestock – to the Western Insurance and Trust Company of Columbus, in exchange for more than \$21,000 worth of stock. Although the reason he did this is unclear, he may have been protecting the property for his family. The Western Insurance and Trust Company was headed by his friend and fellow Baptist Mark A. Cooper, with his brother Samuel Boykin on the board of directors, as well as other friends. Cooper, James' brother Samuel, and James' son-in-law, James Randall Jones, all cosigned the document. Probably not coincidentally, 1839 was also the year that the patents for most of the Russell County sections Boykin had bought from the Creeks of Tolowarthlocko were legally transferred to his brother Samuel and his son-in-law James Randall Jones. And, in the first half of the 1840s, James Boykin advertised both his Stewart County plantation and his residence north of the city for sale.²⁰

¹⁹ Lex S. Owens, 1. The location of Clarissa Owens Boykin's grave (and James Boykin's) is not known, although they are both likely buried in Linwood Cemetery. "Boykin, James," in *Baptist Encyclopedia*, 123. Murphy, *History and Genealogy of the Boykin Family*, 59, says the person was "a friend." The meaning of the term "security debt" here is not clear, either in 19th-century or modern-day usage, but I am assuming that it means that James Boykin either lent money to someone he knew or that he agreed to be the "co-signer" for that person in a bank transaction, and that person could not pay back the money owed. \$100,000 in 1839 is \$2,710,086.02 in today's money, according to this site: <http://www.in2013dollars.com/>, accessed Dec. 21, 2018.

²⁰ *Stewart County Deed Book H*, James Boykin to John D. and Richard M. Pitts, July 4, 1837, tracts 337, 338, 339, 342, 344, 345, District 22, (pp. 288-289); *Stewart County Deed Book A*, James Boykin to Western Insurance and Trust Company of the city of Columbus, November 16, 1839, District 22, (pp. 516-518). The exact figure was \$21,969.60. Cooper, *Men of Mark in Georgia*, 209. Signed patents returned from the President are dated this year. Photocopies of the original Russell County deeds show that Boykin transferred most of the allotments just four months after he bought them. On a more positive note, in 1839, James married Elizabeth Rutherford, the first cousin of his brother-in-law Williams Rutherford, in *County Marriage Records, 1828-1978* (Morrow, Ga.: Georgia Archives), 263. *Columbus Enquirer*, Jan. 17, 1844.

278 [1186] Patent sent Samuel Boykin Esq Aug 2^d 1839

432 ✓

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

WHEREAS, *Sar-ho-ye,* one of the **Creek Tribe of Indians** by virtue of a Treaty between the **UNITED STATES,** and the said **Creek Tribe of Indians** made the 24th day of March 1832, became entitled, out of the lands ceded to the **UNITED STATES** by the said Treaty to *Fractional Section Twenty four (West of Challe hooche River) in Township Fourteen, of Range Thirty East, in the Tallapoosa Land District Alabama, containing One hundred and forty two acres, and sixty five hundredths of an acre*

according to the official plat of the survey of the said Lands, returned to the **GENERAL LAND OFFICE** by the **SURVEYOR GENERAL,** which said Tract with the approbation of the **President** of the **United States** has been duly sold and conveyed by the said *Sar-ho-ye,* to *James Boykin,* as appears by the conveyance thereof dated the fourth day of *September 1834,* with the approbation of the **President** of the **United States** endorsed thereon dated the 30th day of *April 1834,* deposited in the **General Land Office** of the **United States,** and the said Tract having been subsequently duly assigned to *Samuel Boykin*

NOW KNOW YE, That the **United States of America,** in consideration of the Premises, and in conformity with the provisions of the said Treaty, **HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED,** and by these presents **DO GIVE AND GRANT,** unto the said

Samuel Boykin
and to his heirs, the said tract above described: **TO HAVE AND TO HOLD** the same, together with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and appurtenances of whatsoever nature, thereunto belonging, unto the said *Samuel Boykin* and to his heirs and assigns forever.

In Testimony Whereof, I, MARTIN VAN BUREN, **PRESIDENT** OF THE **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,** have caused these Letters to be made **PATENT,** and the **SEAL** of the **GENERAL LAND OFFICE** to be hereunto affixed.

GIVEN under my hand, at the **CITY OF WASHINGTON,** the *twenty ninth* day of *July* in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and *thirty nine* and of the **INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES** the Sixty *fourth*

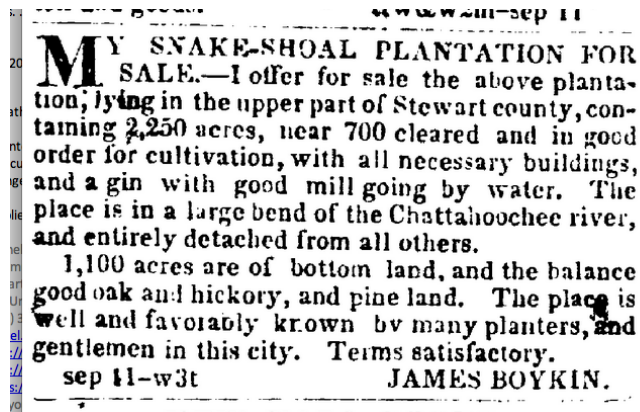
BY THE PRESIDENT: *Martin Van Buren*
By *M. Van Buren Jr* Sec'y.
Geo. S. Wilson Acting **RECORDER** of the **General Land Office.**
ad interim



The land patent of tract fractional section 24, Township 14 of Range 30 East, originally owned by Sarhoye, sold to James Boykin, and transferred to Samuel Boykin (1834-1839).

In 1840, James Boykin was living in the 774th District of Muscogee County and his son Francis E. Boykin was running the Snake Shoals plantation in Stewart County, but only temporarily.²¹ In advertisements published in 1841 and 1843, James advertised his "Snake Shoals" (or occasionally "Snake Hill") plantation for sale:

"2,250 acres...near 700 cleared and in good order for cultivation, with all necessary buildings, and a gin, with good mill going by water. The place is in a large bend of the Chattahoochee River, and entirely detached from all others. 1100 acres are of bottom land; the balance good oak and hickory, and pine land. The place is well and favorably known by many planters, and by gentlemen in this city. Terms satisfactory."²²



MY SNAKE-SHOAL PLANTATION FOR SALE.—I offer for sale the above plantation, lying in the upper part of Stewart county, containing 2,250 acres, near 700 cleared and in good order for cultivation, with all necessary buildings, and a gin with good mill going by water. The place is in a large bend of the Chattahoochee river, and entirely detached from all others. 1,100 acres are of bottom land, and the balance good oak and hickory, and pine land. The place is well and favorably known by many planters, and gentlemen in this city. Terms satisfactory. sep 11—w3t JAMES BOYKIN.

Notice of the sale of Boykin's plantation, *Augusta Daily Chronicle & Sentinel*, September 14, 1841

By 1846, the plantation was still in Boykin hands, although it may not have been owned outright by James.

Along with the cultivated wealth produced on the Snake Shoals plantation, the surrounding river and woodlands also held a rich variety of plants and fossils, two lifelong interests of James' brother Samuel. Since his twenties, Samuel had collected plant specimens for nationally known botanists such as John Torrey, Thomas Nuttall, Stephen Elliott, and William Baldwin, as well as species of freshwater mollusks, and fossil shells. In 1846, just a few months before James Boykin died, the eminent British geologist Charles Lyell visited Dr. Boykin at Snake Shoals. Lyell, on the second of what would be four visits to North America, was continuing his study of the coastal plain of Georgia begun in 1842, and Columbus, on the fall line, had prime examples of the Cretaceous strata he wanted to see firsthand. In

²¹ 1840 U.S. census, Muscogee County, Georgia, District 774, p. 324, line 30, James Boykin, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed June 17, 2018, citing NARA microfilm publication M704 [no roll no. given]; 1840 U.S. census, Stewart County, Georgia, 22nd District, p. 153, line 13, Francis Boykin, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed June 17, 2018, citing NARA microfilm publication M704 [no roll no. given].

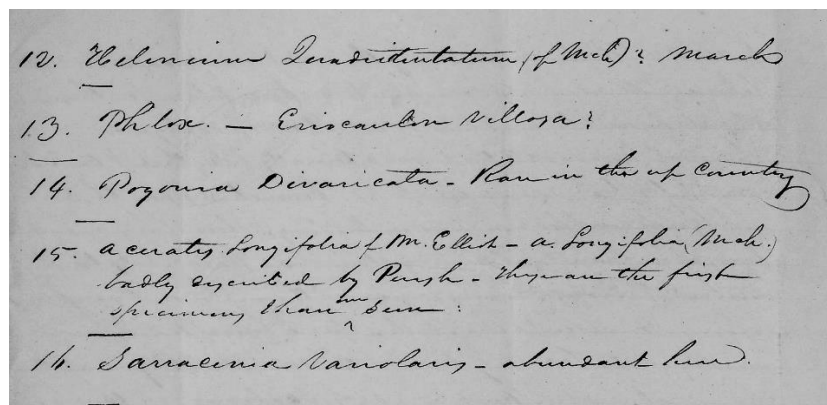
²² "My Snake Hill Plantation for Sale," *Columbus Enquirer*, September 9, 1841. While mostly referred to as "Snake Shoals," occasionally it was called "Snake Hill plantation." Boykin ran ads like this in the *Augusta Chronicle*, *Charleston Mercury*, and the *Camden SC Journal*. By 1843, he was also advertising in the *Macon Telegraph*, the *Recorder and Journal Milledgeville*, and the *Charleston Courier*.

fact, Snake Shoals was a geological rarity situated just below the fall line and studded with a treasure trove of ancient life forms collected by Samuel. Lyell had probably heard about it through his scientist friends who corresponded with Samuel Boykin, as Lyell brought with him a letter of introduction for Boykin.²³

Visiting Stewart County during a rainy January, Lyell hints that he may not have gotten the full fossil hunter's experience with the high level of the river:

"The geologist should visit the country in November, when the season is healthy and the river low, for then he may see exposed to view, not only the horizontal strata, but the subjacent cretaceous deposits, containing ammonites, baculites, and other characteristic fossils. These organic remains are met with some miles below the town, at a point called 'Snake's Shoals;' and Dr. Boykin showed us a collection of the fossils, at his agreeable villa in the suburbs."²⁴

For the next several generations, those Cretaceous fossils described by Lyell made Snake Shoals an internationally known destination venue for geologists and other scientists.²⁵



An excerpt from a letter Samuel Boykin wrote to John Torrey in June 1837 describing plants specimens from the Columbus area Boykin was sending him, courtesy of the Biodiversity Heritage Library

²³ Samuel Boykin, *Samuel Boykin and John Torrey correspondence, 1835-1847*, John Torrey papers, series 1, New York Botanical Garden, LuEsther T. Mertz Library Available in the Biodiversity Heritage Library <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/125501#/summary>, accessed June 6, 2017. Jeannette E. Graustein, *Thomas Nuttall Naturalist – Explorations in America 1808-1841* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 99, 257-258; Thomas Cary Johnson Jr., *Scientific Interests in the Old South* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), 63; George A. Rogers et al, "Dr. Thomas Jarram Wray (1781-1851): Pioneer Botanist of Augusta, Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 71, no. 1 (Spring, 1987): 75-90. Samuel Boykin also probably knew and traded specimens with Thomas Wray. *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, 44; *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1, no. 13 (Aug. - Oct., 1840): 286-288; Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to The United States of North America, Vol. II* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849), 35; Leonard G. Wilson, *Lyell in America – Transatlantic Geology, 1841-1853* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 195, 199.

²⁴ Lyell, *A Second Visit to The United States*, 35.

²⁵ Jethro Otto Veatch, Lloyd William Stephenson, Thomas Wayland Vaughan, *Preliminary Report on the Geology of the Coastal Plain of Georgia* (Atlanta, Ga.: Foote and Davies Co., 1911), 67, 79, 120; Roland M. Harper, "Development of Agriculture in Lower Georgia from 1850 to 1880," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 6, no. 2 (1922): 97- 121; Dolan Hoyer Eargle, *Stratigraphy of the Outcropping Cretaceous Rocks of Georgia*, Volume 1014, US Geological Survey Bulletin (United States Geological Survey: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), 32-38.



