A Social Portrait of the South at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century

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IN HONOR of the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in Atlanta, Georgia, I might have subtitled this paper 'Northern Invasions.' The South is defined as North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. The first three had helped to form the United States in 1787 and 1788. Tennessee in 1796 was the first state to be admitted to the Union from the territories that had once belonged to these three Southern states. The armies of Gen. Nathanael Greene and Gen. Anthony Wayne had been crucial in freeing this region from the British grasp. South Carolina and Georgia gave them their highest honor: they made them rice planters. South Carolina presented Greene with the estate of former royal governor Thomas Boone. Georgia presented Wayne with Richmond and Kew plantations, confiscated from Alexander Wright, son of Sir James Wright, the last royal governor of Georgia, and gave Greene Mulberry Grove plantation. Georgia named one county in the upcountry Greene and one county in the lowcountry Wayne. There is reason to believe that Greenville County,

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South Carolina, was named for General Greene. The two states understood what they owed to the leaders of the Northern liberation force.

Many of the officers came to stay. They wanted land, and they got it quickly by marrying rich Southern women. Maj. Elnathan Haskell of the Massachusetts line married the daughter of Col. William Thompson, who had defended the eastern end of Sullivan's Island on the glorious twenty-eighth of June in 1776. Maj. Lewis Morris of New York married Anne Elliott of Ashley River. Anthony Walton White of New Jersey married Margaret Ellis, daughter of a Charleston merchant. Enos Reeves of Pennsylvania married Amy Legare. Gen. Mordecai Gist of Maryland married the widow of Benjamin Cattell. William Washington of Virginia married Jane Elliott of Stono River. William Pierce, whose future career would be tied to Georgia, married Charlotte Fenwick, daughter of the Tory Edward Fenwick, who had been a member of the South Carolina royal council. All except Colonel White remained in the South to establish important Southern families, and all of these men, officers in General Greene's army, were original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, which was organized in South Carolina and Georgia in August and September 1783.

The recognized leaders of Southern continental officers were Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and his younger brother Maj. Thomas Pinckney. Both, in the course of events, would serve as president general of the Society of the Cincinnati, in succession to George Washington and Alexander Hamilton. For perspective it might be worthwhile to compare the Pinckney clan in South Carolina with the Houstoun clan in coastal Georgia and the Blount clan in eastern North Carolina. The Pinckneys, with their connections the Rutledges, dominated South Carolina politics in the 1780s. It was, therefore, natural for South Carolina to select John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Charles Pinckney to attend the federal convention. But we know far less of the Houstoun clan. Sir Patrick Houstoun, merchant, planter, royal official,

was born in Scotland in 1698 and died in Savannah in 1762. He had five sons. The eldest, Sir Patrick, was a Tory, as was the second son, George. John, James, and William stuck to the patriot side. John became governor of the new state of Georgia and William represented Georgia at the constitutional convention in 1787. The patriot brothers bought in the property of the older brothers when their estates were confiscated. Scottish families knew what had happened after the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745 and were adept in getting their family properties through the Revolution.

The largest and most important Northern invasion was that of the Scotch-Irish who came down from Pennsylvania by way of the Great Wagon Road through the Valley of Virginia to the North Carolina Piedmont, the South Carolina upcountry, and northwestern Georgia. This movement began in the 1750s and reached its peak in the two decades before 1800. One wing led by Daniel Boone and the great Indian fighters such as Benjamin Cleveland, about 1769, moved through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky and—by way of the Holston, Nolichucky, and Tennessee Rivers—into Tennessee. A still more numerous group was to pour out of Georgia after 1800 into future Alabama and Mississippi. Most white Southerners are descended from them. My ancestor William Bean was a first settler of Tennessee; another, Capt. Robert Cleveland, fought at Kings Mountain.

If Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney are correct about the Celtic influence on American history, and there is some truth in their thesis, then the event of Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780, is the best proof.[1] On both sides, Whig and Tory, that event was a gathering of the clans. Robert Lambert in his recent, fine work, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*, has written that the loyalist leaders were selected by their neighbors to

1. Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, 'The Antebellum Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation,' *Journal of Southern History* 41 (1975): 147–66, and 'The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation' (paper presented before the Organization of American Historians, New Orleans, April 14, 1979); Grady McWhiney, 'The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Alabama Agriculture,' *Alabama Review* 31 (1978): 3–32; and Forrest McDonald, 'The Ethnic Factor in Alabama History: A Neglected Dimension,' ibid., pp. 256–65.

defend them.[2] In South Carolina, after the Revolution, neighborhood petitions saved the property of former loyalist militia officers. Kith and kin explained that they had asked the loyalists to take commissions in order to save them from the dangers of the times. Whig leaders had been generated in the same way.

