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Gender and Justice in Antebellum Savannah: The Case of  
George Flyming.\*

In June 1820 a Savannah slave named George Flyming was convicted by a jury of white male freeholders of attempting to rape a white girl, fourteen-year-old Eliza Hand. The three justices of Chatham County Inferior Court overseeing the case duly sentenced Flyming to hang by the neck until he was dead. On the surface this conviction would have seemed unproblematic to citizens in a slave society. The system of slavery brutalized and oppressed bondpeople in part to ensure their docility, those who refused to accept their lot and struck back against white authority, could expect swift and dire retribution. The legal process was stacked heavily against African American defendants in the South. Slaves and free blacks were unable to speak in their

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own defence, or summon witnesses from the black community.<sup>1</sup> As a male slave, found guilty of attempting to perpetrate a rape on a white female, Flyming would almost certainly have known that a conviction would spell death. Yet the case of George Flyming is not so straightforward. Indeed the lengths to which many local citizens went in attempting to save George's life require further investigation.

The subject of inter-racial sexual contact has never been completely anonymous in the historiography of the antebellum South. Early scholars such as U. B. Phillips, Ralph Flanders and Stanley Elkins were reluctant to talk about this murkier side of Southern social relations, but by the 1970s Winthrop Jordan, Herbert Gutman, and Eugene Genovese, among others, were making the obvious point that Southern mulattoes did not appear from thin air.<sup>2</sup> While some

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<sup>1</sup> Michael S. Hindus, "Black Justice Under White Law: Criminal Prosecutions Of Blacks In Antebellum South Carolina," Journal Of American History, LXIII, (1976), 575-599. Thomas D. Morris, Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

<sup>2</sup> See U. B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery. (London, 1918); idem, Life and Labor in the Old South (Boston, 1937); Ralph Betts Flanders, Plantation Slavery In Georgia. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968, 2nd ed.); Stanley M. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and

sexual relationships between blacks and whites were consensual, most scholars agree that inter-racial rape was a frequent occurrence in the antebellum South. Coercion usually entailed the abuse of slave women by white owners and overseers, crimes which went unpunished and often unreported, but the rape of white women by black men was not unknown.<sup>3</sup>

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Intellectual Life (Chicago, 1959); Winthrop Jordan, White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812. (New York, 1968); Herbert Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1920 (New York, 1976); Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made, (New York, 1974); Joel Williamson, New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States. (Baton Rouge, La., 1980).

<sup>3</sup> There is a growing literature on the experiences of slave women. For works which examine sexual abuse by owners see Catherine Clinton, "'Southern Dishonor': Flesh, Blood, Race And Bondage," in Carol Bleser, ed., In Joy And Sorrow: Women, Family And Marriage In The Victorian South. (New York, 1991), 60-63; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women in the Old South. (Athens, Ga., 1988), 236-241, 325-326;; Philip D. Morgan, Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 399-412; Wilma King, "'Suffer With Them Til Death': Slave Women and Their Children in Nineteenth Century America," in David Barry Gaspar & Darlene Clark Hine, eds., More Than Chattel:

In more recent years the study of Southern sexuality has become increasingly refined and sophisticated. Historians such as Peter Bardaglio, Victoria Bynum, Diane Miller Sommerville and Martha Hodes, amongst others, have deepened our understanding of bi-racial sexuality, and given new prominence to relationships between black men and white women, both voluntary and coerced.<sup>4</sup> We now have a

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Black Women And Slavery In The Americas. (Indianapolis, Ind., 1996), 158-159; Williamson, New People, 5-59.

<sup>4</sup> Victoria Bynum, Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), esp. ch.4; Peter Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South: 'Calculated to Excite Indignation in Every Heart,'" Journal of Southern History, LX, (1994), 749-772; idem, Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex and the Law in the Nineteenth Century South, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), esp. ch.2; Diane Miller Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered," Journal of Southern History, LXI, (1995), 481-518; idem, "Rape, Race, and Castration in Law in the Colonial and Early South," and Paul Finkelman, "Crimes of Love, Misdemeanors of Passion: The Regulation of Race and Sex in the Colonial South," both in Catherine Clinton and Michele Gillespie, eds., The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South, (New York, 1997), 74-89, 124-138; Martha Hodes, White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex In The Nineteenth Century South. (New Haven, Conn., 1997), 1-122; Peter W. Bardaglio, "'Shameful Matches': the Regulation of Interracial Sex and Marriage in the South before

greater understanding of the reaction of white Southern society to mixed-race relationships: resigned acceptance to the fact that white men were seemingly unable to keep their hands off black women; and a degree of toleration towards white women who slept with black men, providing such relationships were not overt and did not produce children. Unusually, considering that the urban environment offered far more opportunities for bi-racial interaction, most of the above research has concentrated on the rural South. Bynum's book focuses on three rural counties in North Carolina; Hodes' more wide ranging research brings us case studies from Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, and upcountry Georgia. While some significant research has been done on inter-racial mixing in Southern towns, it tends not

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1900," and Sharon Block, "Lines of Color, Sex, and Service: Comparative Sexual Coercion in Early America," both in Martha Hodes, ed., Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History, (New York, 1998), 112-140, 141-163; Daniel A. Cohen, "Social Injustice, Sexual Violence, Spiritual Transcendence: Constructions of Interracial Rape in Early American Crime Literature, 1767-1817," William and Mary Quarterly, LVI, (1999), 481-526.

to focus exclusively on sexual activity.<sup>5</sup> Gaps still exist in our understanding of bi-racial encounters in South. Through its exploration of the case of George Flyming, this article aims to shed new light on urban white attitudes towards sex, slavery and white poverty.

As several historians have recently shown us, the fear of the rape of white woman by black men was out of all proportion to its occurrence.<sup>6</sup> Indeed the Flyming case is one of only two known, or reported, cases from Savannah between the introduction of slavery to the colony in 1751 and its abolition in 1865.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, contemporary

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<sup>5</sup> See for example, Whittington B. Johnson, Black Savannah, 1788-1864. (Fayetteville, Ark., 1996); Bernard E. Powers, Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885. (Fayetteville, Ark., 1994); Jane H. Pease & William H. Pease, Ladies, Women and Wenches: Choice and Constraint in Antebellum Charleston and Boston. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); and my forthcoming Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia (Athens, 2000). For an exception to this see my "Crossing the Race Divide: Interracial Sex in Antebellum Savannah" Slavery and Abolition, 18, (1997), 159-173.

