

The Strange Case of George Flyming: Justice and Gender in Antebellum Savannah

BY TIM LOCKLEY

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 own defense, or summon witnesses from the black community.¹ 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

¹Michael S. Hindus, "Black Justice Under White Law: Criminal Prosecutions of Blacks in Antebellum South Carolina," *Journal of American History* 63 (December 1976): 575-99. See also Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619-1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

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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 his life require further investigation.

The subject of inter-racial sexual contact has never been completely ignored in the historiography of the antebellum South. Early scholars such as U. B. Phillips, Ralph Flanders, and Stanley Elkins were reluctant to write 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 mulattos did not appear from thin air.² While some 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.³

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, among others, have deepened our understanding of bi-racial sexuality, and given new prominence to relationships between black men and white women, both voluntary and co-

²See U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (London, 1918); U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1937); Ralph Betts Flanders, *Plantation Slavery In Georgia*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and 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* (New York, 1980).

³There 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 of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 236-41, 325-26; 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: Black Women And Slavery In The Americas* (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), 158-59; Williamson, *New People*, 5-59.

erced.⁴ There is now a greater understanding of the reaction of white southern society to mixed-race relationships. There appeared to be a resigned acceptance 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's 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 to focus exclusively on sexual activity.⁵ Gaps still exist in our understanding of bi-racial encounters in the 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 a white woman by a black man was out of all proportion to

⁴Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992); Peter Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South: 'Calculated to Excite Indignation in Every Heart,'" *Journal of Southern History* 60 (November 1994): 749-72; Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Diane Miller Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered," *Journal of Southern History* 61 (August 1995): 481-518; Diane Miller Sommerville, "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, 124-38; 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 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, 1999), 112-40, 141-63; Daniel A. Cohen, "Social Injustice, Sexual Violence, Spiritual Transcendence: Constructions of Interracial Rape in Early American Crime Literature, 1767-1817," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 56 (July 1999): 481-526.

⁵See, 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 and William H. Pease, *Ladies, Women and Wenches: Choice and Constraint in Antebellum Charleston and Boston* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); and Tim Lockley, *Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 2000). For an exception to this see Tim Lockley, "Crossing the Race Divide: Interracial Sex in Antebellum Savannah," *Slavery and Abolition* 18 (1997): 159-73.

its occurrence.⁶ 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 1865.⁷ Moreover, contemporary 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 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.⁸

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.⁹ By 1820 minor offenses committed by slaves continued to be dealt with in

⁶See Bardaglio, "Rape and the Law in the Old South," 749-72; and Sommerville, "The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered," 481-518.

⁷The only other similar case involved four male slaves charged with raping a white woman in 1862. Three of the four defendants were 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, microfilm, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta (hereinafter cited as GDAH). 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," 484-85.

⁸"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, "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* 1 (1978): 219-36; D. Harland Hagler, "The Ideal Woman In The Antebellum South: Lady Or Farmwife?" *Journal of Southern History* 46 (August 1980): 405-18.

⁹"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 8, Robert and George Watkins, comps., *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia to 1798* (Philadelphia, 1800), 166-67.

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 trials were no sham. Juries were impaneled, witnesses called and both prosecution and defense 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.¹⁰ 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, the same as Flyming's crime, would have received only one to five years in jail.¹¹

George Flyming's trial took place on June 5, 1820.¹² 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.¹³ A majority of the witnesses did not own slaves, perhaps suggesting 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 perhaps Factor's Walk, between Bay Street and the river, where brothels and bars were popular haunts for slaves, free blacks and white sailors alike. No distinction was made in the trial record whether witnesses were for the defense or

¹⁰"An Act to Establish a Tribunal for the Trial of Slaves within this State," passed December 16, 1811, Sections 1-4, Prince, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, 789-90.

¹¹Penal Code of 1817, Section 33 and 34, *ibid.*, 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.

¹²Flyming was arrested and first appeared for trial on May 31. The actual trial took place six 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.