Looking north to bluffs in the area just before where Boykin's Ferry may have been (on the right).
Photograph by Rachel Dobson



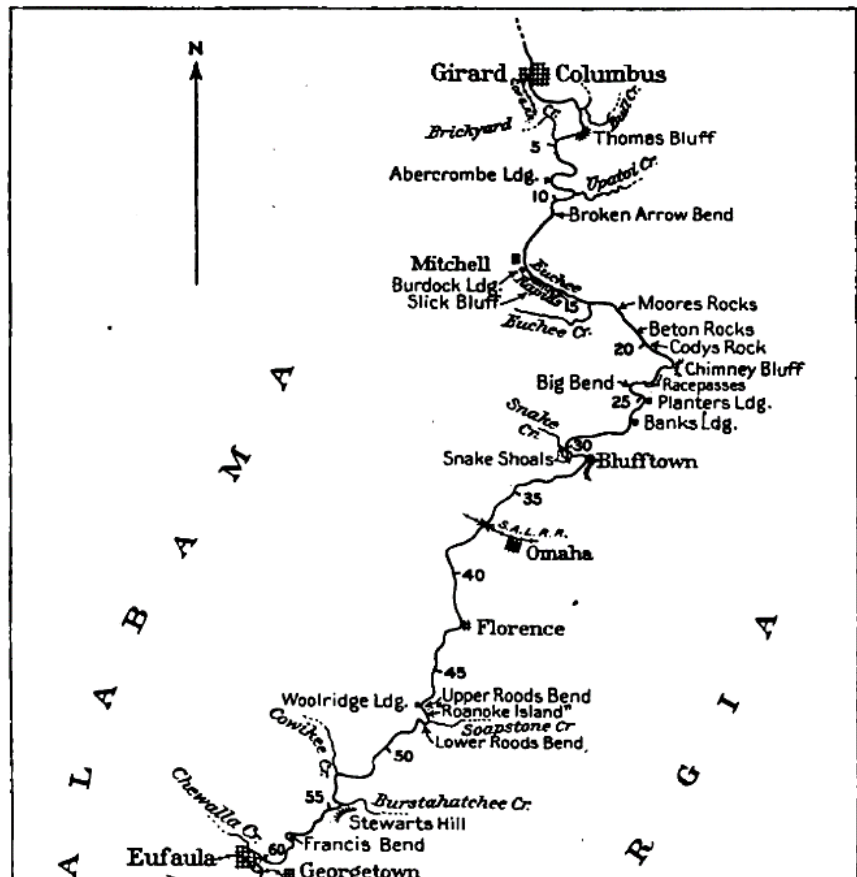
Cretaceous bluffs on the Stewart County side overlooking a high river; this property was part of Boykin's Snake Shoals plantation from about 1829 until about 1846. Photograph by Rachel Dobson



"Bluff at Snake Shoals, Chattahoochee River, thirty miles below Columbus, Ga., right bank, showing gray, calcareous sands with one indurated layer, belonging to the Tombigbee sand member of the Eutaw formation, overlain by Pleistocene deposits." From Jethro Otto Veatch, Lloyd William Stephenson, Thomas Wayland Vaughan, *Preliminary Report on the Geology of the Coastal Plain of Georgia* (Atlanta: Foote and Davies Co., 1911), plate XI.B

B. BLUFF AT SNAKE SHOALS, CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER, THIRTY MILES BELOW COLUMBUS, GA., RIGHT BANK, SHOWING GRAY, CALCAREOUS SANDS WITH ONE INDURATED LAYER, BELONGING TO THE TOMBIGBEE SAND MEMBER OF THE EUTAW FORMATION, OVERLAIN BY PLEISTOCENE DEPOSITS.

Detail of "Sketch map of Chattahoochee River, Columbus, Ga., to Fort Gaines, Ga." showing location of Snake Shoals., from Jethro Otto Veatch, Lloyd William Stephenson, Thomas Wayland Vaughan, *Preliminary Report on the Geology of the Coastal Plain of Georgia* (Atlanta: Foote and Davies Co., 1911), 79.



LIVING AT ROSE HILL

Along with his Stewart County plantation, James Boykin, like other local elites, also owned a mansion in the "Northern Liberties" of Columbus. While he and his family lived there by 1830, James probably divided his time between Columbus and Stewart County, with an overseer to run the day-to-day operations. In 1831, James regularly commuted by horse to the Snake Shoals plantation. James' friend Seaborn Jones began building his home El Dorado (later renamed St. Elmo) in 1828. His son-in-law, James Randall Jones, built the Jones home (later known as Glen Lora and owned by the Chappell family) between 1832 and 1835. It is likely that James Boykin built his home, named "Rose Hill," north of the city in 1829, as it is where state legislator and future mayor of Columbus James S. Calhoun and Anna V. Howard Williamson, Clarissa Boykin's first cousin, were married in February of 1830.²⁶



The earliest mention of Rose Hill is found in the *Southern Recorder*, February 6, 1830

Like St. Elmo, Wildwood, and Dinglewood, Rose Hill was originally a large estate whose name later designated the surrounding "village" or neighborhood. According to an early Boykin family historian, James' son, Francis E. Boykin, and his new wife Frances Hudson Boykin, lived in the "Boykin ancestral home, Rose Hill," in 1837, and their son, James William Boykin, was born there in 1838. In the years after his death in 1846, James Boykin's home was owned or rented by several individuals, and newspaper advertisements reveal some of this history. In 1848, two years after Boykin died, an advertisement appeared in the *Columbus Enquirer*: "Rose Hill for sale or rent. The premises once the residence of the late James Boykin, adjoining the commons on the North East, now occupied by the Rev. John E. Dawson,


²⁶ "Site of New City Hospital Was Home of the Boykin Family for Many Years," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, August 4, 1914; Dixon et al, *History of Stewart County Georgia*, 2: 326. Although not named as an overseer for the plantation, a man named Wiley Bullard was listed in the Stewart County Tax Digest of 1841 as the agent for James Boykin with two four-wheel carriages, considered "somewhat of a luxury." James' son Francis, living at the plantation in 1840, reported four four-wheel carriages. James Boykin and Grigsby E. Thomas to Governor George R. Gilmer, 1 June 1831, Governor's Subject Files, Executive Dept., Governor, RG 1-1-5, Georgia Archives, Digital Collection, Ad Hoc Collection.

<http://vault.georgiaarchives.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/adhoc/id/63/rec/1>, accessed June 20, 2017; National Register of Historic Places, Weracoba/St. Elmo Historic District, Columbus, Muscogee County, Georgia, National Register #94000665, 24; regarding St. Elmo, see also F. Clason Kyle, *Images – A Pictorial History of Columbus, Georgia* (Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning Co., 2002), 27. Regarding James Randall Jones and Glen Lora, see *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, Sept. 1, 1906; *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, Aug. 6, 1909; Roger Harris, "Some Childhood Memories of Miss Loretto Chappell," *Muscogiana*, 1, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 142; *Southern Recorder*, Feb. 6, 1830; Rebecca Echols Terry, *Nehemiah Howard and His Family* (Huntsville, Ala.: self-publ., 1983), 60. Terry quotes the content and the correct date, but cites the newspaper incorrectly.

containing 30 acres." Reverend Dawson had come early to Columbus to serve as the fifth pastor of the First Baptist Church in 1835-1836, where James was a trustee and deacon. The charismatic Dawson and the reserved Boykin were both closely involved in the support of the local church as well as statewide Baptist education and were likely friends. Dawson returned to Columbus just after Boykin's death to serve a longer pastoral term, from 1847 to 1856, and remained close to the Boykin family.²⁷

Again in 1851, a home named "Rose Hill," "situated on an eminence three fourths of a mile from the city, and containing thirty acres, adjoining lands of William A. Redd, James R. and John A. Jones, with comfortable improvements," was for sale. It was after this point that James' nephew, Samuel Rutherford, the son of his sister Eliza Boykin Rutherford (d. 1837), purchased the home, but by 1855, Rutherford was eager to return to his own plantation in Crawford County, Georgia, and advertised the estate: "my residence, Rose Hill, for sale. It adjoins W.K. Redd [sic] and James R. Jones in the northern liberties; it also adjoins the City Corporation. The place contains 29 acres, one-half woodland." After 1856, the name "Rose Hill" no longer indicated the Boykin estate, but instead became the name of the surrounding neighborhood where it was located, as had occurred with other large estates around Columbus. By the 1860s the house was known as the Cowdery place. In 1914, an article in the *Columbus Enquirer* about the new city hospital reminded readers that before the Cowdery family lived in the house, it had been the "Boykin ancestral home" built by James Boykin, although by then its original name, "Rose Hill," had been forgotten.²⁸

ROSE HILL FOR SALE OR RENT.

 **THE** Premises once the residence of the late James Boykin, adjoining the commons on the North East, now occupied by the Rev. John E. Dawson, containing 30 acres of fertile land, with all necessary improvements, out-houses, Orchard of choice Fruit, Shrubbery, &c.

This is a very desirable residence, being in a good neighborhood, high and healthy. Possession given on the 15th of November. For further particulars, inquire of

R. L. MOTT or J. L. MUSTIAN.

Oct. 10 43 tf

Columbus Enquirer, Oct. 31, 1848, advertised Rose Hill, "once the residence of the late James Boykin," for sale or rent.

²⁷ Weracoba/St. Elmo Historic District, 23. For views on how Rose Hill came to be named that omit its earlier history, see Telfair, *A History of Columbus*, 201; Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee*, 253, 255; Kenneth H. Thomas Jr., "Placenames in Columbus and Muscogee County, Part One," *Muscogiana*, 22, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 1-18. Lex S. Owens, 1; Murphy, *History and Genealogy of the Boykin Family*, 59; *Columbus Enquirer*, Oct. 10, 1848; *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, 149-152; *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia, Appendix*, 44-46, 181-185. Rev. Samuel Boykin the younger notes that Rev. Dawson was instrumental in his own conversion and baptized Boykin's brother, the future Reverend Thomas Cooper Boykin.

²⁸ *Columbus Times*, Nov. 4, 1851; *Columbus Enquirer*, Oct. 16, 1855; Edward M. Boykin, *History of the Boykin Family*, 1876, 9; Thomas, "Placenames in Columbus," 3, 6; *Columbus Enquirer*, July 7, 1863; September 12, 1865; September 20, 1870; "Site of New City Hospital Was Home of the Boykin Family for Many Years," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, August 4, 1914.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

At least three generations of this Boykin line were devoutly religious and part of the inner circle of major Georgia Baptist organizers in the nineteenth century. Like his father Major Francis Boykin, James served as a young man in what later became the Mount Olive Primitive Baptist Church of Milledgeville, then as a deacon in the First Baptist Church of Milledgeville. After he moved to Columbus, he served on the First Baptist Church, Columbus' first board of deacons and later as a trustee. James was also one of the largest of the initial donors to Penfield Institute, which became Mercer University. In Milledgeville, the Boykin family was close with the family of the influential Reverend Thomas Cooper, a close friend and colleague of Adiel Sherwood, founder of the Georgia Baptist Convention. Rev. Cooper's son, Mark Anthony Cooper, was a friend and business associate of James and Samuel, and Rev. Cooper's daughter, Narcissa Cooper, married Samuel Boykin in 1822. Samuel and Narcissa Cooper Boykin's son (and James' nephew), the Reverend Samuel Boykin (1829-1899), was a prolific and influential writer and editor for the Baptist press in Georgia. He owned and edited the *Christian Index* through the Civil War years and wrote several periodicals after the war. He co-wrote *Memoir of Adiel Sherwood, D.D.* with Sherwood's daughter, Julia L. Sherwood, and edited the *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*.²⁹

In fact, his nephew probably was the author of the document that tells us more about James Boykin than any to date, a moving and revealing description of him, published in 1881, thirty-five years after his death. The entry appears in the national publication, *The Baptist Encyclopedia*, from which this is excerpted:

"He was...quite wealthy, and gave liberally of his means to sustain the gospel and to establish Mercer University. He was an exceedingly kind man. To his children he was the most tender and affectionate of parents; to his wife the most devoted of husbands; he was a Christian without reproach. A security debt swept away nearly \$100,000 of his property, yet he never murmured, or spoke an unkind word of the man who caused his financial ruin but preserved his cheerfulness and gentle serenity until called 'up higher' at the age of fifty-four. He did much in founding and sustaining the church at Columbus, and was a most useful, zealous, and liberal Christian, whose memory is even yet fragrant among those who knew him."³⁰

²⁹ *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia, Appendix*, 46; Allen, *Our Children's Ancestry*, 108, 134; Cook, *History of Baldwin County*, 106, adds that Francis "was a prominent member of the Hephzibah and Ocmulgee [Baptist] Associations." *Baptist Encyclopedia*, 123; Robert G. Gardner et al, *A History of the Georgia Baptist Association, 1784-1984* (Atlanta: Georgia Baptist Historical Society, 1988), 527-528; Richard Hyatt, *Return to the Water – The Story of First Baptist Church, Columbus, Georgia* (Macon, Ga.: Nurturing Faith, 2017), 10; "An Act to Incorporate...the Baptist Church Columbus in the City of Columbus," Georgia General Assembly, *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at an Annual Session in November and December 1840* (Milledgeville: William S. Rogers, 1841), 85-86, names James Boykin as a trustee; *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, 143, 156; Baptist General Tract Society, *The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Baptist General Tract Society* (Philadelphia: Rackliff & King, 1838), 26, listed James Boykin with "Other Directors for Life," along with his friend the Rev. Thomas Cooper. Jarrett Burch, *Adiel Sherwood: Baptist Antebellum Pioneer in Georgia* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2003), 207-208.

³⁰ "Boykin, James," *The Baptist Encyclopedia*, 123. James' nephew, the Rev. Samuel Boykin (Jr.) probably wrote the entries for all the Boykins in the *Encyclopedia*. What served as James Boykin's obituary was much less informative: "Tribute of Respect," *Columbus Enquirer*, Aug. 12, 1846, written by his friend Hines Holt two days after James' death on Aug. 10, 1846.

The paragraph is an official acknowledgment of James' status as a large donor to Baptist education in Georgia, yet is imbued with a more personal, even intimate, description of James' kindness, spiritual piety, and reserve, through the eyes of someone who knew him well. This posthumous passage also reflects nineteenth-century ideals of honor, self-control, and a strong sense of social and civic responsibility, which guided his conduct throughout his life. Part two of this essay will discuss how these ideals – for better or worse – played an important role in influencing James Boykin's actions in support of Creek removal.