<sup>6</sup> See Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South," 749-772; and Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered," 481-518.

<sup>7</sup> The only other similar case involved four male slaves charged with raping a white woman in 1862. Three of the four defendants were

interpretations of white female sexuality meant that to secure a conviction for rape prosecutors had not only to prove that the woman had failed to give her consent, but also that she had actively resisted the attempt, and not "seduced" the man. If a woman was understood to have offered any form of encouragement to the man then a conviction was unlikely. This rule of thumb seemingly applied as much for bondsmen as it did for white men, so while rape or attempted rape of a white female, alongside insurrection, poisoning, arson, burglary, assaulting a white person and murder, were capital crimes for slaves in Georgia, the letter of the law did not always match its application.<sup>8</sup>

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acquitted and the other was saved from the gallows because of doubts about the victim's identification of him. Chatham County Superior Court Minutes, Vol 24, 1859-1862, May Term 1862 & Vol 25, 1862-1867, January Term 1863. (Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia, microfilm). Diane Miller Sommerville uncovered only 250 similar cases in the entire South between 1800 and 1865. Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered," 484-485.

<sup>8</sup> 'An Act for the Trial and Punishment of Slaves and Free Persons of Color.' Passed December 19, 1816. Section 1. Oliver H. Prince ed., A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia. (Athens, Ga., 1837), 791. Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South," 751. Sommerville,



Despite the fact that central to enslavement was the denial of rights to African Americans, white people were usually keen to preserve at least the semblance of a trial for slaves accused of crimes. In the colonial era all slave trials in Georgia were presided over by a court of freeholders, groups of white men who held *carte blanche* in their dealings with slaves. Justice in these trials was often summary and little attention was paid to due process.<sup>9</sup> By 1820 minor offenses committed by slaves continued to be dealt with in this way, but slaves accused of capital crimes were now entitled to a trial before the Inferior Court. As the records of Flyming's case demonstrate, these

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"Rape, Race, and Castration," 77. For more on Victorian concepts of sexuality see Nancy F. Cott, "Passionlessness: An Interpretation Of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850," *Signs*, I, (1978), 219-236; D. Harland Hagler, "The Ideal Woman In The Antebellum South: Lady Or Farmwife?," *Journal Of Southern History*, XLVI, (1980), 405-418.

<sup>9</sup> 'An act for ordering and governing slaves within this province, and for establishing a jurisdiction for the trial of offences committed by such slaves, and other persons therein mentioned, and to prevent the inveighing and carrying away slaves from their masters, owners, or employers.' Passed May 10, 1770. Section VIII. Robert & George Watkins, comps., A Digest Of The Laws Of The State Of Georgia To 1798. (Philadelphia, 1800), 166-167.

trials were no sham. Juries were impaneled, witnesses called and both prosecution and defence offered for consideration. Indeed, apart from the fact that slaves appeared before the Inferior instead of the Superior Court, and were not permitted to testify, they were treated in much the same way as white defendants.<sup>10</sup> However, punishments for convicted slaves were appreciably harsher than for whites. White rapists would not have faced the death penalty if convicted, but would have spent between two and twenty years at hard labor in the state penitentiary. John Burns, a thirty-year-old Irish born farmer served only four years following his conviction for rape in Chatham County in 1822. Whites convicted of attempted rape, Flyming's crime, would have received only one to five years in jail.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> 'An Act to Establish a Tribunal for the Trial of Slaves within this State.' Passed December 16, 1811. Sections I-V. Prince, Digest of the Laws, 789-790.

<sup>11</sup> Penal Code of 1817, Section 33 and 34. Oliver H. Prince, Digest of the Laws of Georgia (Milledgeville, 1822), 349. State of Georgia, Inmate Corrections Division, Register of Convicts, Vol.1, 1817-1868, (GDAH). Burns was jailed on June 25, 1822 and released on June 25, 1826.

George Flyming's trial took place on June 5, 1820.<sup>12</sup> Of the ten white people summoned to give evidence at the trial most were apparently non-slaveholding men. Only one witness was female and only three were slaveholders.<sup>13</sup> The fact that a majority of the witnesses did not own slaves perhaps suggests that the episode occurred where non-slaveholding men congregated, maybe in a poor part of Savannah such as Yamacraw, fronting the Savannah River on the western edge of the city, or maybe Factor's Walk, between Bay Street and the river, where brothels and bars were popular haunts for

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<sup>12</sup> Flyming was arrested and first appeared for trial on May 31. The actual trial took place 6 days later. Chatham County, Inferior Court, Trial Docket, 1813-1827. May 31, and June 5, 1820. (GDAH, microfilm). Slave trial records were required to be kept separately from the other records of the Inferior Court. Only a small number have survived.

<sup>13</sup> Those called were Eliza Hand (accuser), Doct Bayard (owned 5 slaves), Saml M Mordecai (no taxable property), Mr Speer (no taxable property), Thomas Morel (owned 2 slaves), Jno Morel (owned 5 slaves, City Alderman), Mr [Charles] Harris (owned 3 slaves, City Alderman), Mrs Ritter (no taxable property), Jno Garrison (no taxable property), Mr Rickerson (no taxable property), Mr Joab H Prosser (no taxable property), Daniel Sanders (no taxable property). Chatham County Tax Digest 1821, City of Savannah Tax Digests, 1819-1820. (GDAH, microfilm).

slaves, free blacks and white sailors alike. No distinction was made in the trial record whether witnesses were for the defence or prosecution, but presumably John Morel, the son of Flyming's owner by a previous marriage gave evidence as to Flyming's character. Of course, no slaves or free people of color, who probably knew Flyming better than anyone, were summoned to give evidence, though a Doctor testified, presumably about Eliza's physical state. Of the twelve jurors impaneled to try the case, five were slaveholders and four were non-slaveholders; the status of the other three is unknown.<sup>14</sup>

The trial record also documents the fact that the jury, naturally not of George's peers, but of those who believed themselves his superiors, convicted him "but earnestly recommend him to mercy."<sup>15</sup> Three justices, Moses Sheftall, Oliver Sturges, John P. Williamson, naturally all slaveholders, were given the responsibility of deciding

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<sup>14</sup> The jurors were George D Heisler, John Achord (no slaves), Charles Hoyt, Anthony Porter (Bank Cashier, no slaves), Joseph Kopman (2 slaves), John Collins, James Walter, M.B. Forsyth (1 slave), John Hughes (2 slaves), William Clark (2 slaves), William Williams (merchant, 2 slaves), & J Bordon (no slaves).