¹³Those called were Eliza Hand (accuser); Dr. Bayard (owned five slaves); Saml. M. Mordcaï (no taxable property); Mr. Speer (no taxable property); Thomas Morel (owned two slaves); Jno. Morel (owned five slaves, city alderman); Charles Harris (owned three slaves, city alderman); Mrs. Ritter (no taxable property); Jno. Garrison (no taxable property); Mr. Rickerson (no taxable property); Joab H. Prosser (no taxable property); and Daniel Sanders (no taxable property). Chatham County Tax Digest 1821, City of Savannah Tax Digests, 1819-1820 (GDAH, microfilm).

A negro fellow named George, found guilty of attempting a rape on a white girl, was sentenced to be hung 28th of June instant.

News of Flyming's conviction appeared in the *Columbian Museum & Savannah Daily Gazette*, June 17, 1820.

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.¹⁴

The trial record also documents that the jury, naturally not of Flyming's peers, but of those who believed themselves his superiors, convicted him "but earnestly recommend him to mercy."¹⁵ Three justices, Moses Sheftall, Oliver Sturges, and John P. Williamson, naturally all slaveholders, were given the responsibility of deciding 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.¹⁶

According to statutes passed in 1811 and 1816, all slaves convicted of capital offenses in Georgia received a mandatory death

¹⁴The jurors were George D. Heisler, John Achord (no slaves), Charles Hoyt, Anthony Porter (bank cashier, no slaves), Joseph Kopman (two slaves), John Collins, James Walter, M. B. Forsyth (one slave), John Hughes (two slaves), William Clark (two slaves), William Williams (merchant, two slaves), and J. Bordon (no slaves).

¹⁵Trial Docket, June 5, 1820.

¹⁶*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.

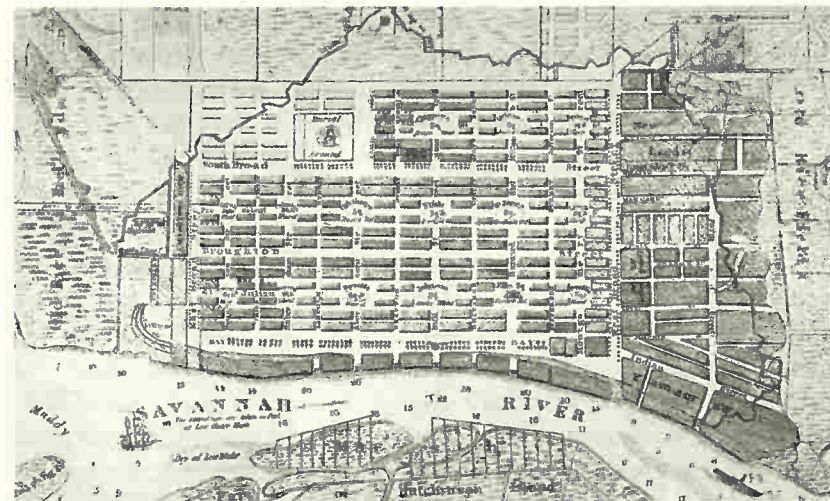
sentence. However, in 1817, these laws were amended to permit courts to “inflict such other punishment as in their judgment will be most proportionate to the offense and best promote the object of the law and operate as a preventative for the like offenses in future.”¹⁷ Quite why the justices declined 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 years old 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 was no legal definition of what constituted a child, Eliza’s youth perhaps swayed the opinion of the justices.¹⁸

What does not exist in the court records is an actual account of what happened between George Flyming and Eliza Hand. We do not know what happened 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 Flyming 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.¹⁹ 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 per-

¹⁷“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, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, 789-93.

¹⁸On the issue of age of accuser see Bardaglio, “Rape and the Law in the Old South,” 757-59; Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law*, 304; Sommerville, “The Rape Myth in the Old South Reconsidered,” 492.

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



In 1820, in addition to the Flyming case, Savannah suffered a devastating fire on January 11 that left much of the business district in ashes and a yellow fever epidemic later in the year which left more than five hundred Savannahians dead. This map of Savannah was drawn by I. Stouf on April 9, 1818. From Waring Map Collection, *Georgia Historical Society*.

petrator, or of his capture in the three newspapers then published in the city. Admittedly 1820 was a momentous year for Savannah. On January 11 a devastating fire had destroyed much of the city’s commercial and business districts.²⁰ 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 it is possible 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.”²¹ It is possible that Eliza’s parents were Elizabeth Hand, who died in

²⁰E. Merton Coulter, “The Great Savannah Fire Of 1820,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 23 (March 1939): 1-27.