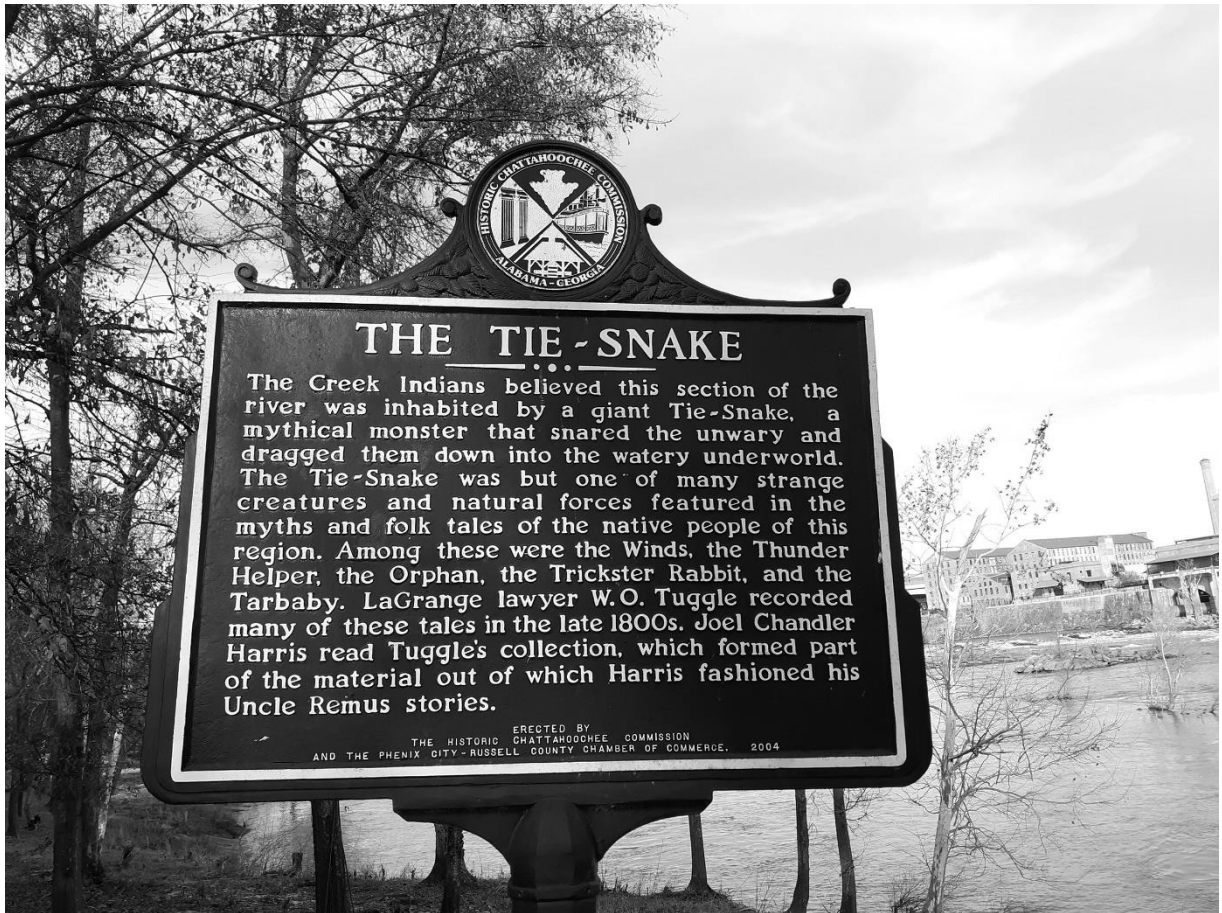


James Boykin was a trustee and a deacon in the First Baptist Church, Columbus, where Rev. John E. Dawson served as pastor two different times.
Photograph courtesy First Baptist Church, Columbus

How the Tie-Snake Came to Snake Shoals – An Unusual Creek Legend

By

Rachel Dobson



Historical marker on the Phenix City Riverwalk interpreting the legend of the Tie-Snake
Photograph by Rachel Dobson

In the same month and year – January 1828 – that Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar published the prospectus for the *Columbus Enquirer*, the first steamboat made it safely up the Chattahoochee through the notoriously hazardous Snake Shoals to the new port of the just-laid-out city of Columbus.¹ A newspaper and a clear trading route up the river from the third busiest port in the Gulf were vital to let the world know that the city of Columbus was open for business. The Indians who had lived in the area for centuries had been forced through treaties to move across the river to the new Creek Nation in Alabama and white settlers would soon be flooding in, as world traveler Basil Hall observed, like “birds of prey attracted by the scent of some glorious quarry,” building roads, homes, businesses, plantations, mills, factories, and more.²

By age twenty-two, the ambitious Lamar had already tried unsuccessfully to publish a newspaper at Alabama’s state capital of Cahawba before Georgia’s Governor George M. Troup (1823-1827) hired him to be his secretary. Lamar wrote press releases and made speeches promoting the governor’s views, including Creek removal.³ When Troup’s term ended, Lamar moved to Columbus and established the *Enquirer* as a voice for Troup’s political beliefs, for news, and, as did many newspapers of the day, to entertain and culturally enrich its readers.⁴

Lamar, a prolific poet with a Romantic sensibility, supported Indian removal and the idea, shared by many elites, that white settlers were the rightful and inevitable inheritors of the land. In a story (below) published in one of the earliest issues of the new *Columbus Enquirer*, Lamar transformed a local indigenous legend into a Romantic fable, as well as a promotional piece, to entice white settlers looking for adventure to come to Columbus.⁵

In his essay, Lamar asks an “old Indian” acquaintance to tell him about “the Monsters that, in ancient times, had frequented the falls.” The man tells a tale of the Tie-Snake, a familiar character in Muskogee Creek, Hitchiti, and Natchez myth and – for him – a present-day danger to Indian and white

¹ Prospectus for the *Columbus Enquirer*, January 1828, Mirabeau B. Lamar Papers, #73, Texas State Library and Archives Commission: https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/presidents/lamar/m_lamar_jan_1828.html, accessed Jan. 5, 2019; *Columbus Enquirer. (Columbus, Ga.) 1828-1861*, <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82014931/> accessed Jan. 8, 2019; Edward A. Mueller, *Perilous Journeys: A History of Steamboating on the Chattahoochee, Apalachicola, and Flint Rivers 1828-1928* (Eufaula, Ala.: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 1990), 17.

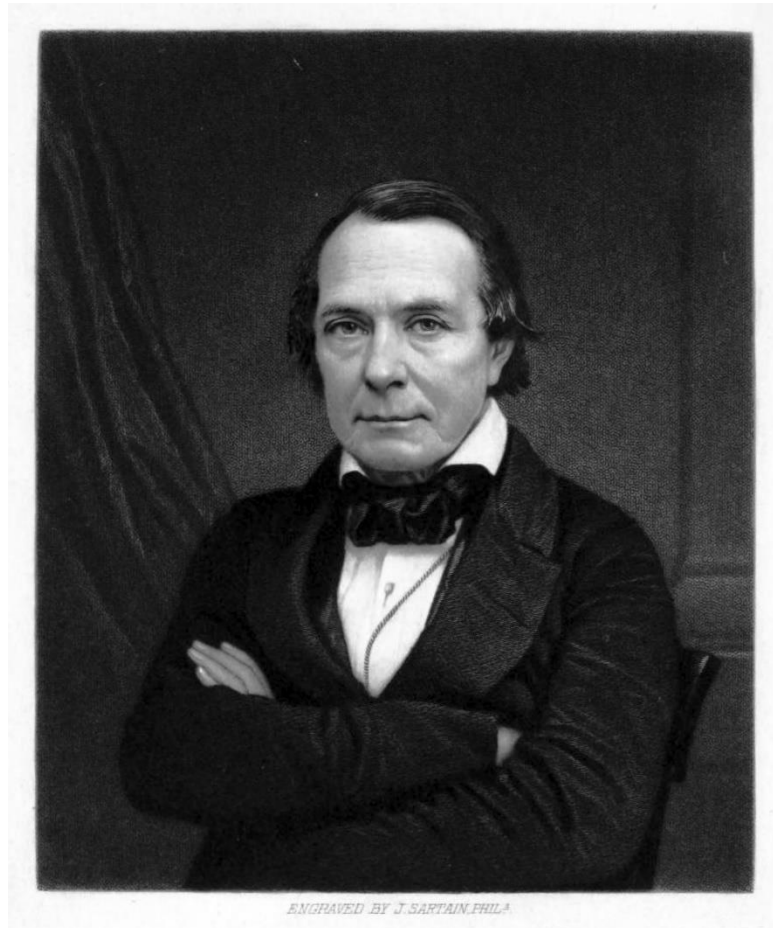
² Basil Hall, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Cadell and Co., 1829), 280-287, quoted in Mike Bunn, *Well Worth Stopping to See – Antebellum Columbus, Georgia, Through the Eyes of Travelers* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2016), 50.

³ Natalie D. Saba, “George Troup (1780-1856),” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/george-troup-1780-1856>, accessed Jan. 5, 2019.

⁴ Virginia Claire Cooksey, “The Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer – A Study of Literary Culture as Reflected in One Southern Newspaper,” master’s thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1948, iv.

⁵ *Macon Telegraph*, June 23, 1828, reprinted from the *Columbus Enquirer*. We know the article today only because it was reprinted in the *Telegraph*, as the earliest issues of the *Enquirer*, which began printing April 29, 1828, have not been preserved. Though unsigned, at this early stage of the newspaper, Lamar is undoubtedly the author. For more on Lamar’s poetry, see Mary L. Scheer, “Mirabeau B. Lamar: Poet, President, and a Namesake for a University,” *East Texas Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (2014): 51-63, esp. 52. For more on his and his readers’ literary influences, see Tim Fulford, *Romantic Indians – Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture 1756-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

alike. In this story, the Tie-Snake originally lived in the Chattahoochee River north of Columbus but, with the arrival of white settlers, moved south of the new town to the notoriously dangerous "Snake Shoals," soon reputed to be one of the two most hazardous places to navigate on the river.⁶ There the Tie-Snake destroyed steamboats in revenge for "the wrongs done the Indian race" by whites. Then, the Indian gave numerous examples of the "decay" of the "gifts" of the natural world and his own culture that had come about because of the "rapacious encroachments of the White Man."



Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar
From his book of poems, *Verse Memorials*

In Lamar's literary retelling of the myth of the Tie-Snake, the Indian becomes a Romantic figure mourning for a life that is passing away as quickly as the Indian runs off into the forest, figuratively and literally making room for white settlers. While expressing sympathy for the Indians' plight and acknowledging, in a detached way, the role of his own people, Lamar characterizes the Indians' removal

⁶ *Richmond Enquirer*, May 10, 1831, wrote: "the principal and indeed only obstructions of an important nature are the Auchee and Snake Shoals, between Columbus and Fort Gaines." Later, the Indian estimates that Snake Shoals is "fifty or sixty miles below" the town, which is twice as far as the actual distance, even via the river.

“far to the west across the great Mississippi” as unfortunate but certain, reassuring *Enquirer* readers that Columbus is now safe for settlement, although still full of the romance and legends of “ancient times.”

Buried beneath the Romantic and promotional aspirations of this tale is a nugget of local Native belief. Lamar’s site-specific tale of the Tie-Snake, with its unique reference to a known landmark, does not appear in the most famous collections of Creek myths. Only Rev. Francis Lafayette (F.L.) Cherry, whose history writings were published in the *Opelika Times* in the early 1880s, relates a similar story of the Tie-Snake. Some of his phrasing is similar to Lamar’s, with the addition of Coweta Falls and Lover’s Leap, landmarks Cherry’s readers would have been familiar with, but he does not reveal his source, so we cannot be sure if he has read Lamar’s newspaper essay or if both authors had access to a common source, now lost.⁷ The well-known collectors of Creek myths and legends, Indian agent William Orrie Tuggle and ethnologist John Reed Swanton, who did their work after the Creek’s removal to Oklahoma, did not record tales similar to Lamar’s.⁸

“Traditional — Tie-Snake”

Among the many interesting and curious traditions handed down to us from the Indians, the story of the Tie-Snake is not the least remarkable. In one of my hunting excursions a few days ago, along the banks of the beautiful and romantic Chatahoochee [sic], a few miles above the town of Columbus, fatigue, and the scorching rays of a tropical sun, inclined me to rest under the cool shade of a large Magnolia, opposite the greatest fall of water on the river. While musing there on the grandeur of the picturesque scenery around; heightened by the foam of water thrown into a thousand channels and counter currents by the rapidity of the stream, my attention was arrested by the approach of an old Indian, with whom I was well acquainted. After the usual salutations had passed, I bade him sit down with me in the shade and give me an account of the Monsters that, in ancient times, had frequented the falls, to the great terror of his nation. The Tie-Snake, he said, was perhaps the most dangerous serpent that ever infested those huge rocks, pointing to the falls — In times gone by, many hundred moons ago, the serpent, in length about one hundred feet, and having the appearance, when floating in the water, of a number of kegs tied together, could at any time be seen catching its prey by folding its helpless victim in the coils, or tie of its tail, and instantly [depriving] it of life by a deathly hug: — Many of his people, he continued, had been destroyed in crossing the river by this amphibious monster, which the Evil Spirit had sent as a curse upon the Red Men for their misdeeds, until of late years the Tie-Snake had descended the Chatahoochee [sic], fifty or sixty miles below, as far as the Snake Shoals, where he is to be seen to the present-day.

⁷ F.L. Cherry, “History of Opelika and Her Agricultural Tributary Territory – Embracing More Particularly Lee and Russell Counties, from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Date,” *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Summer 1953), 184-185, <http://cdm17217.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/quarterly/id/712>, accessed Jan. 5, 2019.

⁸ William Orrie Tuggle, *Shem, Ham, and Japheth – The Papers of W.O. Tuggle, Comprising His Indian Diary, Sketches and Observations, Myths and Washington Journal in the Territory and at the Capital, 1879-1882*, ed. Eugene Current-Garcia and Dorothy B. Hatfield (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1973), 65, 162-63; John R. Swanton, *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 88, 1929), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015011259614>, accessed Jan. 5, 2019.