<sup>15</sup> Trial Docket, June 5, 1820.

Flyming's fate, and they evidently took the jury's recommendation seriously. They deliberated for two days before returning to the courtroom to announce:

"It is considered and ordered by the court that you George Flyming be taken hence to the place whence you came & on the sixth day of July next between the hours of ten and two o'clock of that day you be taken to the place of public execution in the county of Chatham, and be then and there hanged by the neck till you are dead. And may almighty God have mercy on your soul."<sup>16</sup>

According to statutes passed in 1811 and 1816 all slaves convicted of capital offences in Georgia received a mandatory death sentence. However, in 1817, these laws were amended to permit courts to "inflict such other punishment as in their judgment will be most proportionate to the offense and best promote the object of the law and operate

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<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, June 7, 1820. In the record sent to the Governor, Thomas E. Lloyd was named erroneously as one of the justices who presided at the trial instead of John P. Williamson.

as a preventative for the like offenses in future."<sup>17</sup> Quite why the justices declined to exercise their discretion, or why they took two days to deliver the verdict, is unclear. It certainly suggests that there were other doubts about the case that are not apparent from the trial record. The fact that Eliza was only fourteen may have influenced their decision to hand down a death sentence. The issue of guilt or innocence in rape cases invariably revolved around the question of consent. If consent was presumed to have been given, then acquittals usually followed. Children under ten were usually deemed incapable of giving consent by southern courts, but teenage girls fell into a middle ground where consent was possible but not probable. As one author has shown us, black rapists were far more likely to receive the death penalty if the victim was a white child. While there

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<sup>17</sup> 'An Act to Establish a Tribunal for the Trial of Slaves Within this State.' Passed December 16, 1811. 'An act for the trial and punishment of slaves and free people of color.' Passed December 19, 1816. 'An Act to Amend the Foregoing.' Passed December 19, 1817. Prince, A Digest of the Laws, 789-793.

was no legal definition of what constituted a child, Eliza's youth perhaps swayed the opinion of the justices.<sup>18</sup>

What does not exist in the court records is an actual account of what happened between George Flyming and Eliza Hand. We do not, nor will we ever, know what happened between them on May 19, 1820. Did George and Eliza know each other before the incident, or was this their first encounter? Where did the supposed assault take place? Who reported it, and why was George only arraigned for trial on May 31, twelve days later? If this was a random, violent attack by a slave then it is highly likely that no effort would have been spared to bring him to swift justice. Suspiciously, the city papers are silent on this entire episode until after the end of the trial.<sup>19</sup> Despite the fact that a sexual assault on a white girl by a slave was undeniably newsworthy, there is no account of the attack, of the hunt for the perpetrator, or of his capture in the three newspapers then published in the city. Admittedly

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<sup>18</sup> On the issue of age of accuser see Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South," 757-759; Morris, Southern Slavery and the Law, 304; Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered," 492.

<sup>19</sup> The verdict was noted in both the Columbian Museum and Savannah Gazette, and Savannah Republican on June 17, 1820.

1820 was a momentous year for the city of Savannah. On January 11 a devastating fire had destroyed much of the commercial and business districts of the city.<sup>20</sup> Savannahians spent much of the Spring trying to reconstruct their lives. Later in the same year, yellow fever would strike, leaving more than five hundred citizens dead, and the city like a ghost town. But the incident between Eliza Hand and George Flyming occurred mid way between these two disasters, when there was space in the newspapers to highlight such a supposedly important issue. Considering the lack of newspaper commentary, it is perhaps by delving deeper into the backgrounds of accuser and accused that we may begin to understand what happened on May 19.

The only information the trial records yield about Eliza Hand was that she was "a white female, aged about fourteen years."<sup>21</sup> It is possible that Eliza's parents were Elizabeth Hand, who died in 1808 when Eliza would have been about two years old, and Joseph Hand, a member of the city

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<sup>20</sup> Coulter, E. Merton, "The Great Savannah Fire Of 1820," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXIII, (1939), 1-27.

<sup>21</sup> Trial record, May 31, 1820.



watch.<sup>22</sup> The surname Hand was rare in Savannah, but without concrete evidence this relationship remains speculative. If Joseph and Elizabeth were Eliza's parents, then Elizabeth's death left Joseph with a small child to bring up, and he may well have appreciated the help he received from his second wife, Mary Maglen whom he married in 1809.<sup>23</sup> Despite this the Hand family never prospered. According to the city tax records, Joseph never owned property, and his disappearance from every type of city record after 1813 suggests either that he moved away, or that he died.<sup>24</sup> If indeed Eliza was orphaned in 1813, that might explain why she was only able to give the court her approximate age in 1820. Neither of her parents were alive to tell her exactly when she had been born. One thing which her poverty did secure for her was a place at the newly opened Savannah Free School in 1817. Only those classified by the directresses of the school as being "really indigent" were

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<sup>22</sup> Register of Deaths in Savannah, Georgia. (Savannah, 1989), II, 49: dated October 21, 1808.

<sup>23</sup> Marriages in Chatham County, Georgia. (Savannah, 1993), I, 138: dated April 4, 1809.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Hand only appears in the Savannah Tax Digests for 1809, 1810, 1812 and 1813.

given places.<sup>25</sup> Other than these scraps we have no concrete information about Eliza Hand, either before or after the incident in 1820.<sup>26</sup>

Eliza Hand and George Flyming share an obscure personal life. According to the trial records George Flyming was a slave belonging to Mrs Henrietta Miller, but the fact that he was known as George Flyming, rather than George Miller, tells us that he had probably been owned by the Flyming family before he became the property of Henrietta Miller. Thomas Flyming, and his wife Mary, arrived in Georgia in the 1760s. Profiting from the rapid growth which Georgia experienced in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Flymings received several land grants from the Provincial government and bought several

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<sup>25</sup> Names of Children at the Free School, April 7, 1817 and Rule No 17, passed December 9, 1816. Savannah Free School Society Records, (Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia). For more on the founding of the Free School see my "The Gendering of Benevolent Education: The Founding of the Savannah Free School" Unpublished Paper given to the History of Charity Conference at the University of Wales at Bangor, September 2, 1999.