The rendezvous at Sycamore Shoals in 1780 of William Campbell of Virginia, Isaac Shelby (future first governor of Kentucky), and John Sevier (future first governor of Tennessee) was the beginning of that Whig force that coalesced by October 7 at Kings Mountain. On September 30 they were joined by 350 troops from Wilkes and Surry counties, North Carolina, led by Maj. Joseph Winston and Col. Benjamin Cleveland. Edward Lacey and William Hill commanded one hundred South Carolinians. Candler's thirty Georgians formed part of Col. James Williams's unit of ninety. Where Scots had used bagpipes to rally the troops, these men used the Tennessee yell, which became the Rebel yell of the Civil War.

Kings Mountain is often compared to the Battle of the Boyne, which had been fought in Northern Ireland ninety years before, on July 1, 1690. The Battle of the Boyne changed the destiny of Ireland because it doomed the Old English Catholic loyalist aristocracy. It was the victory of the Protestant William over the Catholic James. Kings Mountain had equally momentous reverberations, but with somewhat different results; it represented the victory of the Scotch-Irish who, as Baptists and Methodists, would make the South a Protestant land. The shift from the Celtic clan leader to the Southern patriarch is one that is worthy of study.

The seeds of a future confederacy were sown during the Revolution, long before 1861. In 1777, William Henry Drayton went to Georgia to try to organize Georgia and South Carolina into a two-state confederation. Drayton was too bombastic, and Governor Treutlen offered a £100 reward for his apprehension. Drayton was motivated by his suspicions of a too-close alliance with states

2. Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1987).

of dissimilar social and economic interests. He spoke that year against the Articles of Confederation on the basis that the privileges and immunities clause might be construed to include free Blacks.

In 1787 there was a more important meeting of representatives of these two states at Beaufort in South Carolina to settle their common boundaries. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Maj. Pierce Butler, and Andrew Pickens met with Lachlan McIntosh, John Houstoun, and Joseph Habersham. Pinckney, McIntosh, and Habersham were members of the Cincinnati. They agreed that the line of the Chattooga, Toogaloo, and Savannah would separate South Carolina from Georgia. The northern boundary would be the north bank of the Savannah River, with all the islands in the river belonging to Georgia. South Carolina recognized the territory south of the Altamaha as Georgian, and Georgia recognized old South Carolina land titles in the region. South Carolina thereupon ceded her western lands to the Union in 1787. Thus the two states were ready to cooperate at the Philadelphia convention.

South Carolina sent John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, and Maj. Pierce Butler to Philadelphia. Butler owned valuable lands in lowcountry Georgia as well as one hundred thousand acres in upcountry South Carolina. Georgia sent William Pierce, William Few, William Houstoun, and Abraham Baldwin. Houstoun alone was a native Georgian. Few was from Virginia by way of North Carolina, Pierce from Virginia by way of General Greene's army. Abraham Baldwin, who emerged as the most important member of the Georgia delegation, was from Connecticut.

There is evidence that the Georgia and South Carolina delegations worked together, and they with the New Englanders. The Great Compromise, or the Connecticut Compromise, brought Abraham Baldwin, Oliver Ellsworth, and John Rutledge together. The three were members of the Grand Committee of Eleven appointed on July 2 The committee's compromise, which had originated with Benjamin Franklin, owed its acceptance in large

measure to the support of the Georgia and South Carolina delegates.

Noteworthy was the departure of William Few and William Pierce to New York to work in the Congress. Their departure left Baldwin and Houstoun to divide Georgia's crucial vote on July 2 and thus save the small-state forces. Why did Few and Pierce leave? Christopher Collier, in his book *Decision at Philadelphia*, suggests that the Northwest Ordinance, passed on July 13, permitted a statement in favor of freedom for slaves, which meant that there need not be such a statement in the Constitution.[3] Everyone knew that neither Georgia nor South Carolina would accept the Constitution if the protection of slavery was not assured. After all, how could the vast lands of the Georgia-Alabama-Mississippi region be put into production without such an assurance? The other factor was that the Northwest Ordinance barred slavery north of the Ohio but *silently* permitted slavery south of the Ohio. The Northwest would be free; the Southwest would be slave. Thus Few and Pierce, who were, like all Georgians, interested in expansion into the Old Southwest, could protect the interests of their region. This compromise was prelude to the compromises of 1820, 1833, and 1850.

