

MUSCOGIANA



FALL 2018

VOLUME 29

NUMBER 2

MUSCOGIANA
Journal of the Muscogee Genealogical Society

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Book reviews of both local titles and general genealogical monographs are accepted for inclusion in *Muscogiana*. Reviews should be 350-750 words, and should contain an overview of the work and an analysis on the value of the work to genealogists and other researchers in the region.

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On the cover: Title page from one of Herrman Saroni's compositions. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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From the Editor

As all of us who enjoy the study of the past are well aware, history is essentially the story of individual lives. Stories of individual circumstances, decisions, accomplishments, and actions are not only some of the most interesting accounts of historical events, they are also some of the most enlightening. They give color and context to bygone eras and help us understand how and why things developed as they did. In this issue you will find three articles that focus on individuals who in one way or another have left us with unique stories that illuminate their lives and times.

Our feature article is another piece by frequent contributor Daniel Bellware. Here Bellware presents his research on the life of an amazing man who left his mark on Columbus but I dare say that few of even the most informed on our region's past know very well, if at all. As you will discover in Daniel's excellent article, Herrman S. Saroni was a remarkably talented man who found success in many fields. Though his time in Columbus was brief, he made a lasting impact and Bellware's chronicle of his accomplishments before and after his time on the banks of the Chattahoochee will be a pleasure to read.

Preservationist and historian Steve Townsend, who has actively researched and written about his family's deep roots in the Chattahoochee Valley for many years, contributes our next article. His piece focuses on two people—one an enslaved woman and one a Confederate soldier—whose paths crossed in the Chattahoochee Valley's antebellum and Civil War years and left us with brief accounts of one of the most dramatic events of that era. I think you will find the story he has to tell helps us appreciate how major events like the Battle of Columbus played out as landmark occurrences in the lives of both communities and individuals.

The final article in this edition of the journal is one I put together using extracts from travel writer John Pope's account of his time visiting the Creeks of Coweta and Cusseta in 1791. This fascinating glimpse into native life and culture originally appeared in Pope's book, *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America*. Recording careful observations on the beliefs, customs, and daily lives of the Creeks, Pope's writing is an informative chronicle of life in the Chattahoochee Valley in the eighteenth century.

Our regular features on what's happening at the Columbus State University Archives and reviews of books of interest to readers of the journal follow. I hope you enjoy this issue, and as always, I encourage you to contact me at any time if you have something you would like to have considered for publication in *Muscogiana*. We need your submissions!

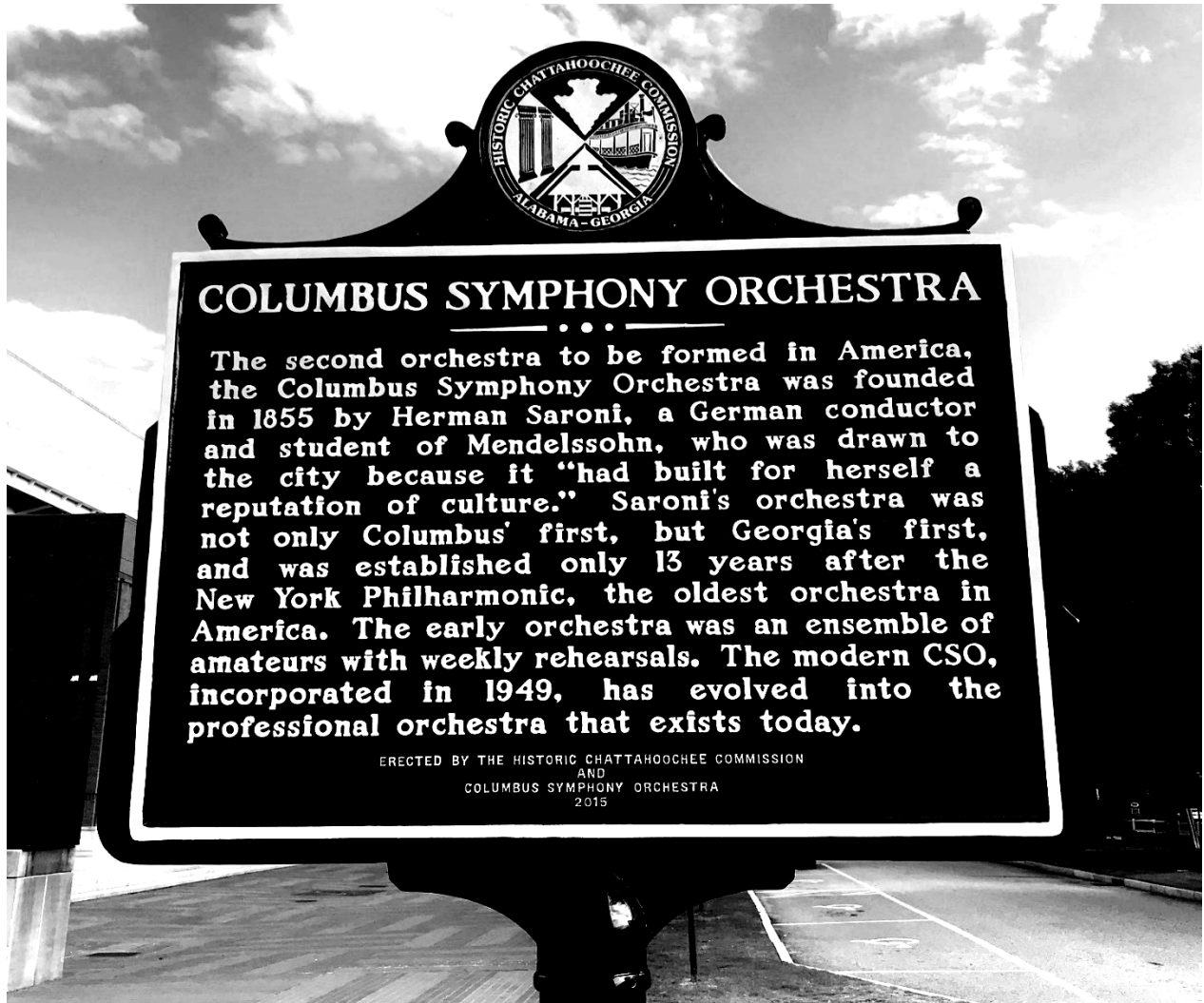
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The Musical and Mechanical Genius of Herrman S. Saroni

By

Daniel A. Bellware



Historical marker commemorating the founding of the Columbus Symphony Orchestra by Herrman Saroni.
Photo by Daniel A. Bellware.

Herrman Sander Saroni, founder of the first orchestra in Columbus in 1855, is a much more interesting person than many realize. His musical accomplishments generally overshadow his other achievements as an author and inventor. However, they are all worthy of note. It is truly ironic that he is not better remembered locally, for, as Saroni biographer Dr. David Urrows has pointed out, Columbus is "one of the few places where the name of Herrman Saroni lives on."¹ He could just as easily be renowned in New York, Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, St. Paul, Huntsville, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville, or Augusta. His obituary, which appeared in a Marietta, Ohio, newspaper, hints at a man pursuing multiple fields when it says:

"After coming to America he engaged in business of various kinds and for many years was an active and busy man. During his life in this country he made and lost several large fortunes but in his later years he was in comfortable circumstances. As editor, author, composer, inventor, in fact in a number of vocations he distinguished himself and won the respect and esteem of his contemporaries in the various lines of work."²

A much earlier story from the *Augusta Tri-weekly Constitutionalist* of 1866 gives a more detailed description of Saroni's activities while discussing his new operetta "Lily-Bell, The Culprit Fay":

"Mr. H. S. Saroni, who is now engaged in organizing the Georgia Petroleum Stove Company, seems to be a man of remarkable versatility...Not only did Mr. Saroni write the poetry, compose the music and arrange the dramatic details, but he likewise built the stage and painted the scenery. It is not a little strange to find poet, musician and painter combined; it is passing strange to find an artist of such excellence in those departments equally skilled in the mechanic and scientific walks of everyday life."³

Saroni was a man whose unique abilities were unmatched by most of his contemporaries. While his early life in Germany is a mystery, he arrived in America in June 1844 as a Professor of Music at the age of twenty-one. He published at least five compositions that year and most of his sheet music within ten. He contributed three songs for the *Columbian* magazine in 1845 and wrote musically-themed articles for others.⁴ Edgar Allen Poe's *Broadway Journal* included a reprint of a fantasy story attributed to Saroni titled "The Self-Performers" from *Aristidean* magazine. Saroni contributed another story to the *Union*

¹ David Francis Urrows, "Herrman S. Saroni (ca. 1824 -1901) and the 'first' American Operetta," *The Bulletin of the Society for American Music*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 Winter 2008, 9.

² "H.S. Saroni, A Brief Account of His Life and Work," *Marietta (OH) Daily Leader*, August 30, 1900, 1.

³ "The 'Culprit Fay,'" *Augusta Triweekly Constitutionalist*, April 27, 1866, 3.

⁴ John Inman and Robert West, editors, *The Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*: "Fratel Del Mio Cor!" March 1845, 141; "I've Thought of Thee, Dearest," April 1845, 239 and "To My Friend," July 1845, 44.

Magazine of Literature and Art in 1848 entitled "The Power of Music." Fellow author Henry David Thoreau appears in the same issue.⁵

THE POWER OF MUSIC.

A Stray Leaf from the History of a Life.

BY HERMANN S. SARONI.

Title page from Saroni's article in *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, July 1848.

Dissatisfied with simply making the occasional contribution to the magazines, Saroni took over one of his own. Acquiring the weekly *American Musical Times* in 1849, he rebranded it *Saroni's Musical Times* and devoted its pages to commenting on not only music but also poetry and art. Along with writing commentary, Saroni was composing and publishing music throughout this period, as well. He found time to court and marry his first wife, Caroline Bartlett, in New Haven, Connecticut in 1850.⁶ Information on this first marriage is scarce but the union was a brief one, as Saroni married again eight years later. He traveled the country extensively while writing for his magazine, turning in reports from Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville and other places.⁷ He translated Adolph Marx's *Theory and Practice of Musical Composition* from German into English in 1851 and began his longest original work, a handbook entitled *Musical Grammar or Vade Mecum*, published in 1852. After only a few years, Saroni sold his magazine to follow other pursuits. The next few decades saw him moving frequently around the country.

⁵ Henry D. Thoreau, "Ktaadn, and the Maine Woods," *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*, July 1848, 29.

⁶ Urrows, "Herrman S. Saroni," 9.

⁷ Ruth Henderson, "Saroni's Musical Times," in *Retrospective Index to Musical Periodicals*, <http://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=SAR>, accessed March 9, 2018.

HERRMAN S. SARONI,
Professor of Vocal Music, Instrumental Music and
Composition.

TERMS.—One Dollar a Lesson, payable quarterly. Letters
addressed as above, will meet with prompt attention.
feb 2—1y.

