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MUSCOGIANA
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On the cover: Postcard featuring an image of Dinglewood as it appeared in 1907, courtesy of Kenneth H. Thomas Jr.

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CONTENTS

<i>Dinglewood: A History and Some New Information</i> <i>By Kenneth H. Thomas Jr.</i>	1
<i>"Restoring the Branches of Even One Black Family Tree:"</i> <i>The Life of a Freedman, Carlton Boykin, in Columbus, Georgia</i> <i>By Rachel Dobson</i>	18
<i>Fundraising Efforts of the Columbus Ladies Memorial Association, 1869-1878</i> <i>By Kevin Fabery</i>	36
<i>Focus On Columbus State University Archives</i>	46
<i>Book Review</i>	47
<i>Index</i>	49

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From the Editor

The nineteenth century remains of enduring interest to students of Columbus area history, and for good reason. The century witnessed the city's birth, the cataclysmic upheaval of war, the watershed ending to the institution of slavery, as well as a tortured process of reinvention in the late 1800s that would define its trajectory for the next century. We are pleased to offer three articles highlighting very different aspects of that complex period in this issue of the journal, each demonstrating one of the many diverse strands of historical narrative which individually help us grasp something of how and why the period remains relevant to our understanding of the heritage of our community.

We lead off with a copiously researched piece by Ken Thomas about Dinglewood, the legendary Columbus home that is both a landmark and a veritable time capsule of a long-ago interlude. Thomas provides a brief history of the home's ownership and a good bit of information that has not previously been published. It is planned as the first of two pieces on this historic home and its residents. Next, assistant editor Rachel Dobson contributes a truly unique piece that is both an intriguing story and guide of sorts. Through her own incredible research, she tracks the story of an enslaved man and his descendants into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose stories might otherwise never have been told. Dobson's successes in the endeavor, combined with the dead ends she encountered, will no doubt serve to help genealogical researchers understand how the lives of people who appear as mere statistics in documents from the era of slavery might sometimes be traced across the "documentary divide" of freedom into the postwar period. Our final article for this edition is the last in a series of articles contributed by Columbus State University student Kevin Fabery which are associated with his research into the purpose, funding, and placement of the city's Confederate monument. Here, he investigates the role of the Ladies Memorial Association in bringing about the construction of the monument through local fundraising efforts. His work helps us better understand the context in which this memorial was created as well what it meant to the project's supporters at the time. Following our articles, David Owings gives us an update on the latest happenings at Columbus State University Archives. Lastly, I offer a review of a book on a forgotten episode in regional history which I doubt many of our readers know all that much about and I believe will find interesting for its novelty, if nothing else.

All of us associated with the production of this journal deeply appreciate your continuing support. Keeping a publication such as this going for as long as the Society has of course takes a good bit of work by its producers, but it can only be continued if there are readers who enjoy the final product and contributors who are eager to share the fruits of their research with others. We encourage you to reach out any time you have a piece you would like to have considered for publication.

Mike Bunn, Editor
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Dinglewood:
A History and Some New Information
By
Kenneth H. Thomas Jr.



Dinglewood, Courtesy of Coldwell Banker and Doug Roth Photography

Dinglewood, one of Columbus's finest antebellum homes, was built circa 1859 by Joel Early Hurt in the Italianate style. Located at 1429 Dinglewood Drive, in the Wynnton area, it retains its original marble mantels, statuary, and mirrors. The house has been written about in many books about Columbus, with the longest article about the home appearing in Etta Blanchard Worsley's *Columbus on The Chattahoochee* (1951). It has also appeared in many books about southern homes and their architecture. But how much new information has been added to the often-repeated overview of the home's history over the years? The answer is very little. Many articles in fact continue to repeat information that is untrue or cannot be documented but has nonetheless managed to become part of the standard lore about the home. I became interested in researching "the rest of the story" about Dinglewood in March of this year, just as the house was being prepared for sale. I was amazed at what I learned and how little of it had ever made its way into written histories. Rather than create a long narrative where readers might miss what is actually new, I decided to list and elaborate on some of the

interesting information I have learned that corrects inaccuracies and helps us better understand this local landmark in its actuality.¹

Everything discussed below is footnoted and the sources are wide ranging. The newspapers, now digitized and online, are a wealth of information and where I found the most new data. The Columbus State University Archives and Special Collections (CSU Archives) is where I found a lot of material buried in various collections from different families and previous historians. The collections of the Genealogy and Local History Department of the Columbus Public Library (CPL) also yielded many discoveries. But I also found Dinglewood-related material at Emory University, the University of Georgia, and in private hands. I am using the word "Dinglewood" to refer to the house and events there throughout, even though I have not proven the name was used before 1891.

A Brief History of Dinglewood's Ownership

Joel Early Hurt (1821-1865) and his wife Frances Flournoy Hurt (1821-1899) were married in 1841 in Putnam County, Georgia, which both called home. They moved to the Columbus area, where Hurt's parents were living on the Alabama side of the Chattahoochee, shortly afterward. Before 1845, when in their early twenties, the couple acquired the land for their first house, a fifty-acre tract, the north half of Lot 78, which was located further out what is now Buena Vista Road, between what is now Brown Avenue and Lawyers Lane. They sold that property in 1847 and the same year they bought the land on which Dinglewood was to be built over a decade later. This thirty-acre tract may have had an earlier house on it, since Dinglewood was not built until circa 1859, or they could have lived on land in Alabama. The thirty acres, part of Lot 59 in the Coweta Falls Reserve, they purchased from John Woolfolk. Although Woolfolk was at the Columbus land sale in 1828 and paid for the lot in four installments in 1830, he did not receive the state grant for his purchase until 1849, two years after he sold the thirty acres to the Hurts.²

Mr. Hurt was one of the wealthiest planters in the area, with 2,200 acres of land valued at \$30,000 in Russell County in the 1860 Agricultural Census, where he grew corn and cotton. There he

¹ "Columbus and Montgomery, under Social News," *Daily Columbus Enquirer* (online at NewsBank via *OpenAthens.net*), September 25, 1860, 3. The house was called a "splendid mansion" in the article; National Register of Historic Places nomination for Dinglewood at <https://npgallery.nps.gov/>; Observation from site visit March 18, 2022 by the author. The house retains almost all of its original materials, other than furniture, which belongs to the current owners, the Bowers family; Etta Blanchard Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee* (Columbus: Columbus Office Supply Co., 1951), 219-223; Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., "Historic Dinglewood," *Southern Views Magazine*, Vol. N/A (July 2022): 37-42.

² *Find a Grave*, memorial 34284748, digital image, February 28, 2009, by J. G. Ivey, gravestone for Joel Early Hurt (Linwood Cemetery); *Find a Grave*, memorial 34284704, digital image, February 28, 2009, by J. G. Ivey, gravestone for Frances F. Hurt (Linwood Cemetery); *FamilySearch*, digital film 007731112, image 953, Putnam Co., Georgia, Marriages, loose marriage records, book D:281, Hurt-Flournoy marriage January 28, 1841, with W. R. Branham, minister, officiating; Lot No. 59, 1828, Columbus Coweta Falls Reserve Records, RG 3-7-35, Georgia Archives. The date of the grant is clarified on the actual grant, which is located in another file. See Woolfolk op. cit., 434. These deed transactions are covered in full under the "Acreage" section later in this article.

owned at least 104 slaves and ten slave houses as shown in the 1860 Slave Census Schedule in Alabama. This put him in the upper one tenth of one percent of slave owners in the U. S. in terms of property. In 1860 in Georgia he had the thirty acres at Dinglewood and thirteen slaves as well as three slave houses. In the 1860 population census of Muscogee County his valuations were \$91,800 for personal estate and \$16,000 for real estate. He died May 19, 1865, at this house of cancer, only a month after the Civil War ended, with his fortune severely depleted due to the emancipation of his slaves. There is no will or estate inventory. He was buried at the city cemetery (later renamed Linwood) on the same lot where his parents, and later his brother, were buried. With the publication of the Columbus newspapers suspended in the aftermath of the battle in Columbus on April 16, 1865, no local obituary was published for him. But in August, Saint Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, for which he was a founding trustee, published a tribute to him in the Methodist-supported newspaper, *The Southern Christian Advocate*. They called his death "a great calamity," proclaimed him to be "a pillar of the church," and "an example worthy of all imitation, taken from us." No biographical information was included.³



The Hurts' only child, Julia Fournoy Hurt (1842-1891) married Captain Peyton Holt Colquitt (1831-1863) on October 24, 1861 at Dinglewood, with her uncle Rev. Walter R. Branham officiating. Branham had also officiated at her parents' wedding twenty years earlier. Colquitt was a man of many talents whose father, Walter T. Colquitt, had been a U.S. congressman and a U.S. senator, and whose brother, Alfred H. Colquitt, would later serve as governor of Georgia and a U.S. senator himself. Alfred Colquitt visited Mrs. Hurt at Dinglewood in 1887. Peyton Colquitt, by then a colonel, died September 22, 1863, from wounds

Graves of Peyton and Julia Hurt Colquitt in Linwood Cemetery, courtesy of the author

³ 1860 U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules (Agriculture), Russell County, Alabama, Southern Division, July 7, 1860, p. 13, line 28, Joel E. Hurt; 1860 U.S. Federal Census – Slave Schedules, Russell County, Alabama, Southern Division, June 25, 1860, p. 38, Joel Hurt, 14 slaves; 1860 U.S. Federal Census – Slave Schedules, Russell County, Alabama, Southern Division, July 14, 1860, p. 78, Joel E. Hurt, 104 slaves. See The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, "Statistics: Slaves and Slaveholdings," History Resources, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/teaching-resource/statistics-slaves-and-slaveholdings>, accessed August 14, 2022. 1860 U.S. Federal Census – Slave Schedules, Muscogee County, Georgia, Southern Division, p. 3 or 472, Joel Hunt [sic], 13 slaves. Three slave houses were also listed. 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Wynton [sic] District, p. 307, line 18, Joel E. Hurt; Mary Jane Galer, extractor and arranger, *Columbus, Georgia, Lists of people in the Town, 1828-1852 and Sexton's Reports to 1866* ([Athens, Georgia]: Iberian Publishing Co., 2000), 252. The entry indicated he was buried on May 21. Brent H. Holcomb, ed., *Marriage and Death Notices from the Southern Christian Advocate, Volume II: 1861-1867* (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1980), 192; *Southern Christian Advocate*, August 31, 1865, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, SC.

suffered at the Battle of Chickamauga. His remains were not returned to Linwood Cemetery until March 1866 and his Italian marble tombstone not placed on his grave until 1870. Julia and Peyton's only child had died stillborn in 1862.⁴

In October of 1866, Julia and her mother went to Paris to live for at least six months as did many other American expatriates. These included Robert Toombs and his wife Julia, who were already known to Mrs. Hurt, as his half-brother had married her older sister Mary, who died young. It is from Toombs's letters to Julia that we can document the Hurts' time there. It was in Paris that Julia met and was romanced by Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte (1830-1893), great-nephew of Napoleon I, and first cousin, once removed, to the then emperor Napoleon III. Jerome was a West Point graduate, class of 1852. It is known that he gave Julia jewelry, as it has survived. But for whatever reason, the romance was cut short and she and her mother returned to Georgia circa 1867. On June 24, 1868, with her uncle Rev. W.R. Branham officiating again, she remarried Leonidas A. "Lee" Jordan (1828-1899) of Macon, said by many to be the wealthiest man in Georgia, or at least the largest planter in Georgia. They had homes in Macon and near Albany and had built or bought a house in Atlanta, which he promptly sold in early 1892 after Julia died suddenly at Dinglewood on a visit to see her mother on December 30, 1891. Her obituaries and other articles in her lifetime recounted her great beauty, her marriage to Peyton Colquitt, and her romance with the younger Bonaparte, stories that continue to be repeated to this day. One particular 1890 article described her as: "...a tall, queenly woman, with a magnificent figure, and splendid carriage... her features Grecian in their marble purity...dresses in great elegance... [with] jewels rare and magnificent." Her story was repeated as late as 1962 in a book about Atlanta and their house there. Articles about Julia, her great beauty, and her romances will be discussed in a future article in this journal.⁵

⁴ Find a Grave, memorial 34285148, February 28, 2009, by J. G. Ivey, gravestone for Julia Hurt Colquitt Jordan (Linwood Cemetery). Her status as an only child comes from family knowledge and the fact that she sold property with her mother as coheirs to the Dinglewood estate even though no administration was issued. "Married," *Columbus Weekly Times*, October 28, 1861, 2. The notice refers to Colquitt as "senior editor of this paper." Muscogee County, Georgia, Marriages, 1860-1868, Book E, p. 101, Colquitt-Hurt marriage, October 24, 1861; Find A Grave, memorial 8092571, November 16, 2003, by Evening Blues, gravestone for Peyton H. Colquitt (Linwood Cemetery); Lollie Belle Wylie, ed., *Memoirs of Judge Richard H. Clark* (Atlanta: Franklin Printing Co., 1898), 339-348; William J. Northen, ed., *Men of Mark in Georgia* (Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Publisher, 1910), II: 193-195. See also Barton Myers, "Alfred H. Colquitt." New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified April 14, 2016; <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/alfred-h-colquitt-1824-1894/>; *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, June 5, 1887, 4, Newsbank.com; "Death of Col. P. H. Colquitt," *The Macon Daily Telegraph*, September 28, 1863, 1, reprinted from *Columbus Times*, Newspapers.com; "Remains of the Dead," *Daily Columbus Enquirer*, March 10, 1866, 3, Newsbank.com; Galer, *Lists of People*, 259; "Monument to Colonel P. H. Colquitt," *The Daily Sun* (Columbus, Georgia), March 30, 1870, 3, Newspapers.com; Find a Grave, memorial 168651888, August 19, 2006, by John Mallory Land, gravestone for child of Julia and Peyton Colquitt (Linwood Cemetery); Galer, *Lists of People*, 231.

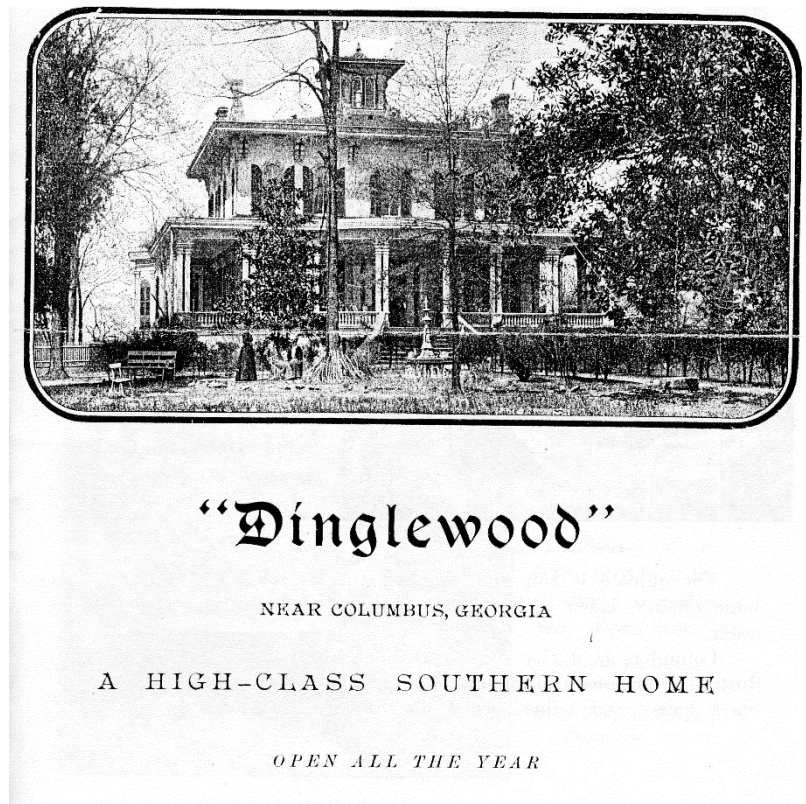
⁵ "Arrival of Passengers," *The Anglo-American Times* (London), September 22, 1866, and October 13, 1866, 12, NewspaperArchive.com. The article lists those arriving in Paris, including Mrs. C [sic] Hurt, and Mrs. J. F. Colquith [sic], among many others. In the first article, the six entries before them, and one after them, all said they were from Georgia. The author is not familiar with any of these other Georgians. Further research in the New York City newspapers might indicate their return trip. Robert Toombs, Letters to Julia Ann DuBose Toombs, 1850-1867, Hargrett Library, University of Georgia, https://dlg.usg.edu/collection/dlg_zlrt. It is in Toombs's letter of January 1,

Mrs. Fannie Hurt spent a long widowhood, nearly thirty-five years, at Dinglewood. With her only child living elsewhere, she occupied her time with church and ladies' social groups, as evidenced by the newspapers from the 1880s and 1890s. She was also active with the local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, of which she was past president. She had at some point asked her niece and namesake, Frances "Fannie" Hurt Adams (1854-1940) to come to Dinglewood to live, and she was living there as early as 1880, or at least visiting. By 1888-1889 Mrs. Hurt's sister, Mrs. Martha Flournoy Adams, had come to live at Dinglewood as well, moving there circa 1888 from Eatonton, after her husband's death, September 5, 1888. She was the mother of Fannie Adams, who assumed ownership of Dinglewood, as well as six other children. After Mrs. Hurt's death on March 30, 1899, Fannie Adams became the owner, although there is no will nor any other estate proceedings in Mrs. Hurt's name that have so far been located. There is no inventory of the house's contents either.⁶

1867, that he writes to his wife that "Julia says she is in love. The second [??] Capt. Bonaparte has paid her two visits." His January 15, 1867 letter mentioned another suitor Julia had. See Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee*, 223, for a photograph of one piece of jewelry. Stories of other pieces abound in the various articles about Julia. The whereabouts of one piece of the Bonaparte jewelry is the only one currently known and is in private hands. The exact date of their return has not yet been documented, but they were there in early 1867 when Robert Toombs mentioned them to his wife before he left Paris in early 1867. Muscogee County, Georgia, Marriages, 1868-1872, Book F, p. 36, Jordan-Colquitt marriage, June 24, 1868; "Sudden Death of Mrs. Lee Jordan," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, December 31, 1891, 4, Newsbank.com; Find a Grave, memorial 17389647, January 11, 2007, by Jack Johnson, gravestone for Leonidas A. Jordan (Memory Hill Cemetery, Milledgeville, Georgia); Wylie, *Memoirs of Judge Richard H. Clark*, writing before 1896, Clark calls Jordan "the rich Georgia planter." See "Farm News," *The Atlanta Constitution*, April 11, 1872, 2, where they call him "the largest planter in Georgia," and "Southwest Georgia Crops," *Weekly Telegraph and Georgia Journal* (Macon), November 16, 1875, 8. In Lee County where he had a plantation, the newspaper called him "may be the largest planter in the state." "A. J. West & Co., Real Estate and Loans," *The Atlanta Constitution*, February 12, 1892, 8, Newspapers.com. The house stood at Peachtree and 8th Streets.