<sup>26</sup> This is despite the existence of comprehensive marriage, death, tax, court and census records for the city of Savannah.

slaves. However, Flyming made the fatal error of supporting the wrong side in the Revolutionary War, and as a noted loyalist his land was confiscated following the British evacuation of Savannah in 1782. After Thomas Flyming's death Mary unsuccessfully petitioned the Georgia legislature for the return of their confiscated land in 1784. Although this petition failed, Mary Flyming retained control over her slaves: by 1793 she owned 10 bondpeople one of whom was probably George.<sup>27</sup>

The young George Flyming's early life is, like that of most slaves, lost in obscurity. We do not know if he was born a slave on the Flyming family plantations, whether he was bought by them at some later date, or even if he was brought directly from Africa during the death throes of the slave trade after the Revolution. We do know that sometime in his youth, George became a carpenter. It was perfectly common for lowcountry planters to train their slaves in

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<sup>27</sup> Georgia Gazette February 23, 1764; Allen D. Candler, ed., The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia (New York, 1970), IX, 442, 505-6; XI, 265. Idem, The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia (New York, 1970), I, 432, 508, 520, 536; III, 511. Early Deaths in Savannah, Georgia, 1763-1803. (Savannah, 1993), 160. Chatham County Tax Digest, 1793.

occupations which would reduce the need to employ white artisans.<sup>28</sup> It is also likely that George was hired out by the Flyming family from an early age, a taste of freedom which he evidently relished. Perhaps signifying that George Flyming had become something of a troublemaker by 1802, Fingal Thomas Flyming placed an advertisement for his mother's slave "George, a negro carpenter" who had absented himself for "several weeks past." While we have no information about what circumstances prompted George's flight, whether it was a genuine attempt to escape, an act

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<sup>28</sup> See for example the comments by James Habersham in James Habersham to Rev Thomas Broughton, December 1, 1770, Letters of the Hon. James Habersham, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, VI, (Savannah, 1904), 99-102. For more on the occupations of slaves see James Sidbury, "Slave Artisans In Richmond, Virginia, 1780-1810," in Howard B. Rock, Paul A. Filje, & Robert Asher eds., American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750-1850. (Baltimore, 1995), 48-62; Ira Berlin, & Herbert Gutman, "Natives And Immigrants, Free Men And Slaves: Urban Workingmen In The Antebellum American South," American Historical Review, LXXXVIII, (1983), 1175-1200; Michael P. Johnson, "Work, Culture And The Slave Community: Slave Occupations In The Cotton Belt In 1860," Labor History, XXVII, (1986), 325-355. Philip D. Morgan, "Black Life In Eighteenth-Century Charleston," Perspectives In American History, I, (1984), 187-232.

of dissidence, or that he simply wandered off, Fingal Flyming does give us an important piece of information, namely that George was "about 23 years of age" meaning that he was born around 1779 at the height of the Revolutionary turmoil in Georgia.<sup>29</sup>

George, like the vast majority of runaway slaves, did not remain free for long. By 1806 he was working on hire, in charge of a group of other slave carpenters, at Thomas Williams' Cedar Hammock plantation.<sup>30</sup> George remained the property of Mrs Mary Flyming until her death at the age of 90 in 1817. In the inventory of her estate George was valued at \$800, making him the most valuable slave Mary

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<sup>29</sup> Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser. February 2, 1802. As historians of eighteenth century slavery have shown us, George belonged to the demographic group from which most fugitive slaves came, namely young men. Betty Wood, Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730-1775. (Athens, Ga., 1984), 169-187. Philip Morgan, Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 526-527.

<sup>30</sup> Wayne Stites Anderson Papers (GHS) Box 2, Folder 23: R.M. Stites Personal Accounts, Negro Records, 1805-1813, dated 13 August 1806.

Flyming owned, a reflection of his skills and training.<sup>31</sup> How George came to be owned by Henrietta Miller is not clear. Mary Flyming had been widowed in the 1780s and the obvious heir, her son, the lawyer Fingal Thomas Flyming, had died at the age of 36 in 1814.<sup>32</sup> Mary did not leave a will, and it was left to the administrators of the estate to dispose of her property. Consequently in August 1818 George was sold at public auction to G. W. Denton for \$1020. The fact that George was sold for \$200 more than he had been valued suggests either that the initial valuation was incorrect, or more plausibly, that such was the demand for a highly skilled carpenter, that several bidders at the auction pushed the sale price up. However, how ownership passed from Denton to Henrietta Miller remains a mystery.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Register of Deaths, III, 90. Dated October 12, 1817. Chatham County, Court of Ordinary, Inventories and Appraisments, 1815-1822, (GDAH), 124. Dated March 3, 1818. George was described as a carpenter.

<sup>32</sup> Register of Deaths, III, 75: January, 28, 1814.

<sup>33</sup> "Sale at Auction of a part of the estate of Mrs Mary Flyming (deceased) by order of the Administrator." Dated August 4, 1818. Estate Records of Mary Flyming. Chatham County, Court of Ordinary, Estate Papers. (GDAH). There is no record of Denton bequeathing, selling or giving George to any person between 1818 and 1820.

Intriguingly there is evidence that links the Flyming family and Eliza Hand's probable parents. When Elizabeth Hand died in 1808, she lived next door to Fingal Flyming. As a skilled slave, who was hired out, George would have had considerable freedom to interact with whom he pleased.<sup>34</sup> It is therefore entirely possible that George may have known Eliza Hand when she was a small child. This piece of information places the alleged incident between Eliza and George in an entirely different light. Did the pair have some sort of ongoing, if inappropriate considering the 27 year gap in their ages, relationship? Perhaps the pair had

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<sup>34</sup> For more on the freedoms which hiring gave slaves see Sean Mooney, "A History of the Legal Regulation of Slave-Hire in Georgia." (M.Phil. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1996); Loren Schweniger, "The Free-Slave Phenomenon: James P. Thomas and the Black Community in Ante-Bellum Nashville," Civil War History, XXII, (1976), 293-307; idem, "The Underside Of Slavery: The Internal Economy, Self Hire and Quasi Freedom in Virginia," Slavery & Abolition, XII, (1991), 1-22; James Walvin, "Slaves, Free Time and the Question Of Leisure," Slavery & Abolition, XVI, (1995), 1-13; Sarah S. Hughes, "Slaves For Hire: The Allocation Of Black Labor in Elizabeth County Virginia 1782-1810," William And Mary Quarterly, XXXV, (1978), 260-286; Betty Wood, Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia. (Athens, Ga., 1995), 101-121.

recently broken up, or perhaps their relationship had been discovered by Eliza's guardians, who forced her to go to the authorities. This, of course, is speculation, though similar cases in the South did occur between young white women and black men.<sup>35</sup>

Following Flyming's trial and conviction for attempted rape, the date of his execution was set for July 6.<sup>36</sup> However all was not lost for George, as local citizens began to mobilize themselves to save his life. The result was a petition to Governor John Clark, and the State Legislature in Milledgeville, signed by forty eight citizens of Savannah, seeking clemency for George Flyming and for his sentence to be commuted to transportation.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered", 505-508. Hodes, White Women, Black Men, 39-67. James Hugo Johnston, Race Relations in Virginia & Miscegenation in the South, 1776-1860. (Amherst, Mass., 1970), 257-268.