Advertisement which appeared in the *Nashville Union and American*, February 19, 1853.

After leaving New York, Saroni headed south. He may have had a hand in the founding of Philharmonic Society in Nashville, Tennessee in October of 1852, as that event occurred shortly after his arrival.⁸ He advertised himself as a professor of vocal music, instrumental music, and composition, charging one dollar per lesson in early 1853. The results of this venture must have been unsatisfactory, though, for by late 1853, Saroni's name appeared in advertisements for the spring 1854 term at the Masonic Female College of Lumpkin, Georgia. There he taught music as well as drawing and oil painting, and French, German and Italian.

That situation was short-lived, as well. As soon as the term was over, Saroni found himself in Columbus, Georgia. In December of 1854, he advertised his services as a music and language teacher in the local papers. His advertisement "To the Musical World" notified readers he planned to relocate to Columbus permanently. An article in the local paper noted Saroni's arrival, stating "The reputation of Mr. S. as a professor of music is so well established as to need but little in the way of commendation on our part."⁹ He found a promising musical community when he arrived.

⁸ Tim Sharp, *Nashville Music Before Country* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008).

⁹ "Musical," *Columbus Enquirer*, December 19, 1854, 2.

MASONIC FEMALE COLLEGE,
Lumpkin, Stewart Co., Ga.

I. R. BRANHAM, A. M. } *Associate Principals.*
JAS. AUG. BASS, A. M. }
I. R. BRANHAM, Professor of Mathematics and
Natural Science.
JAS. AUGUSTUS BASS, Professor of Belles Let-
tres and Moral Science.
MRS. BRANHAM, Modern Languages.
MISS MARY GAY, Primary Department.
MRS. ADELLA BASS, Music and Ornamental
Branches.
MR. HERMANN S. SARONI, Professor of Music,
Drawing and Painting in Oil Colors.

CALENDAR FOR 1854 :

Spring Term commences January 11th.
Annual Examination commences July 10th.
COMMENCEMENT DAY,..... JULY 12TH.
Autumnal Term commences September 5th.
Semi-Annual Examination commences December 7th.

THE MUSICAL DEPARTMENT,

Will be under the direction of Professor BRANHAM.

We are happy to inform our patrons and the public generally, that we have secured the services of Mr. H. SARONI as Professor of Music. Mr. S. was the former Editor and indeed the originator of the *Musical Times*, published in New York. And in addition to having composed *Vocal and Instrumental Music*, to a considerable extent, has also translated Dr. Marx's celebrated work on Musical Composition, and is the author of the *Vade Mecum*—books which need no other recommendation than the various editions of them which are rapidly succeeding each other.

As a Pianist Mr. S. has few if any superiors. The *London Musical World*, *London Musical Times*, *La France Musicale* and other foreign papers have frequently made favorable mention of his talents. From the many we select the following, contributed by Henri Herz, in an article to the "*France Musicale* :

"I should fail to render Mr. Saroni justice if I did not mention that he unites to the qualities of a Journalist, the double talent of a Pianist and Composer. In the Concerts which I gave in New York Mr. S. seconded me with the utmost kindness and great success. I have often remarked that his name on the Concert Bills gave an increased attraction to the public."

With such evidence before us we cannot but feel confident in saying that Mr. Saroni is able to impart the most thorough instruction in Music, both as a science and an art, and that, in this department no Institution in the country possesses superior advantages. Mr. S. will also give instruction in Drawing and Painting in Oil Colors, and in the French, German and Italian Languages all of which he speaks.

For further information, address either of the officers, or any member of the Board of Trustees.
Lumpkin, Nov. 8, 1853 45 tfeb1

TO THE
MUSICAL WORLD.



THE undersigned having concluded to make Columbus his permanent residence, takes this method of informing the public

that he proposes teaching

VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC
in all its branches as well as its theory.

The success which has attended his efforts thus far, warrants him in promising his pupils, a thorough knowledge of the art.

He would also offer his services to such gentlemen as wish to perfect themselves in Instrumental Music, and who, rather than instruction, need some one to accompany them upon the Piano or other Instrument.

In addition to the above, he will also teach the **FRENCH, GERMAN AND ITALIAN LANGUAGES**, All of which he speaks and writes fluently.

TERMS, TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS per QUARTER.

Where two or more pupils take lessons together, a deduction will be made. For further particulars and references enquire of the undersigned at Truax & Vanden Berg's Music Store, Pease's Book Store, or at this office.

HERRMAN S. SARONI.

TO TEACHERS OF MUSIC,

And those who wish to prepare themselves for such vocation, Mr. Saroni would specially offer his services, as a thorough study of the musical theory, and the experience of teaching, has enabled him to reduce "teaching music" to a perfect system, which can be imparted to any one without difficulty.

Dec. 16, '54

tw tf

Herrman Saroni's advertisements in the *Columbus Enquirer*, December 13, 1853 (left) and December 26, 1854 (right).

CONCERT.
THE PHIL-HARMONIC SOCIETY
 Will give their first Concert at
CONCERT HALL,
 On Thursday Evening April 12th. 1855
 Tickets 50 cents, to be had at the Music Stores,
 and at the door on the evening of the Concert.
 Doors open at 7, Concert commences at 8 o'clock.
 April 7 tw 1 ap 12

Advertisement from the *Columbus Enquirer*, April 10, 1855.

While not part of his stated intentions, he likely had a hand in the blooming of the Philharmonic Society shortly after his arrival in Columbus. A story in late March, 1855, described fifteen or twenty amateurs taking part in a rehearsal for the Society, which gave its first concert on April 12.¹⁰ A review of the concert mentioned the brief history of the group:

"The audience assembled on the occasion was not only large, but one of the most select that we have ever seen on a similar occasion; who seemed, with our selves, to have been agreeably surprised at the degree of skill and advancement manifested by the various members of the Society, considering the comparatively short time since their organization."¹¹

The reviewer congratulated the musicians on their rapid development and hoped they would improve and prosper in the future. Another review, while positive, provided some unsolicited advice:

"A little more boldness and freedom on the part of the performers and a greater diversity in the character of the pieces selected is all that is needed to secure the unqualified approbation of the public."¹²

Today, a bronze marker located next to the River Center for the Performing Arts in downtown Columbus commemorates Saroni's contribution to the musical history of the city. Unfortunately, that marker also helps perpetuate the persistent but unsubstantiated claim that Saroni studied music under

¹⁰ "Philharmonic Society," *Columbus Enquirer*, March 27, 1855, 2.

¹¹ "The Philharmonic Concert," *Columbus Enquirer*, April 17, 1855, 2.

¹² "Concert of the Philharmonics," *Columbus Times and Sentinel*, April 14, 1855, 2.

the composer Felix Mendelssohn.¹³ While he certainly studied Mendelssohn's music, he actually studied music under Friedrich Schneider, according to a short biography of Saroni published during his lifetime.¹⁴

While in Columbus, Saroni wrote at least two compositions dedicated to young ladies, probably his students, and both dated 1855. The "Lover's Leap Galop" was dedicated to Mary V. Nicholls (probably Mary V. Nuckolls) and "La Belle Georgienne" dedicated to Emily Boykin. Another likely local composition is the "Columbus Guards Waltz."¹⁵ The professor found it necessary to travel north in 1855 but had returned to Columbus by October looking for more students.¹⁶ In November, the local paper ran the story of a six-year-old musical prodigy, a slave owned by General Bethune.¹⁷ It would be interesting to know if Professor Saroni had ever met or witnessed the talent of Blind Tom Wiggins, as the two were undoubtedly the biggest musical talents in Columbus at the time. The Philharmonic Society gave at least two concerts during 1855 and was set to give another in December. All was not well for Saroni in Columbus at the time, though, as in mid-December he posted a notification that he had sold his entire stock of music and was away from town, again.¹⁸



Opening measure of "La Belle Georgienne," dedicated to Emily Boykin.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

¹³ Urrows, "Herrman S. Saroni," 9.

¹⁴ George E. Warner, and Charles M. Foote, *History of Ramsey County and St. Paul: Including the Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Co., 1881), 604.

¹⁵ *New York Musical Review and Gazette*, 1855, Vol. 6, 414.

¹⁶ "To the Musical World," *Columbus Enquirer*, October 16, 1855, 3.

¹⁷ "A Musical Prodigy," *Columbus Enquirer*, November 13, 1855, 3.

¹⁸ "Sale of Music," *Columbus Triweekly Enquirer*, December 15, 1855, 3.

La belle Georgienne
GRAND WALTZ
Composed for the Piano Forte and Dedicated to
MISS EMILY BOYKIN
or
HERRMAN S. SARONI

NEW YORK
Published by HORACE WATERS, *Printer*

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1855 by H. S. Saroni in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

One of Saroni's 1855 compositions dedicated to Columbus girls.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

TO
Miss Mary V. Nicholls

The Lovers' Leap

GALOP

For the
PIANO

Herrman & Saroni.

New York.

Published by HORACE WATERS 333 Broadway.

289
 Separated in Clubs N.Y. Dec. 10. 1855

One of Saroni's 1855 compositions dedicated to Columbus girls.
 Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

THE LOVER'S LEAP

G A L O P.

HERRMAN S. SARONI.



Opening measure of "The Lover's Leap Galop."
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

H. S. SARONI,
PROFESSOR OF MUSIC,
COLUMBUS, GA.

Jan. 18, 1855 tw 11

One of Saroni's advertisements from the *Columbus Enquirer*.

Saroni, for whatever reason, found it necessary to abandon Columbus altogether in early 1856.¹⁹ He left word that Mr. F. M. Sofge was available to take over his teaching and settle his accounts.²⁰ Mr. Sofge however, found it necessary to place an advertisement of his own to announce he would happily teach Saroni's students but he had no funds with which to settle Saroni's accounts.²¹ A possible clue as to why Saroni left Columbus is found in a poem he published, entitled "Alone," which appeared on the front

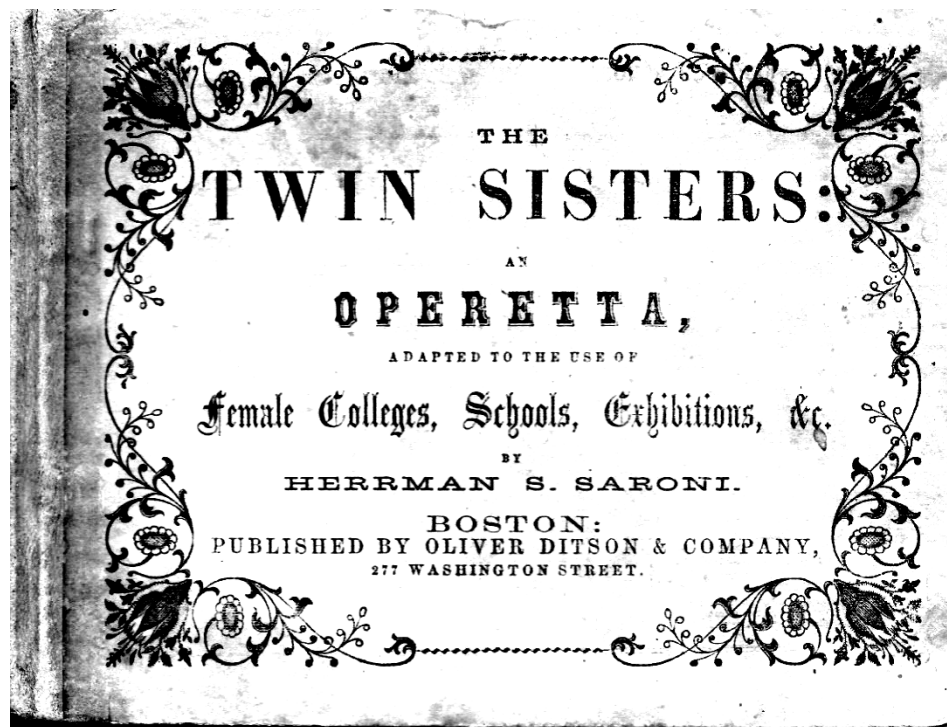
¹⁹ *New York Musical Review and Gazette*, Vol. 7, 1856, 130.