There, said he, the Great Spirit has placed him, for many purposes; and as the White Men had taken the poor Red Man's home away, and were ascending and descending the river with large smoking boats, the Tie-Snake, as an avenger for wrongs done the Indian race, would frequently enfold his coils around the Boats and retard for months, their progress. Look, said he, around at the magnifick [sic] grandeur of Nature's works; seek the tall forest filled with herds of deer and game of every description; behold the monarch trout that fills the liquid stream; the Indian corn that luxuriantly "rustles to the breeze" —see the mighty eagle, chief [of] his trib[e], sitting in silent majesty on yonder [illegible] watching the industrious heron, for its prey — look up yonder glade, where the long moss waves its sombre tresses thick among the forest, as if nature was in [mourning] for the decay of some of her handy work — all, all these gifts were once the son's [sic] of the forest: — poor, wretched race, where are they now? Forlorn, miserable, and dejected — reduced to the miserable remnant of a once powerful nation, they were to end their days far to the west across the great Mississippi, and relinquish the land of their childhood, and the bones of their fathers, now laying [sic] silently under the clod of the valley, to the rapacious encroachments of the White Man. Farewell, he frantically exclaimed, my once happy land; and rushing into the forest, was quickly lost amongst its thick foliage. I almost repented that I had solicited from him the tradition of the snake, since the history of this monster had led to a digression so affecting.

Columbus Enq.

The Monument At 140

By

Daniel A. Bellware



Confederate Monument in Columbus
Photograph by Daniel A. Bellware

The Confederate monument in Columbus is not something most people encounter unless they find themselves on Broadway between 7th and 8th Streets. Tucked away among the trees, just north of Heritage Park, is the thirty-seven-foot high relic of the city's past which has been in place for 140 years. It honors not only Confederate soldiers but memorializes the founders of the Memorial Day holiday who built it.

The idea of memorializing the southern dead with a monument started less than a year after the last major military engagement of the Civil War, the so-called "Last Battle." Union General James Harrison Wilson swept through Alabama capturing Selma and Montgomery before taking Columbus on April 16, 1865. By January 1866, an editor of the *Columbus Enquirer* began agitating for a monument to the memory of the rebel dead.¹ The push for a monument lagged with the drive to establish Memorial Day and the lack of resources in post-Civil War Columbus. Mrs. Charles J. Williams mentioned the inability to raise a monument in her plea to the press and ladies of the south to assist in establishing the holiday.²



Mrs. Charles J. (Mary Ann) Williams and Mrs. Robert Carter, first president of the Ladies' Memorial Association
From *History of the Confederate Memorial Associations of the South*

The desire to memorialize the dead after the war was widespread. However, finding resources was difficult due to the economic devastation of the war. Military occupation during Reconstruction also interfered with building plans. Several locations were able to overcome these hurdles but monuments

¹ "A Monument to the Fallen Brave," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, January 14, 1866, 3.

² "The Graves of the Soldiers," *Daily Columbus Enquirer*, March 11, 1866, 3.

were few in the early years. Cheraw, South Carolina erected a small monument in June 1867 but never used the word "Confederate." Romney, West Virginia claims the first true Confederate monument in September of that year. Richmond, Virginia raised over \$26,000 for their first monument in 1869.³ But that monument is more an exception than the rule.⁴ Construction progressed slowly. In Georgia, the cities of Griffin, Atlanta, Athens, Savannah, Waynesboro and Augusta managed to raise monuments in the decade before Columbus.⁵ It was not until after the turn of the century that the majority of the Southern monuments went up.⁶ The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in 1894, was the driving force behind many of them.⁷

The idea arose again, on the heels of the Memorial Day holiday success. A wooden cenotaph constructed in Linwood Cemetery and used for the 1868 and 1869 Memorial Day addresses proved to be the first effort at a monument to the Confederate dead in Columbus. The cenotaph was hexagon-shaped with a dome supported by six pillars. The name of General Paul Semmes prominently adorned the dome at the top with the names of officers painted on the pillars. Painted on the sides were the names of members of the lower ranks. In total, the cenotaph included the names of almost two hundred and fifty of the soldiers of Muscogee County. The weather was no friend to the wooden structure, though, plus the acoustics made it difficult to hear the addresses delivered from it. The necessity of repainting the inadequate memorial and all the names inspired a push for a more permanent monument. In the meantime, Temperance Hall took over hosting observances in 1870, followed in later years by the Springer Opera House, which due to its acoustics allowed more people to hear the oratory.

Financing a more permanent memorial in Columbus, estimated at the time to cost as much \$5,000, was the biggest obstacle to obtaining a monument. The community was, for the most part, in favor of the memorial and fundraising took many forms. Young men of the city organized the Thespian Company, an amateur theater group, to help raise money for that purpose in 1869.⁸ They elected former New Yorker Frank Golden as president.⁹ The group, however, made little headway. The first real success towards the creation of a monument in Columbus came when the ladies of the Memorial Association persuaded Professor George W. Chase to hold a fundraising concert in 1871. The concert succeeded in raising nearly \$300, to that date the most money earned at one time for the cause. The Columbus

³ Mrs. William J. Behan, *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, New Orleans: The Graham Press, 300.

⁴ Cynthia Mills and Pamela Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause, Women, Art and the Landscape of Southern Memory*, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003, xxviii.

⁵ Mrs. William J. Behan, *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South*, New Orleans: The Graham Press, 150-264.

⁶ Cynthia Mills and Pamela Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause, Women, Art and the Landscape of Southern Memory*, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003, xv.

⁷ Max Kutner, "As Confederate Statues Fall, the Group Behind Most of Them Stays Quiet," *Newsweek*, August 25, 2017, <https://www.newsweek.com/united-daughters-confederacy-statues-monuments-udc-653103>, accessed January 17, 2019.

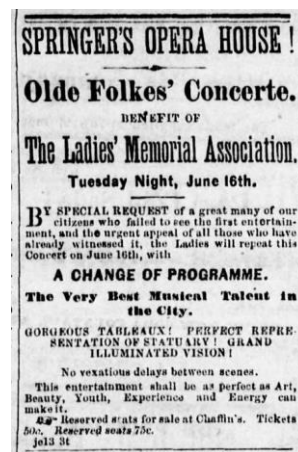
⁸ "Thespian Corps.," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, December 11, 1869, 3.

⁹ "Memorial Monument," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, January 28, 1870, 3.

Industrial Association hatched another scheme in which the Ladies ran the dining hall at their fair in September 1872 to collect money for a monument.¹⁰

The Ladies Memorial Association put the money they earned to work. They loaned the lion's share of its funds to Burrus and Williams, a large cotton warehouse, at 12% per year (1% simple interest per month). Although not compounded, the high rate brought in more money than some fundraisers. The "Olde Folkes' Concerte" in April 1874 raised nearly \$200. Deposited with G. Gunby Jordan at the Eagle and Phenix Savings Department, the money earned 7% interest per year, compounded quarterly. The editor of the paper wondered in print if the Ladies' cause was more important than providing for those suffering in Columbus with the call to "Care first for the living."¹¹ However, the amounts directed toward the monument would do little to alleviate any suffering.

Lackluster fundraising still hampered the Ladies' efforts, though. At the beginning of February 1875, they reported that they had accumulated less than \$800 since 1867. E.B. Brown's troupe performed a show called the "Marble Heart" but raised only a little over \$50. The matinee performance of the drama "Destiny," attended by 140 women, 50 children and even a few men, only generated \$75.¹² Some in the community questioned the earnestness of the Ladies in achieving their goal while the fundraising continued. One correspondent recommended that the Ladies donate the cost of their calico dresses instead of attending the planned ball. He suggested that they could easily raise \$600 if they donated the \$6 cost of each dress.¹³ Another wondered if giving a ball is even an appropriate way to raise money for the monument, as it would not be appropriate for a church or cemetery fundraiser.¹⁴



Advertisement for Professor Chase's concert (*Columbus Enquirer*, April 20, 1871)
 and the Olde Folkes' Concert (*Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, April 13, 1874)

¹⁰ "A Novel Idea," *Columbus Daily Sun*, September 29, 1872, 3.
¹¹ "Suffering in the City," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, January 29, 1875, 4.
¹² "The Matinee," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, January 31, 1875, 3.
¹³ "A Recommendation," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, January 31, 1875, 3.
¹⁴ "The Dance of Death," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, February 2, 1875, 2.

The Ladies' efforts finally began to pick up steam in late 1875. One surprising source of support came from Jackson Andrews, an African-American hack driver. He offered his services to the Ladies of the Memorial Association as his contribution to the monument.¹⁵ Amateurs performed the single-show pantomime "The Mistletoe Bough" on December 20, 1875 to help generate funds for the effort. The local performers included W.L. Salisbury, proprietor of the *Columbus Enquirer*, as the Baron, with Professor Chase in the orchestra and G. Gunby Jordan managing the stage.¹⁶ Following close on its heels was the Monumental Festival given at the Perry House shortly before Christmas, 1875. The two events raised over \$1,100, the biggest boost to the effort so far. With almost \$2,000 in the fund, the monument was at last beginning to appear possible. However, the next big event, a Grand Boat Excursion, in the spring of 1876, charging a dollar for the ride down the river and back with music and food, actually lost \$25 instead of making money.¹⁷

The Ladies then hit on the idea of charging admission to the Memorial Day oratory. In 1876 and 1877, they charged ten cents admission to hear the speakers at the Springer Opera House. The Ladies chose Henry H. Hilliard, former congressman and chargé d'affaires to Belgium as orator in 1876 and Capt. J.R. McCleskey, attorney of Americus in 1877, to address the crowd. The Ladies planned to have General Robert Toombs speak at the 1878 Memorial Day tribute and charge admission of twenty-five cents for gentlemen and ten cents for ladies to raise enough funds to complete the project.¹⁸ Toombs declined the invitation, however, and Alabama professor of agriculture at the A & M College in Auburn, William H. Chambers, spoke instead.

Springer's Opera House!

TWO MORE NIGHTS,
Friday and Saturday, January 29th and 30th.

E. B. BROWN'S
Powerful Dramatic Company
and Superb Orchestra.

GRAND COMPLIMENTARY BENEFIT
TO THE
**CONFEDERATE MONUM'NT
ASSOCIATION.**

The Proceeds to be used in Building a Monument.

Will be presented by special request of the "LADIES' MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION," to whom the proceeds go, the beautiful and thrilling Drama of the

MARBLE HEART!

PRICES AS USUAL.
Reserved Seats secured without extra charge at Chalmers' Book Store. JACO L.

ONE NIGHT ONLY!
Benefit of the Memorial Society.
A Cause Appealing to Your Generosity.

An Entertainment Worthy Your Patronage.
SPRINGER'S OPERA HOUSE.
Monday Evening, Dec. 20th.
FULL ORCHESTRA ON THIS OCCASION.

The thrilling pantomime in five acts,
"The Mistletoe Bough,"
founded upon Rogers' celebrated poem,
GINERVA.

Accompanied with song and appropriate music, and introducing the graceful **MINUET** by the troupe, and the
Bawling May-Pole Dance by 30 Children

PART SECOND.
COMIC SONG: "THE YOUNG WIDOW."
The whole to conclude with the splendid selection,
"SCENE AND PRAYER—Der Freischutz."

Prices in strict accordance with the times—
A. mission, 50 cents; Reserved seats, 75 cents.
Tick ts for sale at W. J. Chalmers' Book Store.

**Grand
BOAT EXCURSION**
BY THE
Memorial Association,
SATURDAY,
APRIL 22d, 1876.

THE PROCEEDS TO BE USED FOR
THE PURPOSE OF
ERECTING A MONUMENT
TO OUR
Noble Confederate Dead.

The Boat will leave the Wharf
promptly at 8 o'clock a. m.

FLOOR MANAGERS:
G. GUNBY JORDAN, W. S. HOLSTED,
CLIFF B. GAINES, ORAN WATTS,
W. W. HILBERT, DAN DOBBS,
T. D. HUFF, J. M. BARKETT, JR.

COMMITTEE ON BASKETS AND TO
TAKE UP TICKETS:
F. L. BROOKS, O. B. JORDAN,
W. S. HUFF.

Tickets only one dollar; children under 12
years old, fifty cents. For sale at Fane &
Norton's and W. J. Chalmers' book store, and
Brooks & Thornton's and R. Carter's drug
store. 429-3.

Columbus Daily Enquirer advertisements for three monument fundraisers in 1875-1876; E.B. Brown's "Marble Heart" benefit of January 1875, "Mistletoe Bough" pantomime Dec 19, 1875, and the "Grand Boat Excursion" held April 21, 1876

¹⁵ "Contribution from a Colored Man," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, December 16, 1875, 4.

¹⁶ "The Entertainment Last Evening," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, December 21, 1875, 4.

¹⁷ "Local Briefs," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 23, 1876, 3.

¹⁸ "The Confederate Monument," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, April 3, 1878, 4.

Before the monument could be erected, the Ladies would need to decide on a suitable location. This issue became the basis for a fundraiser, as well. An election determined the site of the monument with votes costing ten cents each. Locations considered included Salisbury Park on Broad between Baldwin and Few Streets (modern 7th and 8th Streets), the intersection of Broad and Randolph Streets, Mott's Green, and Prospect Park. John King, H.H. Epping, G. Gunby Jordan, and Col. W.S. Shepherd managed the voting. Anyone giving \$5 or more could take it back if their location lost. The vote and collection occurred during the Memorial Festival at the City Light Guards Armory on May 9, 1878. The event raised \$561.25 from the vote and \$180 from the refreshment tables. Actual votes cast should have raised almost \$1,300. There must have been a considerable number of votes over \$5 returned for unsuccessful candidates.