²¹Trial Docket, May 31, 1820.

1808 when Eliza would have been about two years old, and Joseph Hand, a member of the city watch.²² 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 raise, and he may well have appreciated the help he received from his second wife, Mary Maglen, whom he married in 1809.²³ Nevertheless 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.²⁴ 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 was alive to tell her exactly when she had been born. One thing that 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 given places.²⁵ Other than these scraps there is no concrete information about Eliza Hand, either before or after the incident in 1820.²⁶

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, suggests 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 Provin-

²²*Register of Deaths in Savannah, Georgia*, 6 vols. (Savannah, 1983-1989), 2:49, dated October 21, 1808.

²³*Marriages in Chatham County, Georgia*, 2 vols. (Savannah, 1993), 1:138, dated April 4, 1809.

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

²⁵Names of Children at the Free School, April 7, 1817, and Rule No. 17, passed December 9, 1816, Savannah Free School Society Papers, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, (hereinafter cited as GHS). For more on the founding of the Free School see Tim Lockley, "The Gendering of Benevolent Education: The Founding of the Savannah Free School," unpublished paper presented at the History of Charity Conference at the University of Wales at Bangor, September 2, 1999.

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

cial government and bought several 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 ten bondpeople, one of whom was probably George.²⁷

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 occupations that would reduce the need to employ white artisans.²⁸ It is also likely that George was hired out by the Flyming family from an early age and enjoyed a taste of freedom that 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 of dissidence, or that he simply wandered off, Fingal Flyming does

²⁷*Georgia Gazette*, February 23, 1764; Allen D. Candler, et al., eds., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 32 vols. to date (Atlanta and Athens, 1904-), 9:442, 505-506; 11:265; Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia*, 3 vols. (Atlanta, Ga., 1908), 1:432, 508, 520, 536; 3:511. *Early Deaths in Savannah, Georgia, 1763-1803* (Savannah, 1993), 160, Chatham County Tax Digest, 1793.

²⁸See, 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* (Savannah, 1904), 6: 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. Gilje and Robert Asher, eds., *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750-1850* (Baltimore, 1995), 48-62; Ira Berlin and Herbert Gutman, "Natives And Immigrants, Free Men And Slaves: Urban Workingmen in the Antebellum American South," *American Historical Review* 88 (December 1983): 1175-1200; Michael P. Johnson, "Work, Culture And The Slave Community: Slave Occupations In The Cotton Belt In 1860," *Labor History* 27 (1986): 325-55; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Life In Eighteenth-Century Charleston," *Perspectives In American History* 1 (1984): 187-232.

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.²⁹

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's Cedar Hammock plantation.³⁰ George remained the property of Mrs. Mary Flyming until her death at the age of ninety in 1817. In the inventory of her estate George was valued at \$800, making him the most valuable slave Mary Flyming owned, a reflection of his skills and training.³¹ 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 thirty-six in 1814.³² 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 \$1,020. The fact that George was sold for over \$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.³³

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 in-

²⁹*Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, February 2, 1802. As historians of eighteenth-century slavery have shown, Flyming belonged to the demographic group from which most fugitive slaves came, namely young men. See Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730-1775* (Athens, Ga., 1984), 169-87; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 526-27.

³⁰R. M. Stites Personal Accounts, Negro Records, 1805-1813, dated August 13, 1806, Wayne-Stites-Anderson Papers, Box 2, Folder 23, GHS.

³¹*Register of Deaths*, 3: 90, dated October 12, 1817. Chatham County, Court of Ordinary, Inventories and Appraisements, 1815-1822, 124, dated March 3, 1818, GDAH. Flyming was described as a carpenter.

³²*Register of Deaths*, 3: 75, dated January, 28, 1814.

³³"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 Flyming to any person between 1818 and 1820.