⁶ "Mrs. Fanny Hurt Passes Away," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, March 31, 1899, 5, Newsbank.com. William H. Walsh, *Columbus, Georgia, City Directory for 1898-99 Containing a General and Business Directory of the Citizens of Columbus, with a Directory of the Streets, Numbers and Occupants, Together with a Compendium of Governments, Institutions and Trades, and Much Other Useful and Miscellaneous Matter, Such as County and City Governments, Corporate and Other Bodies, Names, Time and Place of Meeting of Secret and Other Societies, Churches, Schools, etc., etc.* ([Columbus, GA], 1898), 59, Digital Library of Georgia. Miss Adams appeared to be reluctant to ever give her correct age, but the 1860 and 1870 censuses put Adams's approximate date of birth as circa 1854. No doubt a Family Bible probably exists to clarify. 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Putnam County, Georgia, Eatonton, p. 372/12, line 2, F.H. Adams, age 6; 1870 U.S. Federal Census, Putnam County, Georgia, Eatonton, p. 129A, line 30, Fanni H. Adams, age 16; Georgia, U.S., Deaths Index, 1914-1940, Fannie H. Adams, December 5, 1940, no certificate number (source description 004578212, digital image 484), Ancestry.com; 1880 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, 921 G. M. District, p. 56, line 4, Fannie Adams. Miss Adams is a boarder, with two servants in the household. Mrs. Hurt was "keeping house." Find a Grave, memorial 79688172, November 1, 2011, by Patty Shreve, gravestone for Benjamin Franklin Adams Sr. (1821-1888), (Pine Grove Cemetery, Eatonton, Georgia); "She Expired Suddenly Yesterday Morning in Wynnton," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, January 18, 1901, 6, NewsBank.com. The obituary for Fannie's mother Martha Adams states that Mrs. Adams had moved to Columbus "ten or twelve years ago" thus around 1888-1890, at time of her husband's death. "Mrs. Fanny Hurt Passes Away," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, March 31, 1899, 5, Newsbank.com. Muscogee County courthouse records show no will for Mrs. Hurt, and no other estate proceedings. The transfer of ownership from Mrs. Hurt, who died without surviving children, to just one niece would seem to require some type of legal document. Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book UU, 50, The only legal item that has been found is a deed where rights are given up by two different sets of Fannie Adams's first cousins, Mrs. Hurt's nieces, but dozens more in the Flournoy family would have had a claim.

Copy of circa 1905 Dinglewood brochure, courtesy of the Hinde Family



Postcard featuring an image of Dinglewood as it appeared in 1907, courtesy of the author

By the 1900 census, taken June 11, 1900, the house was already operating as a boarding house, with at least four family groupings recorded as boarders. After her mother's death, in January 1901, Fannie continued using Dinglewood as a boarding house and seasonal tourist home. One Columbus newspaper notice in May 1901 indicated that effective June 1 she would be taking summer boarders. The newspapers of the day report many guests staying at Dinglewood with Miss Adams and later with Miss Adams and Miss Hinde, so one assumes these were true guests and not paying boarders/tourists.⁷

In 1905, Fannie, by then the sole legal owner, sold for \$5,000 a full half-interest in Dinglewood and the surrounding twenty acres to her good friend, Annie G. Hinde (1868-1947), a native of Ohio. They would live at Dinglewood together and run it as a boarding house and tourist home. The newspapers again report many social events there afterward, including the Garden Club of Georgia Pilgrimage coming there in 1937 and 1939. Miss Adams died in 1940 at Dinglewood at age 86 and Miss Hinde in 1947 at age 79. A.G. Wells, who founded Wells Dairies, came into possession of the house the next year, owning it until 1950.⁸

From 1950 until the present, Dinglewood has been owned by Lloyd G. Bowers Jr. (1912-1994) and his wife Effie Siegling Bowers (1921-2022). The couple married in 1946, and raised their six children there. These were the first children of any owners to live there since Julia Hurt. At his death in 1994, Mr. Bowers was remembered as being "retired from L.G. Bowers & Sons as a broker and from City Mills as president" and for his stewardship of several historic properties in Columbus. Mrs. Effie Bowers, at her death at age 100, was remembered for her deep roots in her hometown of Charleston, South Carolina, her support of musical endeavors in Columbus, for being an "enthusiastic member of the Columbus community," and her support for various cultural groups including the Schwob School of Music at Columbus State University. She won a number of awards for her support and contributions to historic preservation in Columbus.⁹

⁷ "She Expired Suddenly Yesterday Morning in Wynnton," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, January 18, 1901, 6; "Advertisement," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, May 26, 1901, 3; *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, January 26, 1915, 3, all Newsbank.com; The 1915 article is about the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Willard Brown of New York, proprietor of the hotel at Lake Sunapee, New Hampshire and another in Lennox, Mass. Note this was a mid-winter visit.

⁸ Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book UU, 59. Annie Hinde's dates are from the Hinde family and her tombstone. [article on the Garden Club pilgrimage], *The Atlanta Journal*, March 31, 1939, 24, GenealogyBank.com; Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book 260, 353 (1947 purchase from the estate), Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book 342, 54 (Wells's sale to the Bowers family in 1950)..

⁹ Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book 342, 54; "Obituary of Lloyd Guyton Bowers Jr.," *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer*, March 23, 1994, Columbus Public Library, Bowers Folder; "Obituary of Effie Siegling Bowers," *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer*, January 23, 2022, Legacy.com.

New Information That I Have Discovered About Dinglewood Which Has Never Before Been Published

1. **Cost to Build:** The house cost \$30,000 to build in 1859-1860, which was more than the Baptist church (now First Baptist Church), which cost \$25,000 in 1860.¹⁰
2. **Gas System and Indoor Plumbing:** The house had its own gas system for lighting provided by Mr. W.H. Magill circa 1860. More information on this system is supplied by Mrs. Hurt's nephew John F. Flournoy, who in a 1913 article made these observations:

"This splendid home was completed just prior to the war at a cost of over \$20,000 alone for the dwelling. It was equipped with gas made from fat lightwood hauled from the plantations in Russell County, Alabama, in large wagons, six mules to the team hauling it in. It had water works, the water being pumped from Dinglewood springs to a tank made of concrete from whence the water flowed into the house."¹¹

The house was said in several sources to have had the first indoor plumbing in the Columbus area and that people came out to see it for themselves. At Dinglewood, indoor bathrooms linked to the rooms being rented was one of the features in the circa 1905 brochure about the boarding house. It is not clear if these indoor bathrooms were placed in the house circa 1859 or added later when the owners decided to run a boarding house there.¹²

3. **The Acreage of the Estate:** The original Dinglewood tract of thirty acres was purchased in 1847 by Joel Early Hurt, then aged just 26, from John Woolfolk, a local planter, speculator, and developer. The thirty acres was located near the southeast corner of lot 59, in the Coweta Falls Reserve. That land was whittled down to twenty acres during Mrs. Hurt's lifetime, as she sold a few acres here and there to neighbors between 1889 and the time of her death in 1899.¹³

¹⁰ "Columbus and Montgomery, under Social News," *Daily Columbus Enquirer*, September 25, 1860, 3, Newsbank.com. It includes mention of the gas system. Also, Richard Hyatt, *Return to the Water, the Story of First Baptist Church*, Columbus, Georgia (Macon, GA: Nurturing Faith, Inc., 2017), 37.

¹¹ Elizabeth Evans Kilbourne, *Columbus, Georgia, Newspaper Clippings (Weekly Sun), Volume I, 1859-1860* (Savannah, GA: Savannah, Ga : E.E. Kilbourne, 2011), 262 (August 7, 1860); and "Mr. Flournoy Writes of Antebellum Homes," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, July 29, 1913, 5, Newsbank.com.

¹² [Article on Garden Club pilgrimage], *Atlanta Journal*, March 31, 1939, 24, GenealogyBank.com. No doubt the tour information about the house was provided by Miss Adams; "Dinglewood, near Columbus, Georgia," brochure, original in the Hinde Family possession, copy in the author's possession.

¹³ Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book V (1881-1882), 172-173, images 146-147, FamilySearch.com. The deed was dated August 14, 1847 but not recorded until March 7, 1882. Elizabeth Carrow Woolfolk, *Pioneers, Patriots, and Planters: A Historic Narrative of the Woolfolk Family, First Settlers in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia* (Houston, Texas: Wynnton Publishing: 2003), 438-439. When Lee Jordan, widower of Julia, gave his rights to half the property back to Mrs. Hurt in early 1892, he cited 26 acres, see Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book EE (1891-1892), 560, image 299,



Dinglewood today sits on a small portion of the original estate.
Courtesy of Coldwell Banker and Doug Roth Photography



1925 Sanborn Map showing the Dinglewood Estate and its relationship to Buena Vista Road
Courtesy of Columbus State University Archives

FamilySearch.com. 1899 Georgia Tax Digest, Muscogee County, "Mrs. Julia Hurt," 20 acres, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia. Further deeds reflect the twenty acres as the size of the property well past 1900.

In 1916-1917, the co-owners, Miss Adams and Miss Hinde, began to sell lots to local citizens in order for them to build houses thereon. This continued for several decades, the last lot being sold in 1947. Nearly twenty houses were built within the original estate.¹⁴

On January 1, 1925, the City of Columbus annexed the Wynnton area of the county where Dinglewood was located, thus putting it within the city limits, and under city regulations and with residents being included in the city directories.¹⁵

In 1926, after the city of Columbus paid John Nolen, a nationally renowned city planner, for a planning study, it was proposed that a new road be developed linking 13th Avenue to Wynnton Road. This is the strip now known as Buena Vista Road from Hinson Galleries (1208 13th Avenue) southeast to the road's intersection with Wynnton Road. The city bought this land from the owners of Dinglewood in 1926 and by April the road work was underway. It was not completed until November. The controversy over the city paying for this new road and even the need for a new road became a campaign issue in the November 1926 mayoral race with Jim Woodruff running on the anti-road platform against the incumbent, J. Homer Dimon. Dimon won the race.¹⁶

The new road cut off the southeast part (6/10 of an acre) of the Dinglewood estate, which ended up on the south side of the roadway. A Gulf Refining gas station was proposed for that spot, and a building permit issued in January of 1927. By February 8, 1927, a foundation for the station had already been started. The ladies who owned Dinglewood were offered \$8,000 for the sliver of land. A collection of \$3,125 was raised by the neighbors who included W.C. Bradley, F.B. Gordon, L.G. Bowers, and some of the residents of the Dinglewood subdivision. The city council voted to pay \$2,500 to the owners of Dinglewood to purchase the land to be used for park purposes, and with

¹⁴ National Register of Historic Places, Dinglewood Historic District, Columbus, Muscogee County, Georgia, 1972, 2001, nomination form, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/32b1513c-d2c2-48bf-97b6-c8f741bf2db6>; "Realty Transfers," *Columbus Ledger*, March 14, 1941, 7, Newsbank.com. No plat of this "subdivision" has yet been found, but the lots were clearly labeled as being on Lot __, Block _ in the newspaper. This may not be reflected in the deed. The first house built was the A.C. Chancellor House in 1917.

¹⁵ "Suburban Area Comes Into The City With New Year," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, January 1, 1925, Newsbank.com. This was due for a vote in 1924.

¹⁶ "John Nolen," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Nolen, last edited on May 21, 2022. John Nolen, "City Plan Columbus Georgia," (Cambridge, MA: John Nolen, Hale J. Walker, Justin R. Hartzog, 1926), https://www.columbusga.gov/planning/pdfs/Nolan_City_Plan-1926b.pdf. It appears to recommend on pages 10 and 13 links for Wynnton Road and Buena Vista Road. Untitled map of Columbus, Georgia, Folder: Columbus in the 1900s, Oversized Map Collection, Columbus State University Archives. The building of the Buena Vista Road extension is clearly suggested on one of the maps numbered 22, 23, or 24, all related to existing conditions (1924), Comprehensive City Plan (1925), or one with more on major streets and highways. The author assumes the city purchased the land for the road extension from the owners of Dinglewood, especially since a huge outcry was heard from some people. The deeds are not online and thus have not been searched. "Dinglewood Road Will Be Opened," *Columbus Ledger*, November 21, 1926, 23, Newsbank.com. The road was to open later that November. "That \$75,000 'Dinglewood Gash,'" *Columbus Ledger*, November 24, 1926, 15, Newsbank.com. The article indicates that the land had been purchased and work on the road had begun. The writer even mentioned Miss Adams in the protest.

that the small park was born. On this land the Sarling Statue and Park were built in 1929. The gas station was built elsewhere.¹⁷

The area known as Dinglewood Park today, a city-owned park, encompassing 14.5 acres, is actually larger than the 8.5 acres sold to the city in 1946 by Miss Hinde, by then the sole owner of the Dinglewood estate. It contained the spring house. It was the remaining, undeveloped acreage of the Dinglewood estate at the time. Today the house and its acreage encompass approximately three acres.¹⁸

4. **The Name Dinglewood:** While by the mid-twentieth century and certainly after *Gone With The Wind*, (1939), many people felt all antebellum plantations had names, I am not so certain. Documentation of when the name "Dinglewood" came to be used and why is not complete. The term "Dinglewood" appears in no source I can find as being used for the house before 1891 when it appears in the Columbus city directory for Mrs. Hurt's address and is clearly used in her funeral notice in 1899. "Dinglewood" was used in several pieces of literature earlier in the nineteenth century, so it is possible the name could easily have come to the family's attention in several different ways.¹⁹

Miss Adams is most likely the source for at least two articles which provide some information on the origin of the name, and seemed to have a clear mind as to the source and meaning of the word. One was published in 1936 about local place names, without attribution. But since Adams was still living and was almost certainly the primary person keeping the Dinglewood stories in the public eye, it is likely she contributed to the article. The piece contains a statement that Dinglewood "derived its name from the 'dingle' nearby where a beautiful spring flows" and then Miss Adams is mentioned as the owner of the house followed by a brief description.²⁰

In 1983, Mrs. Clara Holleman Ingram, who came to know Miss Adams after she purchased a house in the Dinglewood subdivision, wrote about Miss Adams from memory:

¹⁷ "Number Permits New Buildings," *Columbus Ledger*, January 27, 1927, 7, and "Buy Land For Park Proposed," *Columbus Ledger*, February 8, 1927, 5; "\$3,125 Raised For Park Tract," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, March 16, 1927, 5; "Sarling Memorial Park Dedication is Impressive," *Columbus Ledger*, November 27, 1929, 1, all Newsbank.com.

¹⁸ Columbus, Georgia, Public Access Site, "Maps," parcel 026 012 033 (for acreage), <https://publicaccess.columbusga.org/>; "Spring House at Dinglewood" and "Historic Sites, Dinglewood," unidentified newspaper clippings, undated, Columbus Public Library Vertical File; "Dinglewood is Purchased for City Park," *The Sunday Ledger Enquirer*, July 21, 1946, p. 1, Newsbank.com.

¹⁹ The earliest reference to Dinglewood is in the 1891-1892 city directory, p. 174. "Mrs. Hurt's Funeral," *The Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, March 22, 1899, 3, Newsbank.com. This was the only time in her obituary and funeral information that the word "Dinglewood" was mentioned. A Google search turns up numerous references to various "Dinglewoods," including a play, a school in Ireland, and perhaps as far back as the writings of Sir Walter Scott.

²⁰ "Lovely Homes of the City," *The Columbus News Record*, October 12, 1936, newspaper clipping, Loretto Chappell/Bradley Library Vertical Files Collection (MC 361), Box 1, Folder A-C., Columbus State University Archives.

"In the beginning, the word 'Dinglewood' only applied to the house—but as the grounds were so dense with trees and foliage and because the word 'Dingle' is a dale, the entire acreage was finally called Dinglewood, according to Miss Fannie Adams."²¹

5. **National Publicity:** In September of 1900, Dinglewood appeared in a photograph in an article in *The Ladies Home Journal*. The photograph was taken by E. Jungermann's studio in Columbus, as were other homes in other cities used for the article "Romance of Some Southern Homes" by Mrs. Thaddeus Horton, a noted social writer of the era. The only text related to Dinglewood was part of the oft-told story of Julia Hurt Colquitt and her romance with Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte. Reference to and quotes from this article were reprinted all over Georgia and across the United States. This is the earliest known photograph of the house.²²

In October 1900, Dinglewood was mentioned in an article in a Charleston, South Carolina, newspaper promoting the upcoming Charleston World's Fair (The South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition). The article was written by Bradford Gilbert, the noted New York City architect, who had been hired to design the major fair buildings. He was headed to Charleston to show his plans. Charleston scholars think that it is most likely that Gilbert had seen the article in *The Ladies Home Journal* only a month or so earlier and that was perhaps the only house in Georgia of which he was aware. Gilbert wrote that "Georgia might possibly reproduce Dinglewood." Georgia did not build a state building at that fair, however. In 1904, for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition: The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, Georgia's state building was a replica of Southerland, the John B. Gordon House in Atlanta. Gordon, a former Confederate general, governor and U.S. senator, had just died in January 1904. In 1907 at the Jamestown Exposition at Norfolk, the Georgia building was a replica of Bulloch Hall in Roswell, the home of President Teddy Roosevelt's mother, as he was president at that time. So for Dinglewood to have been under consideration at that high a level was indeed an honor, even if perhaps unknown by officials.²³

6. **Use As a Boarding House/Tourist Home:** In the 1900 census, taken June 11, 1900, Dinglewood was already being operated as a boarding house, with four different groups of boarders living there. In May of 1901, Miss Adams announced in the local newspaper that she would be open for summer boarders, beginning June 1. This does not seem to match up with the 1900 census information, but

²¹ Clara Holleman Ingram, "Dinglewood," *Columbus Magazine*, (November/December 1983):18-19, clipping, Loretto Chappell/Bradley Library Vertical Files Collection (MC 361), Box 1, Folder A-C., Columbus State University Archives.