William L. Salisbury,
from the *Columbus Sunday Ledger-Enquirer, Special Sesquicentennial Supplement*, May 7, 1978

Salisbury Park won the election. The murder of the park's namesake, the popular William L. Salisbury, the previous month made it a sentimental favorite.¹⁹ G. Gunby Jordan gave an address to announce the election results while honoring W. L. Salisbury, calling it "a fitting exponent of the memory of him whose name it bears—Columbus' best and most liberal citizen—a man whose proudest ornament

¹⁹ William L. Salisbury was shot in the back at the train station in Seale, Alabama on the night of April 20, 1878. Earlier that day, Salisbury had lost a libel suit based on an editorial in his newspaper accusing Dr. R.U. Palmer of lawlessness in Russell County, Alabama. Although Palmer won the suit, his award was only one cent in damages. Two years later, Palmer stood trial for Salisbury's murder and was found not guilty of the crime. "Murder!," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, April 23, 1878, 4.

was pure integrity, whose success added to the bounds of his generosity.²⁰ Salisbury was a successful businessman, city alderman and a trustee of the public schools that he helped to establish for both white and black children. The description of his funeral procession demonstrates the honor given him by the children of both races, noting that "On reaching Troup street the children from the Public Schools, white and colored, were lined on each side while the main procession passed between. At this point a grand spectacle was presented. The children then joined the line and the mile-long procession then made its way to the city cemetery."²¹

Following the vote, the Ladies were in a position to purchase the long-sought monument. They announced the contract with Muldoon & Co. of Louisville, Kentucky, shortly thereafter. The document included these features: Not less than thirty-two feet in height, foundation to be built by Muldoon & Co. with labor and materials supplied by the Ladies, Confederate battle flag, two hundred names engraved free of charge and delivered on or about April 26, 1879.²² In November 1878, Mr. Karins of Muldoon & Co. announced that he would be coming to town to ascertain the exact location of the monument. He also wanted to stress the importance of allowing the foundation to settle before placing the monument on it.²³ The foundation was still being discussed in March of 1879 when the Ladies stated they did not want "haste" to spoil the effort.

A ceremony for setting the foundation occurred on April 1, 1879 with full coverage of the event in the next day's paper. Members of the Ladies' Memorial Association placed bricks to honor various people. Mrs. M. R. Jones laid a brick in memory of Lizzie Rutherford as "one whose devotion to the Lost Cause, and zeal for the Association places her on the long list of noble women of the South."²⁴ Mrs. W.G. Woolfolk laid a brick in honor of Mrs. Charles J. Williams "the first one in the South to suggest the custom of annually decorating Confederate soldiers' graves."²⁵ The inclusion of an elaborate set of lucky charms between the bricks and covered with cement completed the foundation. The bizarre collection of items sealed in bottles included:

*"sweet milk, kerosene oil, syrup, vinegar, writing fluid, wheat, rye, oats, millet, peas, corn, beans, barley, pepper, spice, cloves, mace, mustard seed, a piece of drain tile, a specimen of soap, candles, three fresh hens eggs, three small china dolls, plaster of Paris ornaments, a jar containing specimens of the type in use with a chase of type set."*²⁶

²⁰ "Location of the Monument" *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, May 11, 1878, 4.

²¹ "Honors To The Dead," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, April 23, 1878, 4.

²² "Memorial Association," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, May 23, 1878, 4.

²³ "Confederate Monument in Columbus," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, November 12, 1878, 4.

²⁴ "Memory of the Dead," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, April 2, 1879, 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ "Confederate Monument," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, April 6, 1879, 3.

The inclusion of these “foundation deposits” is probably Masonic in origin but the practice dates back to ancient Egypt.²⁷ However, this list paled in comparison to the items placed in the cornerstone. Masons, led by Grand Master Mobley, laid the cornerstone on April 14, 1879 with a box supposedly containing well over a hundred different items donated by the community. It contained coins, currency, photographs, newspapers, books, buttons, flags, lists of voters and civic organization members and a host of other trinkets and souvenirs.²⁸

It is noteworthy that the April 2 and April 13 editions of the *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun* carried stories directly related to the history of the Ladies’ Memorial Association. The April 2 edition included the description of the bricklaying ceremony where Mrs. Woolfolk gives credit to Mrs. Williams for suggesting Memorial Day. Since none existed at the time, the April 13 edition made a point to include a historical sketch of the Ladies’ Memorial Association. It said, in part, “To a deceased member of the association, Mrs. Chas. J Williams, is due to honor of first suggesting the custom of annually decorating the soldiers’ graves with flowers – a custom adopted throughout the South and followed by the North towards Federal graves.”²⁹ That custom refers to the May 30 version of the holiday inaugurated by General John A. Logan of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1868.



Muldoon & Co. advertisement, *Kentucky Advocate*, Danville KY, December 7, 1877

The Italian marble shaft arrived by train in time for Memorial Day but as Mr. Karins of Muldoon & Co. explained, heavy rains delayed the granite bases in arriving from Stone Mountain.³⁰ Although guaranteed by the contractors otherwise, the monument would not be ready for the 14th annual Memorial Day in 1879. To make matters worse, the Ladies arranged for Georgia’s governor, Alfred Colquitt, to be orator for that observance. To resolve their dilemma, the Ladies created a floral

²⁷ Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven, Eds., *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012, 29).

²⁸ “Confederate Monument. Cornerstone to be Laid To-morrow,” *Columbus Sunday Enquirer-Sun*, April 13, 1879, 3 and “To the Confederate Soldier.” *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, April 15, 1879, 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ “Explanation of Muldoon & Co.,” *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, April 26, 1879, 1.

monument and had it erected over the foundation. A thirty-foot framework festooned with flowers and evergreens took the place of the missing marble shaft.³¹

The *Columbus Daily Enquirer* published a full description of the monument with a drawing a few months later.³² A Grecian urn surmounts the monument emitting the eternal flame and rests on a Confederate national flag. According to the contract, it was to be a Confederate battle flag. Instead, it appears to be the second or third national flag. The canton containing the battle flag only appears on the north side of the monument. That side is the most highly decorated of the entire monument and contains the most Civil War symbolism. It begins with "Our Confederate Dead," the most prominent words inscribed at the bottom of the marble shaft, just above the granite base. The north face also includes the only human figure, George Washington, who appears in the center of the Great Seal of the Confederate States. Above the seal is the Georgia coat of arms and further up, one cannon, cannon balls, a saber, a bugle and ten bayoneted muskets.

The national flag, the seal and reference to Confederate dead also fall in the category of Lost Cause symbolism. However, they are not primary symbols, according to the *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Those would include the battle flag, the Confederate soldier and the triumvirate of Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis and Stonewall Jackson, none of which appear on this monument.³³ The Lost Cause mythology started almost immediately after the war. It began as a way for Southerners to cope with their defeat in the Civil War.³⁴ The symbols of the Lost Cause represent the perceived ideals of the Old South. The major tenets of the myth are that the Old South was noble and chivalrous, that Northerners were the aggressors in the conflict and that victory would come if the southerners maintained their superior culture.³⁵ Groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy spread the ideas of the Lost Cause into the twentieth century and beyond.

The most benign inscription, etched on the east side is "In Memoriam" with "No Truth is Lost for which the true are weeping nor dead for which they died" on the panel below. This is the last line of the poem *Under the Willows* by local doctor and poet Francis Orray Ticknor. The other two sides contain the bulk of the monument's Lost Cause mythology.

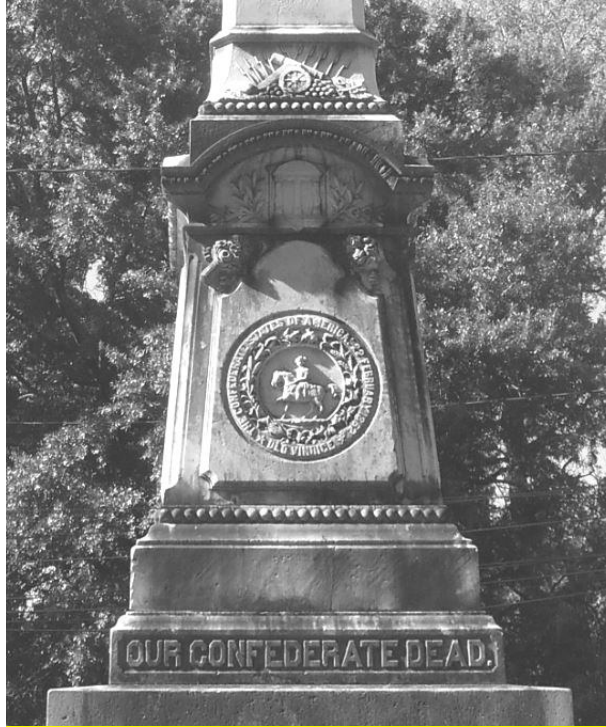
³¹ "Memorial Day. Floral Monument to be Erected," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, April 22, 1879, 4.

³² *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, July 6, 1879, 1.

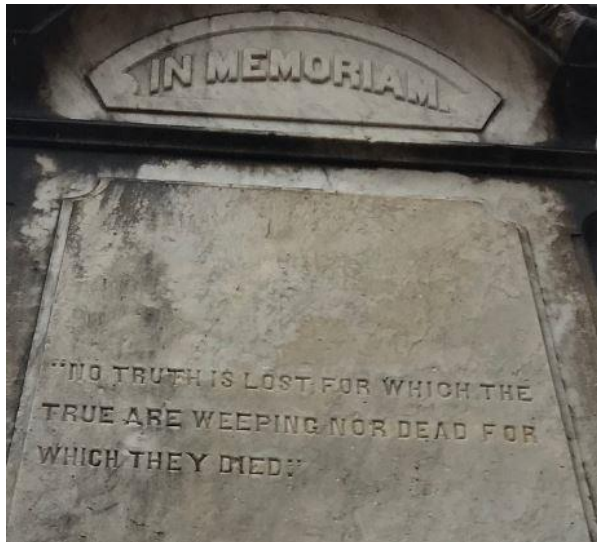
³³ David S. Williams, "Lost Cause Religion," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/lost-cause-religion>, accessed January 16, 2019.

³⁴ Cynthia Mills and Pamela Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause, Women, Art, and the Landscape of Southern Memory* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), xv.

³⁵ David S. Williams, "Lost Cause Religion," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/lost-cause-religion>, accessed January 16, 2019.



North face of the monument with pedestal and pediment. Photograph by Daniel A. Bellware



(Left) The monument's east side. Photograph by Daniel A. Bellware



(Right) Francis Orray Ticknor from *Southern Life in Southern Literature*, by Maurice Garland Fulton

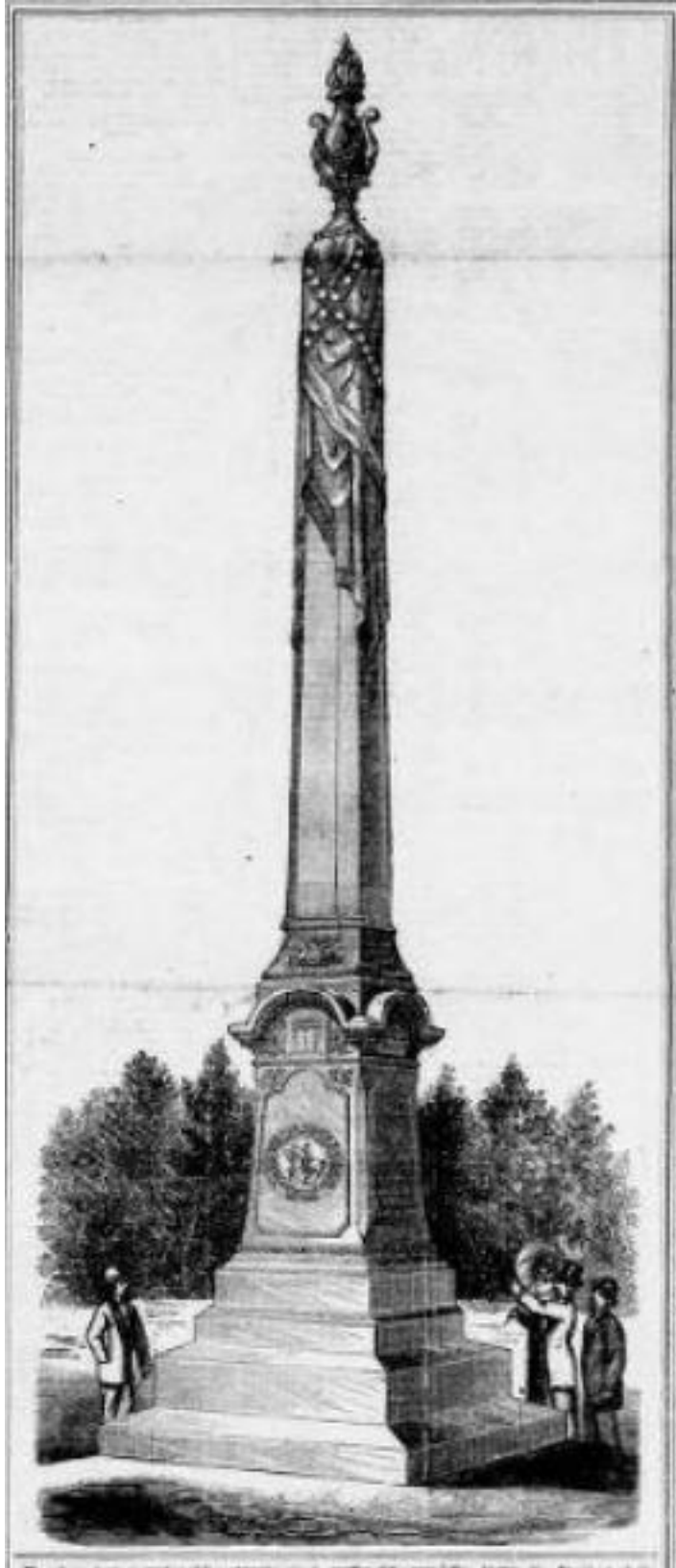


Father A.J. Ryan
Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

Inscribed on the west side is "Honor to the Brave" below the pediment and on the panel, the first stanza of Father Ryan's poem *March of the Deathless Dead*: "Gather the sacred dust. Of warriors tried and true. Who bore the flag of our nation's trust and fell in the cause tho' lost, still just and died for me and you." Father Ryan was a Catholic priest, poet, and early adherent to the Lost Cause. Several of his poems appeared in the pages of the *Columbus Enquirer* in 1870s.³⁶

On the south side is engraved, "Their Glory Shall Not Be Forgotten" on the pediment. Inscribed on the panel below that is "Erected by the Ladies of the Memorial Association May, 1879. To honor the Confederate soldiers who died to repel unconstitutional invasion, to protect the right reserved to the people and to perpetuate forever the sovereignty of the states."