²⁰ "Notice," *Columbus Enquirer*, April 22, 1856, 3.

²¹ "Notice," *Columbus Enquirer*, April 29, 1856, 3.

page of the *Columbus Enquirer*.²² In the poem, the author laments being alone as he sits by the river while his love lies deep underground. By the end of the poem however, the spell is broken and he is no longer alone. Saroni most likely headed for neighboring Alabama when he left Columbus, as that is where he turns up next.

Saroni was in Huntsville, Alabama, by 1857, teaching at the Huntsville Female College. He married his second wife, Anna Rhodes Dils, an English immigrant and widow, in Huntsville in 1858. She had become a widow when her husband Stephen Dils died in 1850 in Wood County, Virginia (now West Virginia, across the Ohio River from Marietta, Ohio). Herrman and Anna show up in the 1860 census there with his Virginia-born stepdaughter Catie. Although published in Boston, it was in Huntsville that he wrote "The Twin Sisters," probably his most famous composition and said to be the first American operetta. He published the piece in 1860.²³



Cover of sheet music for "The Twin Sisters."

Saroni spent the first three years of the Civil War (1861-1865) in Huntsville but moved to Louisville in 1864.²⁴ Saroni evidently forayed into mechanical pursuits at that time, as he gave his occupation as a patent agent in Augusta, Georgia, in 1865 and 1866.²⁵ It is in that city in April 1866 that

²² "Alone," *Columbus Enquirer*, October 16, 1855, 1.

²³ Urrows, "Herman S. Saroni," 9.

²⁴ "Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them," *Richmond Whig*, July 5, 1864, 2.

²⁵ U.S. Tax Assessments List 1862-1918, www.ancestry.com, accessed August 11, 2018.

he produced his next operetta and started the Georgia Petroleum Stove and Gas Light Company with a Mr. Bosworth. They intended to make and market petroleum vapor stoves. Saroni demonstrated the stove in the basement of the Planters Hotel in Augusta where he also operated a two-horse power steam engine which ran on petroleum. By the late summer of 1866, however, he claimed residence in Marietta, Ohio, and while living there received four patents on August 28, 1866, for a "Steam Boiler Fire-Tube," a "Steam Boiler Water-Heater," an "Apparatus for Steaming Vegetables," and a "Vapor Burner."²⁶

Saroni spent many years experimenting with petroleum vapors (gasoline), a byproduct of the refining process of crude oil. Gasoline makes up a large percentage of each barrel of crude oil and, in his time, it was simply a waste product. Steam, generated by burning wood or coal, was the preferred power source of the day. Saroni experimented with ways to create a controlled flame using gasoline by mixing it with air and forcing into a small jet, the same way that natural gas works in stoves today. He found he could get the same amount of heat from a smaller amount of fuel using gasoline instead of coal. The heat was also generated faster using gasoline, being produced virtually instantaneously when the fuel ignited. The internal combustion engine was in its infancy at this time, though, and would not bypass steam as the power of choice for quite a while.

The year 1867 saw Saroni break new ground in his search for uses of petroleum vapors. That year he converted an Ohio River steamship, the *Allena May*, from coal to petroleum vapor power and proved gasoline's potential as a viable fuel for the steamboat industry. He rechristened the boat the *Fire King*.²⁷

In August of 1867, the *Fire King* traveled up and down the river between Cincinnati and Louisville with several experienced steamer captains, insurance men and other officials onboard. The *Cincinnati Commercial* proclaimed one demonstration of the steamer a success, providing a detailed account of the trip.²⁸ The boilers were heated more quickly and with less fuel by weight and cost than a comparable coal-powered engine. After the demonstration, Saroni had the assembled onlookers treated to lunch, cooked on petroleum vapor stoves, with plenty of champagne to wash it down. Admiral Tegetthof of the Austrian Navy and his staff attended another demonstration and ordered a boiler and engine for him to take back to Austria.²⁹ Although the demonstrations were a success, the venture itself was not. In November, the supplier of the boilers and machinery sued Saroni for the value of the parts and won.³⁰

²⁶ "Improvement in Steam-Generators," U.S. Patent No. 57575, dated August 28, 1866, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=57575>, accessed August 11, 2018; "Improvement in Feed-Water Heaters for Steam-Generators," U.S. Patent No. 57576, dated August 28, 1866, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=57576>, accessed August 11, 2018, "Improved Apparatus for Steaming Vegetables, &c.," U.S. Patent No. 57577, dated August 28, 1866, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=57577>, accessed August 11, 2018.

²⁷ "River Intelligence," *Louisville Daily Courier*, December 16, 1867, 3.

²⁸ "Petroleum as Fuel for Steamers," *Louisville Daily Courier*, August 13, 1867, 4.

²⁹ "From Above," *New Orleans Times-Democrat* August 13, 1867, 7.

³⁰ "River Intelligence," *Louisville Daily Courier*, November 27, 1867, 3.

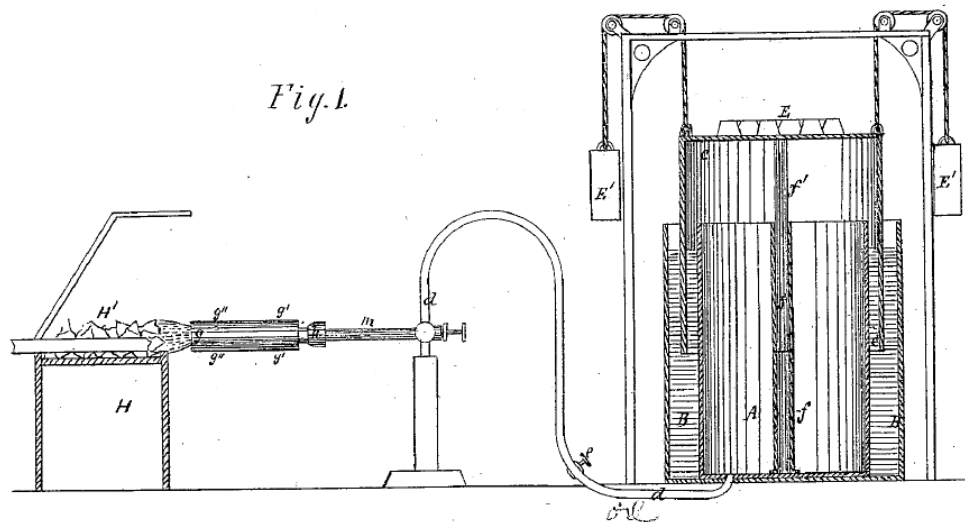
The *Fire King* saga ended in December 1867 when Saroni sold the boat at a loss and new owner reported that he was removing the petroleum apparatus.³¹

Although he spent the latter part of 1867 between Cincinnati and Louisville with the *Fire King*, the Baltimore city directory lists Saroni as living at Barnum's Hotel there that year. As Saroni entered into business arrangements with people and operated out of different cities simultaneously, he was likely doing this while residing in Baltimore through 1870. He had projects going on in Maryland and Illinois, but was in Baltimore when he patented an "Improved Vapor Burner" in January 1869.³² However, he gave his home as Chicago when he patented another "Vapor Burner" a little more than a month later.³³ Saroni was back in Baltimore when he patented his "Vapor Burner for Cooking or Heating" a year later, in March 1870.³⁴ In October 1870, an advertisement appeared in the Baltimore papers stating that J. C. Phipps was retiring from a partnership with H.S. Saroni but that the gas lamp and stove business would continue under the name J. C. Phipps & Co.³⁵ Saroni shows up in the Baltimore census and city directory in 1870 living at the Eutaw House hotel.

H. S. SARONI.
No. 126,158.

Petroleum Forge or Blow-Pipe.

Patented April 30, 1872.



Sketch of Saroni's "Petroleum Forge or Blow-Pipe."
Courtesy of the U.S. Patent Office.

³¹ "River News," *Louisville Daily Courier*, December 16, 1867, 3.

³² "Improvement in Vapor-Burners," U.S. Patent No. 85698, dated January 5, 1869, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=85698>, accessed August 11, 2018.

³³ "Improvement in Vapor-Burners," U.S. Patent No. 86870, dated February 9, 1869, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=86870>, accessed August 11, 2018.

³⁴ "Vapor-Burner for Cooking or Heating," U.S. Patent No. 100807, dated March 15, 1870, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=100807>, accessed August 11, 2018.

³⁵ "Dissolution of Partnership," *Baltimore Sun*, September 28, 1870, 2.

The professor next made his way to Philadelphia where the city directory listed him as living at the American Hotel in 1872. However, he patented a "Petroleum Forge or Blow Pipe" in April from Cincinnati, Ohio. Three weeks later, he patented an improved soldering iron from that city, as well.³⁶

Saroni returned to the musical scene with a most fortuitous trip to St. Paul, Minnesota. The reason for the visit, aside from lecturing on music, was likely to visit his brother-in-law, William Rhodes. Saroni received a warm welcome from the town. The community found they had in their midst an "unrecognized genius and survivor of the Chicago Fire" on July 23, 1873.³⁷ Two days later, that city's head of the Musical Society and director of the Maennerchor (male choir), Professor Conrad Zenzius, another German immigrant, died under mysterious circumstances.³⁸ This allowed Saroni to waltz into the positions vacated by the death of Zenzius.³⁹ Saroni was called the "newly discovered light in the St. Paul musical world" when his upcoming lecture on "Appreciation of the Beautiful in Music" was announced.⁴⁰ He remained in St. Paul for several years, following his musical interest full time. He evidently developed no new inventions and received no new patents since his soldering iron back in Cincinnati. Instead, he continued writing music, lecturing and performing. Saroni wrote a quartet and quintet for St. Paul's Orchestral Union in October 1877. In March 1878, he delivered a lecture on a long list of musical topics entitled "Thirty Years Ago."⁴¹

However, Saroni could not leave his beloved petroleum vapors for long. In October 1878, he bid on a contract to light the city of St. Paul with his petroleum vapor lamps. His was not the low bid but he had his supporters, including his brother-in-law, an alderman on the city's Common Council, and won the contract.⁴² Saroni's troubles with the lights began to emerge quickly. Local boys took great delight in breaking the lamps, causing numerous outages. By February, 1879, the council received a petition with a hundred signatures claiming Saroni's lights were insufficient. He had received a fine for having fifty-five lamps out in November. Despite the problems, the contract renewed in 1879 and 1880. The contract ended in October 1881 when the Gas and Water Committee of the Common Council voted to terminate it for nonperformance after reporting 749 outages for the previous September.⁴³ William Rhodes, his brother-in-law, alderman, president of the Common Council, and advocate, had died the previous February.