²² Mrs. Thaddeus Horton, "Romance of Some Southern Homes," *The Ladies Home Journal*, Vol. 17 (no. 10, September 1900), 9-10, collection of the author.

²³ "The Architect's Story of the Exposition," *Charleston News and Courier*, October 23, 1900, 8, GenealogyBank.com. The same article was reproduced all around the United States; Nic Butler, historian, Charleston County Public Library, e-mail message to the author, August 5, 2022; Harlan Greene, scholar in residence, Addlestone Library, College of Charleston, e-mail message to the author July 27, 2022, included a link to publications from the fair showing no Georgia building was built; Bulloch Hall replica building, postcard, circa 1907, collection of the author.

perhaps after her mother's death, she became more business oriented. The announcement implies that the previous boarders were not staying, since she does not mention limited rooms. Here is the wording of the 1901 announcement:²⁴

"After June 1st, Dinglewood will be open for summer boarders. Rooms single or *en suite*, connecting with private baths. Hot water, telephone, and other conveniences. Address Miss F. H. Adams, Wynnton."²⁵

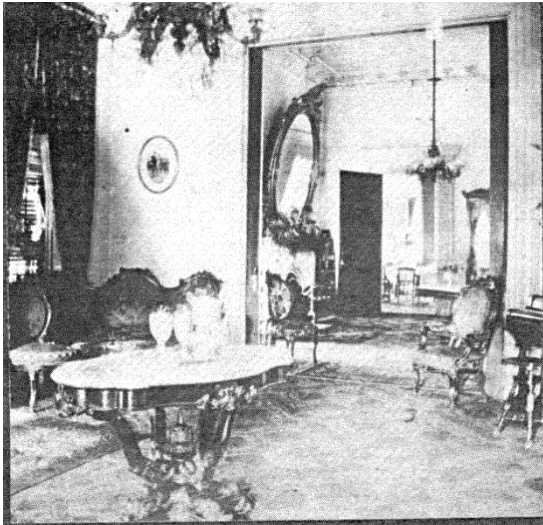


Image of the home's interior during the time it was used as a boarding house, courtesy of the Hinde Family

The home's interior as it appears today taken from approximately the same spot, courtesy of the author



²⁴ U.S. Federal Census, 1900, Georgia, Muscogee County, Bozeman's District, 921 G.M.D., p.12B, line 67-78.

²⁵ "Advertisement," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, May 26, 1901, 3, NewsBank.com.

A four-page brochure was published circa 1905 that added more about what Dinglewood offered. It can only be approximately dated due to the quote from *The Ladies Home Journal*/September 1900 article, cited above, and a quote from the *Atlanta Constitution*, possibly from the same time but as yet undated. Some details included: "A High-Class Southern Home," "Open All The Year," but it does not mention how many rooms were available, only that "Every modern convenience has been added—baths, telephones, etc. etc. A good livery at command. Rooms *en suite* with private bath, or single, as preferred. Open fires." "For terms and engagements, address Miss Frances Adams, Columbus, Ga." appeared in print at the bottom. Besides the photo of the house on the front page, the brochure includes images of the south piazza (front porch), the dining room, and the spring. We do not yet know how this brochure was distributed.²⁶

From 1905 on, the house was operated by the co-owners, Adams and Hinde, as a boarding house and a home for winter tourists. They operated the house in this manner for several decades and the Columbus and Atlanta newspapers contain many articles related to who stayed there as tourists. Many early Camp Benning families lived there for a while as boarders, especially when Camp Benning was located just a short distance down Wynnton Road. So far no letters from any boarder or tourist have turned up. We do have one lady's brief account of living there as a child in 1905 when she and her parents were boarders, however. She wrote from Leesville, Ohio, and then visited the Bowers family in 1956. She mentioned she had an album of photos taken by her father.²⁷

7. **The Spring as a Source of Water for the City:** The spring on the property was very important, and was known as Dinglewood Spring. At one point the owners sold water to the city circa 1902-1904 and eventually leased the spring to Brady Mitchell in 1904. No other documentation of the use of this spring has been found. The covered spring is shown in the circa 1905 brochure. The spring was located within the 8.5 acres sold to the city to be a city park, now known as Dinglewood Park.²⁸

²⁶ Photocopy of brochure in the author's possession, original owned by the Hinde Family. Efforts to date the quote from the *Atlanta Constitution* have proved futile. It may not be an exact quote. It refers to Miss Adams having a beautiful reception for some guests from New York. Since it was for public relations purposes, it may have been shortened. It does not mention Miss Hinde who was co-owner starting in 1905, hence dated circa 1905.

²⁷ Mrs. Donald D. McQueen (nee Eleanor Drell Price), letters to Mrs. Lloyd G. Bowers, October 24, 1956, and January 14, 1957, L.G. Bowers Estate/Family, copies in the author's possession.

²⁸ "City Will Furnish Free Water Today," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, June 26, 1904, 8; "Spring Water Now On Tap," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, July 10, 1904, 16; "Spring Water in Abundance Will Be Placed on Sale," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, June 25, 1904, 3, and "Plenty of Water," *The Columbus Ledger*, June 27, 1904, 4, all Newsbank.com.



"Dinglewood Spring Water" wagon, courtesy of the Hinde Family

8. **The Kitchen, Rear Porte-cochère, and Stone Entrance Pillars:** These were not added until September 1927, and until that time the kitchen was an outbuilding, as with many other antebellum homes. It is hard to imagine operating a boarding house/tourist home with the kitchen out back, but that must be how they handled it. The rear additions of the kitchen, another room, and the porte-cochère were very well done and one might assume an architect was involved, but none has been identified. Miss Adams added the lighted stone pillars at the entrance to the Dinglewood subdivision on Buena Vista Road in 1927, as well, since by then the new Buena Vista Road extension had been cut.²⁹

9. **Hurt and Flournoy Family Connections:** Joel Early Hurt was well connected in that his cousin, Joel Hurt (1850-1926) went on to be a major developer in Atlanta, and his nephew was Robert W. Woodruff of Coca Cola fame. Joel Early Hurt was one of eight children, most of whom inherited greatly from their parents, Joel and Martha Herndon Hurt. Early Hurt's sister, Mary Elizabeth Jones, and her husband owned land in Atlanta and sold it to two of their brothers, George Troup Hurt, and Augustus F. Hurt. Their houses are featured in the Cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta painting with Augustus's house site being the site of the Carter Presidential Library and the Carter Center. The Troup and Augustus Hurt Houses are marked with historical markers as well. Inman Park was part of the Troup Hurt estate. Another brother, Henry Hurt, briefly owned the Wynn House (1850-1855) after Colonel Wynn moved to Louisiana. Hurt sold it to Hines Holt. Mr. Early Hurt's cousin, Rebecca Hurt, married Robert A. Hardaway at the Hurt home in 1857. They were the ancestors of Benjamin

²⁹ "Dinglewood Mansion," *The Columbus Ledger*, September 8, 1927, 6, Newsbank.com; Ingram, "Dinglewood," 18-19. Mrs. Ingram writes a good bit about Miss Adams's efforts to put the pillars at another entrance first, but was refused permission, so she built them on land she owned. This article is the source of the 1927 date.

Hurt Hardaway and family. Robert A. Hardaway's memoirs give some insight into Mr. Early Hurt's personality and his role as guardian for Rebecca and her siblings.³⁰

The Flournoy family of Mrs. Hurt also had wide-ranging connections. Her father, Josiah Flournoy (1789-1842), of Eatonton, Georgia, is remembered in many publications as one of the early leaders of the temperance movement in Georgia. Her mother, Martha Manley Flournoy (1789-1877), moved to Columbus by 1870, lived with Mrs. Hurt at Dinglewood, and died in Columbus in 1877. Of Mrs. Hurt's parents' eight children, besides Mrs. Hurt, and Mrs. Adams (briefly), two brothers, Robert Flournoy (1826-1896), and John Manley Flournoy (1814-1859), also moved to Columbus or Russell County and many people in Columbus today descend from them. John Flournoy's son, John Francis Flournoy, built Wildwood Park, as well as other areas of the city, and his house, Hillcrest, which still stands. Because of the Flournoy family's deep connection to Methodism, the papers of Mrs. Hurt's sister Elizabeth's husband, Rev. Walter R. Branham, and his relatives, form a large collection at Emory University's Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library.³¹

10. Bowers Connection Before 1950: The Lloyd G. Bowers family had close connections to Dinglewood before they purchased the house in 1950. Mrs. Julia Hurt Colquitt Jordan visited the Lloyd G. Bowers family of that era on her visit to her mother in 1891, dying three days later, with Lloyd Bowers being a pallbearer at her funeral, as well as at her mother's funeral in 1899.³²

11. National Register of Historic Places: Dinglewood was placed on the National Register of Historic Places on February 1, 1972, with the nomination written by Janice P. Biggers, executive director of the Historic Columbus Foundation. The Dinglewood Historic District, including the main house and twenty-seven acres of the original thirty acres, was placed on the National Register on November 21, 2001, with the nomination prepared by Tracy Dean, consultant.³³

³⁰ Tammy Galloway, "Joel Hurt," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified Apr 11, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/joel-hurt-1850-1926/>; Jamil Zainaldin, "Robert W. Woodruff," New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified Jul 20, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/robert-w-woodruff-1889-1985/>; "Will of Joel Hurt," 1843, "Will of Martha Hurt," 1862, "Alabama, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1753-1999," Ancestry.com. Historic Linwood Foundation, "Burial Records," <https://linwoodcemetery.org/visit-linwood/>. The Hurts are buried in Linwood Cemetery, Columbus, Georgia. Poncey Highland Neighborhood Association, Timeline, <https://www.ponceyhighland.org/history-timeline>; Georgia Historical Society, <https://georgiahistory.com>; Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book H2 (1855-1857), 25, image 285, FamilySearch.org; Robert A. Hardaway, "Memoirs of Robert Archelaus Hardaway," circa 1878-1887, copy of typescript, Columbus Public Library.

³¹ John Allen Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), 174; U.S. census information; Columbus, Georgia, Linwood Cemetery Records; author's knowledge of the numerous Flournoy family descendants.

³² "Sudden Death of Mrs. Lee Jordan," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, December 31, 1891, 4; "Mrs. Fanny Hurt Passes Away," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, March 31, 1899, 5, both Newsbank.com.

³³ National Register of Historic Places, Dinglewood Historic District, Columbus, Muscogee County, Georgia, 1972, 2001, nomination form, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/32b1513c-d2c2-48bf-97b6-c8f741bf2db6>.

12. Legends About the Home That Are Not True:

- a. Dinglewood Pharmacy is not built on part of the original Dinglewood thirty-acre tract. The pharmacy, now at 1939 Wynnton Road, in 1931 stood at 1528 Wynnton Road. This was something Miss Adams was adamant about, being very protective of the use of the word "Dinglewood."³⁴
- b. President James Buchanan (1857 until 1861) did not come to Columbus and dine at Dinglewood. That story appeared in several news stories circa 1946-1950 and its origins are unknown. President Buchanan never came to Georgia as far as is known. Two antebellum ex-presidents did come to Columbus, James K. Polk (1849) and Millard Fillmore (1854), but both visits occurred before Dinglewood's construction. It is possible they visited the Hurts at their previous home on this site, as they did visit other families in the Columbus area.³⁵

³⁴ Ingram, "Dinglewood," 18-19, states Miss Adams "was fussy about the name 'Dinglewood.'" Later Mrs. Ingram states "Dinglewood Pharmacy was never in Dinglewood. All of this is what Miss Fannie Adams told me. She described Dinglewood [estate?] as being oval-shaped like an egg."

³⁵ "'Dinglewood,' Historic Columbus Home, Sold," *Sunday Ledger-Enquirer*, July 27, 1947, 5A, Columbus Public Library Vertical File; [article on Dinglewood sale to Bowers family, title unknown], *The Columbus Ledger*, May 25, 1950, newspaper clipping, Loretto Chappell/Bradley Library Vertical Files Collection (MC 361), Box 1, "Dinglewood" folder, Columbus State University Archives; Worsley, *Columbus on the Chattahoochee*, 114, 267-268.

**“Restoring the Branches of Even One Black Family Tree:”
The Life of a Freedman, Carlton Boykin, in Columbus, Georgia**

**By
Rachel Dobson**

One of the hardest steps for researchers of African American family history to take with their subjects is the leap from Reconstruction back to the era of slavery in the written record. It is often a blind leap, back to a time when names of enslaved people were not usually recorded or, if they were, were not recorded in a way that would make them readily identifiable to future researchers. As viewers of PBS’s *Finding Your Roots* can attest, it is a rare experience to be able to trace an African American individual beyond documents such as the 1870 Federal Census or the 1867 voter registration rolls back to something more than a tick mark on the 1860 Slave Schedule.¹

With some careful sleuthing and focused research utilizing records that are often available but sometimes difficult to discern, however, genealogists can help narrow the gap between African American descendants and their formerly enslaved ancestors. As the direct and collateral descendant of numerous slaveholders in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Arkansas, I have begun a long-term project to make names of enslaved people listed on my ancestors’ documents more publicly accessible, such as by publishing transcriptions in blog posts or in printed journals. I also have begun to trace forward some of the enslaved people named in those documents into the post-slavery era, in hopes of providing information to African American family researchers who must make the leap back in time across the documentary divide into the era of slavery. This essay is the story—for now, only in outlines—of one of those formerly enslaved people and his family. The documents here reveal an extended family group who lived independently, valued learning, took advantage of educational opportunities, exercised their rights of citizenship, all despite the obstacles of continual discrimination, including the threat of violence, during the years of Reconstruction and Jim Crow.²

¹ Henry Louis Gates Jr., *In Search of Our Roots – How 19 Extraordinary African Americans Reclaimed Their Past* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2009), 12. The full quotation reads: “African American history is still a very young discipline, a discipline still very much in progress; restoring the branches of even one black family tree can profoundly change the ways that we understand the larger story of who the African American people really are.”

² Rachel Dobson, “Enslaved People Belonging to James Boykin in Documents from 1839 to 1846,” April 30, 2018, <https://genealogyhomebrew.wordpress.com/2018/04/30/enslaved-people-of-james-boykin-1839-1846/>; and “Stephen Boykin in Document from Slavery to Freedom, June 19, 2022, <https://genealogyhomebrew.wordpress.com/2022/06/19/stephen-boykin-in-documents-from-slavery-to-freedom/>.

A Life in Documents

The evidence may not exist to prove beyond doubt that the “Carlton” listed in the 1840 document was the same person as the “Carlton Boykin” in each document below, but, in my opinion, it is highly likely that they were the same person. The first appearance of the name “Carlton” I have discovered associated with my Boykin ancestors is in a list of enslaved people on a promissory note of 1840 signed by my four-greats grandfather James Boykin. Using human property to finance projects or borrow cash was a common practice, as was borrowing and financing among friends and family. In this note, Boykin was borrowing money—a loan of \$9,340—from his son-in-law James Randall Jones and he signed over his ownership of twenty-seven enslaved Black people, including a four-year-old boy named Carlton, as collateral on the loan, payable in three years. The names and ages of all twenty-seven people held by Boykin were listed, in an order that suggests they were grouped in families. Above Carlton’s name in the list were the names of two enslaved people who may have been his parents or caretakers: “Tom, twenty six years old,” and “Mary, twenty four years old.”³

³ Bonnie Martin, “Slavery’s Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property,” *The Journal of Southern History*, 76, no. 4 (November 2010): 817-866, esp. 818: “...with the reassurance of slave mortgages, neighbor borrowed from neighbor and friends endorsed the debt contracts of friends.” See also Dallas Hanbury, “Documenting Slavery at the Local Level: Montgomery, Alabama; a Case Study,” *Alabama Review*, 73, no. 3 (July 2020): 223-245, esp. 227. Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book B, James Boykin to James R. Jones, October 9, 1840, p. 101. Stewart County Courthouse, Lumpkin, Ga., Deed Book K, James Boykin to James R. Jones, October 9, 1840, p. 273-274. I am grateful to Jesse Williams for bringing the Stewart County copy to my attention. Russell County Courthouse, Phenix City, Ala., Estate Case File – Boykin, Samuel, 1849-1859, (microfilm) Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery. Listing human property in family groups on property documents was a practice that Thomas Cooper Boykin used in listing 162 enslaved people in the estate inventory of his father, the brother of James, Dr. Samuel Boykin (1786-1848); Rachel Dobson, “An ‘Agreeable Villa in the Suburbs’ and a Mansion in the Northern Liberties: James Boykin in Stewart and Muscogee Counties,” *Muscogiana* Vol. 30(1), Spring 2019, 1-18; and “Creek Removal, State’s Rights Politics, and Financial Loss in the Chattahoochee Valley: James Boykin, 1830-1846,” *Muscogiana* Vol. 31(2), Fall 2020, 1-27; Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, Alabama land patents, April 8, 1837 through Feb. 28, 1842, Russell County, Township 14, Range 26 and Township 14, Range 28, 19 aliquots of sections or whole sections, James R. Jones, assignee: <https://glorerecords.blm.gov>; 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, Russell County, Alabama, J.R. Jones, 60 slaves; and 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, Muscogee County, Georgia, District 8, James R. Jones, 22 slaves, digital images, Ancestry.com. I have found no record that James Boykin paid off his promissory note to J.R. Jones and gained back the twenty-seven enslaved people James had used as collateral. He may have, or, since he continued to have severe financial troubles until his death in 1846, he may not have. In light of other business deals between the white Boykins and the Joneses, it is possible that James’s brother (T.C.’s father) Dr. Samuel Boykin paid the note off, which would have likely made Carlton the property of T.C. after Samuel’s death.