³⁶ "Make Me A Song," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, December 9, 1877, 4 and "Have Hope," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, February 23, 1879, 4 and "A Memory," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, June 22, 1879, 1.



The monument as it originally appeared without steps in a sketch which appeared in the *Columbus Enquirer* on July 6, 1879



Photo of the monument shortly after dedication
Courtesy of Historic Columbus

The monument's physical appearance today is quite different from its first installation. Originally, it did not have steps. Instead, it rested on a five-foot high mound of earth, covered in grass. Muldoon & Co. finished the job in early May 1879 but the Ladies found it needed more dirt mounded around the base by August.³⁷ By October, it was apparent that despite all the good luck charms placed in the foundation, the monument had settled unevenly. The local paper noted that the city of Macon was using the same firm to install their monument and expressed hope that their monument, unlike the one in Columbus, would be level.³⁸ By December, the papers called for re-plumbing the monument, even if it meant taking it down.

The lack of plumb was not the only problem with the monument. The Ladies were unsatisfied with the general presentation of the monument. They decided that it needed steps around the base and an iron fence instead of the earthen mound. After settling with the original contractors (no pun intended), they had about \$200 left in their treasury. They put the job of adding steps out for bids in March 1880. The local firm of A.M. and J.H. Elledge won the job to replace the mound with stone steps for \$600, promising to do everything possible to finish by Memorial Day.³⁹ Unfortunately, they came up short by more than a couple of weeks. In the meantime, the Ladies staged a Gypsy Opera to raise the remaining money for the steps.

³⁷ "Ladies Memorial Association," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, August 14, 1879, 4.

³⁸ "Georgia News," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, October 28, 1879, 3.

³⁹ "Steps at the Monument," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, March 5, 1880, 4.

Monumental Marble Works,
205 Broad Street.
MONUMENTS of the best
 Italian and American Marble on hand and made to order.
 We are also agents for a superior quality of
Wrought Iron Railing
 for Fences and Cemetery Enclosures,
Different Styles and Patterns.
 Information given and estimates furnished for anything in our line.
A. M. & J. H. ELLEDGE,
 aprs eod&wly Columbus, Ga.



Advertisement for Elledges' Monumental Marble Works, from the *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, July 23, 1880

For the second year in a row, the monument was not presentable for its biggest day of the year. The Ladies contemplated decorating the monument for Memorial Day. However, they determined that the situation was beyond hope. The mound was gone and the foundation lay bare for all to see. However, all agreed that decorating graves was a better use of the flowers than hiding the monument's indignity. The Elledges finished the job in May 1880, adding five steps made of Kentucky limestone. The Ladies delayed the issue of a fence for a year, most likely due to funding. In 1881, a cost estimate from A. M. Elledge came in at over \$900.⁴⁰ The idea of a fence died at that point and no evidence of one appears in later drawings or photographs of the monument.

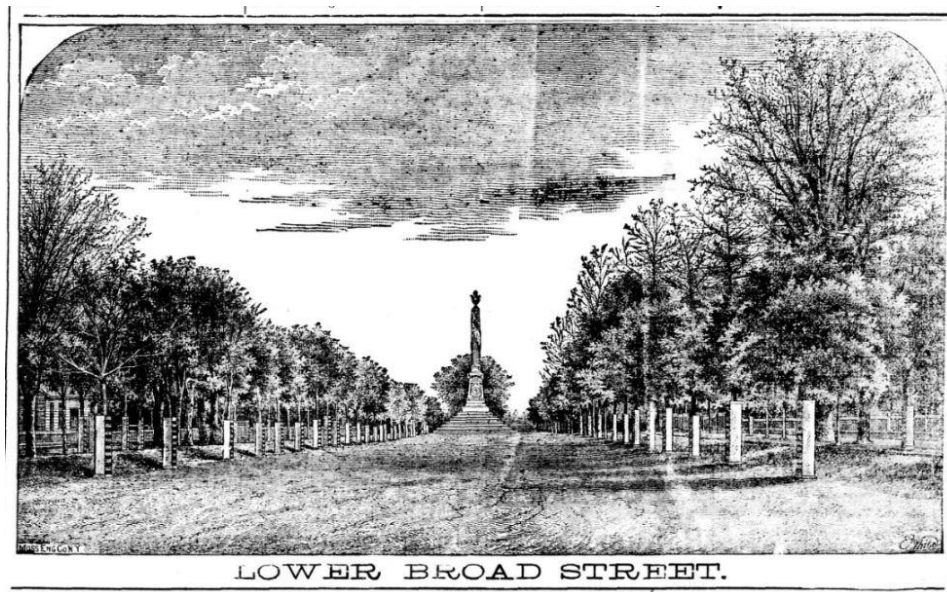


Image of Lower Broad Street showing the monument with steps but no fence, from the *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, September 3, 1882

⁴⁰ "Fence for the Monument," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, March 25, 1881, 4.

Almost immediately, the monument became a landmark, used, among other things, to direct people to rental properties in the area. The monument also became the rallying point for Memorial Day exercises. Unfortunately, it also became the focus for local boys to practice their mischief. The image of George Washington on horseback was a favorite target for stone throwers.⁴¹



Rental advertisement from the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, August 31, 1879

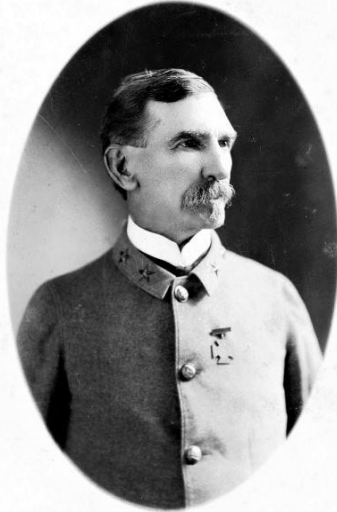
By 1899, some in the community were seeking to relocate the monument. After twenty years in Salisbury Park, they wanted to see it at Broad and 12th instead.⁴² This was one of the original locations put to a vote in 1878. Upper Broad was and is commercial with more traffic than Lower Broad, which is residential. Contemporaneous reports stated that the Ladies preferred that location (then Broad and Randolph streets) prior to the vote that awarded Salisbury Park the honor. People wanted the monument to be more visible to guests in the city. They complained that it was necessary to look for it and only people living around the park could enjoy it. However, several prominent people announced their opposition to the move, including Mayor Chappell, marbleworker A. M. Elledge, Henry Goetchius, and Captain William Redd, of Camp Benning, a local veterans' organization.⁴³ Nonetheless, the assignment went to W.S. Shepherd, Commander of Camp Benning, to approach the Ladies' Memorial Association about moving the monument.⁴⁴

⁴¹ "The Monument Defaced," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, October 9, 1897, 8.

⁴² "Confederate Monument," *Columbus Sunday Herald*, March 12, 1899, 4.

⁴³ "Mayor Chappell's Views," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, March 11, 1899, 4; "Let It Stay," Says Capt Elledge," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, March 12, 1899, 8; "Moving of Monument," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, March 11, 1899, 4; "As to the Monument," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, March 9, 1899, 3.

⁴⁴ "Monument May Be Moved," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, March 4, 1899, 5.



Colonel William Smythe Shepherd, courtesy of Columbus State University Archives

The relocation effort collapsed. The failure did more than stop the monument's move. It also prevented the opening of the cornerstone, exposing the historical revision occurring in Columbus at the time. In 1898, the Ladies' Memorial Association, under the direction of its second president, Mrs. Annie Leonard Garrard, sought to rewrite the origin story of the holiday through the publication of its official history in booklet form.⁴⁵ In it, the Association gives credit to Lizzie Rutherford for originating the holiday. Affidavits taken in support of that claim from the two surviving attendees of the organizational meeting of the Ladies Memorial Association at the Tyler House are included in the booklet. It has been noted, however, that the affidavits provide only a "lukewarm endorsement" of that claim.⁴⁶ An examination of the information related to the Ladies' Memorial Association, including the newspaper articles, within the cornerstone could undo all the work put into stripping Mrs. Williams of the honor of originating the holiday.

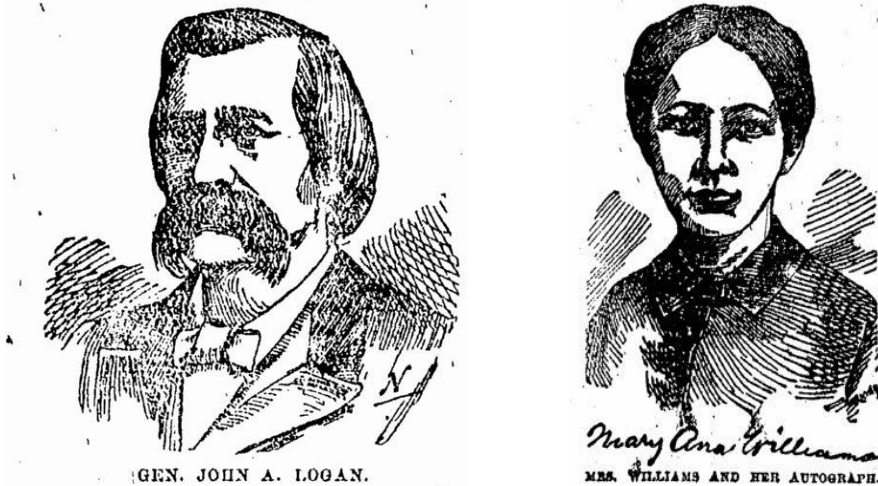


Mrs. Annie Leonard Garrard, second president of the Ladies' Memorial Association, from *History of the Confederate Memorial Associations of the South*

⁴⁵ *A History of the Origin of the Memorial Day Holiday*, Columbus: Gilbert Printing, 1898.

⁴⁶ Daniel Bellware and Richard Gardiner, *The Genesis of the Memorial Day Holiday in America* (Columbus: Columbus State University, 2014), 166.

Mrs. Williams received credit for originating the holiday in her 1874 obituary, the 1879 brick laying on April 1, and the cornerstone ceremony on April 13. On the other hand, Lizzie Rutherford received no such recognition in her obituary of 1873 or the bricklaying and cornerstone ceremonies of 1879. Mrs. Williams was widely credited throughout the country as the originator of the holiday. In fact, a historical account of Memorial Day given in an 1895 newspaper article in General Logan's home state of Illinois pictured both General Logan and Mrs. Williams, as the founders of the holiday.⁴⁷



Gen. John A. Logan and Mrs. Williams
From the *Daily Illinois State Register*, May 26, 1895

The monument remained a landmark. Years later, it played a pivotal role as a plot device in the first movie filmed in Columbus in 1915. W.S. Shepherd played an aged veteran who introduces flashbacks of the "Last Battle" to a young couple as they stroll by the monument and ask its meaning in the film *Spirit of Columbus 1865 – 1915*.⁴⁸ The battle scenes were re-enacted in the North Highlands area almost fifty years to the day after the battle.



Advertisement for "Spirit of Columbus 1865-1915," *Columbus Enquirer*, April 14, 1915

⁴⁷ "History of the Day," *Daily Illinois State Register*, May 26, 1895, 10.

⁴⁸ Daniel Bellware, "Movie Makers Come to Columbus," *Muscogiana* 27, No. 1 (Spring 2016), 4.

The monument embodied tradition as few other landmarks could. The Memorial Day parade generally made a stop at the monument. Some military unit would customarily fire a salute before heading off to the cemetery for the decoration ceremonies. After World War I, the monument was the rallying point for the Armistice parade in 1919, as well.⁴⁹ In 1936, the end of a forty-year tradition was reported when Tom Peabody relinquished his role of opening the decoration of the monument to a local fireman.⁵⁰ During those years, Mr. Peabody threw the first streamer of bunting over the top of the monument. In another break with tradition, the April 1948 Memorial Day parade was re-routed to exclude the stop at the monument with the salute fired over General Benning's grave at Linwood, instead.⁵¹



Firing a salute on Memorial Day 1920, courtesy of Historic Columbus

In 1969, the Historic Columbus Foundation submitted a nomination for the Columbus Historic District to the National Register of Historic Places. The area included in the nomination encompassed Salisbury Park and the monument as well as several blocks in all directions from it. Historic Columbus submitted an amendment to the nomination in 1988 that extended the historic district and called out the monument specifically as an object contributing to the historical significance of the area.

The monument remains much as it has for the last 140 years. It was the subject of a structural inspection in 2013 and found to be level and plumb. The brick and mortar foundation was intact and in good condition. The only problem noted was with the settling of the steps. Over the years, seeping water

⁴⁹ "Columbus is to Celebrate," *Columbus Ledger*, November 5, 1919, 1.

⁵⁰ "Another Record," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, May 13, 1936, 6.