³⁶ "Improvement in Soldering-Irons," U.S. Patent No. 126905, dated May 21, 1872, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=126905>, accessed August 11, 2018.

³⁷ "St. Paul Budget," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, July 23, 1873, 4.

³⁸ "Still A Mystery," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, July 27, 1873, 4.

³⁹ "St. Paul Budget, Brevities," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, August 1, 1878, 4; "St. Paul Budget, Brevities," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, August 8, 1878, 4.

⁴⁰ "St. Paul Budget," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, July 31, 1873, 4.

⁴¹ "Coming Entertainments," *St. Paul Globe*, March 17, 1878, 8.

⁴² "Saroni's Scoop," *St. Paul Globe*, October 15, 1878, 4.

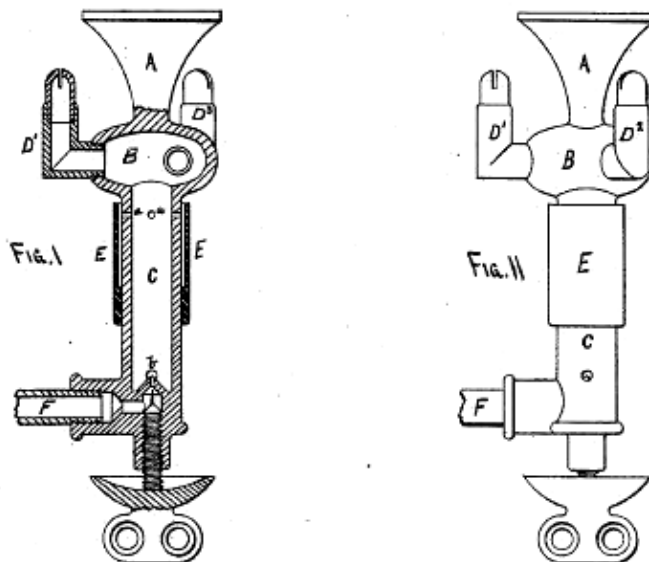
⁴³ "Official Proceedings of the Common Council," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, October 8, 1881, 3.

(No Model.)

H. S. SARONI.
Vapor Burner.

No. 240,551.

Patented April 26, 1881.



Sketch of Saroni's "Vapor Burner."
Courtesy of the U.S. Patent Office.

Saroni remained listed as professor of music or music teacher in the St. Paul city directories of 1879, 1880 and 1881, while he provided street lighting and continued work on his inventions. He obtained several more patents in St. Paul, including one for a "Vapor-Burner," especially made for street lamps, on April 26, 1881.⁴⁴ Later that year and in 1882, he received patents for two variations of a "Hydrocarbon Furnace."⁴⁵ The loss of the lighting contract may be due to the distraction of these activities and his work on what turned out to be his most famous invention—the "steam wagon."

The construction of the wagon, usually attributed to the year 1880, actually debuted a year earlier. It ran on the city streets of St. Paul on August 30, 1879 and possibly as early as April 23. The earliest account of the wagon describes the vehicle as having three wheels, being four feet in height and sitting two feet off the ground and claimed it could convert to a steamboat to cross a river.⁴⁶ An account of one demonstration says it ran down Ninth Street to Minnesota Street at speeds of between five and six miles per hour with no mention of being amphibious.⁴⁷ Considered by the Minnesota Historical Society to

⁴⁴ "Vapor-Burner," U.S. Patent No. 240551, issued April 26, 1881, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=240551>, accessed August 11, 2018.

⁴⁵ "Hydrocarbon-Furnance," U.S. Patent No. 244081, issued July 12, 1881, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=244081>, accessed August 11, 2018 and "Hydrocarbon-Furnace," U.S. Patent No. 260789, issued July 11, 1882, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=260789>, accessed August 11, 2018.

⁴⁶ "A Steam Wagon," *St. Paul Globe*, April 23, 1879, 2.

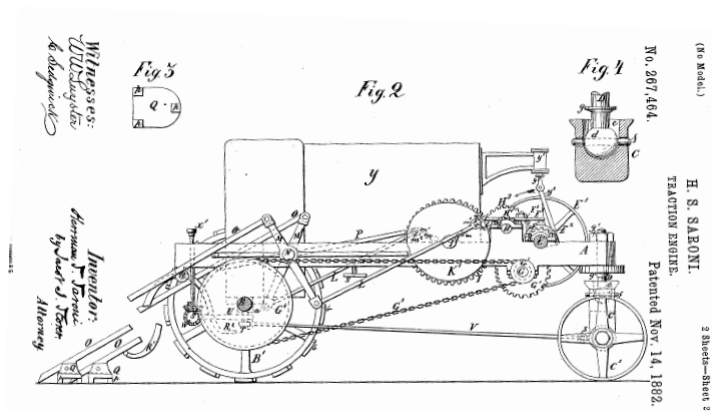
⁴⁷ "Saroni's Strike," *St. Paul Globe*, August 31, 1879, 4.

be the first automobile made in Minnesota, Saroni drove his steam wagon around St. Paul seventeen years before Henry Ford built his quadricycle in Detroit.⁴⁸

Saroni demonstrated his steam wagon to wider audiences in 1880 and 1881 after further refinements.⁴⁹ Based on descriptions from later years, it appears that Saroni modified his steam wagon into a traction engine. He received patents in November 1882 for his "Traction Engine" and a "Combined Steam Condenser and Tender" designed to accompany it. A traction engine is a self-propelled steam engine, similar to a railroad locomotive, but without tracks. The operator drives the engine to a location and fixes it in place to provide power for a threshing machine, sawmill, or other purpose requiring steam power. A unique feature of Saroni's engine was its ability to climb hills as described in the *New York Times*:

"Taking the idea from the fact that a horse can draw a much heavier load than its own weight, the inventor has introduced two sets of levers that correspond exactly in movement and the application of power with the two hind legs of a horse, the one alternating with the other precisely as do the limbs of the animal."⁵⁰

The diagram that accompanies the patent shows what appear to be two sets of horseshoes extending from the back the contraption. From the side, the levers look more like the back legs of a grasshopper than a horse. While it was not the only traction engine in operation at the time, Saroni's use of gasoline as fuel makes it exceptional. The machine weighed much less than others that used wood or coal.⁵¹



Sketch of Saroni's traction engine.
Courtesy of the U.S. Patent Office.

⁴⁸ Alan Olminky, "A Catalog of Minnesota-Made Cars and Trucks," *Minnesota History* (Fall 1972), 94.

⁴⁹ "A Steam Road-Wagon," *New York Times*, March 15, 1880, 3; "Steam Road Engine," *St. Paul Globe*, April 15, 1881, 2.

⁵⁰ "A Steam Road-Wagon."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

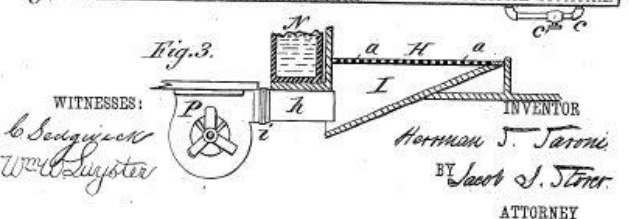
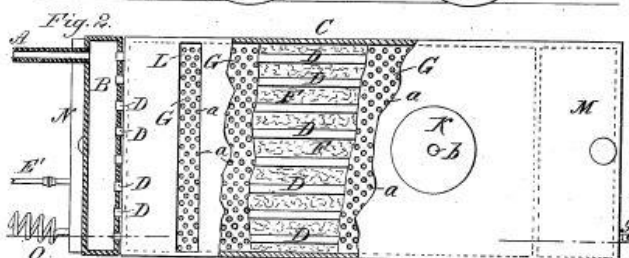
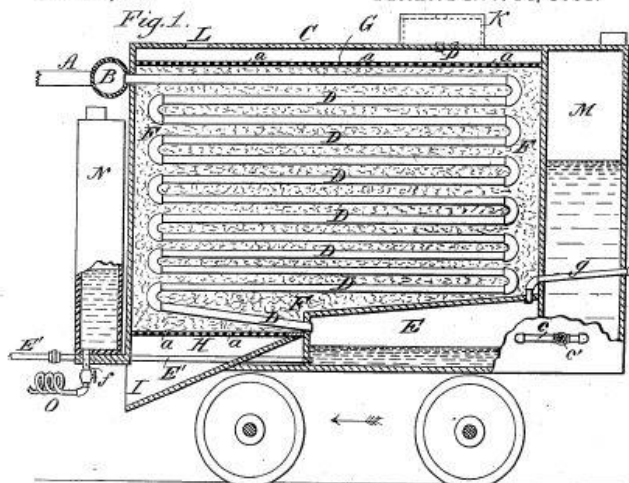
(No Model.)

H. S. SARONI.

COMBINED STEAM CONDENSER AND TENDER.

No. 267,463.

Patented Nov. 14, 1882.



Sketch of Saroni's "Combined Steam Condenser and Tender."
Courtesy of the U.S. Patent Office.

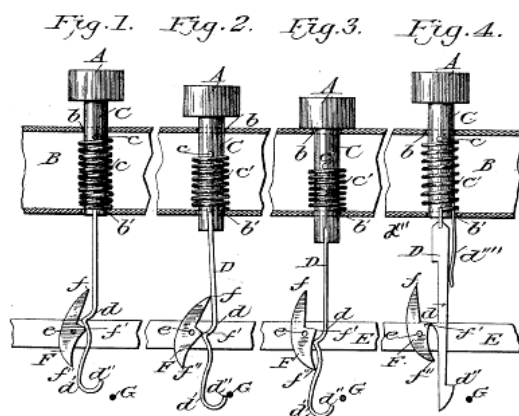
Saroni may have relocated to Boston after receiving his patent for the traction engine. He had family there and an H. S. Saroni appears in the 1883 Boston City directory as living at the Commonwealth Hotel but no music or inventions of his emanate from that city at the time. According to his obituary, Saroni moved to Marietta, Ohio, by 1885. His wife's daughter was living there with her family. However, when he composed "Marietta's Centennial Ode" in 1888, he was referred to as "Professor Saroni of Boston."⁵²

In his later years, Saroni combined his two passions and developed a couple of musical inventions. In February 1892, he patented a musical instrument in both the United States and Canada. It

⁵² "Marietta's Centennial," *Dayton Herald*, July 16, 1888, 1.