James Boykin To James R. Jones

Georgia
Muscogee County

This indenture made this ninth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty between James Boykin, of the County State aforesaid and of the City of Columbus on the one part and James R. Jones, of the same place of the other part: Witnesseth that the said James Boykin, hath this day made and delivered to the said James R. Jones, one certain promissory note subscribed with his hands and bearing date with these presents whereby the said James Boykin promised to pay James R. Jones the sum of nine thousand three hundred and forty dollars by the first day of January 1843, for value received, and with interest from date: Now for and in consideration of the sum of One hundred dollars by the said James R. Jones to the said James Boykin, in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged as well as for the better securing the payment of the aforesaid promissory note the said James Boykin, hath granted bargained and sold and doth by these presents grant bargain, and sell unto the said James R. Jones, his heirs and assigns twenty seven Negroes to-wit, Thomas forty six years old, Tom twenty six years old, Mary twenty four years old, Carlton four years old Susan twenty years old, Bobb twenty six years old, Young fifteen years old, Peter thirteen years old, Wilson twelve years old, Caroline nine years old, Candee five years old, Frank thirty years old, Eliza thirty years old, Stephen thirteen years old, Minty four years old, Seraj one year old, Lewis twenty three years old, Aaron twenty seven years old, Esther twenty five years old, Emily thirteen years old, Gustus fourteen years old, George twelve years old, Henderson six years old, Milton four years old, Fanny two years six months old, Arthur Child not known Age seven six months old,

The Promissory note of James Boykin to James Randall Jones listing twenty-seven enslaved people, October 9, 1840, is located in Deed Book B, page 101, Muscogee County Courthouse. The deed is filed in Stewart and Muscogee counties.

Although initially enslaved by James Boykin, it is likely that Carlton, as he grew older, spent time working at other Boykin or Jones family properties, owned by brothers James and Samuel Boykin, by James's son Francis E. Boykin, and by James's son-in-law James Randall Jones, as well as Samuel's son, Thomas Cooper Boykin. The family network of plantations and estates covered many acres on both sides of the Chattahoochee River. By 1829, just after the founding of Columbus, James Boykin owned a 2,200-plus-acre plantation in Stewart County, known as "Snake Shoals" or "Snake Hill," where he held fifty-five enslaved people in 1830 and where his son Francis E. Boykin held eighty-five enslaved people in 1840. James also owned a thirty-acre estate north of the Northern Liberties of Columbus, next to his son-in-law James Randall Jones's lavish home. At his Muscogee County estate, James Boykin enslaved twelve people in 1840. J.R. Jones also owned a large plantation in Russell County by the mid-1830s. In 1850 Jones enslaved sixty people in Russell County and twenty-two people at his estate north of Columbus.⁴

⁴ 1830 U.S. Federal Census, Randolph County, Georgia, District 22, p. 248, line 15, James Boykin. This part of Randolph County became Stewart County December 23, 1830. 1840 U.S. Federal Census, Stewart County, Georgia, District 22, p. 153, line 13, Francis Boykin; "In an Idle Moment," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, September 1, 1906, 4; 1840 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, District 774, p. 324, line 30, James Boykin; Dobson, "An Agreeable Villa in the Suburbs," 1-18; and "Creek Removal," 1-27; Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, Alabama land patents, April 8, 1837 through Feb. 28, 1842, Russell County, Township 14, Range 26 and Township 14, Range 28, 19 aliquots of sections or whole sections, James R. Jones, assignee: <https://glorerecords.blm.gov>; 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, Russell County, Alabama, J.R. Jones, sixty slaves; and 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, Muscogee County, Georgia, District 8, James R. Jones, twenty-two slaves.

Valuable Property for Sale.



FOR Sale a most valuable plantation, on the Chattahoochee River; about 20 miles below Columbus, Georgia, containing about 2,200 acres. 1,100 of which is rich cotton land, and nearly 800 under cultivation. The crops of Cotton and Corn produced have been excelled by few, perhaps none in Georgia or Alabama, with the same number of acres cultivated, and completely exempt from freshets; and never has yet failed in producing a luxuriant and full crop of cotton and provisions since it has been settled. On the plantation there is a grist mill substantially built and recently, and gin, those on a bold stream. The purchaser can also have a stock of horses, mules, cattle, hogs, and an abundant supply of provisions, &c., on very reasonable terms. This property is indeed very desirable and valuable to any one who may be inclined to purchase.

James Boykin on the plantation, will show the property and particulars may be known by applying to J. R. Jones, Esq., in Columbus, Georgia; James K. Douglas, Camden, S. C., or in Charleston to

KIRKPATRICK & DOUGLAS.

Dec. 9, 1843.

13 4t

Due to financial problems, from 1841 to 1843, James Boykin advertised to sell his 2,200-plus-acre Stewart County plantation with advertisements like this one from December 26, 1843, in the *Georgia Journal*. Similar notices also appeared in the *American Democrat*, *Federal Union*, *Southern Recorder*, *Georgia Messenger* and the *Macon Telegraph*. Courtesy of Georgia Historic Newspapers

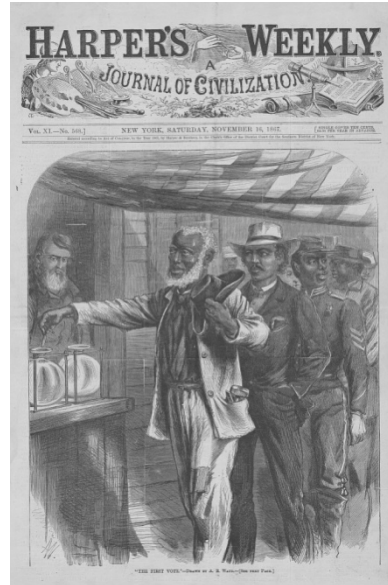
Whether James Boykin paid off the note to his son-in-law and gained back Carlton and the twenty-six enslaved people, the name "Carlton" did not appear again in any of Boykin's or Jones's documents from the era. But an African American man named Carlton Boykin was written into the record, after slavery, in 1867 in Russell County. Other historical documents show that Carlton Boykin moved to Columbus by 1873 and lived there with his family until his death in 1896. He was married to a Black woman named Rebecca (or Becky) Boykin. The couple had ten children, and he lived to see at least five grandchildren.⁵

Soon after the passage of the Reconstruction Act in March of 1867, newly freed slaves began registering to vote. On August 5, 1867, "Calton [sic] Boykin, colored, a native of Georgia," swore an oath of allegiance to the United States and successfully registered to vote. According to the 1840 promissory note, Boykin would have been about thirty-one years old. The registration book (digitized on the Alabama Department of Archives and History website) is filled with the names of other men in Carlton's community. On the page prior to the one on which Carlton's name appears, for example, is a name that would become closely associated with Boykin's extended family in Columbus: Mack Miles. On the same page as that on which Carlton Boykin's name is written, just a few lines above his, was written the name

⁵ There is evidence that only a few of the enslaved people named in the 1840 note were still James Boykin's property at his death. Seven individuals who were named in the 1840 document appear again, with approximately correct successive ages, in his will in 1846, the only enslaved people he held at his death. See "Will of James Boykin," 1846, Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus, Ga., Will Book A, p. 64-66; and Rachel Dobson, "The Names of Enslaved People Belonging to James Boykin and his Family in Documents from 1839 to 1846."

of a white man, T.C. Boykin. Carlton undoubtedly knew both these men and he may have worked for T.C.⁶

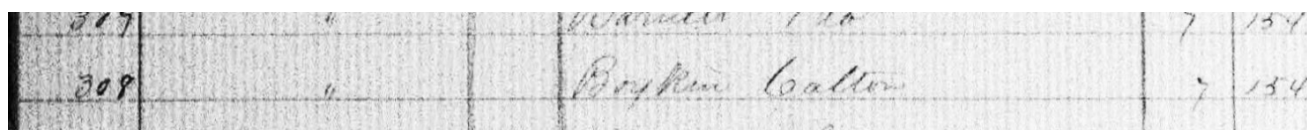
"The First Vote," illustration by A.R. Waud, *Harper's Weekly*, November 16, 1867
Courtesy of the Library of Congress



Reverend Thomas Cooper Boykin, from *The History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia*, courtesy of Internet Archive

⁶ Alabama 1867 Voter Registration Records Database, Russell County, August 5, 1867, Calton [sic] Boykin, District 17, Precinct 3, line 308 (Book 7, page 154), and Mack Miles, District 17, Precinct 3, line 274, (Book 7, page 137), Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery: <https://archives.alabama.gov/voterreg/search.cfm>. Carlton Boykin's name appears in a variety of forms, for example, as "Calton," "Cotton," "Charlton," "Boykins," "Baykin," and "Boykie."

The Reverend Thomas Cooper Boykin (1836-1901) was a son of James's brother and closest business partner, Dr. Samuel Boykin. In the mid-1860s, just after the Civil War, Rev. T.C. Boykin served as the prominent pastor of Mount Lebanon Baptist Church in Russell County. In 1860, he owned real estate valued at \$30,000, personal estate valued at \$60,000, and he owned fifty-two people on his plantation near Jernigan. Before Emancipation, Carlton may have worked for T.C., whether because T.C. held him as property or because one of T.C.'s family members did. In light of other inter-family business deals between the Boykins and the Joneses, it is possible that T.C.'s father, Dr. Samuel Boykin, paid his brother's note, which likely would have made Carlton the property of T.C. after Samuel's death. After Emancipation, many newly freed Blacks, especially in rural areas, continued to work for their former enslavers and it is likely that Carlton did that in the years before he moved to Columbus.⁷



Excerpt of a page from the book "Return of Qualified Voters" for Precinct 3, Election District 17 in Russell County, Alabama, in 1867, courtesy of the Alabama Department of Archives and History

Regardless of whose property Carlton ended up being, after he was freed, possibly around the time he registered to vote, he would have chosen a last name. The reasons African Americans chose their last names varied. Was "Boykin" a name with which he was already associated and wished to continue to be so? Did he choose it for the sake of convenience? Or did he choose it because the name meant something positive to him? We will probably never know, but the choice would have been a milestone in his life.⁸

⁷ "Rev. T.C. Boykin Buried," *Atlanta Constitution*, December 6, 1901; "Thomas Cooper Boykin," in Samuel Boykin, *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia, with Biographical Compendium and Portrait Gallery of Baptist Ministers and Other Georgia Baptists*, compiled for the *Christian Index* (Atlanta: Jas. P. Harrison & Co, 1881), 46-47 (in *Biographical Compendium*); 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Russell County, Alabama, Jernigan, p. 66, July 16, line 40, Thomas C. Boykin; 1860 U.S. Federal Census – Slave Schedules, Russell County, Southern Division, Thomas C. Boykin, fifty-two slaves. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction – America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 81-82. It is likely that enslaved people owned by one Boykin or Jones family member would have moved between the families' plantations and estates to work, either in official rental agreements or in informal trades, in Russell, Muscogee, and Stewart counties, just as it was common for slaveholders to rent out their human property to individuals or corporate entities, such as the city of Columbus. See Mary Jane Galer, *Columbus, Georgia, Lists of People in the Town 1828-1852 and Sexton's Reports to 1866* ([Columbus, Georgia]: Iberian Pub. Co., 2000), 142-145. On the "ubiquitous" practice of slave hiring and rental in the lower Chattahoochee Valley, see Anthony Gene Carey, *Sold Down the River: Slavery in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2011), 10, and 42-70.

⁸ Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Meaghan E.H. Siekman, "Tracing Your Roots: Were Slaves' Surnames Like Brands?" *The Root*, June 16, 2017: <https://www.theroot.com/tracing-your-roots-were-slaves-surnames-like-brands-1796141007>; Robyn Smith, "The Complexity of Slave Surnames," March 14, 2017: <https://reclaimingkin.com/the-complexity-of-slave-surnames/>; "Changing Names," (Brookline, MA: Facing History and Ourselves, 2022): <https://www.facinghistory.org/reconstruction-era/changing-names>. This last article gives primary source examples of African American's reasons for their choices. The fact that Carlton Boykin did not choose the name Jones may have had to do with the fact that he married Rebecca, whose name may have been Jones at one time (see further discussion below).

The Move to Columbus

Carlton Boykin and his extended family were part of a larger movement of newly freed slaves looking for work from rural into urban areas during Reconstruction. Besides Boykin's family, the names of other freed people who lived in the same precinct in Russell County later appear in records in Columbus from the time. Although I have not found Carlton in any 1870 census, his ten-year-old son, Solomon Boykin, was living in Columbus with fifty-eight-year-old Solomon McDaniel, who may have been young Solomon's grandfather or great uncle, an issue to which I will return. Besides the Boykin's relationship with the McDaniels, Carlton Boykin also knew Mack Miles from his period of enslavement. After Miles registered to vote in Russell County in 1867 in the same precinct as Boykin, he moved to Columbus where he registered to vote again in 1868. In Columbus, Miles married Martha McDaniel in January of 1869 and they were recorded in the census in Columbus in 1870, not far from where Carlton's son Solomon lived with Solomon McDaniel. Mack and Martha Miles would soon appear again in the record as consistent figures in Carlton and Rebecca Boykin's lives.⁹

Page No. 38 ; Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) merely by an affirmative mark, as /.

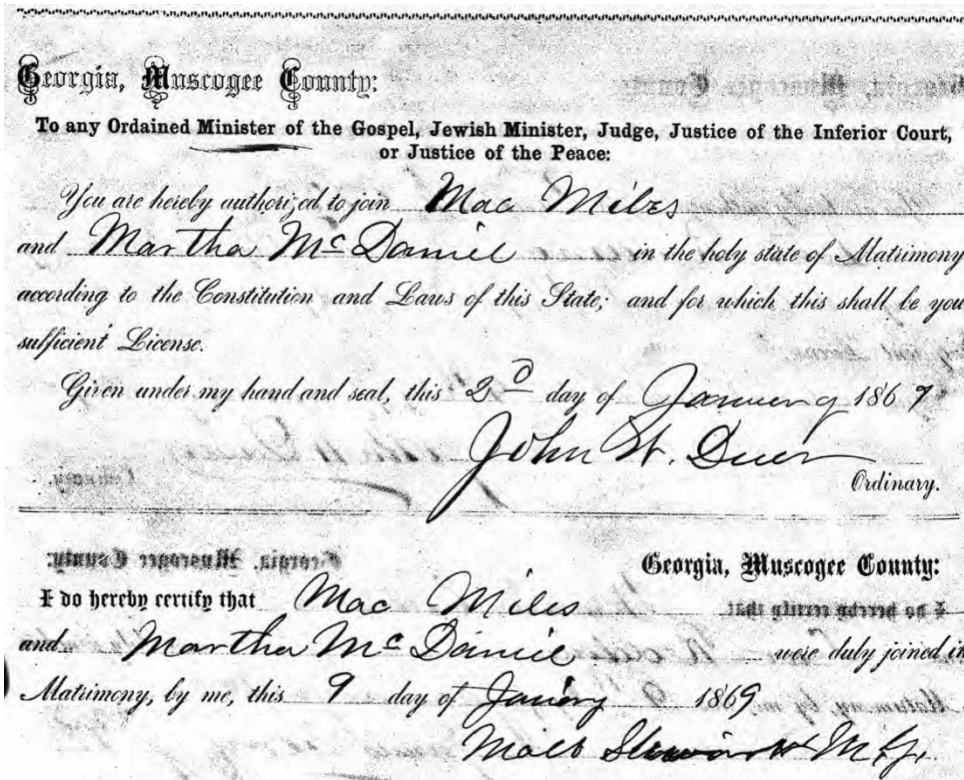
SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Outside City of Columbus, Ga. in the County of Muscogee, State of Georgia, enumerated by me on the 7th day of June, 1870.

Post Office: Columbus Ga R. A. Shivers, Ass't Marshal.

Dwellings, numbered in the order of visitation.	Families, numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose place of abode on the first day of June, 1870, was in this family.	DESCRIPTION.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male or female.	VALUE OF REAL ESTATE OWNED.		Place of Birth, naming State or Territory of U. S.; or the Country, if of foreign birth.	PARENTAGE.		If born within the year, state month (Jan., Feb., &c.)	If married within the year, state month (Jan., Feb., &c.)	EDUCATION.		Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic.	CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS.		
			Age at last birthday, if under 1 year, give month in fraction, tenths, &c.	Sex—Male (M.), Female (F.).	Color—White (W.), Black (B.), Red (R.), Yellow (Y.), Other (O.).		Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.		Father of foreign birth.	Mother of foreign birth.			Cannot read.	Cannot write.		Male Citizens of U. S. or of other foreign countries, in whole or in part, who are entitled to vote in this State.	Male Citizens of U. S. or of other foreign countries, who are not entitled to vote in this State.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	201 200	Annell Antoinette	42	F.	B.	Laundress			Alabama						/	/			
2		McDaniel Solomon	58	M.	B.	Grain Dealer	600	200	South Carolina						/	/		/	
3		Boykin Solomon	10	M.	B.	at School			Alabama					/	/				

Antoinette Camell, Solomon McDaniel, and Solomon Boykin in the 1870 Muscogee County census, noted as living "outside the city of Columbus, Ga."