Governor John Clark (1766-1832) received a petition from forty-eight citizens of Savannah who sought clemency for George Flyming and asked that his sentence be commuted to transportation. Governor Clark delayed Flyming's execution for five months while the Georgia legislature investigated the case. From Lawton Evans, *A History of Georgia* (New York, 1898).

teract with whom he pleased.³⁴ 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 twenty-seven year gap in their ages—relationship? Perhaps the pair had recently broken up, or perhaps the 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.³⁵

Following Flyming's trial and conviction for attempted rape, the date of his execution was set for July 6.³⁶ However, all was not

³⁴For 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* 22 (1976): 293-307; Loren Schweniger, "The Underside Of Slavery: The Internal Economy, Self Hire and Quasi Freedom in Virginia," *Slavery and Abolition* 12 (1991): 1-22; James Walvin, "Slaves, Free Time and the Question Of Leisure," *Slavery and Abolition* 16 (1995): 1-13; Sarah S. Hughes, "Slaves For Hire: The Allocation Of Black Labor in Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782 to 1810," *William And Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 35 (April 1978): 260-86; Betty Wood, *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1995), 101-21.

³⁵Sommerville, "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), 257-68.

³⁶*Columbian Museum and Savannah Gazette*, June 17, 1820; *Savannah Republican*, June 17, 1820. Interestingly both papers reported that the execution was set for June 28, when actually it was set for July 6.

lost for George because local citizens began to mobilize themselves to save his life. The result was a petition to Gov. 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.³⁷

Transportation out of the state was a punishment sometimes used 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 in Georgia.³⁸ More important than a possible alternative sentence though, is understanding why local citizens tried to save the life of a convicted and condemned slave. Were they acting out of disinterested philanthropy, seeking to spare Flyming 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.³⁹ However, if this were 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

³⁷"To the honble the Senator and Representatives of Chatham County," Keith Read Collection, Box 19, Folder 31, Negro Justice, dated October 25, 1820, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens. Such petitions were not uncommon. Philip Morgan has discovered that half of all similar cases in eighteenth-century Virginia engendered petitions for clemency. See Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 405, and 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.

³⁸Two 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), 112-13, 149-62, and Edward A. Pearson, ed., *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, Ga., 1996), 97-119.

³⁹Savannah Home for Girls Records, Membership List, 1820, GHS; 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, Ga., 1860), 100-101. See also the Appendix.



Thomas Usher Pulaski Charlton (1779-1835) served as Savannah's mayor during the trial of George Flyming and signed the petition seeking executive clemency for Flyming. From *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. 13 (New York, 1906).

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 executed slaves.⁴⁰ However, not all those men 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.⁴¹ 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 owners 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

⁴⁰"An Act of 19th December 1793," Section 3, Prince, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, 786.

⁴¹According to Chatham County Tax Digests for 1819-1821, only twenty-two of the forty-eight petitioners owned slaves. Most slaveholding petitioners owned less than five slaves, though John Winter owned sixty-three bondpeople.

mayor and six city aldermen to join with a newspaper editor, a clerk, a customs officer, and a laborer to sign the petition.⁴²

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.⁴³ The petition contains a key sentence that may begin to explain its purpose. These citizens stated that "the evidence upon which he [George Flyming] is convicted is doubtful and uncertain."⁴⁴ The most obvious evidence that could be "doubtful and uncertain" would be that of Eliza herself. While there was apparently enough evidence to merit a conviction, two of those who participated in the trial, a juror and a witness, also signed the petition for clemency, suggesting 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.⁴⁵ 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, regardless of the race of the man in the dock. Class prejudices among whites facilitated the creation of a myth of sex-

⁴²See the Appendix.

⁴³See, 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* 35 (1992): 611-22. The original document is in the Telamon Cuyler Collection, Box 75, Folder: Georgia, Sunbury, Miscellaneous Documents, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

⁴⁴"To the honble the Senator and Representatives of Chatham County."

⁴⁵Sommerville, "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.

ually 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."⁴⁶ 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, it would not have constituted attempted rape as it was understood in the early nineteenth century.⁴⁷ 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 to make their living as prostitutes.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

⁴⁶Bynum, *Unruly Women*, 9.

⁴⁷Sommerville, "The Rape Myth," 496-98.

⁴⁸See the careers of Mary Jones and Mary Powers, both prostitutes, aged sixteen and seventeen, respectively, in *The 1860 Census of Chatham County, Georgia* (Easley, S.C., 1980). See also Lockley, "Crossing the Race Divide," 166-67.

⁴⁹Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law*, 305.