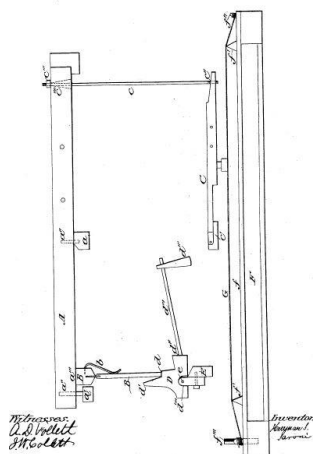
consisted of several keys used to play the zither instead of the fingers.⁵³ The next month, he patented a piano action in the United States to make a piano play more like a zither or dulcimer, using a shallow resonant body instead of the piano's ordinary sounding board.⁵⁴

(No Model.)
H. S. SARONI.
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.
 No. 468,265. Patented Feb. 2, 1892.



Sketches of Saroni's "Musical Instrument" and "Piano Action."
 Courtesy of the U.S. Patent Office.

(No Model.)
H. S. SARONI.
PIANO ACTION.
 No. 470,448. Patented Mar. 8, 1892.



⁵³ "Musical Instrument," U.S. Patent No. 468265, issued February 2, 1892, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=468265>, accessed August 11, 2018; and Musical Instrument, Canadian Patent No. 38772, issued April 21, 1892, <http://www.ic.gc.ca/opic-cipo/cpd/eng/patent/38772/summary.html>, accessed August 11, 2018.

⁵⁴ "Piano Action," U.S. Patent No. 470,448, issued March 8, 1892, <http://pdfpiw.uspto.gov/.piw?Docid=470448>, accessed August 11, 2018.

Saroni remained active late into his life. He published a piano piece entitled "Devotion" in 1896.⁵⁵ The next year, he started a business with some partners to produce "The Cromatic[sic] Return Disk," a type of toy that was never fully explained but may have been a precursor to the frisbee.⁵⁶ He also performed what was probably his last concert in 1897.⁵⁷ In 1898, he was still advertising for music students.⁵⁸ In 1899, he submitted a Christmas story about music in a small German town to the local paper and published his last composition, "Un Souvenir."⁵⁹ Saroni died in Marietta, Ohio, in August of 1900 at the age of 77. His wife Annie followed the next year. The couple had no children; however, Annie had three children from her earlier marriage and several grandchildren at the time of her death.⁶⁰

About one hundred years after Saroni's arrival in Columbus, a musicologist named Grace Yerbury stumbled upon his story and alerted the local paper.⁶¹ She initially intended to write a book about him but ended up only devoting a chapter to him in her book *America In Song*.⁶² In its pages, Yerbury ascribes a particular school of early American music to Saroni. Her work forms the basis of everything written about him up to this point in Columbus. Little else remains to remember him by. Apparently, Saroni was not one to have his picture taken. No photographs of him, his petroleum stove, the *Fire King*, his gaslights or steam wagon exist. It is unfortunate that he did not stay in Columbus permanently. In addition to leading our Philharmonic Society, he could have lit the streets with gaslights, run his steamboat up and down the Chattahoochee and driven his steam wagon through town. Saroni would have made an excellent addition to the already creative and industrious city.

⁵⁵ The Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/DevotionSaroni>, accessed August 11, 2018.

⁵⁶ "Company Organized," *Marietta Daily Leader*, November 5, 1897, 3.

⁵⁷ "The Saroni Concert," *Marietta Daily Leader*, May 14, 1897, 2,

⁵⁸ "A Rare Opportunity for Studying Harmony," *Marietta Daily Leader*, January 3, 1898, 3.

⁵⁹ "From Christmas to New Years," *Marietta Daily Leader*, December 30, 1899, 3; *Catalogue of Title Entries of Books and other Articles*, Vol 18, First Quarter, 1899, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 614.

⁶⁰ "H.S. Saroni, A Brief Account of His Life and Work," and "Mrs. H. S. Saroni," *Marietta Daily Leader*, September 17, 1901, 4.

⁶¹ Dick Gruenwald, "Symphony Here in 1855 Could Have Been First One Formed in Georgia," *Sunday Ledger-Enquirer*, March 14, 1954.

⁶² Grace Yerbury, *America in Song from Early Times to About 1850* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1971), 240.



Advertisement for Saroni's last known concert, *Marietta Daily Leader*, May 13, 1897.

He Said, She Said...The Same Thing: Two Perspectives on the Battle of Columbus

by

Stephen Townsend

Finding witnesses to history in genealogical research makes the heart race. History suddenly becomes real in these instances, and for the researcher, there is a close connection to something that was once just a factoid from the past. For African-Americans whose ancestors were once slaves, uncovering any information about the day-to-day lives of those ancestors is amazing. And it is even more amazing when those ancestors' stories are corroborated in the narratives of others who lived the same experience. For decades after the close of the Civil War, participants from all walks of life shared their experiences in journals, newspaper articles and in-depth interviews. This article explores two narratives of the last battle of the war from the perspectives of a slave and a Confederate soldier whose lives and experiences intersected at that pivotal point in history.

The daughter of a free, half-Creek father and a black slave, Fannie Fort Bellamy recalled her life in vivid detail in a series of articles for the *Columbus Enquirer*.¹ Fannie was born in Bullock County, Alabama about 1830. Her earliest recollection was that she and her mother were slaves owned by Elias Fort of Russell County, Alabama.² Fannie identified her parents as Emily Fort and Bob Grant. Bob was a free "half-Indian" man according to Fannie. "My mother wuz named Emily. She wuz a Christian. She wuz a good woman."³

At some point in her childhood, Fannie became the slave of Thomas McDonough Grant, a Russell County physician and farmer.⁴ Grant was the brother-in-law of Elias Fort and of William Bellamy. The Grants, Forts, and Bellamys had neighboring farms and were also related to each other by marriage. When she was about fifteen years old, Fannie took John Bellamy, a slave owned by William Bellamy, as her husband. Bellamy's sister-in-law, Mary Jane Benton, was married to McDonough Grant.⁵ William West

¹ Larry Agee, "Aunt Fannie; Russell County Ex-Slave, Now in 110th Year of 'Happy Living,'" *Columbus Enquirer*, November 17, 1949; Ray Jenkins, "Five Score and Ten: Fannie Remembers Yankees' Invasion," *Columbus Enquirer*, March 23, 1955.

² Jenkins, "Five Score and Ten."

³ Agee, "Aunt Fannie,"; Death Certificate for Fannie Bellamy, February 7, 1958, Seale, Alabama, Russell County, Certificate No. 4900, Bureau of Vital Statistics, State of Alabama.

⁴ Agee, "Aunt Fannie."

⁵ Jenkins, "Five Score and Ten;" Agee, "Aunt Fannie."

Grant was the third child and eldest son of McDonough and Mary Jane Benton Grant, born on November 15, 1845, in Russell County, Alabama. According to his biography, young Grant worked on his father's farm along with his brothers and the family's slaves growing up in the 1850s.⁶



Fannie Fort Bellamy in her later years.
Courtesy of the Townsend Family.

⁶ William N. Byers, "William W. Grant," in *Encyclopedia of Biography of Colorado*, Volume One (Chicago: Century Publishing and Engraving Company, 1901), 253-254.

On January 11, 1861, Alabama became the fourth Southern state to secede from the Union.⁷ For my ancestors held in bondage, the war became the source of much gossip and hidden hope. However, the actual fighting and its promise of eventual freedom did not reach them until the final months of the conflict. For the slave-owning families of the Chattahoochee Valley, however, war brought devastation in ways they could not have imagined when the Southern states seceded. For most of the war, Alabama troops were heavily involved in the major fighting that was occurring in locations across Tennessee, Mississippi, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. As the tide shifted toward a Union victory following the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, though, the conflict began to push closer to Alabama.⁸

After William Tecumseh Sherman took the city of Atlanta in the summer of 1864, several Alabama Confederate regiments were ordered to Columbus, Georgia. As one of the last major Southern industrial cities left unaffected by the fighting, Confederate leaders knew the city was likely to be attacked. Confederate forces built a series of trenches and redoubts on the Girard, Alabama, side of the Chattahoochee River to defend Columbus from Union attack.⁹

Around that same time, William West Grant and his younger brother, James Benton Grant, joined the Confederate Army. Both lied about their ages in order to serve.¹⁰ In an article written for the United Daughters of the Confederacy's Robert E. Lee Chapter in Denver, Colorado, years later, William shared some of his experiences during the war:

"...and though the enlistment officer made some objection to my frail physique, this was overruled, and I enlisted for the War, in Capt. Nat Clanton's artillery company, which I joined in Pollard, Ala...

...During 1864 we were in North Alabama most of the time – at Marengo, Talladega, Mumford and other places – and we engaged in a small way in the battles of New Hope Church and Rome, Ga., and camped for a while at Marietta, Ga...

...In the winter of 1864, we were ordered back to Alabama. The Confederacy was hard pressed. In the early spring of 1865 Gen. James H. Wilson, with a large force of Federal cavalry, entered Alabama from Vicksburg. Our little force went from Demopolis to Selma, and then to Montgomery, and as all strong opposition had ceased, and Wilson was meeting with no effective opposition our company was ordered from Montgomery to Columbus, Ga."¹¹

⁷ Thornton, Mills III, "Secession," *Encyclopedia of Alabama*, <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3148>, accessed April 19, 2018.

⁸ G. Ward Hubbs, "Civil War in Alabama," *Encyclopedia of Alabama*, <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1429>, accessed April 19, 2018.

⁹ Charles Jewett Swift, "The Last Battle of the Civil War," *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, Volume 56 (May-June 1915), 359-375.

¹⁰ Byers, "William W. Grant."

¹¹ W. W. Grant, "Recollections of the Last Battle," *Confederate Veteran*, Volume 23 (April, 1915), 163-165.

A week after General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, Virginia, Union troops under General James H. Wilson captured Montgomery, Alabama, the former capital of the Confederate government. He then moved toward Columbus. In the last major battle of the Civil War, Union troops captured Columbus on Easter Sunday, April 16, 1865.¹² William Grant shared his experiences in that fight:

"Here a small force of regulars and some militiamen, under the control of Gen. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was stationed, ready to offer all possible resistance to the onward March of Wilson's Cavalry. At Montgomery or Opelika General Wilson divided his forces, one part taking a more southern route and the other crossing the Chattahoochee River at West Point, Ga., fifty miles above Columbus, where a brisk engagement occurred, resulting in the death of Confederate General Tyler.