⁹ Foner, *Reconstruction*, 80-82; 1870 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, "Outside the City of Columbus," p. 679B (p. 38), line 2, Solomon McDaniel. In the 1870 census, Solomon McDaniel is listed five pages over from his daughter Martha and her new husband Mack Miles, from Russell County. Muscogee County, Georgia, U.S., Marriage Records From Select Counties, 1828-1978, January 9, 1869, Mack Miles and Martha McDaniel; 1870 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, "Outside the City of Columbus," p. 677A (p. 33), line 2, Mack Miles and Martha Miles.



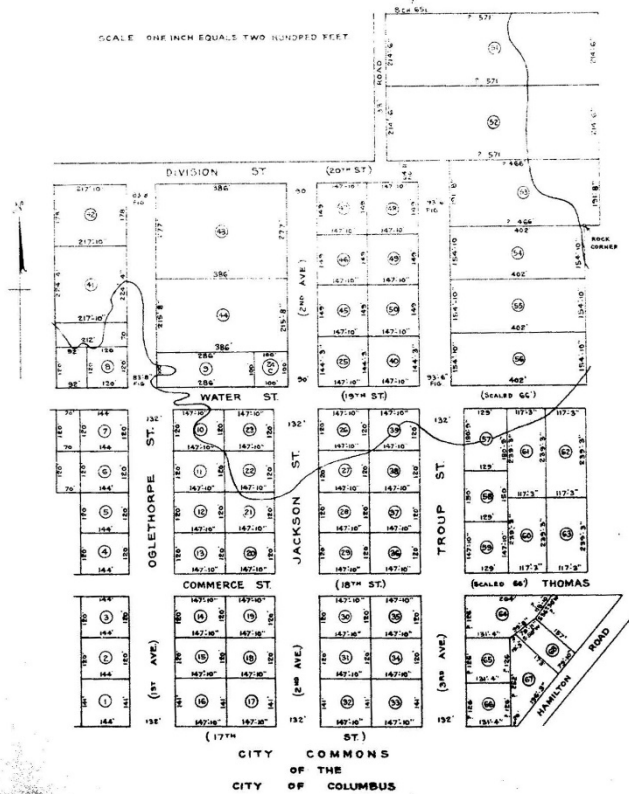
The marriage record of Mac [sic] Miles and Martha McDaniel, January 9, 1869, Muscogee County, Georgia

In 1873, Carlton Boykin appeared for the first time in the records of the city of Columbus. "Charlton Boykie" lived in "old field N. Liberties" according to the city directory published that year, but the directory only indicated an approximate location for his residence. In fact, during Reconstruction, there was a settlement of primarily newly freed people north of the Northern Liberties. Six individuals in that year's city directory—all African American men, and all laborers—lived in "old field N. Liberties." The exact location of "old field" remains something of a mystery, although a hint appears in a news story from the same year. In May 1873, a tornado—the second in as many months—wreaked havoc on the northerly sections of Columbus. No one was killed, the *Enquirer* reported, but there were numerous injuries. The storm proved catastrophic to manufacturing sites which had been spared during an earlier tornado, and "never have we known a greater destruction of shade trees." After describing damage in the city itself, the reporter worked his way north, reporting on sections of "The Suburbs:" first, the Northern Liberties and then further north, a place called Kellersville. The only clue is the reporter's description: "Kellersville—This village in the old field, about one mile above the city, occupied chiefly by colored people, fared badly."¹⁰

¹⁰ T.M. Haddock, *Haddock's Columbus, Ga. Directory, and General Advertiser: Containing a Historical Sketch, General and Business City Directory, City Government, Street Directory, Etc.* ([Columbus, Ga.]: Thos. Gilbert & Co, 1873), 55, Digital Library of Georgia. *Daily Columbus Enquirer*, May 16, 1873, 1. Elizabeth Carrow Woolfolk, *Pioneers, Patriots, and Planters: A Historic Narrative of the Woolfolk Family, First Settlers in Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia* (Houston, Texas: Wynnton Publishing: 2003), 401-414. The Northern Liberties was

PLAN
OF THE
NORTHERN
LIBERTIES

Survey showing Division Street (Twentieth Street), the northern border of the Northern Liberties and Seventeenth Street at the North Commons, the southern border. William F. Serrell, "Drawing No. A-203, Reproduction of Plan of the Northern Liberties Also Known as Woolfolk Town, 'From Notes Furnished,' Columbus, Ga., December 19, 1862," 1947, Plat Book 18, Muscogee County Courthouse Courtesy of Jesse Williams



Records show that by the early 1870s the Boykins lived and owned property just north of the Northern Liberties in the area known as "City Village" on Division Street. Division Street (now Twentieth Street) was the dividing line between the Northern Liberties, which had been purchased and developed by John Woolfolk, and the area known as City Village, the property originally purchased by Seaborn Jones in 1827. In 1874 and 1875, Carlton Boykin paid property and poll taxes on a quarter acre of land in District 772 ("McCrary's"). In March of 1875, courthouse deeds show that Carlton's wife Rebecca Boykin and Martha McDaniel Miles each bought adjacent half-acre sections of Lot 5 on Division Street in the "City Village." Since Carlton had paid property taxes in 1874, Martha and Rebecca and their families had likely

originally a "new Town" surveyed for John Woolfolk, which extended northward from the northern edge of the city's north commons (present-day Seventeenth Street) to Division Street (present-day Twentieth Street), and east from the river to a western boundary that aligned with Forsyth Street within the city limits (Fourth Avenue, now Veteran's Parkway). I have been able to find no other references to Kellersville so far.

already been living on these lots with their families since at least 1874. The March 1875 transaction could have been to pay off a mortgage on the lot.¹¹

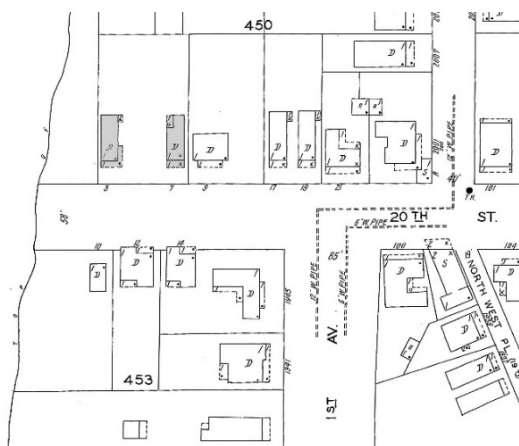
Richard W Jaques } State of Georgia Muscogee County
 + to }
 Rebecca Boykin } This Indenture made the third day
 of March in the year of Our Lords
 One Thousand and Eight Hundred and
 Seventy five between Richard W Jaques of the State of Georgia
 and County of Muscogee of the one part and Rebecca Boykin
 of the State of Georgia and County of Muscogee of the other part
 Witnesseth that the said Richard W. Jaques for and in con-
 sideration of the sum of One dollar to him in hand paid at and
 before the sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereof
 is hereby acknowledged) hath granted bargained sold and con-
 veyed and death by these presents grant bargain sell and con-
 vey unto the said Rebecca Boykin heirs and assigns All
 that tract or parcel of land lying and being in the said
 County of Muscogee and Coweta Reser and in a village
 laid off by Seaborn Jones above and North of the city of Colum-
 bus called the "City Village" and known in this plan of said City
 Village as the West half of lot No. five (5) fronting Seventy
 five feet (75) in Division Street and running back North One
 hundred and twenty eight feet and six (128,6 in) inches
 containing one quarter of an acre more or less

Excerpt of the deed between Richard W. Jaques and Rebecca Boykin, March 3, 1875 "in a village laid off by Seaborn Jones above and North of the city of Columbus called the 'City Village' and known in this plan of said City Village as the West half of lot No. five (5) fronting seventy-five feet (75) in Division Street...containing a quarter of an acre more or less." Found in Deed Book T, page 465-466, Muscogee County Courthouse

The purchase of land gave the family some stability in their new life. In 1878, Carlton Boykin's residence was again listed on Division Street. In 1880, although no street name was listed in the census, the Boykins and the Mileses still lived next door to each other. The 1880 census was also the first and only time that what seems to be all twelve family members appeared together in the record. Carlton, fifty, his wife Becky, forty-five, and their children: Emma, twenty; Amanda, eighteen; Soloman [sic], nineteen (who, the census notes, could read); Amy, thirteen; Mary, eleven; John, nine; a second Mary, age eight; five-year-old Cartie (Carlton Jr.); two-year-old Martha; and one-year-old James. A decade later, in 1891 "Cotton" Boykin and his family were listed at No. 3 Twentieth Street. In 1894, the Boykins' address was No. 7 Twentieth Street and Rebecca (or "Becky") Boykin was named as the property owner.

¹¹ Email from retired city inspector Jesse Williams to the author, June 3, 2022; Plat Book 18, 6, 123. The Northern Liberties was also known as Woolfolk's Town. I am grateful to Mr. Williams for sending images of Plat Book 18 and for clarifying the history of these properties. "Administratrix's Sale," *The Daily Times* (Columbus, Ga.), February 16, 1875, 1, is one of many advertisements for the sale of lots from Seaborn Jones's estate, although Lot 5 was never among them. Georgia, U.S., Property Tax Digests, 1793-1892, 1874 and 1875, Muscogee County, McCrary, District 772, "Carlton Boykin," 1/4 acre; 1880, "Carlton Baykin," 1-1/2 acres. In contrast to most of the other African Americans listed on these or other property tax digests during this period in Columbus, Boykin had no employer listed next to him; Muscogee County Courthouse, Columbus Ga., Deed Book T, Richard W Jaques to Martha Miles, and Richard W Jaques to Rebecca Boykin, 3 March 1875, Columbus, Muscogee County (p. 465-66), 3 March 1875. Martha Miles: one quarter acre in City Village, east half of lot no. 5 on Division Street; and Rebecca Boykin: one quarter acre in City Village, west half of lot no. 5 on Division Street.

Although the Boykins' and Mileses' house numbers varied from 3 to 5 to 7 over the next few years, it is clear the two families remained on the lot and neighbors. In fact, Boykin family members lived in the two houses until 1930. In 1928, Martha Boykin Gardner lived at No. 3 and her older sister, Amanda Boykin Odom, lived at No. 7, and they are the only African Americans living on the street, surrounded by mostly white mill workers. In 1930, Gardner, the homeowner, her nephew Oscar Carlton Boykin, and his wife Maggie, all lived at No. 3, but Amanda is not listed as living there. By 1932, white people had moved into the lone remaining Black residence on the street.¹²



Detail of Lot 5 (with houses shaded gray at top left) Insurance Maps of Columbus, Georgia (Sanborn Map Company, 1929), 66-67, sheet 59, courtesy of Jesse Williams

¹² A.E. Sholes, *Sholes' Directory of the City of Columbus, Ga.* (Columbus, Ga.: A.E. Sholes, Thos. Gilbert, August 1878), 95, Digital Library of Georgia; 1880 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Columbus, Nances, p. 500B, June 7, line 9, dwelling 3, Carlton Boykin. Georgia, U.S., Property Tax Digests, 1793-1892, 1880, Muscogee County, Post Office: Columbus, Militia District: McCrarys, Militia District Number: 772, "Carlton Baykin," 1-1/2 acres, digital image, Ancestry.com. 1880 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Columbus, Nances, p. 500B, June 7, lines 22-23, dwelling 4, Mack Miles and Martha Miles. A "second" Mack and Martha Miles appear only a few pages away, in the same neighborhood, a couple of days earlier, enumerated by the same census worker: 1880, Mack and Martha Miles, dwelling 8, June 5, 1880, p.22. I have never found any other records of another couple named Mack and Martha Miles; undoubtedly, they are the same couple. With the small fortune recorded for Martha's father Solomon McDaniel in 1870, as well as what appears to be Mack's steady job at Eagle & Phenix Mills (city directories 1878 and 1884), it is possible that, especially if Solomon McDaniel had passed away by 1880, between Martha and Mack, the Mileses may have had two homes. Or it could be an enumerator's error; A.E. Sholes, *Sholes' Columbus City Directory 1891-92* ([Columbus, Ga.]: [Thos. Gilbert], 1891-92), 74, Digital Library of Georgia; John H. Zorn, compiler, *Zorn's City Directory of Columbus, GA. and Phenix City and Girard, ALA. for 1894 Comprising an Alphabetical List of Names; a General Business Directory; a List of Land Owners of Muscogee County; City, County and State Officers; Churches, Schools, Secret Societies, Incorporations, and Other Valuable Information to the Public* (Owensboro, KY: Messenger Job Printing Co., 1891), 267, Digital Library of Georgia; William H. Walsh, *Walsh's Directory of the City of Columbus Georgia 1896-7 Containing a General and Business Directory of the Citizens of Columbus, with a Directory of the Streets, Numbers and Occupants, Together with a Compendium of Governments, Institutions and Trades, and Much Other Useful and Miscellaneous Matter, Such as County and City Governments, Corporate and Other Bodies, Names, Time and Place of Meeting of Secret and Other Societies, Churches, Schools, &c* ([Columbus, GA]: Southern Directory and Publishing, Thomas Gilbert, 1896), 102, 130, Digital Library of Georgia; R.L. Polk, *Polk's Columbus (Georgia) City Directory 1928 including Bibb City* ([Birmingham, AL]: R.L. Polk & Co., Inc., 1928), 717, 361, Ancestry.com; 1930 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Columbus, city of, ED 108-9, p. 16B, April 21, 1930, lines 58-60, 3 Twentieth Street, Martha Gardner, Oscar Boykin, Maggie Boykin, digital image, Ancestry.com; R.L. Polk, *Polk's Columbus (Georgia.) City Directory 1931, including Bibb City, Jordan City, St. Elmo, Wynnton, Beallwood* (Birmingham, AL: R.L. Polk & Co., 1931), 586, 306, 383, 251, Ancestry.com.

Were the Boykins and the McDaniels Related?

Several documents support the likelihood that there was a family relationship between the Boykins and the McDaniels, the most important of which show that Rebecca Boykin's name before her marriage to Carlton Boykin had been McDaniel. After Rebecca Boykin and Martha McDaniel Miles purchased adjacent lots on Division Street in City Village, the census and city directories show that members of both families continued to live next door to each other for years. Further, Solomon McDaniel—in whose household the Boykin's son, also named Solomon, was living in 1870 while attending school—was identified as the father of Martha McDaniel Miles on her death certificate. Martha's mother was Amanda Jones. I have not found Rebecca Boykin's parents named on any document so far. However, three of Rebecca's children gave her two different maiden names and both names may be correct in some way. In the death certificate of her son Carlton Boykin Jr. (1871-1933), she is "Rebecca Jones." And she is named "Rebecca McDaniel" in the death certificates of two of her daughters, one older than Carlton Jr. and one younger.¹³

The two surnames suggest several possibilities. Rebecca may have been held on James Randall Jones's plantation and been commonly known as Rebecca Jones. During the time that newly freed African Americans were choosing surnames, McDaniel may have been the one her family, or more specifically, her father, chose. Whatever the reason, it seems likely that Rebecca Jones McDaniel Boykin and Martha McDaniel Miles were sisters or half-sisters.

Documents of Solomon McDaniel tie him to both families as well. McDaniel, who was born about 1812 in South Carolina, was in Columbus by 1867, when he registered to vote in Columbus's precinct one. He was a man of some means, as, in 1870, he owned real estate worth \$600 and had personal wealth of \$200—\$13,000 and \$4,400 in today's money. Also living in the household was a woman named Antoinette Cameli, age forty-two, working as a laundress. The fact that ten-year-old Solomon Boykin lived apart from his parents but with Solomon McDaniel in Columbus in 1870 is a strong indicator of a bond between the families. Unfortunately, the 1870 census did not record the relationships of people in the same household. After 1870, Solomon McDaniel seems to have disappeared from public records.¹⁴

¹³ Georgia, U.S., Deaths Index, 1914-1940, Martha Miles, May 30, 1923, certificate #15109-E. Miles's birth year was given as 1864, although she had already been recorded as twenty-five years old in the 1870 census and twenty-eight in 1880. The informant on the certificate was Martha Boykin Gardner, daughter of Carlton and Rebecca Boykin, two years old in 1880, and possibly Martha McDaniel Miles's first cousin; Georgia, U.S., Deaths Index, 1914-1940: Carlton Boykins [sic] Jr., July 13, 1933, certificate #33-16256; Annie Itson, December 15, 1934, certificate #33-519; Martha Gardner, February 8, 1932, certificate #32-3701. In the death certificate of Annie Boykin Itson (1867-1934), Annie's husband William names her parents as Caulton [sic] Boykin and Rebecca McDaniel. And in the death certificate of Martha Boykin Gardner, informant Mrs. Pearl Williams names Martha's mother as Rebecca McDaniel and her father "Thornton" Boykin, a likely misremembering of Carlton.)

¹⁴ Georgia, U.S., Returns of Qualified Voters and Reconstruction Oath Books, 1867-1869, Muscogee County, June 26, 1867, "Solomon McDaniel," District 24, Precinct 1, line 220 (Book 1, page 110); "Inflation Calculator," <https://www.in2013dollars.com/>, accessed May 20, 2022. According to this website, six hundred dollars in 1870 would have the spending power of more than \$13,000 in today's money; \$200 would have about \$4,400. With property valued that high, it is likely that Solomon McDaniel owned the house he lived in, but I have not found him in the Georgia Tax Digests.

Other factors also link the two women. Rebecca Boykin named her second oldest daughter Amanda, the name of Martha McDaniel Miles's (and possibly Rebecca's) mother. Even after Rebecca's death in 1916, and Mack Miles's death in 1917, Martha Miles continued to live next door through two more generations of the Boykin family, very likely her nieces and nephews.