One should not forget the role of the Cincinnati in the settling of the western lands. The Cincinnati met in Philadelphia in May of 1787. Washington dined with them on the fifteenth of May. Gen. Israel Putnam and his Ohio Company were seeking six million acres. Putnam led many of the officers and soldiers to the West in 1788. Marietta was their first settlement, but Cincinnati would be the capital of the region. Oliver Ellsworth wanted to be sure of Connecticut's claims to the Western Reserve, and Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King had large western holdings.

William Blount was one of the many mysterious figures of those days who were concerned with the West, men such as Dr. James O'Fallon, Gen. James Wilkinson, and Aaron Burr. If you are think-

3. Christopher Collier and James Lincoln Collier, *Decision in Philadelphia: The Constitutional Convention of 1787* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1986).

ing that I have thrown too many names at you, remember that names are the kaleidoscopic pieces of history, the only way to see patterns amid the chaos of reality. Blount, who sat for North Carolina at Philadelphia, never said a word, and he, too, went to New York with Few and Pierce. Blount eventually moved to Tennessee, where in 1792 he named a town Knoxville after Gen. Henry Knox, the founder of the Cincinnati. Knoxville became the capital of the Southwest Territories, and George Washington appointed Blount both governor and Indian superintendent. Blount was the first senator for the state of Tennessee. He was expelled from the Senate in 1797 and almost impeached in 1798, but he returned to his state and, still much admired, was made speaker of the house and presided over their constitutional convention. Blount long had his eyes fixed on the Muscle Shoals, a region that Georgia already had formed into the county of Houstoun.

Another crucial compromise at Philadelphia was made at the end of August, when a coalition, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and John Rutledge on one side, and Nathaniel Gorham and Rufus King of Massachusetts and John Langdon of New Hampshire on the other side, engineered a compromise on the commerce clause that permitted the slave trade until 1808, barred export taxes, and included a runaway slave provision.

This gentleman's agreement was made in 1787. South Carolina's tie with New England endured until the 1850s. Thomas Pinckney ran with John Adams in 1796, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney ran with John Adams in 1800. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney himself was the candidate for president in 1804 and 1808, with the support of New England.

That this gentleman's agreement was understood and honored is proved by the career of the great chief justice of Massachusetts, Lemuel Shaw, who was admitted as a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October 1855. Chief Justice Shaw in 1842 upheld the fugitive slave provisions of the Constitution. As *The Liberator* reported on November 4, 1842: 'He probably felt as much sympathy for the person in custody as others; but this was

a case in which an appeal to natural rights and the paramount law of liberty was not pertinent! It was decided by the Constitution of the United States, and by the law of Congress, under the instrument, relating to fugitive slaves.' The Fugitive Slave Law was in accord with the provisions in the Constitution, and Shaw believed that 'on no other terms could a union have been formed between the North and and South.'

According to Leonard Levy, the author of the excellent biography of the chief justice, Shaw felt it necessary in his comments on the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 to consider the historical circumstances and the objectives of the Constitution.[4] Levy noted that Shaw was obsessed with 'the fiction' that the Constitution would never have been created had it not provided for the return of runaways. According to Levy, Shaw imagined 'an appalling picture of thirteen disunited states embroiled in "constant border wars" that would result from hostile incursions of one sovereignty into another's territory for the purpose of recapturing escaped slaves.' Levy declared that Shaw's history was wrong, a 'fiction,' he called it. I suspect it was closer to reality than Levy was willing to admit. Why would a man of Shaw's integrity distort history to do what was distasteful, other than because he believed that there had been such a gentleman's agreement? Shaw was a man of honor. What lay behind the compromise on slavery in 1787 was the great itch of both Northerners and Southerners for land, and in the Southwest that meant also for slaves. These were the dominant social, economic, and political facts in 1787 and were still so in 1800.