<sup>36</sup> Columbian Museum & Savannah Gazette, June 17, 1820; Savannah Republican, June 17, 1820. Interestingly both papers reported that the execution was set for June 28th, when actually it was set for July 6th.

<sup>37</sup> "To the honble the Senator and Representatives of Chatham County" Keith Read Collection, (Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia), Box 19, Folder 31 - Negro Justice. Dated October 25, 1820. Such petitions were not uncommon,



Transportation out of the state was a punishment sometimes used elsewhere in the South for slaves convicted of capital crimes, often so that the owner would be able to recoup some of the value of the slave. This punishment was used extensively in Virginia, and to a lesser extent in South Carolina, but there was no legal precedent for it being used in Georgia.<sup>38</sup> More important than a possible alternative sentence though, is understanding why local citizens tried to save the life of a convicted and

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Philip Morgan has discovered that half of all similar cases in eighteenth century Virginia engendered petitions for clemency. Morgan, Slave Counterpoint, 405; Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South," 768. Until the establishment of the Georgia Supreme Court in 1845 all legal appeals were referred to the Governor and the Legislature.

<sup>38</sup> Two instances where transportation was used as an alternative to the death penalty were Gabriel Prosser's rebellion in Virginia in 1800 and Denmark Vesey's conspiracy in Charleston in 1822. See Douglas R. Egerton, Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 112-113, 149-162 and Edward A. Pearson, Designs Against Charleston: The Trial Record of the Denmark Vesey Slave Conspiracy of 1822. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 146. For a more general discussion of nearly a thousand transportation cases in Virginia see Philip J. Schwarz, Slave Laws in Virginia (Athens, 1996), 97-119.

condemned slave. Were they acting out of disinterested philanthropy, seeking to spare George the ultimate penalty from humanitarian concerns about capital punishment? After all, more than half of the petitioners either belonged to the Union Society, the oldest charitable institution in Savannah, or subscribed to other benevolent societies such as the Savannah Free School Society and the Savannah Female Asylum.<sup>39</sup> However, if this was true, similar petitions would have been drawn up every time a death sentence was passed down by the courts, and as far as we can ascertain, they were not.

Perhaps the most obvious motive for trying to save the life of a slave was economic. Less than two years before he was sentenced to death, George Flyming had been purchased for more than a thousand dollars, and local slaveholders might not have wished to set the precedent that property could be dispatched for anything less than murder or treason. Unlike some other Southern states, Georgia did not provide any state funded compensation to owners for

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<sup>39</sup> Savannah Home for Girls Records, (GHS), Membership List, 1820, Savannah Free School Society Records: Minute Book, 1820, (GHS). Minutes of the Union Society: Being An Abstract Of Existing Records From 1750 To 1858. (Savannah, 1860), 100-101. See Appendix.

executed slaves.<sup>40</sup> However, not all those signing the petition were slaveholders, and so such an argument does not explain why a significant number of non-slaveholders would take it upon themselves to protect the property of the elite.<sup>41</sup> A more plausible argument, considering that Flyming was a skilled carpenter, is that he might well have been personally known to many of the petitioners, perhaps having worked for them on hire. One explanation for Flyming retaining his name even when he changed owner, was that he was well known in the city as George Flyming. In contrast, few people would have known an indigent young white girl such as Eliza Hand personally. It is even possible that Flyming had earned a form of respectability about town: and customers who had been impressed by his skill and his character would be more likely to sign a petition seeking to help him. Perhaps it was this which caused important people such as lawyers, doctors, magistrates, the mayor and six city aldermen, to join with a newspaper editor, a

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<sup>40</sup> 'An Act of 19th December 1793.' Sec III. Prince ed., A Digest of the Laws, 786.

<sup>41</sup> According to Chatham County Tax Digests for 1819-1821 only 22 of the 48 petitioners owned slaves. Most slaveholding petitioners owned less than five slaves, though John Winter owned 63 bondpeople.

clerk, a customs officer and a laborer to sign the petition.<sup>42</sup>

Gender prejudices were probably of equal significance for those signing the petition. Only men were signatories, and while men occupied a dominant public role in society, lowcountry white women were not above putting their feelings on paper as and when the need arose.<sup>43</sup> The petition contains a key sentence which may begin to explain its purpose. These citizens stated that "the evidence upon which he [George Flyming] is convicted is doubtful and uncertain."<sup>44</sup> The most obvious evidence which could be "doubtful and uncertain" would be that of Eliza herself. While there was apparently enough evidence to merit a conviction, the fact that two of those who participated in the trial, a juror and a witness, also signed the petition

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<sup>42</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>43</sup> See for example the petition of Sunbury women to save the life of bondsman Billy as discussed in Betty Wood, "White Women, Black Slaves And The Law In Early National Georgia: The Sunbury Petition Of 1791," Historical Journal, XXXV, (1992), 611-622. The original document is in the Telamon Cuyler Collection, Box 75, Folder: Georgia, Sunbury, Miscellaneous Documents. (Hargrett Library)

<sup>44</sup> "To the honble the Senator and Representatives of Chatham County"

for clemency, suggests that the testimony was not entirely convincing. If Eliza was the main source of evidence for the conviction against Flyming, and we know that she did testify at the trial, then why was her testimony seemingly not credible?