Citizen Boykin

Carlton Boykin and his family exercised every right of citizenship available to newly-freed Blacks in Columbus, Georgia, despite the barriers—some dangerous. The Boykins paid poll taxes, gained steady employment, bought property, and established a stable home for their children on Twentieth Street for many years. Carlton and his sons, when they were of age, registered to vote. One of the last pieces of paper that documented Carlton Boykin's life was a page in the *Enquirer-Sun* that listed him next to his son Solomon, or "Sol," in the "Registry of Voters of the City of Columbus, Ga., 1895, Colored." This mirrored one of the earliest public documents of his life, recording his voter registration in Russell County in 1867. As harassment of African Americans around voter registration and voting increased, Carlton and Solomon were among the decreasing number of African Americans who registered to vote in the 1890s: Carlton registered in 1894 and father and son both registered in 1895. Although those first votes may have felt exhilarating, throughout Reconstruction, registering and going to the ballot box became a more and more dangerous act for African Americans. Violence against Blacks around voting was an ever-present threat, ranging from general harassment at the polls to the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan, exemplified by the murder of the white Republican organizer George Ashburn. Before the vote on Georgia's new constitution in 1868, former Confederate general and leader of the Ku Klux Klan Nathan Bedford Forrest made several trips to Atlanta and Klan activity increased in Columbus. Ashburn was murdered by white supremacists in Columbus on March 31, 1868, one week before Mack Miles registered to vote.¹⁵

¹⁵ "Registry of Voters – City of Columbus, Ga. – Colored," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, November 29, 1895, 3; Virginia Causey, *Red Clay, White Water, and Blues – A History of Columbus, Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 58. "Registry of Voters of the City of Columbus, Ga., 1894, Colored," *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, November 22, 1894, 3; George C. Rable, *But There Was No Peace – The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1982, 2007), 79, xvi, 72-73; Jonathan Bryant, "Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction Era," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified Aug 12, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/ku-klux-klan-in-the-reconstruction-era/>; Donald L. Grant, *The Way It Was in the South – The Black Experience in Georgia* (New York, N.Y.: Carol Publishing Group, 1993), 97, 101. See also Causey, *Red Clay, White Water, and Blues*, 57-58. Examples of the threatening atmosphere are everywhere in the record, but the danger may have also motivated Blacks to stand against the threats.



"The Ku Klux Klan At Work – The Assassination Of The Hon. G.W. Ashburn, In Columbus, Georgia," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, 1868, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

Along with the threat of violence, there was the financial hurdle of the poll tax that confronted potential voters. In her history of Columbus, Virginia Causey writes that the 1868 poll tax in Georgia "effectively disenfranchised blacks, and the number of registered voters plummeted." Georgia instituted a poll tax on voters in 1871 and in 1877, the state legislated a deliberately heinous cumulative poll tax, forcing men to pay all unpaid taxes from previous years before they could vote, which, for many, both Black and white, added an insurmountable economic obstacle to the constitutional right. After Carlton Boykin registered in Alabama in 1867, the Georgia Tax Digests record that he paid the one-dollar poll tax in 1874, 1875, and 1880, in order to be eligible to register. Although one dollar today seems a small fee, a dollar in 1875 had the buying power of more than twenty-five dollars in today's money. Despite the obstacles, voting was a cherished right that Boykin and his family held dear. Carlton's son Solomon registered the first time he was able, at age twenty-one in 1881, and (at least) on three more occasions: in 1889, in 1895 with his father, and again in 1898. Solomon's younger brother, Carlton Boykin Jr., who was a professional brick mason, voted in 1899, in all likelihood one month after his brother had died, carrying on the Boykins' exercise of the franchise into the twentieth century.¹⁶

The Value of Literacy

Newly freed Blacks in Columbus prized education, as, just a few years before, in most places, learning to read and write had been illegal for enslaved people. Before the Freedman's Bureau established the Claflin School in Columbus in 1868, African Americans had begun to organize resources in their community for education. In fact, there were already several private schools for Blacks in the Columbus area. In 1870, as Carlton and Rebecca Boykin were living in Russell County or in transition to Columbus, they made sure ten-year-old Solomon Boykin had the chance to learn to read. I believe they

¹⁶ Causey, *Red Clay, White Water, and Blues*, 52, also 48-56; Elizabeth S. Anderson and Jeffrey Jones, "Techniques of Direct Disenfranchisement, 1880-1965," <http://websites.umich.edu/~lawrace/disenfranchise1.htm>; Causey, *Red Clay, White Water, and Blues*, 57, notes that "In 1877, the city council passed an ordinance requiring men who did not own property to pay a two-dollar poll tax." "Inflation Calculator," <https://www.in2013dollars.com/>. In 1867, one dollar was worth almost twenty dollars in 2022's money; in 1875, \$26.57; in 1880 it was worth \$28; "Registry of Voters," *Columbus Daily Times*, November 23, 1881, 4; *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, November 27, 1889, 3; *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, November 29, 1895, 3; and *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, November 24, 1898; *Columbus Daily Enquirer-Sun*, November 23, 1899, 6; Daniel B. Olds, compiler, Muscogee County Death Index, August 1890 – December 1918, "Boykin, Sal," <http://www.muscogeegenealogy.com/test/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/B.pdf>.

arranged for him to live with Solomon McDaniel, who was possibly Rebecca's father, step-father, or brother—someone close enough to be the young boy's namesake. McDaniel, who was well off because of his lumber hauling business that year, may have been the one to send Solomon to a private school, to the Northern Liberties Colored School, or to make sure he got to the Claflin School.¹⁷



One of the earliest schools for African Americans in Columbus, the Claflin School was built by the Freedmen's Bureau at 1532 Fifth Avenue and opened in 1868. This circa 1925 postcard shows the 1921 brick building that replaced the original wooden schoolhouse. Courtesy of The Columbus Museum, Georgia; The Evelyn S. and H. Wayne Patterson Fund G.2014.21.5

Although the census does not record any of the Boykin children except Solomon in school or able to read in 1880, the family's value of education was passed down to their children and grandchildren. Carlton Boykin's son, Carlton Jr., lived with his wife and children next door to the African American Twenty-Eighth Street School throughout most of their lives, and his daughters, Annie and Jerdie Boykin, both grew up to be schoolteachers. He and his wife Mary Daniel Boykin sent Jerdie (born about 1904) to boarding school at Spelman Seminary where she graduated in 1924 with a certificate in Home Economics. Jerdie Boykin returned to Columbus and taught first grade at the Claflin Annex in 1925. Her sister Annie Boykin taught in the Muscogee County Schools in the early 1930s until she married Herman Seats in the late 1930s and began working for an insurance company.¹⁸

¹⁷ Foner, *Reconstruction*, 96; "Literacy as Freedom," Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2014, <https://americanexperience.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Literacy-as-Freedom.pdf>; William D. Thomas, "'They Know Too Much Already': Black Education in Post-Emancipation Era Columbus, Ga., 1866-1876," MA Thesis, Columbus State University, 2020, 1, 9, 52; Causey, *Red Clay, White Water, and Blues*, 49-50. Beyond "outside city limits," the location of McDaniel's home is not clear. However, in 1878, the Northern Liberties Colored School was located on Jackson Street (Second Avenue) at the southwest corner of Division Street in the Northern Liberties, within easy walking distance of the Boykins' home. See A.E. Sholes, *Sholes' Directory of the City of Columbus, Ga.*, 1878, 184.

¹⁸ William H. Walsh, *Walsh's Columbus, Georgia City Directory for 1900 Containing a General and Business Directory of the Citizens of Columbus, with a Directory of the Streets, Numbers and Occupants, Together with a Compendium of Governments, Institutions and Trades, and Much Other Useful and Miscellaneous Matter, such as County and City Governments, Corporate and Other Bodies, Names, Time and Place of Meeting of Secret and Other Societies, Churches, Schools, etc.* (Charleston, SC: W.H. Walsh Directory Co., 1900), 192, Digital Library of Georgia; Georgia, U.S., Deaths Index, 1914-1940: Carlton Boykins [sic] Jr., July 13, 1933, certificate #33-16256. For more on the community around the Twenty-Eighth Street School, see Rebecca Bush, "Sand Unshaken: The Origin Story of Alma Thomas," in Seth Feman and Jonathan Frederick Walz, *Alma W. Thomas: Everything is Beautiful* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022), 27-41; *Spelman Messenger* (Atlanta, Georgia), vol. 40, no. 8, May 1924, 8. Jerdie V. Boykin is listed in the High School Home Economics section of the "Class Roll, 1924." Jerdie Boykin's classmates at Spelman Seminary from Columbus were: Sadie P. Bass (Music certificate), Ada L. Johnson (Dressmaking certificate), Mary E. King (Dressmaking certificate), and Laura B. Hutchins (High School, Normal). The Spelman College Lost Alumnae webpage lists "Jerdie Boykin Smith C'24." <https://www.spelmanlane.org/s/1025/18/interior.aspx?pgid=434&gid=1>; "Negro Schools," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, September 21, 1925, 6. Laura B. Hutchins, who also attended Spelman, is also named in the article teaching first grade in the Fifth Avenue Annex; R.L. Polk, *Polk's Columbus (Muscogee County, Ga.) City Directory 1936, including*

Carlton Boykin Jr. and his family were part of the Black middle class in Columbus from the turn of the twentieth century through the 1920s, a period when arrests, incarcerations, and lynchings of African Americans in the South were at a high point. A successful brick mason from his early twenties, he owned his own home by 1910 and gave his daughters the education they needed to be independent. Later in life, Boykin was a trustee of St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church, a mason, and in the leadership of the Colored Knights of Pythias. Carlton Boykin Jr. was known well enough in Columbus, "among members of his own race and among white people as well," to be remembered with more than the usual death notice in the newspaper, yet his end-of-life tribute never hinted at the difficult road he had taken as the first generation out of slavery.¹⁹

St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church, at 1516 Fifth Avenue, built in 1870; the original wooden structure was bricked over and a basement added in 1890

Photograph courtesy of David Seibert, Historic Marker Database



Jerdie Boykin married by 1934, but by 1945, she was divorced and living with her mother on Bragg Smith Street, where she remained until her mother died in 1960. By the early 1970s, Jerdie had married retired Sergeant Willie Pitts. They continued living at Bragg Smith Street and her sister, Annie Boykin Seats, now a widow, came to live with them. In 1983, thanks to a profile in the *Enquirer*, the sisters made cameo appearances on the front page of the Living Today section, when writer Myrna May profiled Sgt. Pitts, who had been a member of the 24th Infantry Regiment, the last of the Colored Regulars, six Black infantry units originally established during the Civil War. At age 95, Pitts was now the "oldest local survivor" of the former unit and had been stationed at Fort Benning in 1922. Unfortunately,

Bibb City, Jordan City, St. Elmo, Wynnton and Beallwood, etc. (Birmingham, AL: R.L. Polk & Co., 1936), 407, Ancestry.com. Ancestry.com; 1940 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Columbus, ED 106-51B, Bozemans, p. 4B, April 19, 1940, lines 78-79, 324 Bragg Smith Street, Herman Seats and Annie L. Seats.

¹⁹ "Records Show 82 Lynchings During 1919," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, January 1, 1920, 2. Of all the lynchings in the US in 1919, Georgia had far and away the highest number (twenty-one) with Alabama second (seven). These statistics are just one of many, many examples and evidence of the violence toward Blacks during this period. 1910 U.S. Federal Census, Muscogee County, Georgia, Columbus, Ward 7, Militia District 773, Upper Town, p. 3B, April 16, lines 51-54, dwelling 59, Carlton Boykins [sic] Jr.; "Funeral Services for Carter [sic] Boykin Today," *Sunday Ledger-Enquirer*, July 16, 1933, 9. The reporter continued a long tradition of misspelling "Carlton." "Property is Sold by County Sheriff," *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, March 2, 1932, 7.

almost nothing about Pitts's or the Boykin sisters' family history can be gleaned from the interview, but the two women seemed healthy and secure late in life.²⁰

Conclusion

The Muscogee County Death Index (MCDI) states that Carlton Boykin died on December 3, 1896, at the age of seventy, presumably the elder Carlton. I have found no other documents for Carlton Boykin Sr. after this death date. His age of seventy recorded in the MCDI meant he would have been born in 1826, an age that is unlikely to be accurate, even according to him. Although we may never know whether his age on the original promissory note—four years old in 1840—was correct, during his lifetime, Boykin himself seems to have thought he was born about 1830 or 1831, which would have made him nine or ten years old in 1840 and about 66 at his death.²¹

According to the 1900 census, Carlton Boykin's wife Rebecca was born in June of 1845. The Rebecca Boykin named in Muscogee County Death records who was born about 1856, and died in January 1916 of "general disability," is probably the same person, although, again, the age is likely not correct. She was buried in Columbus's "Colored Cemetery," later renamed Porterdale Cemetery, with graves dating back to at least 1836. Records also show a Black man named John Boykin (1868-1903), who may have been Carlton and Rebecca's son John listed in the 1880 census, is buried in Porterdale, as is Carlton Boykin Jr.'s wife, Mary D. Boykin, who died in 1960. Although not recorded in Porterdale records, Georgia death certificates show that Carlton Boykin Jr. and his sisters Amanda Boykin Odom, Annie Boykin Itson, and Martha Boykin Gardner, as well as numerous other descendants, were all buried in Porterdale. Mack Miles died on March 14, 1917, Martha McDaniel Miles died May 30, 1923, and both were buried in Porterdale. Both were likely much older than their reported ages.²²

²⁰ Two divorce suit notices in the newspaper help track Jerdie Boykin's marriage to John Smith: *Columbus Ledger*, January 28, 1934, and *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, January 29, 1943; R.L. Polk, *Polk's Columbus and Phenix City Directory 1945, including Bibb City, Brookville and Summerfield* (Richmond, VA: R.L. Polk & Co., 1945), 78, 523, Ancestry.com; Columbus Georgia Cemetery Records, "Mary D Boykin," <https://cemeteryrecords.apps.columbusga.gov/>; *Columbus Enquirer*, January 29, 1943; "Itson" (funeral notice), *Columbus Enquirer Sun*, November 18, 1972, 18, names "Mrs. Jerdie Pitts." Myrna May, "24th Infantry Still Marches in His Heart," *Columbus Enquirer*, May 20, 1983, B-2, 12.

²¹ Olds, Muscogee County Death Index, "Boykin, Carlton;" John R. Allen, *Porterdale Cemetery of Columbus, Muscogee County, GA - An African American Cemetery* ([Columbus, Ga.]: [John R. Allen], 2003). Another "Carlton Boykin," recorded with an "F" for female, who died October 23, 1915, was listed in the MCDI and it is unclear who this was. Carlton's son, Carlton Boykin Jr., died in 1933. If the 1915 listing was meant to indicate a "Mrs. Carlton Boykin," the death date still does not correspond to any other possible person. On June 7, during the 1880 census, Carlton or someone in his family told the enumerator that he was 50 years old, thus born about 1830. In November of 1894, in the voter registration lists, his age was 63, making him born about 1831.

²² Allen, *Porterdale Cemetery*, 24. Olds, Muscogee County Death Index, "Boykin, Rebecca." Thanks to researcher Linda Ames for alerting me to this record. Allen, *Porterdale Cemetery*, 182. The overwhelming preponderance of deaths recorded in the index at age forty or fifty or sixty or seventy leads me to believe that some of these ages were estimates, either by the recorder of the deaths or by the families themselves. Riverdale-Porterdale Foundation, "The Cemeteries," <https://riverdaleporterdale.org/the-cemeteries/>; Georgia death certificates #33-16256, #30-10501, #33-519, #32-3701, # 15109-E, Ancestry.com.

Although I have not identified living descendants of Carlton Boykin, I was able to trace several of Boykin's grandchildren and great grandchildren not named here well into the twentieth century. It is my hope that eventually someone in his family will benefit from this research. As the descendant of the white slaveholder of Carlton Boykin, I offer this work to his family's historians to help bridge the often-impassable gap from the era of slavery to Reconstruction for this particular family and to serve as a guide for other researchers. This rough timeline of his life only hints at his and his family's struggles to claim the benefits of their newly won freedom and citizenship and only hints at the achievements of the Boykins and others in establishing stable, secure lives amidst one of the most turbulent periods in American history. Although the lives of enslaved people were often erased or hardly recorded in public documents of the mid-nineteenth century, Carlton Boykin's story reveals that enslaved individuals can indeed be tracked in the documentary record after freedom. Even more importantly, though, connecting the name of a four-year-old enslaved boy on a promissory note in 1840 with the name of a grown man registering to vote in 1867 and the subsequent documents tracing his life stands as a testament and a memorial to resilience and perseverance in the face of unimaginable odds.

Fundraising Efforts of the Columbus Ladies Memorial Association, 1869-1878

By
Kevin Fabery

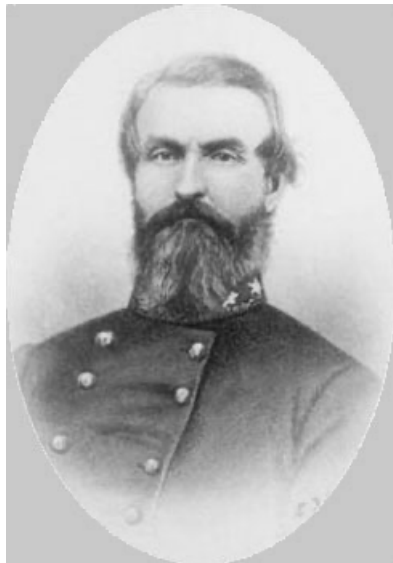


In 1881 the city of Columbus finalized the construction of its Confederate monument, a project which had occupied public attention for over a decade. Between the years 1869 and 1881, the Ladies Memorial Association (LMA) of Columbus organized large fundraising events to build the monument. During the Civil War, the Ladies Soldier's Friend Society used fundraisers to collect money and donations of needed items for Columbus soldiers. After the war, the group, renamed the Ladies Memorial Association, focused on tending the graves of the city's military dead and planning and hosting Confederate Memorial Day. Their efforts during the Confederate Memorial Day ceremonies of 1869 to 1878 focused on hosting public fundraisers to provide funds for the monument's construction. Their efforts resulted in the accumulation of over \$5,000 (the equivalent of over \$125,000 today), a significant investment by the citizens of Columbus and a testimony to the diligence of the Association in a difficult economic environment.