In the distinguished role of corporal (gunner), conferred upon me at Marengo by Lt. Goldthwaite, I entered the last battle (or skirmish) and was still brimful of hope and enthusiasm for a cause already lost; but we did not then know that General Lee had surrendered on April 9 and that an armistice was in force between Generals Johnston and Sherman and fighting had ceased...

At about 9:30 in the evening of April 16 we heard distinctly the bugle call of the enemy in front of our line to charge. With our six- and 12-pound brass howitzers, we were ordered to commence firing at an estimated distance of fifteen hundred yards...The firing continued briskly for some time. I cannot recall the exact hour, but when the order to cease firing was given there was a hurried conference of officers of the company, and a little after midnight we received the sad and what proved to be the last order to "take care of ourselves." I was just eighteen miles from my home...

I left the battle line with a dozen comrades. We knew that Wilson's Cavalry was scouring the county for livestock, provisions, wagons, etc. We tramped over hills and through the woods, giving the public highways a wide berth to avoid capture...¹³

Fannie Bellamy also recounted memories of the Union troops coming through Alabama during that last phase of the Civil War in her later years. As the troops neared the Grant plantation in Russell County, Alabama, the Grant family members fled, leaving the slaves to deal with the terrifying situation. Fannie recalled:

"My ole marster made us take de white folkses' meat and bury it in a pit in de woods so de Yankees couldn't find it. De woods wuz thick way back den. Ole marster tole us ter leave one ham out. We hid de mules and de hosses in de woods and throwed de truk (harness) in de creek.¹⁴

¹² Swift, "The Last Battle of the Civil War."

¹³ Grant, "Recollections."

¹⁴ Agee, "Aunt Fannie."

William Grant's account of the incident echoes a similar story to that which Fannie told:

"The first night after the Columbus engagement I reached the home of Mr. Jere Bennett and though just three miles from my own home, I was so exhausted that I wanted to borrow a horse in order to get home that night. Mr. Bennett was in hiding with his mules, and I was guided by a negro woman, Amy, to his hiding place...He would not let me go farther that night because Wilson's cavalymen were still raiding the countryside for provisions and were not particular to exclude from capture anybody wearing a Confederate uniform even at that date...

I reached home the second day. I came through the woods and the fields and by the "back road" from the house to the farm. It was noon, and the negroes, among whom was Austin, had just started to the field; they were the first to greet me. I was wearing a blue-gray military cap, and on this account they mistook my identity...However, I was soon recognized and surrounded by black and white...

My brother, James B. Grant, who had been in the service four months in Capt. R.H. Bellamy's battery, of Waddell's Battalion, arrived home from near Macon, Ga., the second day after my arrival...

Our father, feeble and white-haired, was forced by mother (to prevent capture) into the darkness at the rear of the houses, where we joined him: and we three, standing there in the outer darkness and talking in whispers, witnessed the last act – the appropriation of those necessities upon which, existence for the coming year so much depended. Mother with her own hands gave all the milk and butter of the dairy to the Union soldiers. The six mules were hitched to the red farm wagon, which was filled with all the hams and shoulders from the smokehouse, and the company left with their plunder for the camp, six or seven miles away. It was at the season when mules and provisions were essential to the making of the crop and when much delay would necessarily be disastrous to the success of it.

It is needless to dwell upon the distress of my father, especially with a big family of his own and relatives, deprived of their homes by the war, dependent upon him, besides his obligation to the slaves, who were not responsible for existing conditions."¹⁹

After the Civil War ended, Fannie Bellamy and her family continued working for the Grant family, but as free people. "They was so many slaves there – they didn't know where to go," Fannie recalled of the impact of emancipation on the freedmen. "They finally just scattered and went this way and that

¹⁹ Grant, "Recollections."

way."²⁰ Many freedmen went in search of family members and friends from whom they had been separated during slavery. Some attempted to escape cruel former masters by finding other white farmers for whom they could work. Others just wanted to test the limits of their freedom by going wherever they wanted for the first times in their lives.²¹

Given the Grant family's financial devastation following the war, William Grant remained in Alabama for a year. He then left to attend Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia with financial support from his paternal uncle, Judge James Grant of Davenport, Iowa. He completed his medical education at Bellevue and Long Island Medical College in New York.²² He went on to become a noted physician in Denver, Colorado, performing the first successful appendectomy operation. He died in Denver in 1934.²³

Fannie remained in Russell County until her death in 1958.²⁴ While many of Fannie's descendants still live and thrive in and around the Russell County, Alabama, community in which their ancestors were held as slaves, her descendants have also dispersed around the country.

²⁰ Jenkins, "Five Score and Ten."

²¹ David M. Oshinsky, *Worse Than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 16-17.

²² Byers, "William W. Grant."

²³ "Former local surgeon who performed first operation for appendicitis, is dead," *Quad City Times*, January 11, 1934.

²⁴ Death Certificate for Fannie Bellamy.

A Tour Through Creek Country: Travel Writer John Pope's Stay on the Chattahoochee in 1791

by

Mike Bunn

One of most interesting accounts of life among the Creek Indians of the lower Chattahoochee River Valley in the 1700s is found in John Pope's *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America, the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas; the Countries of the Creek Nations; and Many Uninhabited Parts*.¹ An intriguing travelogue written by an intelligent and observant man about whom we know all too little, the book is actually a treasure trove of information on daily life throughout a wide area of North America at the time. Included below is a transcription of Pope's writing about his stay in this area during the travels which formed the basis for his book. These passages provide an unfiltered glimpse of Creek society as it would have been encountered by guests, with fascinating observations of their beliefs and customs.

But who was John Pope, and how did he end up on the banks of the Chattahoochee nearly four decades before the founding of Columbus?² Unfortunately, researchers have found Pope to be a difficult subject to trace. Despite the best efforts of several accomplished historians, the facts of much of his life remain unknown due to a paucity of records. The earliest confirmed references to him in the historical record are in Revolutionary War records of the Virginia militia, as he served as an officer from that state and is believed to have seen action at places such as Cowpens and Yorktown. He is known to have lived in Virginia in the years immediately after the war, and resided in Richmond in 1790 before setting out on the epic tour of the United States which he would later chronicle in book form. Little is known about why or for whom he made his journey and observations, but there it is a distinct possibility it may have been primarily for his own intellectual edification and partially for pecuniary opportunity. Travel writing was a popular genre in eighteenth century America, and well-written travel narratives acquainting an overwhelmingly provincial reading public with people and places they would never visit otherwise were

¹ *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America, the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas; the Countries of the Creek Nations; and Many Uninhabited Parts* (Richmond: John Dixon, 1792).

² Biographical information on Pope taken from Barton Starr's introduction to *A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America: A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1792 Edition*, by John Pope (Gainesville, Fla.: University Presses of Florida, 1979).

among some of the best-selling books of the day. But, like so much else about Pope's life, his true motives and purpose remain open to speculation.

©

A

T O U R

THROUGH THE

SOUTHERN AND WESTERN TERRITORIES

OF THE

U N I T E D S T A T E S

OF

N O R T H - A M E R I C A ;

THE

S P A N I S H D O M I N I O N S

ON THE RIVER MISSISSIPPI,

AND THE

F L O R I D A S ;

THE COUNTRIES OF THE

C R E E K N A T I O N S ;

AND MANY

UNINHABITED PARTS.

By *J O H N P O P E*.

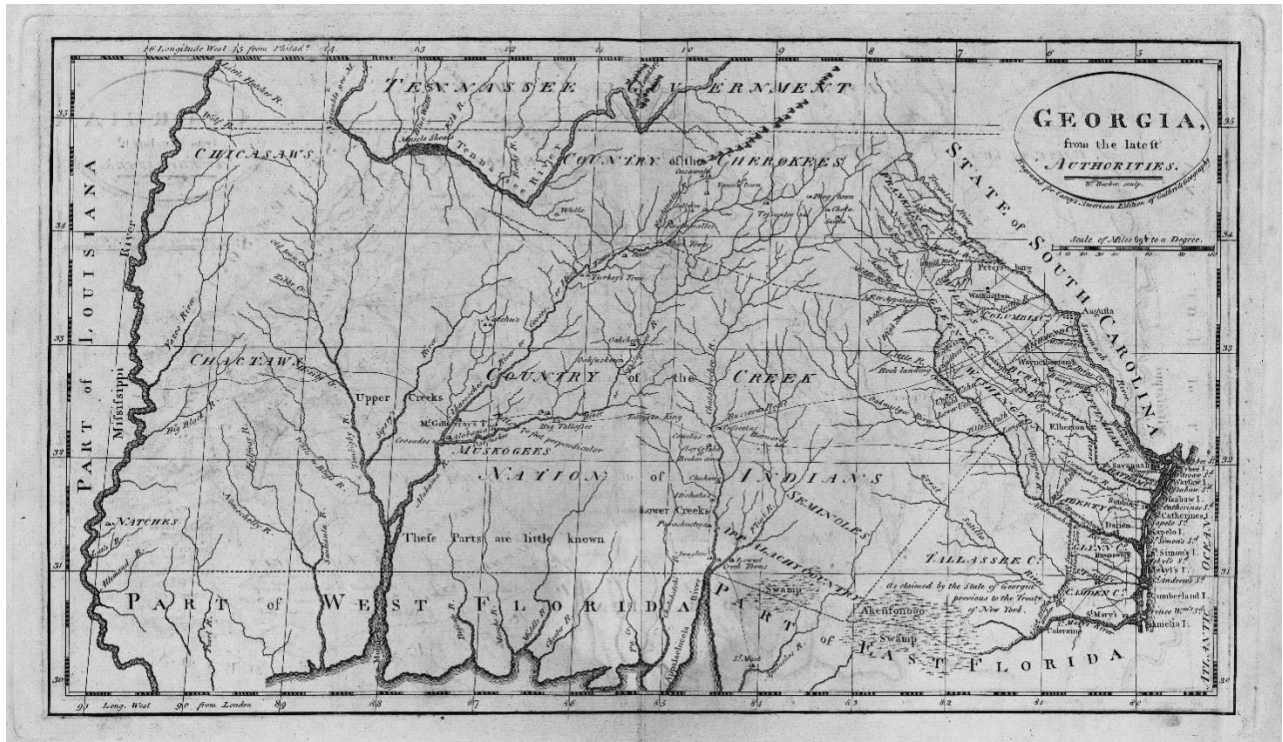
MULTORUM, PAUCORUM, FLURIUM, OMNIUM, INTEREST.

Title page from *A Tour Through Creek Country*.