The execution date of July 6 gave Savannahians nearly a month from the end of Flyming's trial to petition the governor and the state legislature for executive clemency. When he received copies of all the relevant trial documents, Governor 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 honorable 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."⁵⁰

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 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."⁵¹ Sadly, he gives 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, Representatives D'Lyon, Spalding, and Nicoll to examine the issue. D'Lyon and Nicoll were the representatives of Chatham County in the House, and probably

⁵⁰Georgia, Executive Minutes, 1819-1821, Records Group 1-1-3, Vol. 30, Saturday, July 1, 1820, GDAH. This letter was reported in the *Savannah Republican*, July 6, 1820.

⁵¹The identical letters which Governor Clark sent to the Georgia Senate and House of Representatives can be found in the *Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia*, Friday, November 10, 1820 (Milledgeville, Ga., 1820), 10; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Friday, November 10, 1820 (Milledgeville, Ga., 1820), 13.

Friday, Nov. 10.

Message from the governor respecting G. Flyming, a negro man of Savannah, sentenced to be hung for a rape on a white female, &c. and whose execution had been suspended; Referred to a select committee consisting of Messrs. D'Lyon, Spalding, and Nicoll.

The state legislature referred the petition seeking executive clemency to a committee which included Chatham County representatives Levi D'Lyon and John Nicoll. From *The Daily Georgian*, November 21, 1820.

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 it could do nothing to alter the original decision of the Inferior Court in Savannah.⁵² 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 legislature were reported in the Savannah press, but the *Daily Georgian* stated that "a message from the Governor respecting G. Flyming" had been received.⁵³ There is 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

⁵²*Journal of the House of Representatives*, Monday, November 13, 1820, 19; Constitution of the State of Georgia, Section 7, Article 2; Prince, *Digest of the State of Georgia* (Milledgeville, Ga., 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, Section 3; "An Act to Amend the Foregoing," passed December 19, 1817, Section 1, Prince, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, 782-93.

⁵³*Daily Georgian*, November 21, 1820.

to a letter from the governor, contents unknown, only serves to deepen the mystery when it was clear that there was no need for another letter if the execution was to proceed.⁵⁴ 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 30.⁵⁵

Although the most likely outcome of this case was the death of George Flyming, there is absolutely no mention of his execution in the city press or in contemporary manuscripts written by city residents. This, 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.⁵⁶

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. First, he might have been returned to his owner, Henrietta Miller.⁵⁷ But while Miller continued to own slaves until her death in 1842, there is no evidence that George was among them.⁵⁸ Second, if Miller

⁵⁴No 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 Governor's Letterbooks, 1814-1821, RG 1-1-1 Box 11, GDAH.

⁵⁵*Savannah Republican*, November 21, 1820.

⁵⁶See, for example, the reports of the trial and execution of Harry for killing his overseer in the *Daily Georgian*, April 4, May 1, and 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.

⁵⁷Henrietta (nee O'Bryan) had been married (and widowed) three times, first to John Morel in the 1780s and 1790s; second to Judge Lewis Trezevant in 1803; and third to Mr. Miller, but the date of this marriage and her husband's name is not known, although 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, 51-54, dated February 18, 1791; *Columbian Museum*, May 25, 1803.

⁵⁸Henrietta Miller paid taxes in 1826, and again between 1831 and 1835, owning between eight and twenty 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, 1826-1835; Federal Manuscript Census for Chatham County, Georgia, 1820 and 1830; Chatham County, Probate Court, Wills Volume H, 1839-1852, 92-93, Will of Henrietta Miller, (widow) dated 1835, proved January 1842, Chatham County, Court of Ordinary, Accounts of Estates Book H, 1842-1845.

did not keep Flyming, then the obvious possibility is that she sold him. But she regularly bought and sold slaves in the years following 1820, and none of those listed was George Flyming.⁵⁹ A third possibility is that George was 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 Flyming succumbed to the yellow fever epidemic that proved so deadly that year. While mortality among African-Americans was far lower than it was among whites, no record of the deaths among the black community was kept, meaning that this hypothesis also remains unproven.⁶⁰ Ultimately, an extensive search through the city records of Savannah failed to reveal a single reference to George Flyming after November 1820.