This handmade ribbon is believed to have been worn by Lizzie Rutherford at the first Memorial Day, Linwood Cemetery, Columbus, Georgia, 1866. Courtesy of The Columbus Museum. Museum purchase made possible by Thornwill Farm, Harris County, Ga., and a Friend of the Museum. G.2015.10.1

Discussion of a monument to the men of the Confederate army in Columbus began barely a year after the end of the Civil War. The editor of the *Columbus Daily Enquirer* suggested on January 14, 1866 that citizens raise funds through small subscriptions for a monument to the men of Columbus killed during the war. Its design, according to the editor, should be "a handsome and imposing column, bearing the names of all of our fallen soldiers." A follow-up article on January 24 continued the discussion of the monument. The editor insisted the monument could be built, and was certain the funds would be cheerily contributed by whomever carried the subscription paper. The *Columbus Daily Sun* published an article on

March 10 detailing the proposal to raise five to six thousand dollars for a monument on Broad Street with the names of the city's military dead. The damage to the city's industry and wartime inflation meant available funds for a monument were in short supply. The Ladies Memorial Association in March said they could not fund a monument at that moment, however. Their current focus was cleaning and maintaining the graves at Linwood Cemetery, and the construction of headboards for the soldiers' graves in 1866.¹



General Paul J. Semmes, a resident of Columbus at the beginning of war, died of wounds suffered at Gettysburg. Courtesy of Wikipedia Commons

Between 1866 and 1868 the LMA and Columbus's military units built several temporary monuments dedicated to local Civil War soldiers and other Confederate heroes in Linwood Cemetery. The Columbus Guards placed a floral monument to their dead with General Paul J. Semmes's name in the center of the cemetery for the 1867 Memorial Day. In the lower cemetery grounds the names of Confederate generals killed during the war were written on boards in green paint, with Albert Sydney Johnston's name above the others. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's name was written on a board in the upper part of the cemetery alongside the names of other fallen Southern generals. This display drew a connection between the concepts of honor and duty post-war memorialization of the Confederacy embodied while simultaneously communicating a type of solidarity between officers and enlisted men. In 1868 Linwood Cemetery had a cenotaph with the names of Columbus's war dead in the upper grounds. Made of wood painted white, it was built in a hexagonal shape standing forty feet high with a dome roof. Beneath the dome written in black letters fringed with gold was "Brig. Gen.

Paul J. Semmes." On the arches beneath the roof were the names of six Columbus Confederate colonels killed in the war, also written in black. The names of forty-eight officers and 274 non-commissioned officers and privates also appeared on the cenotaph in black paint. This structure marked the first attempt at a monument that memorialized the service of all Columbus dead.²

The cenotaph in Linwood Cemetery was dedicated to all of Columbus's military dead, but citizens also placed several other temporary monuments to the city's military units on the grounds in 1868. In the upper grounds, a memorial shaft to the Columbus Guards stood near the cenotaph, with a similar shaft to the City Light Guards in the lower grounds. The Columbus Guards' shaft was draped with a parade flag

¹ "A Monument to the Fallen Braves," *Daily Columbus Enquirer*, January 14, 1866; "The Proposed Monument," *Daily Columbus Enquirer*, January 24, 1866; "A Monument to the Columbus Dead," *Columbus Daily Sun*, March 10, 1866; Confederated Southern Memorial Association, *History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South* (New Orleans: The Graham Press, 1904), 129.

² "The Ladies and the Cemetery," *Columbus Daily Sun*, March 3, 1866; "Memorial Day—Appearances—Funeral Exercises—Major Moses' Speech—Decoration of Graves," *Columbus Weekly Sun*, May 5, 1868.

bearing the state's coat of arms, given to the unit by the women of Brunswick when they marched through the town to Virginia in June 1861. The City Light Guards' shaft featured a depiction of its company flag alongside the state coat of arms, presented to the company in 1860 by Ella Ingram, who after the war became a member of the LMA. This flag flew at Sewell's Point, Virginia in 1861, when the Union gunboat *Monticello* fired on the unit while under the command of Captain Peyton Colquitt. The flag reflected the connection between the servicemen and the women of the Ladies Soldier's Friend Society. Although elaborate, these monuments were made of wood and flowers; thus, requiring regular maintenance to remain standing and needing frequent replacement.³

In the last year of the tumultuous decade including the Civil War, consideration of a Confederate monument in the streets of Columbus began in the city newspapers. In the latter part of 1869, the *Weekly Sun* published an article describing the completion of the Confederate monument in Griffin, Georgia. Funds for the material and construction costs were gathered by the town's Ladies Memorial Association, according to the article, which reported the group's members collected \$2,000 dollars themselves to cover the expenses. The newspaper suggested that Columbus's LMA should follow their example and raise funds for a monument in Linwood Cemetery through concerts and personal appeals to residents. Another article which appeared in December in the *Weekly Sun* suggested \$20,000 dollars be raised to build a twenty-five foot tall monument on Broad Street. Citing the fact that Ladies Memorial Associations in Virginia had completed two monuments by December 1869, the *Weekly Sun* editors directly challenged the Columbus association's patriotism to the dead, asking if they were the equals of the Virginia LMAs.⁴



Confederate monument in Griffin, GA
Courtesy of Wikipedia Commons

During the 1870s the Ladies Memorial Association raised funds for a Confederate monument through creative enterprises. These methods ranged from simple donation boxes to concerts and public festivals, methods they had used to great success during the Civil War. For example, they placed memorial boxes with the inscription "Let us erect a monument to our noble dead" at the entrances to Linwood during the 1873 Memorial Day. Witness accounts stated that the collection that day was large. The Old Folkes Concerte, an amateur entertainment group, offered a performance at the Springer Opera House the following year to raise funds for the monument. Their performance included a small orchestra of nine instruments, an Indian war dance, and an illuminated show of Jacob's dream. Shows such as this

³ "Memorial Day—Fifth Anniversary," *Columbus Weekly Sun*, May 3, 1870.

⁴ "IN MEMORIAM," *The Weekly Sun*, September 7, 1869; "Monument to the Confederate Dead," *The Weekly Sun*, December 14, 1869.

and other events aimed to generate large crowds in order to boost ticket sales for the monument fund. By early 1875, the women's efforts had been of limited success, however; a statement they published in the newspapers showed their monument fund was \$764.14.⁵

In 1875 the Ladies Memorial Association became more active in their fundraising efforts following the challenge from the city's newspapers. During the 1875 Confederate Memorial Day function, they sold refreshments at the Springer Opera House and placed donation boxes there and at the entrances to the city's cemeteries. Yet by spring, donations totaled only \$35.25 for the monument. The *Columbus Daily Enquirer* published a column in April titled "To Our Ladies," which praised them for their observance of Memorial Day while criticizing their lack of attendance and the small amount raised towards the monument. The editor drew attention to the fact that observances that year saw women form a small proportion of attendees, and argued that support from the women of Columbus seemed to be waning.

"Why do we write this? To show the North we care nothing for our dead or cause? Truly not. We love our South, we were born here, but on the very day when our annual anniversary is attended by the largest number, we appeal to our ladies not to let the custom depend upon the military, the few ladies that love our dead or are willing to sacrifice ease for them, and those who will adorn private lots. We need not add a word more."⁶



The Springer Opera House, where some of the Ladies Memorial Association fundraising took place
Courtesy of the author

⁵ "The Eighth Memorial Day," *Columbus Weekly Sun*, April 27, 1873; "A Monument in Columbus to the Confederate Dead," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, June 14, 1874; "Ladies Memorial Association," *Columbus Daily Times*, February 14, 1875.

⁶ "Tenth Memorial Day," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 27, 1875.

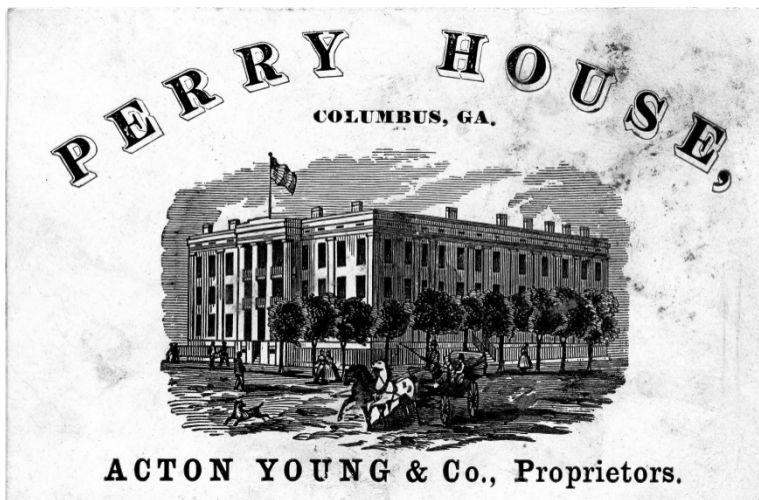
In the long term, the writer felt, their non-attendance affected the meaning of hosting Confederate Memorial Day every year. Only the North benefited from their lack of attendance, as it showed support for the Lost Cause in decline in the South. Confederate Memorial Day's success was reliant on all members of Southern society coming together to promote the concept that their service had been meaningful. Women had offered their services during the war in the Ladies' Soldier's Friend Society and offered goods the troops needed for their use. They needed to show the public they were still committed to the proper remembrance of the city's Confederate veterans.

Perhaps in response to these attacks on their character and support of the memory of the soldiers, the association stepped up their fundraisers. Their fundraising efforts in Columbus centered around the notion that the Ladies Memorial Association would gather the funds on their own through private donations. The LMA discussed hosting a memorial festival during a meeting on May 27, 1875. Consensus among the members supported attempting to stage the event that fall; they hoped if \$2,000 dollars could be raised from the festival, they could complete a monument within one to two years. In September the LMA decided to hold the "cheerful service" in the late fall of 1875. The memorial festival would be a major undertaking, requiring significant planning and organization prior to ensure its success. Ultimately fifteen committees were created to oversee everything from catering to procurement of items for sale from the each of the several neighborhoods of Columbus.⁷

The memorial festival—held in the Perry House, a prominent Columbus hotel—opened in the main dining room with every pillar and post decorated, and portraits of "the most illustrious of Georgia's dead" hung on the walls. The festival focused heavily on elaborate displays of the items and food offered to the attendees. Committee members prepared fourteen tables, each named for famous American figures and Columbus residents or the food they offered. Foods presented included a lemonade well, cakes and sweetmeats, coffee, oysters, fish, assorted meats, fruits, custards, and jellies. The Georgia coat of arms made of candy served as the centerpiece of the "Georgia Table." Pin cushions, vases, dolls, and cigars were among the items sold to attendees alongside the food. Portraits of Columbus Confederate officers—Captain James Ware, Captain P. Gittinger, Colonel John A. Jones, and Colonel Charles Williams—hung on the walls alongside a portrait of General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson with his name on a banner in the colors of the Confederate flag. The level of presentation and items offered to attendees created a lively event meant to draw people in through the variety of food and drink. Portraits of Confederate dead from Columbus showed the attendees that their memory still lived on through the work of the Ladies Memorial Association and sent a message that the monument would keep their memory alive as well. The festival lasted two days, closing on Christmas Eve with a total contribution of \$1,100 for the monument fund. It ended up providing the largest single contribution to the monument

⁷ "The Memorial Festival," *The Daily Times*, May 28, 1875; "Memorial Fair," *The Daily Times*, September 10, 1875; "The Monumental Festival-Memorial Committees," *The Daily Times*, November 17, 1875.

fund and showed the elaborate measures the Ladies Memorial Association of Columbus was capable of making.⁸



The Perry House Hotel
Courtesy of The Columbus Museum.
G.2007.49.6

The success of the memorial festival influenced the Ladies Memorial Association to host similar fundraising events to gather the remaining funds needed for the monument. In the April 18, 1876, edition of the *Daily Times*, the LMA announced they would host a memorial picnic the following Saturday. Attendees would travel down the Chattahoochee on the steamer *Julia St. Clair* to Oswechee, Alabama, for a day-long picnic. Tickets were sold at one dollar per adult and fifty cents for children and servants. Over seventy-five people attended the event on April 22, enjoying a plethora of food and drink along with a river cruise. Smaller in scale than the memorial festival, the cruise enjoyed limited success—some thought the endeavor ended in a net loss for the LMA. Nevertheless, the event showed the ingenuity and organizational skills of the Ladies Memorial Association.⁹

Fundraising efforts in 1876 featured the Ladies Memorial Association using large public events in conjunction with the admission costs for speeches to raise funds in the campaign to build the monument. These events gathered public support while providing activities that made people want to spend their money to support the fundraiser. The LMA had raised \$2,077.02 by March 25, 1877. By April 1878 the Ladies Memorial Association had raised \$2,300 for the monument. Although not ready financially, the Association began that April to hold meetings with contractors for the construction of the Confederate monument. These meetings showed people they still intended to complete the monument as soon as possible. Mulden & Co. of Louisville, Kentucky, was selected to build the monument for a contracted price

⁸ "Memorial Festival," *The Daily Times*, December 22, 1875; "Monumental Festival," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, December 25, 1875.

⁹ "Memorial Picnic," *The Daily Times*, April 18, 1876; "The Boat Excursion: Benefit of Memorial Association," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 23, 1876.

of \$4,500. The company agreed not to receive payment until they delivered and placed the marble shaft.¹⁰

Interest in the construction of the monument encouraged offers from other contractors to build the monument, however. A counteroffer made by Columbus marble dealer Henry McCauley proposed construction of the monument at the cost of \$3,500. The LMA accepted Mulden & Co's bid over McCauley as their contract agreed to wait for the payment until after the monument was completed. To raise the remaining funds needed for the monument, the *Columbus Daily Times* recommended that local churches and military companies suspend their annual festivals so that the Ladies Memorial Association could host another memorial festival to raise the remaining funds for the monument. A meeting on April 23, 1878, concluded with finalized plans for a memorial festival to be held May 8-9 to raise an estimated \$1,000 for the monument fund.¹¹

The Ladies Memorial Association planned the fundraiser as a large event to be held at the armory of the City Light Guards. As with the prior memorial festival, members of the LMA hosted tables offering drinks and food for sale to attendees to raise the remaining funds for the monument. The armory interior was decorated with lighting and a lemonade well. The event's aesthetic appeal and lively atmosphere encouraged attendees to return the next day, increasing revenue for the monument fund. It also served another important purpose: it provided a forum to finalize the location of the Columbus Confederate monument, a discussion that had been ongoing since 1875.¹²

Discussion over the monument's location during the 1870s focused on the premise of the structure's aesthetic significance to the city landscape. Arguments over its placement centered on the importance of its location's accessibility to the public and its impact on the appearance of the city. The main sites proposed were areas suitable for the creation of a city park where the monument would serve as the centerpiece. The locations considered for the monument included Mott's Green, the intersection of Broad and Randolph, the intersection of Randolph and St. Clair, Monumental Park, Prospect Park, and Salisbury Park. Supporters and opponents of each site based their reasoning on the influence the site would have on the city's overall aesthetics and on what was the best location to display the city's pride for its Confederate past. These debates showed residents had different interpretations of how these locations best showed the people's commemoration of the past.¹³

Although the LMA supported placing the monument in the city, they were themselves divided on where it should be built. A meeting of the association's officers on March 4, 1876, concluded with no location decided among four possible sites: Mott's Green, the intersection of Broad and St. Clair streets,

¹⁰ "Eleventh Memorial Day," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, April 27, 1876; "Memorial Association Meeting," *Columbus Daily Times*, March 25, 1877; "The Confederate Monument," *Columbus Daily Times*, April 3, 1878.

¹¹ "More about the Confederate Monument," *Columbus Daily Times*, April 4, 1878; "Memorial ASSOCIATION MEETING YESTERDAY," *Columbus Daily Times*, April 24, 1878.

¹² "The Memorial Festival," *Columbus Daily Times*, May 9, 1878.

¹³ For a full discussion over debate over placement of the monument, see Kevin Fabery, "The Debate on the Placement of the Confederate Monument," *Muscogiana* 33, no. 1 (Spring, 2022): 17-25.

and the lower and East Commons. Each location was within the bounds of the city proper, showing they did agree with the editors that the monument should be built not in the cemetery, but in the city for the people to see.¹⁴

Columbus newspapers suggested even more locations where the monument could be placed. A letter to the *Daily Times* written by "Confederate" suggested on April 17, 1876, the creation of a new park in the East Commons, two to three hundred yards south of the cemetery's upper gate. The author suggested the site because its surface "being undulating and sufficiently elevated to overlook most of the city, and partially covered with trees, renders it peculiarly suited for the purposes of a park." Two to five acres would be fenced off in iron railing to mark the area to be allocated for the park. The monument would be in the center, allowing it to be seen from various parts of the city; it would thus serve as an "attractive feature to travelers passing through" on Columbus's Western Railroad.¹⁵

The Ladies Memorial Association at first settled on the Monumental Park option. At its meeting at the Springer Opera House on April 19, 1876, the LMA won the final vote over the intersection of Broad and Randolph. Although the decision had been made, the LMA still needed the city government to allocate the money needed for the cost and labor to build the iron fencing to mark the boundaries of the park. The LMA met with the mayor and city council several times after the vote in the Springer but could not obtain a concrete commitment to build the requested fencing for Monumental Park. The uncertainty of securing the fences renewed the discussion over the monument's location. Two years after their initial decision on Monumental Park, the association switched their preference for the monument's location back to the intersection of Broad and Randolph streets, with the secondary option being the intersection of Randolph and Oglethorpe streets.¹⁶

In the months leading up to the memorial festival in May 1878, the Ladies Memorial Association attempted to make a final decision between Monumental Park and the intersection at Broad Street for the monument's location. Amidst their discussions over the location, the editors of the city newspapers suggested new ideas about the monument's location. A letter to the editor in the *Columbus Daily Times* on April 18, 1878, suggested another location the same day the LMA held a meeting in the Springer Opera House about the monument's location. The letter argued that the monument should be in a public park for people to see, and this park should be located on a hill known as Cemetery Hill, opposite the cemetery. Named Prospect Park, the site would be two to five acres in size, with the monument in the center of the site, and enclosed with a wooden fence instead of an iron fence. Construction would be overseen by a committee which would solicit contributions of plants and volunteers to work on the site one or two days a week. Detractors argued that the site would place the monument outside the city, and

¹⁴ "Ladies Memorial Association," *Columbus Daily Enquirer*, March 5, 1876.