On July 13, Pierce Butler made his declaration on the floor of the convention: 'The security the Southn. States want is that their negroes may not be taken from them which some gentlemen within and without doors, have a very good mind to do. It was not supposed that N.C., S.C., & Geo. would have more people than all the other States, but many more relatively to the other States

4. Leonard W. Levy, *The Law of the Commonwealth and Chief Justice Shaw: The Evolution of American Law, 1830–1860* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1957), pp. 81, 99.

than they now have. The people & strength of America are evidently bearing Southwardly & S. westwdly.'[5] In 1787 Northern members of the constitutional convention thought that the South was the part of the new nation growing most rapidly.

Southerners were indeed settling in the new lands of Georgia. On November 18, 1791, Maj. Pierce Butler wrote to John Rea, who was thinking of moving from northern Ireland to America, 'If an increase of property is your object I prefer the State of Georgia to any part of the United States.'[6] On August 7, 1792, Butler wrote to James Seagrove that he was resettling his lands at Hampton Point on Great St. Simons Island and on Butler Island at the mouth of the Altamaha River. He intended to plant 400 acres of cotton the next spring at Hampton Point. He would have 300 Negroes there in a year—80 who were then in Georgia, 170 who would be sent in the fall, and 50 in the following spring, which left 130 or 140 in South Carolina.[7] One can see why Butler wanted to insert a runaway slave provision into the Constitution.

On September 16, 1793, Butler wrote Nathaniel Hall, a Tory residing in the Bahamas who sparked the sea-island cotton boom, that he had planted 300 to 400 acres of sea-island cotton in 1793 and that the following year he expected to go for 800 acres of cotton, in addition to growing rice. If cotton answered, he would increase to 1,200 acres.[8] In the same letter, he compared the saw-tooth cotton gins made by the young Eli Whitney with the smooth roller ones made by 'your famous gin maker' Joseph Eve. The next March he wrote Joseph Eve, offering to help him secure a United States patent for his gin. In a letter dated March 25, 1794, Butler noted, 'I go more largely on cotton than any planter in America.'[9] By September 1794, he could refer to himself as 'much the largest

5. Pierce Butler, July 13, 1787, in constitutional convention, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, 3 vols., ed. Max Farrand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), 1: 605.

6. Pierce Butler to John Rea, November 18, 1791, Pierce Butler Letterbook (January 23, 1790 – May 7, 1794), South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S.C.

7. Pierce Butler to James Seagrove, August 7, 1792, ibid.

8. Pierce Butler to Nathaniel Hall, September 16, 1793, ibid.

9. Pierce Butler to Joseph Eve, March 25, 1794, ibid.

Cotton Planter in the States.'[10] In July 1795, he told John Couper that his cotton had sold in London 'higher than East or West Indian cotton.'[11]

Butler was fortunate in catching the cotton boom just as it was launched. He made a great fortune and became one of the richest men in America. Butler was a member of the constitutional convention who went home to work for ratification, but he did not attend the ratification convention in South Carolina because he believed the results were a foregone conclusion. Yet he quickly became an opponent of the Federalists, a follower of Jefferson. But this change was not because he was a democrat with a little 'd' but rather because he was eager to exploit the rich lands of the Southeast. Don't forget that he welcomed Aaron Burr to his estates in 1804 after Burr had killed Hamilton. The mere mention of Aaron Burr provides insight into Butler's views of expansion and the westward course of the American empire.

Wade Hampton had been partner to William Blount in the Muscle Shoals venture and was intimately connected with the great Yazoo sales of 1789 and 1795. These attempts by the state of Georgia to raise funds by selling her western lands to private companies galvanized speculators, brought in New England capital, and eventually produced the land cession of Georgia to the United States in 1802. Ultimately, with the Supreme Court decision of *Fletcher v. Peck* in 1810, these sales established American agrarian capitalism, which was simply the forerunner of American corporate capitalism, as Peter Magrath in his excellent book on this case has explained.[12] The great prize to be won were the millions of acres in what is now Alabama and Mississippi.

Even more important was the concept of the natural right to property that was inherent in the Supreme Court decision. A state

10. Pierce Butler to Nathaniel Cutting, September 16, 1794, Pierce Butler Letterbook (July 1794–February 1822), microfilm in South Caroliniana Library, from the original in Pennsylvania Historical Society.