Local residents may well have cast doubt upon Eliza's evidence because her character was questionable. Comparable cases elsewhere in the South show that juries were reluctant to convict black men of rape where the white victim was known to be, or suspected of being, licentious or in any way immoral. Giving birth to illegitimate, perhaps mixed-race, children or having consensual sexual relations of any kind with African Americans, effectively stripped a white woman of her right to judicial protection.<sup>45</sup> Several historians have shown us that most of these women were poor, ill-educated, and had little social influence. The violence and humiliation suffered by poor white women was not something which desperately concerned the mainly elite white men who presided over rape trials,

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<sup>45</sup> Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered", 494-510. Hodes, White Women, Black Men, 38-95. Bynum, Unruly Women, 88-110; Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law", 766

regardless of the race of the man in the dock. Class prejudices among whites facilitated the creation of a myth of sexually promiscuous lower-class white women. To allow any man, black or white, to be punished for rape without absolutely cast-iron evidence against him, was perhaps giving more power to white women in general, and poor white women in particular, than white men wished to surrender. As Victoria Bynum notes, "poverty defeminized white women as much as race defeminized black women."<sup>46</sup> This is not to say that elite white women would not be supported by men in their quest for justice following sexual assaults, but these cases were few and far between. We have no evidence that Eliza had ever been involved in sexual activity, or that she was in anyway to blame for whatever happened between her and George, but her character remains a possible explanation for the petition.

Two other reasons may also have influenced the framing of the petition. Considering that Eliza Hand was fourteen years old, the petitioners may have felt that she was mature enough to have encouraged Flyming to some degree. If she had done this, but then backed-off at the last minute,

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<sup>46</sup> Bynum, Unruly Women, 9.

it would not have constituted attempted rape as it was understood in the early nineteenth century.<sup>47</sup> The fact that Eliza was from an impoverished background did not help. Savannah's poor white women often became sexually active at a young age, and some teenage girls were known make their living as prostitutes.<sup>48</sup> The chastity of girls from elite families would, of course, have been far less ambiguous and open to question. Furthermore, there is the critical issue of timing. Twelve days passed between the alleged incident and George's arraignment for trial. As historian Thomas Morris has demonstrated in his study of slave law, delays in reporting rapes or attempted rapes were often construed by Southern juries as indicating that the case was not clear cut. Southern white women were meant to protest loudly and immediately if they hoped to win the ears of Southern white men.<sup>49</sup>

The execution date of July 6 gave Savannahians nearly a month from the end of Flyming's trial to petition the

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<sup>47</sup> Sommerville, "The Rape Myth", 496-498.

<sup>48</sup> See the careers of Mary Jones and Mary Powers, both prostitutes, aged 16 and 17 respectively, in The 1860 Census of Chatham County, Georgia. (Easley, S.C., 1980). See also my "Crossing the Race Divide," 166-167.

<sup>49</sup> Morris, Southern Slavery and the Law, 305.

governor and the state legislature for executive clemency. When he received copies of all the relevant trial documents, Governor John Clark wrote to the justices of the Inferior Court of Chatham County on July 1, delaying George's execution until November 30, in order to give proper time for legal representations to be made. Clark noted that his decision was based on "the attendant circumstances of the case, the recommendation of two of the hon<sup>ble</sup> the justices, and the jury who tried the prisoner, who all strongly recommend him to mercy, together with a petition from a large number of the respectable citizens of the county of Chatham, praying an extension of executive clemency in this case." However Clark also placed a caveat on his order, stating that the "sentence will be carried into full and complete effect . . . provided you receive no further order from me or some other person in whom the executive powers of the government may be vested in and concerning the premises and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant." <sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Georgia, Executive Minutes, 1819-1821 Records Group 1-1-3 Vol 30; Saturday July 1st, 1820. (GDAH). This letter was reported in the Savannah Republican, July 6, 1820.



The Georgia legislature did not sit during the summer months, so no further action was taken on behalf of George Flyming until the middle of October when the petition of the forty eight citizens was sent from Savannah to the legislature. Flyming's case was not referred to the legislature by the Governor until November 10, 1820, only twenty days before his scheduled execution. The Governor informed both houses that the idea that George Flyming be transported out of state had already been rejected, but that he had suspended the sentence as Savannahians had told him "evidence would be forwarded to shew that mercy in this case would accord with justice."<sup>51</sup> Sadly, he gives us no idea of what that evidence was.

The Senate chose not to act on Flyming's case, but the House of Representatives appointed three members, Messers D'Lyon, Spalding and Nicoll to examine the issue. Levi D'Lyon and John Nicoll were the representatives of Chatham

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<sup>51</sup> The identical letters which Governor Clark sent to the Georgia Senate and House of Representatives have both been preserved in the House Journals for 1820. Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia (Milledgeville, 1820), 10. Friday, November 10, 1820. Journal of the House of Representatives (Milledgeville, 1820), 13. Friday November 10, 1820.

County in the House, and probably knew the majority of the petitioners. Three days later the committee reported back to the House that they had no authority to interfere in the matter. According to the state constitution, executive clemency rested solely in the hands of the governor, except in cases of treason and murder, when the legislature could become involved. Consequently the committee reported that they could do nothing to alter the original decision of the Inferior Court in Savannah.<sup>52</sup> In effect, Flyming's fate was passed back into the hands of the governor.

What happened next is unclear. The original order from the Governor delaying the execution until November 30 explicitly stated that if the execution was to proceed then no further communication would be sent. The debates of the

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<sup>52</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, 19. Monday November 13, 1820. Constitution of the State of Georgia, Section 7, Article 2. Oliver H. Prince ed., A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia. (Milledgeville, 1822), 554. Reported in the Daily Georgian, November 27, 1820. The Governor had the right to pardon Flyming but not to substitute any alternative sentence, such as jail or transportation. 'An act for the trial and punishment of slaves and free people of color.' Passed December 19, 1816, Sec. 3; 'An Act to Amend the Foregoing.' Passed December 19, 1817, Sec 1. Prince, A Digest of the Laws, (1837 ed.) 782-793.

legislature were reported in the Savannah press, but the Daily Georgian stated that "a message from the Governor respecting G. Flyming" had been received.<sup>53</sup> We have no inkling of what was in this communication, whether it merely confirmed the original execution date of November 30, or whether it provided executive clemency. The ambiguous reference to a letter from the governor, contents unknown, only serves to deepen the mystery when we know that there was no need for another letter if the execution was to proceed.<sup>54</sup> A rival publication, the Savannah Republican, presumably with access to the same information, and whose editor had signed the petition for clemency, headlined its report "the negro George Flyming dies" evidently believing that the slave was to die, as scheduled, on November 30.<sup>55</sup>

Although the most likely outcome of this case was the death of George Flyming, there is absolutely no mention of

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<sup>53</sup> Daily Georgian, November 21, 1820.