⁵¹ "Monument Out," *Columbus Enquirer*, April 28, 1948, 4.

eroded the earth from the original mound that supported the steps, leaving gaps and voids. Uneven settling of the steps and cracks followed but had no impact on the monument itself.⁵² The steps were subject to an emergency repair in 2015 but a detailed assessment concluded that they would remain serviceable for the next 100 years.⁵³

Unlike the cenotaph or the Tyler House, the monument is one of the few intact physical artifacts left of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Columbus, the true creators of the Memorial Day holiday in America. After 140 years, it would be appropriate to explain the history and add context to the monument. With Heritage Park and Heritage Corner at the end of the block, it is the perfect place for interpretive signage. Panels explaining the history of the monument as well as the Lost Cause mythology that helped shape it would be valuable additions. While others rush to erase their history, Columbus can leverage theirs to educate future generations.



View of the monument showing its residential setting
Photograph by Daniel A. Bellware

⁵² Criterium Sollie Engineers, *Structural Inspection, Confederate Monument in Salisbury Park, Columbus, GA*, unpublished report 2013 .

⁵³ David Via and Associates, *Conditions Assessment of the Confederate Monument, Columbus, Georgia*, unpublished report, 2016.

William Dudley Chipley: Forgotten Columbus Native and Icon of Florida History

By

Mike Bunn

Towering over Plaza Ferdinand, a public park at the heart of downtown in the historic city of Pensacola, Florida, stands an obelisk dedicated to the memory of man from Columbus whom few in his hometown today remember at all. William Dudley Chipley, both born and buried along the banks of the Chattahoochee, made a name for himself in the state of Florida which survives in both the ostentatious Pensacola memorial as well as in a town named for him and a legacy of railroad and community-building recognized in numerous histories of the regions in which he worked. This brief biographical sketch will hopefully better acquaint those interested in Chattahoochee Valley history with Mr. Chipley and his accomplishments in Florida.¹



William Dudley Chipley, courtesy of Pensapedia.com

¹ This brief overview of Chipley's life was compiled from the following sources: Jesse Earl Bowden and Virginia Parks, *Iron Horse in the Pinelands: Building West Florida's Railroad, 1881-1883*; Lillian D. Champion, *Giant Tracking: William Dudley Chipley and Other Giants of Men* (Columbus: Quill Publications, 1985); Nancy M. Telfair, *A History of Columbus, Georgia 1828-1928* (Columbus: Historical Publication Co., 1929); Gregg M. Turner, *A Journey into Florida Railroad History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012); Gregg M. Turner, *A Short History of Florida Railroads* (Charleston: Arcadia Press, 2003); and Edward C. Williamson, "William Dudley Chipley: West Florida's Mr. Railroad," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 25 (April, 1947): 333-355.

William Dudley Chipley was born on June 6, 1840 in Columbus, the son of a doctor from Kentucky who, like so many others in town at the time, had arrived on the banks of the Chattahoochee in pursuit of the opportunities a new and promising trading town represented. Because his parents either found their future not as bright in Georgia as they had hoped or because they missed home more than they thought, Chipley's first stay in Columbus proved rather short-lived. At age four he moved with family back to Kentucky, residing in the Lexington area. He spent the remainder of his formative years in the Bluegrass state, where he attended the Kentucky Military Institute and studied medicine at Transylvania University. Chipley enlisted in the Confederate army at the outbreak of the Civil War, serving in the 9th Kentucky Infantry and seeing action in several western theater campaigns. Chipley sustained at least three serious wounds in the course of the war—at the Battles of Shiloh, Chickamauga, and Peachtree Creek—and ended the war with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Unfortunately, he ended his wartime service in the infamous prison at Johnson's Island in Ohio after being captured in the fighting around Atlanta on July 22, 1864.



Chipley as a young man

From *Giant Tracking: William Dudley Chipley and Other Giants of Men*, by Lillian D. Champion

For reasons that remain lost to history, shortly after the end of the war Chipley chose to return to his hometown to begin his postwar career. Exactly when he arrived back in Columbus is unknown, but advertisements promoting his newly-established grocery business appear in Columbus papers by early 1866. He evidently wasted no time in getting involved in local society, as in December of 1866 he married Ann Elizabeth Billups, the daughter of a well-to-do Russell County, Alabama planter. Shortly after, local Democrats chose him to serve as chairman of the party's county executive committee, and around the same time he won election alderman for the city ward in which he resided. By the spring of 1868, when Dudley and his wife hosted a masquerade ball attended by some of Columbus' leading movers and shakers at his home on upper Broad Street, he had become a respected and well-known leader in Columbus. On the evening of March 30, though, Chipley's life would take a sudden and dramatic change of course and hasten to an end this second sojourn in his native city.

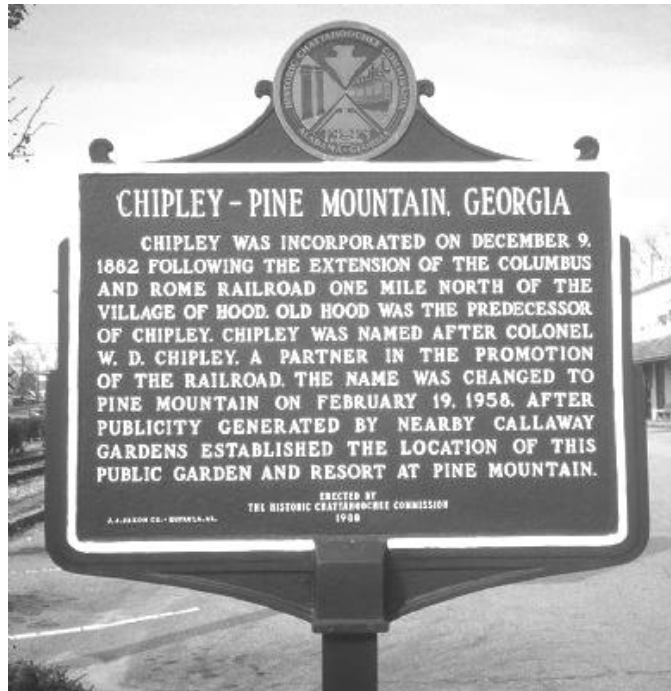
Around 2 a.m. on March 31, long after Chipley's gathering had concluded, a group of men forced their way into a room of a nearby hotel called the Perry House and shot down a former plantation overseer and local Republican party affiliate George W. Ashburn. Ashburn was a quintessential scalawag, having been a native Southerner who openly worked with Republican officials, many of them black, at a time when doing so was not only unpopular but often dangerous in Deep South communities such as Columbus. He was known to have worked with both the Loyal League and the Freedman's Bureau, had served as a delegate from Muscogee County in Georgia's constitutional convention of 1867-68, and was known to be angling for a seat in the state legislature. While we may never know exactly who was behind his murder or exactly how many men were involved, at least five reportedly well-dressed and masked assailants battered down the door of Ashburn's apartment. After a brief scuffle and a furious exchange of fire, Ashburn lay dead, riddled with gunshots and his murderers made a quick getaway. Twelve suspects were arrested in short order, one of them none other than William D. Chipley.

The Ashburn case and the fate of the "Columbus Prisoners" became a national scandal in the weeks after the murder, pitting as it did so starkly the forces of redeemer and radical reconstruction rule and laying bare the deep and dangerous divisions in postwar Southern society. People in Columbus and across the South followed the fate of Chipley and the other prisoners held at Fort Pulaski, near Savannah, where he was held after his arrest and confined to a small, airless cell. He was released after a short stay only to be arrested a second time later in the year, this time being sent to McPherson Barracks in Atlanta where he was condemned to solitary confinement in another exceedingly uncomfortable cell. His letters complaining of the poor and inadequate rations, suffocatingly hot and cramped quarters, and the "dreadful closeness of our cells (to the)...penetrating stench of the guard house sink," cast him as somewhat of a martyr in the eyes of many at home, suffering as he did for a crime he denied having any part in which many were in truth not disappointed to have happened. Although proceedings in the case were eventually suspended by military authorities and Chipley and the other suspects were released and celebrated by some upon their return, he still paid a high price for his involvement in the affair. Unable to

tend to his business during his confinement, Chipley experienced severe financial setbacks and soon found himself in financial straits. To make matters even worse, a daughter born shortly after his time in jail died at the tender age of only 17 months. Chipley's personal and professional life was in an uproar.

After a few years attempting to get his financial house back in order and casting about for new opportunities, Chipley finally caught the break that would propel him into wealth and fame. In February of 1872 he began work with the North and South Railroad of Georgia as secretary and treasurer, and later served as superintendent. His career in the railroad industry took off after that first post, as he passed through a variety of positions with dizzying speed. He accepted a position with the Baltimore and Ohio line in 1874, where he worked as the southwestern agent for the branch Virginia Midland line. In 1876 Chipley went to work for the Pensacola Railroad, and by 1880 had become the superintendent of a line running out of the Florida port city as well as the superintendent of the Havana Steamship Line. Other progressively influential positions followed in short order, including stints with the Louisville and Nashville and the Mobile and Montgomery lines.

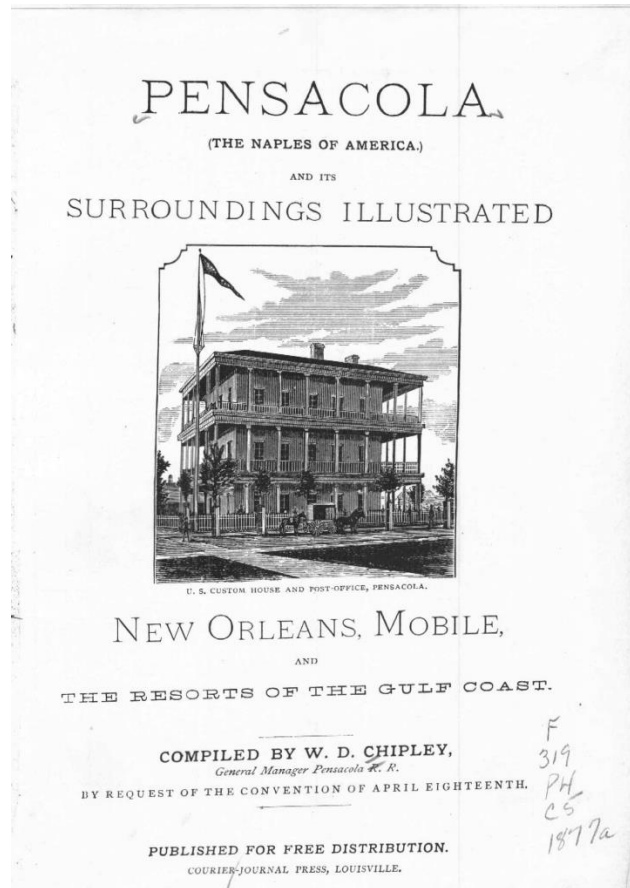
He moved to Pensacola shortly after becoming involved with the Pensacola line, and would reside there for the remainder of his life. The city traced its history to the arrival of Europeans in the 1600s but had never grown at the pace or scale many supposed it would. In 1880 its population stood at about 6,500, making it the third largest city in Florida. Chipley immediately recognized the city's promise as a center for rail and shipping commerce and potential tourist spot and devoted himself to promoting its potential. He worked tirelessly to develop the railroad lines in the region with which he was affiliated, a highlight of which being his successful lobbying for the expansion of the Louisville and Nashville lines' presence in the area in the form of the chartering of the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad. He also accepted the presidency of the Pensacola Board of Trade, and compiled a sort of promotional travel guide for the city which highlighted its developing rail connections but also touted its scenery and cultural assets. His influence began to expand well beyond the confines of Pensacola in the 1880s during his rapid ascent into the ranks of the leading industrial tycoons of the day. When the Columbus and Rome line reached the tiny village of Hood, north of Columbus in Harris County, Georgia, in 1882, the community was renamed Chipley in honor of the man who had put the spot on the proverbial map. (Chipley was renamed Pine Mountain in the 1950s) Meanwhile back in Florida, Chipley used his growing wealth and power to launch himself into local and state politics. He served a term each as chair of the local Democratic executive committee, as mayor of Pensacola, and as a state senator. In a bitterly contested race in 1896 in which he at one point served on a committee that helped welcome presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, he narrowly lost a bid for United States Senate.



Chipley, Georgia, historic marker



Chipley's home in Pensacola, from *Giant Tracking: William Dudley Chipley and Other Giants of Men*, by Lillian D. Champion



Pensacola: The Naples of America, compiled by Chipley

Chipley's reputation as a man of action in the business and political arenas was only enhanced by a widely-circulated account of his encounter with legendary outlaw John Wesley Hardin. Hardin had wandered into Pensacola seeking to evade authorities in 1877. At the time he was perhaps the most wanted man in America, rumored to have killed over two dozen men in the course of an unseemly trail of criminal activity. Somehow the two ended up at the same table for a poker game, and Hardin, as the story goes, introduced himself as "Jim Swain." Later that evening an apparently drunk Hardin pointed a gun at Chipley over some trivial dispute and Chipley summarily took the gun away from him and hit him in the head. When Chipley learned of Swain's true identity and that Texas Rangers were nearby and looking for him, he arranged for a special train to transport the law officers from Pollard, just across the border in Alabama, to Pensacola. The officers apprehended Hardin in short order, and he was transported on one of Chipley's trains to Texas to be tried for crimes in that state.

As might be expected of anyone of Chipley's ambition and stature, he could be a polarizing figure. While most viewed him as a wise and kindly benefactor for Florida's panhandle region, some became suspicious of his growing consolidation of power in the region in the 1880s. J. Dennis Wolfe, editor of the *Pensacola Commercial*, became a mouthpiece for detractors as he at first praised Chipley as

“enterprising and liberal” but later derided him in the paper during his service as mayor of Pensacola for alleged misuse of public funds and his overbearing personality. “Woe be to him who seeks to thwart his will,” advised Wolfe to those who attempted to interfere with Chipley’s plans after observing how he seemed to always get his way. Referring to him as “Major Octopus” for the way he seemingly had his hands in everything, he was one of several who questioned his incredible influence in local and state politics, railroad enterprises, and real estate development. He humorously predicted at one point that his “tentacles will get tangled and suckers exhausted by too much labor.”