What is known is that Pope's ambitious travel agenda included stops along the eastern seaboard and along the Ohio, Mississippi, and Chattahoochee Rivers, and a jaunt along the Gulf coast. Mixed in between were trips along many miles of interior roads from the Ohio Valley to Atlantic Coast. Along the way he visited urban centers and farmsteads, Spanish dominions and Native American villages, and conversed with such notable figures of the era as George Rogers Clark, General Horatio Gates, Governor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, and Secretary of State Henry Knox. In short, there seemed to be little of note roughly south of Pennsylvania (the northernmost portion of his trip) which escaped his attention. Pope published his book in 1792, and it was reprinted in the 1880s and 1970s. The book can still be found in libraries across the country and is generally regarded as one of the better examples of American travel writing of the era.

So, while we do not know all that we might like about Mr. Pope, we know that his writing was widely distributed during his time and has endured over the centuries. Let us, then, come along with him to the Creek communities of Coweta and Cusseta—roughly where modern Columbus and Phenix City stand today—some two and a quarter centuries ago as he visits among the original residents of our beloved Chattahoochee Valley.³

³ Pope's account of his stay among the Creeks of the lower Chattahoochee River Valley is found in *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States*, p. 52-67.



Map of Georgia in 1795, by Matthew Carey and Samuel Lewis, showing Creek towns of Coweta and Cusseta. Courtesy of the David Rumsey Map Collection.



Detail of Carey and Lewis map showing location of Coweta and Cusseta

"The former (Coweta) lies on the Western, and the latter (Cusseta) on the Eastern Side of the Chattahoutchee River; which takes its name from two Indian words; Chatta, a Stone, and Houtche, which signifies marked or inscribed. This stone lies about three miles above the Coweta, at the rapids, covered over with hieroglyphic inscriptions, which the present race do not understand. On the western side of the river, upon the low grounds of the Cussetas is a mount, on whose summit are the evident traces of a parapet sufficiently large to have contained one thousand men. This mount appears to have been the work of ages and of many hands, being upwards of 600 yards in circumference at its base, and about 100 feet in perpendicular height. On the western side and immediately opposite to the mount, are the vestiges of a very large and deep intrenchment, thrown up in a circular form by the ancestors of the present race, as a defense against a numerous tribe of the Seminolies, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of years, exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own tribes. This event according to the oral tradition of the Creeks, happened about ten thousand years ago, when they had a giant-king of most stupendous size, called Billy Pig, who in times of dearth, would stop the Chattahoutchee with his foot, and divert the current over all the neighboring fields; that the alligators got offended at his conduct, and begged their king to snap off his great toe; the loss of which prevented him from damming up the water any more with that foot; and so he died of grief, and was buried under the circular mount already mentioned, coil'd up like a rattle-snake.

During my tarriance at the lower towns, I formed an Intimacy with the Little King (Prince) of Broken Arrow, who is friendly, communicative and intelligent. Through him, with the aid of an interpreter, I attempted to compose a small vocabulary of the Creekish tongue, particularly of such words as most frequently occur in common intercourse. In the prosecution of this, I enquired of him what appellation he had for God? He replied, "Sawgee Putschehassee," which signifies the Giver and Taker of Breath: And pray with what epithet is your majesty pleased to honor the poor old Devil? With emotions of contempt he replied; there is no Devil: God Almighty is too much of a gentleman to keep bad servants about him. Just at this instant, his majesty received an invitation to a rum-drinking, which in opposition to all my dissuasions, he resolved to honour with his presence. This rum-drinking or spewing-match was held in the public square, contiguous to their hot-house; in one or other of which places, as the season may require, the Wittenagemote (sic) of the district assemble for the discussion of all subjects, whether civil or military, moral or divine.⁴ Here also they hold their war dances, display their trophies of war, and keep their annual festival called the Busk.

⁴ The Witenagemot was a political institution of medieval England which consisted of advisors to the king and some have cited as one of the origins of that country's form of representative government. The term and embellished versions of the institution's importance in ancient England would have been familiar to many educated people of the Revolutionary generation, as some conflated it as being one of the antecedents of America's own republican form of government.



This sketch is believed to depict Little Prince later in life, from Basil Hall's *Forty Etchings, From Sketches Made with the Camera Lucida, in North America, in 1827 and 1828* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1830)

This festival generally commences about the middle of July, upon the first discovery of ripen'd corn, and is the grand epocha of the Creeks. All the male class who have attained the age of puberty, religiously abstain from all intercourse with the other sex, and every kind of sustenance, except water, for three days; which from the cathartics and emetics they then swallow, are called the Days of Purgation. Thus cleansed from the impurities of the former year, they extinguish every particle of fire throughout their district, and rekindle more by the friction of a round sassafras stick, in an augur hole bored into a piece of dry poplar. This Relighting of the Fire, is performed by their chief priest or sachem, and communicated by torches to the master or mistress of each respective family. This done, a multisidous mess of new corn, cooked over the new fire, is brought into the centre of the square, and distributed with great formality among the guests, agreeable to seniority and rank, by old men and women deputed for that purpose. When the repast is over, they rise up with one consent, and with many strange gesticulations and loud shouts of Indian triumph, dance down the Sun, Moon, and Seven Stars.

At the close of almost every day throughout the year, about fifteen or twenty principal townsmen assemble in the square, for the purpose of giving or receiving the most recent intelligence, whether foreign or domestic, which if important, is reported to their Grand Council, and by them to the National

Assembly, whose decrees on the occasion, are generally ratified by their Emperor, who has power also of rejecting them.

The Creeks consider fornication as a faux pas or venial crime at most; but wo! to the sons and daughters who commit adultery: Vengeance in a swift career pursues them and cannot be appeased, but by the corporeal sufferance of the aggressors. Upon a detection of the crime, about fifty or sixty persons of each sex, repair to a thicket, and supply themselves with hickory clubs; this done, the men determine upon the measure of punishment to be inflicted on the woman and permit the women to decide upon the man's. They then separate, brandishing their clubs; the men in quest of the woman, the women in quest of the man. The adulteress when found, is seized upon, and ignominiously dragged into a circle formed by the men, who beat her with their clubs till she can no longer stand; and whilst extended on the ground, the avengers proceed to dock her hair, crop her ears, and slit her nostrils; of all this her Inamorato, is made an unwilling spectator, and sometimes an agent; who, in turn, suffers a similar disgrace in the circle of the women, his fair Dulcinea looking on. What I have here mentioned are the highest punishments they ever inflict, even upon the most atrocious offenders. Sometimes they dispense with cropping their ears and slitting the nostrils, and content themselves, with giving the offender a sound drubbing and a short dock. This leniency was extended a few days ago to a Mr. Patrick Murphy, who plead justification; alleging that he was a foreigner, ignorant of their usages and laws; that the woman was no Christian, having never been baptized; and that not having the fear of God before her eyes; what he had done was altogether accidental. If the club bearer ever relinquish, or lay down their clubs through any mishap or necessity; before they encircle the object of their vengeance, they dare not resume them again, as it is presumed, that it was so ordered by their God, in tender mercy to the delinquents, who are accordingly acquitted of that offense.

Upon the decease of an adult of either sex, the friends and relations of the decedent religiously collect whatever he or she held most dear in life, and inter them close by and sometimes in their owner's grave. This pious tribute to their dead includes horses, cows, hogs, and dog, as well as things inanimate. A girl of about sixteen years of age died a few days before I left the Nation. She had procured from a Spanish officer at Pensacola, a likely boar-pig of the Spanish breed, which she brought home, and cherished in her bosom, until he waxed strong, and became a useful member in his generation. Now when her brethren, and the young men of the land, perceived that the damsel was dead; they arose up and pursued after the boar and slew him. And a certain young man of the house of Illefenekaw stood up in the midst of the congregation, and said; I will go unto my Lord the King and unto the Elders and Chief Men of the land, and say unto them, verily the big boar of Chattahoutchee is slain; by the arrows of the sons of Ninewaw is he fallen! And they said unto him go: and he departed and went unto the king, and unto the elders and chief men of the land, and reported all these things; saying, verily the big boar of Chattahoutchee is slain, by the arrows of the sons of Ninewaw is he fallen. And when the king and the elders and chief men heard thereof, they drank strong drink and grew exceeding wroth, saying; the

blood of the boar be upon the head of those, who have wrought this evil in Coweta; for they wish not that the damsel was dead...

...The Creeks regularly make a burnt offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious parts of every animal taken in hunting, before they presume to taste a mouthful. The parts they commit to the flames are proportioned to the size of the animal, probably about two or three lb. from a buffalo, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest quadrupede, fish or bird.

The Creeks like the Otaheiteans as mentioned in Cook's *Voyages*, have a custom of tatowing themselves, and probably upon similar principles. The young and old of both sexes undergo this operation in silence, and without the least muscular distortion. I saw it performed upon a child of four years old, who when released gave a shout, and said, now "I'm a man, and a warrior too."

Those who live in townships are tenants in common of large extensive fields of corn, rice, and potatoes, which commonly lie on the fat low-grounds of some river convenient to their towns. The cultivation of the soil and almost every domestic drudgery are imposed upon their women, who are less prolific than ours; probably owing to their hard labour and excessively coarse and scanty diet. A long rainy season had rendered their fields to quaggy that all cultivation was impracticable; they durst not even venture to cut down the tall rank weeds which towered above their corn. In this general distress an old conjuror, of the name of Senetahawgo stept forth into the square, and thus harangued the listening crowd:

'Men and warriors of Coweta, Broken-Arrow and Cussatee. The great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain, who stands upon the aerial battlements of Heaven, hath raised his angry terrisonous voice, and with the lightnings flashing from his eyes, hath rent the bosom of the clouds! He hath hidden the sun behind the moon, and covered her face with a bear-skin: with the tails of numerous beavers, he hath conceal'd the twinkling stars! We have been traitors to our God, to Hippo ilk Meco, to Lauco Washington! We have rejected the good talk of Hippo ilk Meco, and listened to the lying talk of Cherokees! We have infringed the Treaty of Lauco Washington in stealing horses from his children! Our young men refuse to hunt: their guns are rusty and their hatchets dull! They sell their horses, cloaths and silver ornaments for rum. Our women laugh at us and refuse to work: they are prostitutes and suckle the children of white men! Our men are worse than the excrement of dogs of Spaniards: our women viler than the urine of pole-cats or the vomit of buzzards! For these causes are our fields drenched by the angry clouds of the firmament.'

'When will the gladsome rays of Sol return and desiccate our flooded fields? Ah! Never till in dust and ashes we repent, and forsake our evil ways. Men and warriors, let us confess our faults and amend our manners; and then Sawgee Putscheaffee will forgive us, and bid the sun to shew himself, and with a genial warmth revive our drooping corn. My sons, I'm very old and chilly; the marrow of my bones is dry, and scarcely creeps the blood along these veins, which once in rapid currents flow'd—I want a keg of rum. My daughters, I have fasted for three days and nights, and invoked my God in our behalf—I am hungry as a wolf. I want to eat some hog and hominy.'