¹⁵ "Confederate," Letter to the Editor, *The Daily Times*, April 18, 1876.

¹⁶ "Location Decided Upon," *The Daily Times*, April 20, 1876; "The Confederate Monument," *Columbus Daily Times*, April 3, 1878;

that the ground would eventually be taken by the cemetery for new graves. Financially it would be a significant investment, one that the city did not have the money to use in the creation of a new park.¹⁷

Unable to decide on a final location for the monument, the Ladies Memorial Association eventually arranged to settle the question not through continued debate on appearances, but by allowing residents to vote over where they believed it should be placed. Their decision to host a public vote on the location allowed them to limit the possible spot to four sites: Prospect Park, Mott's Green, the intersection of Broad and Randolph, and Salisbury Park. Monumental Park was removed from consideration because of past discussion about the iron fencing proposed to surround the park, as the LMA failed to secure a commitment from the Columbus city council to provide the iron fences.

Attendees at the 1878 memorial festival could pay ten cents to cast their vote among the four sites, and they could vote as many times as they wanted to. The festival featured tables with food, drinks, and other items for sale, encouraging residents to return to raise as much money as possible for the monument, and accumulate as many votes as possible. The tally concluded with Salisbury Park at 4,335 votes, Broad and Randolph at 3,786 votes, Mott's Green at 2,550, and Prospect Park on Cemetery Hill at 2,038. Because the voting took place over the course of two days and cost ten cents each time, the wealthier residents of Columbus were able to sway the results in their favor by casting multiple votes in favor of their desired location. The final decision was announced at the closing ceremony on May 10, 1878. Local businessman George Gunby Jordan revealed the results of the vote in his closing speech for the festival, thanking all for attending and voting as well as the LMA for agreeing to the vote in order to allow all in attendance to show their support for one spot or another.¹⁸

Utilizing their experiences in fundraising and soldier aid, the Civil War and hard-earned organizational skills, the Ladies Memorial Association of Columbus placed themselves at the forefront of the city's society during the campaign to raise funds for a Confederate monument. They ultimately not only led efforts to secure funding for the memorial, but gathered the money needed to pay for the full cost of the Confederate monument. The monument continues to stand in Columbus's Salisbury Park today as a testimony to the beliefs of both a large segment of Columbus society at the time and the perseverance and determination of the women who led the effort to memorialize the city's Confederate veterans.

¹⁷ "The Monument," *Columbus Daily Times*, April 18, 1878; "Which of the Two," *Columbus Daily Times*, April 25, 1878.

¹⁸ "Count of the Monument Vote," *Columbus Daily Times*, May 23, 1878; "Count of the Monument Vote," *Columbus Daily Times*, May 11, 1878.



The Columbus Confederate Monument, ca. 1905
Courtesy of The Columbus Museum,
Gift of the Schomburg Family, G. 2011.40.10



Focus On Columbus State University Archives

Dear friends,

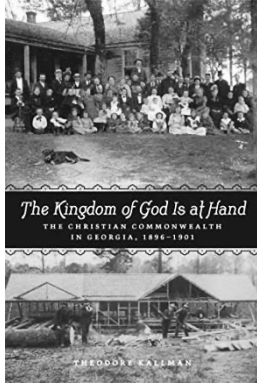
I wanted to take a moment to acknowledge two legends in Columbus history: Frank and Gail Schnell. Frank served The Columbus Museum as its professional archaeologist for thirty-five years before his death in 2010. He was especially interested in local Native American archaeology, but was also interested in the Chattahoochee River and local industry. He was very active in the Columbus Area Bicentennial Committee from 1973 through 1976. This committee planned and executed a series of bicentennial events and celebrations, including two things which were meant to be the permanent legacy of the bicentennial. These were the creation of the Chattahoochee Promenade and the establishment of the archives at Columbus College. Gail was also a trained archaeologist with a strong passion for Native American and local history. Unfortunately, she passed late last year in November 2021.

Both Gail and Frank kept extensive collections of research notes, field reports, object analyses, and industry-leading rare books now out of print. It was their wish that their papers be placed in the CSU Archives to benefit public research and scholarship. Knowing this, their son, Greg, reached out to the Archives to begin this process. Working with Greg, and with generous support from the Chattahoochee Indian Heritage Association, we were able to preserve the Schnell family papers and make them available to the public! The collection has since been packed and shipped from Bradenton, Florida, and safely delivered to Columbus in the care of the Archives. We are so grateful this amazing collection has been donated and hope to have it processed and open for researchers very soon. Special thanks to Fred Fussell, Greg Schnell, John Lupold, Dean Wood, and Douglas C. Purcell, along with the entire Chattahoochee Indian Heritage Association Board for making this possible!

David M. Owings
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Book Review

Theodore Kallman. *The Kingdom of God Is At Hand: The Christian Commonwealth in Georgia, 1896-1901* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2021), 258 pp.



Thanks to the diligent research of San Joaquin Delta College (CA) history professor Theodore Kallman, the remarkable story of a little-known late nineteenth-century Christian colony which stood just a few miles east of Columbus has at long last been written. His book on the subject of the forgotten community, *The Kingdom of God is at Hand*, was published last year by the University of Georgia Press. It will surely be of note to those interested in Columbus's past if for no other reason than the novelty of the overlooked episode it chronicles.

As Kallman explains in the book, the community, known as Commonwealth, was one of several utopian Christian colonies established in the United States during the era. These enterprises were a part of a larger movement of reform-minded spiritualists who sought an alternative way of life to America's capitalistic society. Believing mainstream churches were inadequately addressing modern social problems of the era caused by what they viewed as the selfishness and inequity associated with an unchecked capitalist economy, these Christian dissidents attempted to create their own communities based on principles of collective contribution. While each of these entities featured some differences in philosophical underpinning and approach, most shared some vision of creating a physical reflection of their understanding of the kingdom of God on earth by working, sharing, and distributing wealth equitably among residents. If it sounds a little like communism, it is because the founders of these colonies endorsed some of that political ideology's tenets and believed that in sharing wealth rather than seeking individual financial gain, they might come closer to living as God had planned.

The community of Commonwealth stood between Columbus and Upatoi on lands that are today largely located within Fort Benning. Organizers bought the property, the core of which was an old plantation home and fields, in 1896 after considering several locations across the country. Perhaps a sense of the type of agricultural community they hoped to create is revealed by the fact that, as related by Kallman, the founders attempted to have the land deeded to Jesus Christ upon their purchase. Since Jesus would not be paying the taxes, though, county officials convinced them this could not be done. Commonwealth organizers may have been high-minded in their motivations, but they proved practical in their approach to creating a sustainable agricultural community in Muscogee County and worked diligently to further its development.

About a year after its founding, the enclave claimed nearly one hundred residents drawn from across the country. They constructed their own housing, took their meals in a communal dining room, and in place of cash received food and shelter for their labor. Colonists planted thousands of fruit trees

and berry plants, grew peanuts, sweet potatoes, and an assortment of other vegetables, built a school, and even established a towel mill which they planned to use as a major source of communal income. A printing press produced a few books in addition to a monthly newsletter, *The Social Gospel*, which at its peak was distributed to every state in the union and seventeen countries. None other than noted Russian author Leo Tolstoy encouraged the experiment in rural west Georgia and monitored its growth and development. Within a few years, however, a combination of factors brought about the demise of the colony—struggles in creating a stable economy, an epidemic of typhoid which drove several members to relocate, and no little internal dissension including a nasty court case over the expulsion of a disgruntled member. Commonwealth had ceased operation by 1901.

Kallman presents a straightforward chronological narrative of the colony in his book, taking readers inside day to day life there while helping them understand its philosophical foundations within the context of the larger national scene. Most readers of this journal will probably have less interest in Commonwealth's place among similar institutions of the time than how it interacted with the citizens of Columbus, however. The city seemed genuinely intrigued with this novel social experiment, and accounts of activities at the colony regularly appeared in local papers. At one point colonists even staged a religious revival at Wildwood Park. Thoroughly researched, clearly written, and enlightening on a topic about which few captivated by this area's history are likely to have any previous awareness, the book is a unique contribution to the historiography of the Columbus area.

Mike Bunn
Editor, *Muscogiana*

Index

- Adams, Fannie, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17
Adams, Martha Flournoy, 5
Alabama Department of Archives and History, 23
Albany, GA, 4
American Democrat, 21
Ashburn, George, 30, 31
Atlanta, GA, 4, 12, 15
Atlanta Constitution, 14
Battle of Chickamauga, 4
Battle of Gettysburg, 37
Bonaparte, Jerome Napoleon, III, 4, 12
Bowers, Effie Siegling, 7
Bowers, Lloyd G., 7, 10, 16
Bradley, W.C., 10
Bowers Family, 13
Boykin, Amanda (Odom), 27, 28, 30, 34
Boykin, Amy, 27
Boykin, Annie (Seats), 32
Boykin, Carlton, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25-27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35
Boykin, Carlton, Jr., 29, 31, 32, 33, 34
Boykin, Emma, 27
Boykin, Francis E., 20
Boykin, James, 19, 20, 21, 27
Boykin, Jerdie, 32, 33
Boykin, John, 27, 34
Boykin, Martha (Gardner), 27, 28, 34
Boykin, Mary, 27
Boykin, Mary Daniel, 32, 34
Boykin, Oscar Carlton, 28
Boykin, Rebecca, 21, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34
Boykin, Samuel, 20, 23
Boykin, Solomon, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32
Boykin, Thomas Cooper, 20, 22, 23
Bradenton, FL, 46
Bragg Smith Street, 33
Branham, Walter R., 3, 4, 16
Broad Street, 42, 44
Brunswick, GA, 38
Brown Avenue, 2
Buchanan, James, 17
Buena Vista Road, 2, 9, 10, 14
Bulloch Hall, 12
Bunn, Mike, 47
Camell, Antoinette, 24, 29
Camp Benning, 14
Carter Center, 15
Carter Presidential Library, 15
Causey, Virginia, 31
Cemetery Hill, 43, 44
Charleston, SC, 7, 12
Charleston World's Fair, 12
Chattahoochee Indian Heritage Association, 46
Chattahoochee Promenade, 46
City Light Guards, 38, 42
City Mills, 7
City Village, 26, 27
Claflin Annex, 32
Claflin School, 31, 32
Coca Cola, 15
Coldwell Banker, 9
Colquitt, Alfred H., 3
Colquitt, Peyton H., 3, 4, 38
Colquitt, Walter T., 3
Colored Knights of Pythias, 33
Colored Regulars, 33
Columbus Confederate Monument, 36, 41, 45
Columbus Daily Enquirer, 36, 39
Columbus Daily Sun, 36
Columbus Daily Times, 41, 42, 43
Columbus Enquirer, 25, 33
Columbus Enquirer-Sun, 30
Columbus Guards, 37
Columbus on the Chattahoochee, 1
Columbus Public Library, 2
Columbus State University, 7
Columbus State University Archives, 2, 9, 46
Columbus Weekly Sun, 38
Commonwealth, 47-48
Confederate Memorial Day, 36, 38, 39, 40
Coweta Falls Reserve, 2, 8
Cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta, 15
Dean, Tracy, 16

Dimon, J. Homer, 10
 Dinglewood, 1-17
 Dinglewood Park, 14
 Dinglewood Pharmacy, 17
 Dinglewood Spring, 14-15
 Division Street, 26
 Dobson, Rachel, 18
 Doug Roth Photography, 9
 Eatonton, GA, 5, 16
 Emory University, 2
 Emory University Rare Book Library, 16
 Fabery, Kevin, 36
Federal Union, 21
 Fifth Avenue, 32, 33
Finding Your Roots, 18
 Fillmore, Millard, 17
 First Baptist Church, 8
 Flournoy, John F., 8, 16
 Flournoy, John Manley, 16
 Flournoy, Josiah, 16
 Flournoy, Martha Manley, 16
 Flournoy, Robert, 16
 Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 30
 Fort Benning, 33, 47
Frank Leslie's Illustrated, 31
 Freedmen's Bureau, 31, 32
 Fussell, Fred, 46
 Garden Club of Georgia Pilgrimage, 7
 Georgia Historic Newspapers, 21
Georgia Journal, 21
Georgia Messenger, 21
 Gilbert, Bradford, 12
 Gittinger, P., 40
Gone With The Wind, 11
 Gordon, F.B., 10
 Gordon, John B., 12
 Griffin, GA, 38
 Gulf Refining, 10
 Hardaway, Benjamin Hurt, 16
 Hardaway, Robert A., 15
Harper's Weekly, 22
 Hillcrest, 16
 Hinde, Annie G., 7, 10, 14
 Hinde Family, 6, 13, 14
 Hinson Galleries, 10
 Holt, Hine, 15
 Horton, Mrs. Thaddeus, 12
 Hurt, Augustus F., 15
 Hurt, Frances Flournoy, 2, 5
 Hurt, George Troup, 15
 Hurt, Henry, 15
 Hurt, Joel, 15
 Hurt, Joel Early, 1-3, 8, 14
 Hurt, Julia Flournoy, 2-3, 5
 Hurt, Julia Flournoy (Colquitt), 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 16
 Hurt, Martha Herndon, 15
 Hurt, Rebecca, 15
 Ingram, Clara Holleman, 11
 Inman Park (Atlanta), 15
 Internet Archive, 22
 Itson, Annie Boykin, 34
 Jackson, Thomas J., 37, 40
 Jacques, Richard W., 27
 Jamestown Exposition, 12
 Johnston, Albert Sydney, 37
 Jones, James Randall, 19, 20, 29
 Jones, John A., 40
 Jones, Mary Elizabeth, 15
 Jones, Rebecca, 29
 Jones, Seaborn, 26, 27
 Jordan, George Gunby, 44
 Jordan, Leonidas A., 4
Julia St. Clair, 41
 Jungermann's Studio, 12
 Kallman, Theodore, 47-48
 Kellersville, 25
 Kenneth H. Thomas Jr., 1
 Ku Klux Klan, 30, 31
 L.G. Bowers and Sons, 7
 Ladies Memorial Association, 36-44
 Ladies Soldier's Friend Society, 36, 38, 40
 Lawyer's Lane, 2
 Leesville, OH, 14
 Library of Congress, 22
 Linwood Cemetery, 3, 36, 37, 38
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 12
 Louisville, KY, 41
 Lupold, John, 46
 Macon, GA, 4
Macon Telegraph, 21
 Magill, W.H., 8

May, Mryna, 33
 McCauley, Henry, 42
 McDaniel, Martha, 24, 25, 29, 30
 McDaniel, Solomon, 24, 29, 32
 Miles, Mack, 21, 24, 30
 Miles, Martha (McDaniel), 24, 25, 26, 29, 34
 Mitchell, Brady, 13
 Monumental Park, 42, 43
 Mott's Green, 42, 44
 Mulden and Company, 41
 Muscogee County Courthouse, 26, 27
 National Register of Historic Places, 16
 New York, New York, 12
 Nolen, John, 10
 Norfolk, VA, 12
 North Commons, 26
 Northern Liberties, 25, 26
 Northern Liberties Colored School, 32
 Oglethorpe Street, 43
 Oswehee, AL, 41
 Owings, David, 46
 Paris, France, 4
 Perry House, 40, 41
 Pitts, Willie, 33
 Polk, James, K., 17
 Porterdale Cemetery, 34
 Prospect Park, 42, 43, 44
 Purcell, Douglas C., 46
 Putnam County, GA, 2
 Randolph Street, 42, 44
 Reconstruction Act, 21
 Roosevelt, Teddy, 12
 Roswell, GA, 12
 Rutherford, Lizzie, 36
 Salisbury Park, 42, 44
 San Joaquin Delta College, 47
 Sarling Statue and Park, 11
 Schnell, Frank, 46
 Schnell, Gail, 46
 Schnell, Greg, 46
 Schwob School of Music, 7
 Seats, Herman, 32
 Seibert, David, 33
 Semmes, Paul J., 37
 Serrell, William F., 26
 Seventeenth Street, 26
 Sewell's Point, VA, 38
 Snake Shoals, 20
 St. Clair Street, 42
 St. Louis World's Fair (see Louisiana Purchase
 Exposition)
 St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church, 33
 St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, 3
 Southerland, 12
Southern Recorder, 21
 Spelman Seminary, 32
 Springer Opera House, 38, 39, 43
 Stewart County, GA, 20
*The History of the Baptist Denomination in
 Georgia*, 22
 The Columbus Museum, 32, 36, 41, 45
The Kingdom of God Is At Hand, 47-48
The Ladies Home Journal, 12, 14
 The Olde Folkes Concert, 38
The Social Gospel, 48
The Southern Christian Advocate, 3
 Tolstoy, Leo, 48
 Thirteenth Avenue, 10
 Twentieth Street, 27
 Twenty-Eighth Street School, 32
 Toombs, Julia, 4
 Toombs, Robert, 4
 University of Georgia, 2
 Upatoi, 47
 Ware, James, 40
 Waud, A.R., 22
 Wells, A.G., 7
 Wells Dairies, 7
 West Point Military Academy, 4
 Western Railroad, 43
 Wildwood Park, 16, 48
 Williams, Charles, 40
 Williams, Jesse, 26, 28
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, 5
 Wood, Dean, 46
 Woodruff, Jim, 10
 Woolfolk, John, 2, 8, 26
 Worsley, Etta Blanchard, 1
 Wynn, Colonel, 15
 Wynn House, 15
 Wynnton, 10
 Wynnton Road, 10, 14, 17

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