But among most living in northwest Florida during Chipley’s time, he seemed to be regarded as a respected leader. He served as Pensacola’s leading cheerleader in one of its most rapid periods of development, developed critical infrastructure in a long-stagnant region, and employed thousands of people as he oversaw expansion of the area’s railroad network. Chipley won plaudits for his participation in cultural affairs in northwest Florida, as well. He served as an important figure in developing the Florida Chautauqua event at DeFuniak Springs—an annual arts celebration featuring operas, plays, lectures, concerts, and other events, and also served as a trustee of both Florida State Agricultural College and Stetson University. He even had a second town named for him. Chipley, Florida, established in 1885 along a railroad he operated, eventually became the seat of Washington County and an important regional shipping point for a variety of locally-produced goods.



Lake DeFuniak in DeFuniak Springs, Florida where the Chautauqua Chipley helped organize took place.
Photograph by Mike Bunn



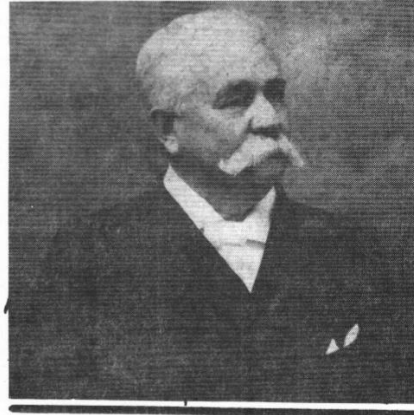
Chipley Monument in Chipley, FL, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

Chipley died suddenly on December 1, 1897 at age 57 during a trip to Washington, D.C., where he had journeyed to lobby for federal assistance with further development in the region. As Chipley owned a plot in Columbus' Linwood Cemetery, he was buried there alongside his infant daughter's grave. He was survived by his sons, Hunt and Dudley, daughter Clara, and wife Ann Elizabeth. Pensacolans determined to memorialize him in their own way since he was to be buried in Georgia, and in short order erected a stone obelisk in Plaza Ferdinand in tribute to him. It stands still as one of the more impressive monuments to a Columbus native anywhere, even if relatively few who pass by today know much about the remarkable life which inspired its creation.

PENSACOLA STAR.

[SPECIAL]

Col. W. D. Chipley Dead!



Headline in the *Pensacola Star* announcing Chipley's death, from *Giant Tracking: William Dudley Chipley and Other Giants of Men*, by Lillian D. Champion

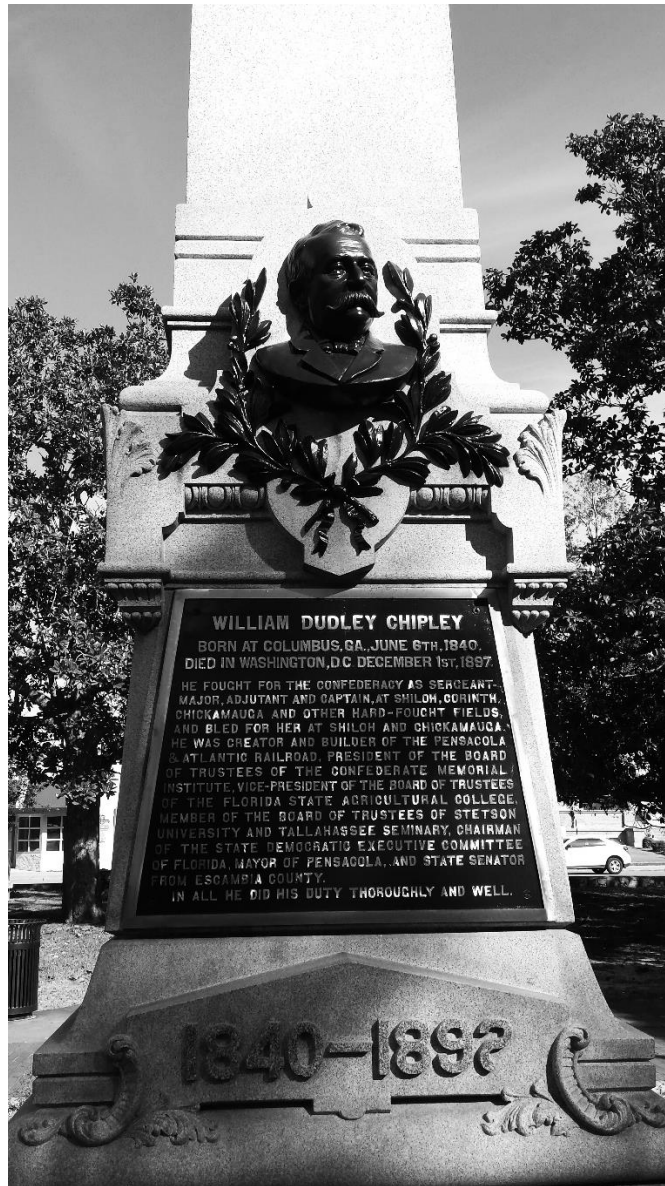


Chipley's grave in Linwood Cemetery

Photograph by Mike Bunn

At the base of the monument is a plaque praising this forgotten figure, communicating the heartfelt tribute of the people of Pensacola:

“Soldier-Statesman-Public Benefactor. On the battlefield he was without fear, and without reproach. In the councils of the state he was wise and sagacious, and in his public and private benefactions he was ever alert and tireless. The history of his life is the history of the up-building of West Florida, and its every material advancement, for two decades, bears the impress of his genius and his labor.”



The Chipley Monument in Plaza Ferdinand in downtown Pensacola

Photograph by Mike Bunn



The Chipley Monument in Plaza Ferdinand in downtown Pensacola

Photograph by Mike Bunn

Focus On Columbus State University Archives



Last summer we were fortunate to have Sylvia Marshall intern with us in the Archives. She came to us from Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia. While she is not a student at Columbus State, she is from this area and sought us out while she was home for the summer. She spent countless hours on a relatively new acquisition: a series of photos from the Bibb Manufacturing Company. She not only arranged and described every photograph, she also digitized each one and uploaded them to our online Digital Archives. The entire collection encompasses six boxes with 600 photographs viewable online.

The collection of photographs and negatives is now referenced as the Bibb Manufacturing Company Photograph Collection (MC384). It consists of photographs and negatives from around Bibb City and Columbus. Subjects range from individual portraits and family photos to pictures of the Bibb Columbus mill and scenes from around Bibb City. Image dates range from the early 1940s to the late 1960s. While these photographs record the mills and the work that went on in them, more importantly the photographs capture what life was like outside of the mills. Scenes document children's and adult sports teams, school plays, church services, birthdays, Christmas parties, and so much more.

The Bibb Manufacturing Company was more than a series of cotton and textile mills. Opening its doors in 1878, the company continued to grow well into the 1950s, but its decline came in the late 1990s. Bibb Manufacturing mills could be found in Macon, Columbus, Porterdale, Vineville, and many other central Georgia cities. As the company began to grow, so did the surrounding communities in which it operated mills. By the 1920s the communities around the mills had churches, schools, and recreational facilities funded by Bibb Manufacturing Company.

To find out more about the Bibb Manufacturing Company and see the digitized photographs visit:

- <https://archives.columbusstate.edu/findingaids/mc384.php>
- <http://digitalarchives.columbusstate.edu/collections/show/39>
- <http://digitalarchives.columbusstate.edu/items/browse?collection=39>



A sampling of images from the Bibb Manufacturing Company Photograph Collection (MC384)



Top Left: Bibb City School football team, 1957,
MC384-5-4-018

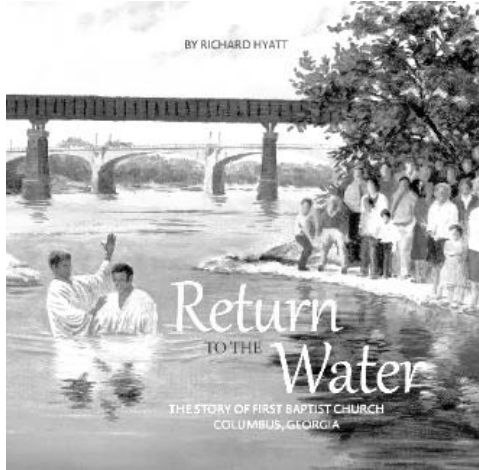
Top Right: W.D. Anderson Bibb City Girl
Reserve, 1955, MC384-6-2-040

Left: No. 1 Cubs and Bill Lominick, 1946,
MC384-6-3-004

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Assistant Professor
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Book Reviews

Richard Hyatt. *Return to the Water: The Story of First Baptist Church Columbus, Georgia.* (Macon: Nurturing Faith Inc., 2017), 160 pp.



The almost-square shape and bright cover painting illustrating a river baptism remind one of a picture book, and veteran journalist Richard Hyatt has warned potential readers that he has written a “story,” rather than a “traditional church history book,” about one of the oldest churches in Columbus, Georgia, founded one year after the city was founded.¹ Hyatt’s new history of the First Baptist Church of Columbus, written with the assistance of the church’s History Committee, is filled with historic images and will be valuable to local historians as well as church members.

Hyatt proceeds more or less chronologically from the late 1820s, veering off at different points to write chapters on church-related topics and important pastors in the church’s history. The first chapter covers the city’s founding, with some contextual history of Christian missionaries in Alabama and Georgia who were here before the city was established, as well as the development of other, earlier Baptist churches and the state organization. The second chapter begins the story of the organization of Ephesus Baptist Church by its twelve founders. Hyatt writes, “their names are preserved, but little is known about how they are connected or what they later became,” (p. 7) although he cites historian and Muscogee Genealogical Society editorial board member Dr. Hugh I. Rodgers’ research on the Gray family (p. 11). At the third chapter, Hyatt shifts from chronological to topical narrative to write about Sabbath or Sunday School, from its controversial beginnings during the term of Rev. Thomas J. Hand (pastored 1833-1835) and following its development throughout the church’s history to the present day. He quotes Baptist historian Bruce Gourley to explain the importance of Sunday School in recruiting members and instilling the church’s teachings and church culture, as well as discipline.

Hyatt devotes subsequent chapters to special topics that place church members in the context of national and world events. Chapter nine describes the effects of wars and conflicts on First Baptist congregants and the city, and the church’s responses to those events. He writes about First Baptist’s relationship with Camp – then Fort – Benning, its actions at the bombing of Pearl Harbor and during World War II, and how church leaders responded to members’ emotions after the destruction of the World Trade Center in 2001, naming deacons, lay workers, and other individuals along the way who

¹ Chuck Williams, “Columbus Journalist Completes ‘Story’ of First Baptist Church,” *Ledger-Enquirer*, Dec. 21, 2017.

organized events and pitched in to help (p. 70). Hyatt dedicates chapters to the history of music at First Baptist, the ministry to the hearing impaired, women's roles in the church, First Baptist's use of broadcast media from radio and television into the era of the internet, as well as chapters on particularly notable pastors.

The years when the Rev. James H. DeVotie served at First Baptist (1856-1870) include some of the most dramatic and turbulent of the church's early development. A New York native, DeVotie was largely responsible for the growth and development of the Baptist church in Alabama and Georgia from the early 1800s through the Civil War.² DeVotie, who saw education as the way to bring more people into the church, helped found what is now Judson College in Marion, Alabama, and Howard College (now Samford University in Birmingham) at its earliest location in Marion. He preached to racially mixed congregations, established African American churches, and supported black church leaders. In Columbus, DeVotie built the First Baptist sanctuary that stands now (minus the Greek Revival façade) and shepherded its congregation through the Chattahoochee Valley's prosperous pre-war years, the Civil War, and the traumatic years of Reconstruction. Hyatt quotes excerpts of DeVotie's letters to his wife and daughter (archived at Samford University), to let the preacher vividly describe the Columbus invasion of Wilson's troops as well as his personal encounters with Union soldiers at his home (p. 68-69).

In telling the church's more recent history, Hyatt covers some apparently controversial topics gingerly, sometimes only alluding to issues that older members may understand without explanation, but which may leave readers unfamiliar with the events in the dark. For example, the reasons for the congregation's groundbreaking vote in 1990 to withhold monetary support from the Southern Baptist Convention are left unspecified (p.104). On the other hand, Hyatt doesn't shy away from discussing First Baptist member Carson McCullers' rocky relationship with the church, devoting a chapter to her life and conflicts with the church and mildly chastising its membership for forgetting (or not knowing) that the now famous writer was once one of them (p. 53).

The history of the First Baptist Church of Columbus is inextricably tied with the history of Columbus, Muscogee County, the Chattahoochee Valley and the South, and Hyatt's account will be valuable to local historians as well as church members. His attractive and thoughtfully constructed book, based on research from excellent primary and scholarly sources, previous histories, and interviews with current and past church members, is a valuable gift to local Baptists as well as others with their roots in Columbus and the Chattahoochee Valley. The book suffers from abrupt transitions and several typographical errors, as well as a lack of dates and credits for sources on most of the historic

² Christopher Morgan Peters, "James H. DeVotie, Leading the Transformation and Expansion of Baptists in Alabama and Georgia: 1830-1890" 2014, Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Alabama, 3-4, excerpt accessed 8 August 2018: <https://ir.ua.edu/handle/123456789/2962>.

photographs. However, with the rich collection of resources that Hyatt used listed in the bibliography at the end, curious readers will have a good jumping off point for more research.

Rachel Dobson
Assistant Editor, *Muscogiana*

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