11. Pierce Butler to John Couper, July 25, 1795, ibid.

12. C. Peter Magrath, *Yazoo, Law and Politics in the New Republic* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1966).

could not violate its own grant. Justice William Johnson, a South Carolinian whom Jefferson had appointed to the Supreme Court in 1804, wrote that when a legislature had conveyed property to an individual, it 'becomes intimately blended with his existence, as essentially so as the blood that circulates through his system.' As Francis Lieber would put it: 'Man yearns to see his individuality represented and reflected in the acts of his exertions—in property.'[13] How better could one describe the meaning of land ownership for Southerners?

Hampton's career as land speculator and planter is a shorthand way to emphasize the story of the opening of the Southeast and the Old Southwest. He made one fortune in cotton near Columbia, South Carolina, and another in sugar cane in Louisiana. By 1810 he could join Butler as one of the two richest men in America.

Hampton had drawn help from Connecticut. He bought his cotton gins from Eli Whitney. One hundred and fifty mules were driven overland from Connecticut to South Carolina for use on Hampton's plantations by direction of Benjamin Tallmadge of Connecticut. Edward Hooker of Connecticut, who was in South Carolina in the winter of 1805–6 and visited Hampton at his plantation, left us a commentary that clearly differentiates between the property holders of New England and the newly emerging South: 'Col. H[ampton] is very fond of a retired life & of having room for his barns, horses, cattle &c round him. He can't bear the system of collecting in villages as at the north: he thinks it makes people more contracted, less hospitable, liberal & friendly. If he has a friend he says he don't want him a near neighbor as the term neighbor is understood in Conn. for he thinks he should be sure to lose him; because there would be some difficulty about fences, damages, things borrowed or something to disturb harmony.'[14]

The last of the Northern invasions of which I have time to speak is that of ministers and teachers, who helped to transform the

13. These quotations are taken from R. Kent Newmyer, *The Supreme Court under Marshall and Taney* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968), pp. 59, 68.

14. Quoted in Ronald E. Bridwell, 'The South's Wealthiest Planter: Wade Hampton I of South Carolina, 1754–1835' (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of South Carolina, 1980), p. 384.

Southern frontier into a more polished society. This occurred about 1800. Let me mention academies and colleges. The story of the Maxcy family of Rhode Island provides an excellent example. The college in Columbia, South Carolina, was chartered in 1801 and opened its doors in 1805. Jonathan Maxcy from Brown University was its first president. His two brothers, Virgil and Milton, followed him to South Carolina, where they established an academy at Beaufort. Virgil soon removed to Baltimore, but Milton, like the army officers of General Greene, soon found himself an heiress. He married Mary Bull—the daughter of Gen. Stephen Bull of Sheldon, whose first husband had been Nathaniel Barnwell—and established a South Carolina family.

The University of Georgia was chartered in 1785. Abraham Baldwin wrote the charter and became the university's first president. The college began functioning in 1802. Baldwin, by then a United States senator, resigned, and Josiah Meigs of Yale became the president.

The Reverend Francis Cummins of Pennsylvania had been a member of the South Carolina ratification convention in 1788 and had voted for the federal constitution. His congregation contained many people who had fought at Kings Mountain, and they participated in the Second Great Awakening in 1802. It was during this period that many upcountry congregations were formed.

In 1794, Francis Cummins preached the ordination sermon for Moses Waddel, the founder of the most famous academy in the South. His text was from Ezekiel 33:7, which speaks of the prophet as watchman, both military and spiritual. If one reads that sermon, one can clearly see what the curriculum would be in Waddel's academy. Waddel taught John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie, Hugh Swinton Legare, and James L. Petigru from South Carolina. He had also taught William H. Crawford, the Cobbs, and Augustus Baldwin Longstreet of Georgia. David Ramsay sent two of his sons from Charleston to Waddel's academy. In his eulogy of Waddel in 1841, Longstreet said, 'There is hardly a college between

the Catawba and the Sabine, in whose faculty he has not a representative.'

The Reverend John Pierpont of Boston, the grandfather of J. P. Morgan, was tutor in the family of Col. William Alston of Clifton on the Waccamaw River in South Carolina. Pierpont took the Alston sons to Litchfield and prepared them for Yale. Benjamin Faneuil Hunt and Benjamin Faneuil Dunkin both came south as tutors, prospered as lawyers, and eventually bought estates on the Waccamaw River.