<sup>54</sup> No copy of the letter, if one was sent, was preserved in the official correspondence files of John Clark for 1820. These assiduously kept records are preserved in the Georgia State Archives, Governor's Letterbooks, 1814-1821, RG 1-1-1 Box 11.

<sup>55</sup> Savannah Republican, November 21, 1820.

his execution in the city press or in contemporary manuscripts written by city residents. This is, in itself, is suspicious. Executions were not so common in Savannah as to pass by unnoticed by the local population. Similar executions of slaves for murder or rebellion were often public affairs, undertaken to maximize publicity among local slaves and send a clear message that crimes against whites were not going to be tolerated. These events were often widely reported in the newspapers.<sup>56</sup>

One possible reason for the lack of information in the local press was that George Flyming was not executed. If he was reprieved then there are several possible outcomes to this case. Firstly he might have been returned to his owner, Henrietta Miller.<sup>57</sup> But while Miller continued to own

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<sup>56</sup> See for example the reports of the trial and execution of Harry for killing his overseer in the Daily Georgian, April 4, May 1 & June 2, 1827. Details of Harry's trial are found in Chatham County Inferior Court, Trial Docket, 1813-1827, March 4, 1827, (GDAH). For a description of the public burning alive of slaves for a similar crime see 'The Narrative of John Melish', in Mills Lane, ed., The Rambler in Georgia. (Savannah, 1973), 19.

<sup>57</sup> Henrietta (nee O'Bryan) had been married (and widowed) three times, firstly to John Morel in the 1780s and 90s; secondly to Judge Lewis Trezevant in 1803; and thirdly to Mr Miller, but the date of this

slaves until her death in 1842, there is no evidence that George was among them.<sup>58</sup> Secondly, if Miller did not keep Flyming, then the obvious possibility is that she sold him. But despite the fact she regularly bought and sold slaves in the years following 1820 none of those listed was George Flyming.<sup>59</sup> A third possibility is that George was

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marriage and her husband's name is not known, though they were together long enough to have a son, Gordon A. Miller. Georgia Gazette, March 4, 1789; Marriage Settlement listed in Chatham County, Deed Book I, p51-54, dated February 18, 1791; Columbian Museum, May 25, 1803.

<sup>58</sup> Henrietta Miller paid tax in 1826 and again between 1831 and 1835, owning between 8 and 20 slaves. She appears in the Chatham County Census for both 1820 and 1830, and while her will was probated in Savannah, she apparently did not die there, as she is not listed in the city death records. At her death she owned only one slave, Polly. Chatham County Tax Digests, 1826-35. Federal Manuscript Census for Chatham County, Georgia, 1820 and 1830. Chatham County, Probate Court, Wills Volume H, 1839-1852, p92-93 Will of Henrietta Miller, (widow) dated 1835, proved Jan 1842. Chatham County, Court of Ordinary, Accounts of Estates Book H, 1842-1845.

<sup>59</sup> For examples of Henrietta Miller selling slaves see Chatham County, Superior Court, Deed Book 2N, p504-5, dated April 4, 1826; Deed Book 20, p372, dated October 2, 1827; Deed Book 2V, p288, dated December 12, 1837; Deed Book 2W, p141, dated October 4, 1838. For an example of Henrietta Miller purchasing slaves see the purchase of six

transported out of the state, which is what the petition from the citizens of Savannah asked for. However, considering that Governor Clark expressly stated that he had rejected this option, it is unlikely this transpired. A final possibility is that while still in jail George succumbed to the yellow fever epidemic which proved so deadly that year. While mortality among African Americans was far lower than it was among whites, the fact that no record of the deaths among the black community was kept, means that this hypothesis also remains unproven.<sup>60</sup> Ultimately, an extensive search through the city records of Savannah fails to reveal a single reference to George Flyming after November 1820.

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slaves (Harry, Delphia, Celia, Richard, Little Harry and Delphia's youngest child) from her son John Morel for \$2500 dated February 26, 1820, recorded March 19, 1822. Chatham County, Superior Court, Deed Book

<sup>60</sup> Though a register of white deaths was kept. William R. Waring, Report To The City Council Of Savannah On The Epidemic Disease Of 1820. (Savannah, 1821). On the probable genetic basis for lower black mortality from Yellow Fever see Jo Ann Carrigan, The Saffron Scourge: A History of Yellow Fever in Louisiana, 1796-1905, (Lafayette, La., 1994), 246-256.

The case of George Flyming is intriguing. Sufficient evidence survives to encourage speculation as to the nature of the relationship between Flyming and Eliza Hand, the reason for the petitions of local citizens, and the actions of the state Governor. The fact that the fate of George Flyming is unknown, though the balance of probabilities suggests that he was executed, only adds to mystery. On one level this case sheds light on the particular problems faced by African Americans accused of crimes in the antebellum South, after all George was always a passive not active figure in his own defense, it was white men who condemned him, and white men who tried to save him.<sup>61</sup> But perhaps more significantly this episode also illuminates the strange webs of gender, class and race unique to the antebellum South, which entangled men and women, white and black in relationships which could be extremely unusual.

Rape of white women by slaves in the antebellum South was not an everyday occurrence, and it was taken seriously by white authorities. Across the South black men were charged with, and a significant number were executed for,

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<sup>61</sup> If is possible that Flyming was involved informally in his own defense, but any such participation is not recorded.

such crimes. In most cases where defendants were acquitted, or death sentences quashed, the character and social class of the victim was significant. In this particular case, in a wealthy Southern city, the poverty and anonymity of Eliza Hand allowed white men to overlook any racial tie they may have had with her, in favor of offering their support to a highly skilled and probably well-known slave. One cannot help suspecting that had Eliza Hand been an elite white woman, belonging to one of Savannah's wealthier families, white men would have been less concerned about the weaknesses of the case against Flyming, and that punishment would have been swift and severe. But the chastity of poor white girls was of little importance compared to the value invested in slave property. In effect, white men were able to empathize with Flyming's plight as men rather than as whites. No doubt many of the petitioners, or if not themselves then someone they knew, had been involved in some sort of relationship with black women. They knew how complicated these sorts of entanglements could be. Yet supporting George Flyming did not pose a threat to the system of slavery or the social status of the white elite. Had he been pardoned, it is extremely unlikely that Flyming



would go near another white woman again. He would have remained enslaved, but able to offer valuable skills to the community, and a source of income to his owner. If the evidence Eliza Hand gave the court was indeed tenuous, then execution would seemingly validate her accusation, and potentially open the floodgates to similar charges. By casting doubt on her testimony, the petitioners reaffirmed their belief in the established social structure: non-elite whites were to be denied the same legal privileges afforded to the elite, while the sanctity of slave property was to be protected. By understanding the interplay of relationships between George Flyming, Eliza Hand and the local elite, we glimpse a picture of antebellum society which is incredibly complex.