A plaintive dull monotony constitutes the vocal music of the Creeks. They are passionately fond of instrumental music, particularly that of the violin, to which like persons bitten by the tarantula, they will dance for several hours without the least intermission.

No people under Heaven are more attached to, or swerve less from, the customs of their ancestors than the Creeks. Whether this attachment originates in filial piety, or in ignorance I cannot determine: but as a clue for conjecture, let me relate their mode of cropping.

They plant their corn in holes at an unequal, tho' never greater distance than tobacco hills, from one another. Twenty or thirty grains are frequently thrown into a hole which produce as many earless stalks, and which they will upon consideration suffer to be thin'd. They say a plough is nothing but a horse-trap, and therefore never use it, contenting themselves with light weeding hoes, with which they barely scalp the grassy surface of their fields. Their inclosures are fork and rail fences just high enough to keep out horned cattle. Whilst their crops are in the ground they tether out their horses, hogs, &c., to trees, stumps and stakes. Tho' they have numerous limpid streams of excellent spring water gushing from their river banks, yet like old Seneca they prefer the tepid waters from their creeks and rivers. They scarcely ever weed, hill, prime, top or succor their tobacco, and always cut and cure it very green over a hasty blast of fire, as they do their Killicanic or Sumac leaves, which when mixed with tobacco, emit a most delightful odour from the pipe. This preparation of sumac and tobacco, the Indians constantly smoke, and consider as a sovereign remedy in all cephalic and pectoral complaints.

The Creeks in approaching the frontiers of Georgia, always encamp on the right hand side of the road or path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the larvae or ghosts of their departed heroes who have either unfortunately lost their scalps, or remain unburied. The ghost of a hero in either predicament, is refused admittance into the mansions of bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome abode, in the dreary caverns of the wilderness; until the indignity shall be retaliated on the enemy, by some of his surviving friends.

Agriculture among the Creeks is little understood and less practiced. I know of but one man in the whole nation, who possesses tolerable industry, and that is a private citizen, called the Bully, who from a very humble beginning hath accumulated an easy fortune, consisting of the following species of property, viz. Of negroes, sixteen men, nineteen women, and twenty-six children. Of horses, five studs, thirty-two geldings, 127 mares and eighty-three colts. Of black cattle, nineteen bulls, fifty-eight steers, 326 cows, and 132 calves. Of hogs about 300 head; besides household furniture, peltry and store goods, to a very considerable amount. Two likely young wenches between the ages of fifteen and twenty, are the only children the Bully has, and from his advanced age, it's probable he will never increase the number. It is said the Black Dog is a man of property, tho' a most egregious sot and sluggard. I once saw his majesty in a puddle of his own excrement and urine, which attracted swarms of Spanish flies and beetles, whose constant buzz had lull'd him into sweet repose.

The powers of their kings appear to be very circumscribed and nearly on a par with those of a common county magistrate with us, the limits of their respective governments being sometimes confined to a single township, or a spot of ground not more than ten miles square. McGillivray who is perpetual dictator, in time of war subdelegates a number of chieftains for the direction of all military operations; and when the war concludes, they, in compensation for their martial achievements, are invested by the dictator with civil authority which supersedes the hereditary powers of their demi-kings...

June 29th...Took my departure from the nation..."

Focus On Columbus State University Archives



In the last issue of *Muscogiana* I shared news about an upcoming renovation project at CSU that would include major changes to the CSU Archives. At the time, we had received planning money, but we had not yet been allocated construction funding by the state legislature. I am happy to report that we have since secured that funding as part of the Georgia's 2018-2019 fiscal year that began July 1, 2018. I, along with several others on a steering committee for this renovation, have worked over the summer with our architectural firm, McMillian-Pazdan, to finalize designs. There will be many visible changes throughout all floors of the Simon Schwob Memorial Library and some, while not seen, will certainly be felt, such as a complete overhaul of our HVAC system.



As for Archives, we will move to the ground floor of the library allowing for a number of transformative changes. A new reading room will help archival staff better meet the needs of researchers, including students, local community members, and visiting scholars. An open multipurpose room will expand archival operations in areas of classroom instruction and outreach, accommodating large class groups

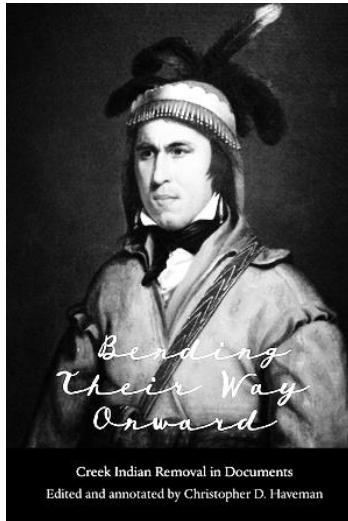
needing assistance in conducting archival research and hosting programs for the community such as workshops on preserving family history. Most important, however, is the new collections storage vault. New environmental and security controls will ensure the preservation of the Archives' priceless collections.

The current timeline calls for construction documents to be finished by the end of August, 2018. Those would then be made available to contractors to submit bids throughout September. If all goes as planned, optimistically, we could see construction begin as early as this October! Needless to say, we are all excited and looking forward to this momentous new chapter. Be on the lookout for more information as things progress as well as future open houses.

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Book Reviews

***Bending Their Way Onward: Creek Indian Removal in Documents.* Edited and annotated by Christopher D. Haveman (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018, 834 pp., \$85.00 hardcover.)**



In 2016 the University of Nebraska Press published Chris Haveman's *Rivers of Sand: Creek Indian Emigration, Relocation, and Ethnic Cleansing in the American South*. That book is our latest account of Creek removal and an outstanding accomplishment. But now, Dr. Haveman has enhanced his achievement. He has compiled, edited, and published the large body of documents he used to write *Rivers of Sand*. The new volume, *Bending Their Way Onward*, gives us a rich collection of letters, journals, maps, Creek town muster rolls and other documents describing the conduct of the Creek removals. These documents detail the "voluntary emigrations" beginning in 1827, the forced removals of 1836 and 1837 that followed the Second Creek War, and even includes information on the Creek families who lingered in Alabama after the removal era and gradually drifted west on their own well into the nineteenth century.

Dr. Haveman does not offer much interpretation here, as he does in his first volume. He lets the documents speak for themselves, and they do so poignantly. The military officers who accompanied most of the removal parties kept journals describing the Creeks' journeys. These documents reveal the hardships and heartaches the approximately 23,000 Indians endured on their tedious marches to the Indian Territory. Many died along the way. But perhaps Haveman's most significant contribution to the removal story lies in the muster rolls of the various parties of Creek "émigrés." These rolls will prove invaluable to social historians and genealogists, not to mention all the Creek people alive today; they may discover important information about their ancestors. The rolls not only list the Creek "heads" of families, they enumerate the other family members and family slaves. Moreover, the rolls sometimes describe the histories and personalities of notable members of each party. But most importantly, the rolls allow us a closer look into Creek society during the removal era and we come away with a better understanding of an unfortunate people in a time of change and turmoil.

More particularly, this book connects some of the early businessmen of Columbus to Creek removal. J.W.A Sanford and Company, private removal contractors, managed the fifth party of emigrating Creeks. The company included such Columbus notables as Alfred Iverson, Jonathan D. Howell and Stephen Ingersoll, and Haveman's chapter on the fifth party includes the company's contract with the government, the muster roll of emigrants (many of whom lived near Columbus), and Lt. Edward Dias'

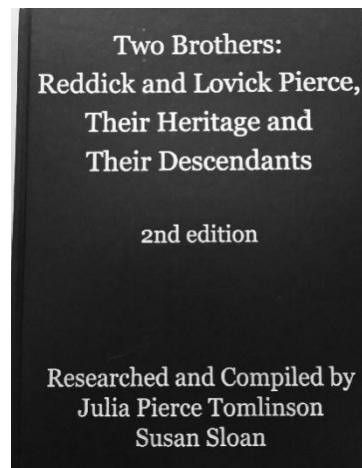
journal of the party's movement to the West. And it is interesting to note that the company men, along with many other Columbus residents who profited from the Creek land thefts and speculations that led to the Second Creek War, also sought financial gain from moving the unfortunate natives out of their ancient homeland altogether. Those of us who live and work in and around Columbus should remember this, along with all the other lessons Haveman brings to light. His books should be on the shelves of all our local libraries.

Dr. John Ellisor
Associate Professor of History
Columbus State University

***Two Brothers: Reddick and Lovick Pierce, Their Heritage and Their Descendants (second edition).* By Julia Pierce Tomlinson and Susan Sloan. (Chelsea, MI: Sheridan Books, 2017, 415 pp.)**

(A version of this review appeared in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on April 1, 2018)

Every now and then a family history comes along that meets all the criteria for what a family history should be. *Two Brothers: Reddick and Lovick Pierce, Their Heritage and Their Descendants, Second Edition*, researched and compiled by Julia Pierce Tomlinson and Susan Sloan, meets that high level of scholarship. This new book shares the same title of the first edition, written by Dr. Lovick Wilson Pierce and his sister, Esther Pierce Maxell in 1981. Julia, his daughter, decided to revise, update, and fully-document the family with the help of professional genealogist Susan Sloan. The first chapter is retained from the original to show continuity and background from the first book. The new book shows descent from Philip Pierce, created using a genealogy computer program, with footnotes appearing throughout, documenting the sources used, thus giving a rich background to everything included. On some pages, the footnotes cover more space than the text, rare in a family history. While the book is an important work for the Pierce family and its many descendants today, it's also valuable in documenting several major Methodist figures in Georgia, including Rev. Dr. Lovick Pierce (1785-1879) and his son Bishop George Foster Pierce (1811-1884), who are remembered and commemorated at Methodist institutions in Georgia, including Wesleyan and the Emory campuses. A chapter "Ministers, Missionaries and other Servants of the Methodist Church," covers details of twenty-five family members who served Methodism. There are many high-quality photographs throughout, all sourced, a bibliography, and a full-name index. The book



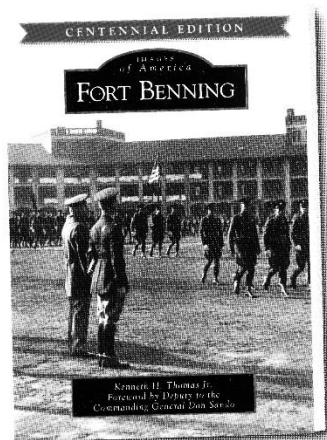
should serve as a good example for others contemplating a family history to aspire to as well as being a great documentation of this family so important to Methodism in Georgia. A hardback copy is available for \$65.34 payable to WLP Properties, mailed to WLP Properties, Mailbox 306, 4355 Cobb Parkway, Suite J, Atlanta, GA 30339. For information, contact Wilds Pierce at wildsp@numail.org. Copies can be found at the Georgia Archives and other libraries.

Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr.

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