At the end of the Revolution the British returned Florida to Spain. It remained Spanish until it was acquired by the United States in 1819, although it was nibbled away by Americans in 1810 and 1812. Spain had acquired Louisiana from the French in 1763. Thus, all the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, the outlets for the new cotton crops, were blocked or controlled by Spain. Thomas Pinckney in his mission to Spain in 1795 had broken this logjam by gaining concessions from the Spanish that permitted the right of deposit at New Orleans and cleared Spanish claims north of the thirty-first degree line. When Spain transferred Louisiana to France in 1800, this threatened the United States and forced Jefferson to make his famous purchase in 1803.

The only thing that stood in the way of the Americans was the Indian tribes, in particular the Creeks. Undoubtedly, the people of this region were eager for the War of 1812. The war hawks had come from South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. They wanted these lands, and they wanted the Indians removed. When the British threatened to conquer this region, the British had to be opposed. This set the scene for Andrew Jackson's rise to power. Jackson is the symbol of the Scotch-Irish march through this region, and also of the land speculators, because he had been an associate of William Blount. The usual explanation for Jackson's rise to national prominence is his victory at New Orleans, but that victory should not obscure what he had done to claim the Southwest for white settlers. At the Battle of Horse Shoe Bend, he

annihilated the power of the Creeks, and in the 1830s he would be responsible for the expulsion of the Indians along the Trail of Tears. Jackson, the South Carolinian become Tennessean, must be understood in the context of the greed for western lands. And in the War of 1812, his commanding officer was Gen. Thomas Pinckney, commander of the southeastern forces. Gen. Wade Hampton also served along the Mississippi River in that war.

After Isaiah Thomas organized the American Antiquarian Society on October 24, 1812, four South Carolinians were taken into membership: David Ramsay in June 1813, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in December 1813, Thomas Pinckney in June 1814, and Langdon Cheves in October 1814. Thomas himself had worked for some time in Charleston on the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* between 1767 and 1770 and had married Mary Dill, the daughter of a Bermuda sea captain, in Charleston, in December 1769. She was the mother of his two surviving children. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney entered public life in Charleston that same December, so it is possible that Isaiah Thomas and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney may have known each other at that early date.

But the more immediate connection in 1812 and 1813 was between the Reverend Jedidiah Morse and David Ramsay. Those two had long been correspondents, and in 1812 and 1813 they were in constant touch about the publication of Ramsay's writings as well as Ramsay's attempt to get Dr. Morse to take the pastorship of the First Presbyterian Church in Charleston. On May 3, 1810, Ramsay had written Morse that Thomas had lately begun a correspondence with him. Thomas had sent a prospectus of his *History of Printing*, and Ramsay responded with a copy of his maps and charts of the United States.

In December 1813, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Hugh McCall, and Benjamin Hawkins were admitted to membership in the Society. Pinckney's connections with New England were of long standing. McCall and Hawkins were the first two members

elected from Georgia. Hugh McCall wrote a history of Georgia comparable to Ramsay's history of South Carolina.

Benjamin Hawkins was a North Carolinian who had studied French at Princeton, acted as an interpreter for George Washington, sat in the Congress in 1786 and 1787, was the first senator from North Carolina, and, after 1796, commissioner for the Indians south of the Ohio. He had settled first near Macon at Fort Hawkins, but later he brought all of his slaves from Roanoke in North Carolina and established a model farm on the Flint River, where he trained the Creeks in agriculture. His good work was ruined by the War of 1812, a defeat that crushed his aims, although he did write *A Sketch of the Creek Country.*

In June 1814, Thomas Pinckney and Rufus King, both former ministers to Great Britain, became members of the Society. Langdon Cheves, who may have been introduced by Ramsay to Morse, became a member in October 1814. In a letter of September 3, 1812, Ramsay had explained to Morse that 'Mr. Cheves of Congress' was one of the members of the calling committee for the Presbyterian Church. In April 1818, Andrew Jackson was elected a member, his election signifying the Society's continuing interest in the Old Southwest.

Although there have been few members from these four Southern states—seven from Georgia, twelve from North Carolina, twelve from Tennessee, and thirteen from South Carolina—it is time to add some more. This southern meeting of the American Antiquarian Society should stimulate such an increase.