## Appendix

### **The Petition**<sup>62</sup>

'To the honble the Senator and Representatives of Chatham County,  
Gentlemen,  
We take the liberty of soliciting your interference in favour of a negro man named George now confined in gaol, under sentence of Death, on a conviction for an attempt to commit a rape & reprieved by his excellency the governor, until the - [30th] of November next, to afford an opportunity for petitioning the legislature for further mercy. We refer to the petitions sent to the governor, for the motives which now induce us, thus to address you and believing that the evidence upon which he was convicted is doubtful & uncertain, we pray you to aid in obtaining a

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<sup>62</sup> Keith Read Collection, Box 19, Folder 31 Negro Justice October 25, 1820, (Hargrett Library). Information about the petitioners comes from Register Of Deaths; City of Savannah & Chatham County, Tax Digests, 1819-1821. Savannah Republican, 1820. Federal Manuscript Census for Chatham County, Georgia 1820.

commutation of his sentence from death to transportation & thereby save the life of perhaps, an innocent human being. A more regular petition would be drawn signed & forwarded to the legislature, but you know the deplorable situation of this city, & will be able to appreciate this mode of address, as more convenient & suitable to this disastrous period.<sup>63</sup>

We are respectfully gentlemen your friends

Charles Davies

David Leilion<sup>64</sup>

W[illia]m Belcher<sup>65</sup>

John Ash<sup>66</sup>

Th[omas U. P.] Charlton<sup>67</sup>

Walter Cranston<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> This is reference to the fire of January 11th and to the Yellow Fever epidemic of September and October.

<sup>64</sup> Doctor or Lawyer

<sup>65</sup> Notary of the Police Office, owned one slave. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>66</sup> Deputy Marshall, owned one slave

<sup>67</sup> Mayor of Savannah, 1819-1821, owned 8 slaves. Member of the Union Society, subscriber to the Free School and the Female Asylum.

Jno Roberts<sup>69</sup>

R[obert].Habersham<sup>70</sup>

Jno Eppinger<sup>71</sup>

M[oses] Herbert<sup>72</sup>

N. D. Owens

John Lang<sup>73</sup>

Saml Philbrick<sup>74</sup>

Ben Sheftall<sup>75</sup>

A[braham] Sheftall<sup>76</sup>

Adum Cope<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Vicar of Christchurch Episcopal Church. Subscriber to the Free School.

<sup>69</sup> City Treasurer. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>70</sup> Realtor, owned five slaves. Member of the Union Society, subscriber to the Free School and the Female Asylum.

<sup>71</sup> Federal Marshall, owned 6 slaves. Member of the Union Society, and subscriber to the Free School.

<sup>72</sup> City Alderman, 1819-1821, owned 8 slaves. Member of the Union Society, and subscriber to the Free School.

<sup>73</sup> Doctor or Lawyer

<sup>74</sup> Storekeeper

<sup>75</sup> Commissioner of Market, Magistrate, owned one slave

<sup>76</sup> Doctor, owned one slave

T[homas].Stone

Geo[rge].Cope<sup>78</sup>

Jno Bartholmew<sup>79</sup>

Robert Christie<sup>80</sup>

Nathaniel Lewis<sup>81</sup>

Ja[mes] Seaman

James Morrison<sup>82</sup>

James Foller

Ab[raha]m Nichols<sup>83</sup>

Joseph Davies<sup>84</sup>

Jno Mills<sup>85</sup>

Charles Stubbs

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<sup>77</sup> Receiver of Tax Returns, Butcher, owned 4 slaves. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>78</sup> City Alderman 1820-1821, owned 13 slaves. Member of the Union Society and subscriber to the Free School.

<sup>79</sup> Owned 3 slaves.

<sup>80</sup> Clerk of Market, owned 2 slaves

<sup>81</sup> Owned 3 slaves. Subscriber to the Free School.

<sup>82</sup> City Alderman, 1819-1821, Lawyer, owned 6 slaves. Member of the Union Society, and subscriber to the Female Asylum.

<sup>83</sup> Custom's House Officer, owned 2 slaves. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>84</sup> Owned one slave. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>85</sup> Owned 15 slaves

S[amuel].Mordecai<sup>86</sup>

Isaac D'Lyon<sup>87</sup>

James Greenhow<sup>88</sup>

John Achord<sup>89</sup>

Geo[rge] Ash<sup>90</sup>

Jno Richard<sup>91</sup>

Wil[liam] Way

Jacob Miller<sup>92</sup>

Tho[ma]s Woodbridge<sup>93</sup>

J[ohn].Bowman<sup>94</sup>

John Winter<sup>95</sup>

Tho[ma]s Corvell

David Miller<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Witness, Justice of the Peace

<sup>87</sup> no property. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>88</sup> no property

<sup>89</sup> member of jury, no property

<sup>90</sup> Commissioner of Market, storekeeper

<sup>91</sup> Member of the Union Society.

<sup>92</sup> no property. Subscriber to the Female Asylum.

<sup>93</sup> no property. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>94</sup> laborer

<sup>95</sup> Owned 63 slaves

<sup>96</sup> no property. Member of Union Society, and subscriber to Free School.

William Morel<sup>97</sup>

John Penny

S.Bond<sup>98</sup>

John Scriven<sup>99</sup>

Job Bolles<sup>100</sup>

F[rancis S].Fell<sup>101</sup>

Robert Pooler<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Lawyer or Doctor

<sup>98</sup> Clerk of the Court of Ordinary, City Assessor, owned 4 slaves. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>99</sup> Planter, owned 11 slaves. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>100</sup> Clerk of Superior Court, owned 2 slaves

<sup>101</sup> Editor of Savannah Republican, owned 3 slaves. Member of the Union Society.

<sup>102</sup> Owned 2 slaves, subscriber to the Free School.