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, although 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 and not an active figure in his own defense; it was white men who condemned him, and white men who tried to save him.⁶¹ 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 that could be extremely unusual.

⁵⁹For examples of Henrietta Miller selling slaves see Chatham County, Superior Court, Deed Book 2N, 504-505, dated April 4, 1826; Deed Book 20, 372, dated October 2, 1827; Deed Book 2V, 288, dated December 12, 1837; Deed Book 2W, 141, dated October 4, 1838. For an example of Henrietta Miller purchasing slaves, see the purchase of six slaves (Harry, Delphia, Celia, Richard, Little Harry and Delphia's youngest child) from her son John Morel for \$2,500, dated February 26, 1820, recorded March 19, 1822, Chatham County, Superior Court, Deed Book 2L, 148.

⁶⁰There was, however, a register of white deaths. See William R. Waring, *Report to the City Council of Savannah on the Epidemic Disease of 1820* (Savannah, Ga., 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), 246-56.

⁶¹It is possible that Flyming was involved informally in his own defense, but any such participation is not recorded.

The rape of white women by slaves in the antebellum South was not an everyday occurrence, and it was taken seriously by the white authorities. Across the South black men were charged with, and a significant number were executed for, 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 females was of little importance compared to the value invested in slave property. In this case it seems that 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 saved from the gallows, it is extremely unlikely that Flyming would have gone 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 white women were to be denied the same legal privileges afforded to elite women, 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 that is incredibly complex.

Appendix

The Petition⁶²

'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 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.⁶³

We are respectfully gentlemen your friends

Charles Davies

David Leiton⁶⁴

W[illia]m Belcher⁶⁵

John Ash⁶⁶

Th[omas U. P.] Charlton⁶⁷

Walter Cranston⁶⁸

Jno Roberts⁶⁹

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

⁶³This is reference to the fire of January 11 and to the yellow fever epidemic of September and October.

⁶⁴Doctor or lawyer.

⁶⁵Notary of the police office; member of the Union Society; owned one slave.

⁶⁶Deputy marshal; owned one slave.

⁶⁷Mayor of Savannah, 1819-1821; member of the Union Society; subscriber to the Free School and the Female Asylum; owned eight slaves.

⁶⁸Vicar of Christ Episcopal Church; subscriber to the Free School.

⁶⁹City Treasurer; member of the Union Society.

R[obert] Habersham⁷⁰
 Jno. Eppinger⁷¹
 M[oses] Herbert⁷²
 N. D. Owens
 John Lang⁷³
 Saml Philbrick⁷⁴
 Ben Sheftall⁷⁵
 A[braham] Sheftall⁷⁶
 Adum Cope⁷⁷
 T[homas] Stone
 Geo[rge] Cope⁷⁸
 Jno. Bartholmew⁷⁹
 Robert Christie⁸⁰
 Nathaniel Lewis⁸¹
 Ja[mes] Seaman
 James Morrison⁸²
 James Foller
 Ab[raha]m Nichols⁸³
 Joseph Davies⁸⁴
 Jno Mills⁸⁵
 Charles Stubbs
 S[amuel] Mordecai⁸⁶
 Isaac D'Lyon⁸⁷
 James Greenhow⁸⁸
 John Achord⁸⁹

⁷⁰Realtor; member of the Union Society; subscriber to the Free School and the Female Asylum; owned five slaves.

⁷¹Federal marshal; member of the Union Society; subscriber to the Free School; owned six slaves.

⁷²City alderman, 1819-1821; member of the Union Society; subscriber to the Free School; owned eight slaves.

⁷³Doctor or lawyer.

⁷⁴Storekeeper.

⁷⁵Commissioner of market; magistrate; owned one slave.

⁷⁶Doctor; owned one slave.

⁷⁷Receiver of tax returns; butcher; member of the Union Society; owned four slaves.

⁷⁸City alderman, 1820-1821; member of the Union Society; subscriber to the Free School; owned thirteen slaves.

⁷⁹Owned three slaves.

⁸⁰Clerk of market; owned two slaves.

⁸¹Subscriber to the Free School; owned three slaves.

⁸²City alderman, 1819-1821; lawyer; member of the Union Society; subscriber to the Female Asylum; owned six slaves.

⁸³Custom's House officer; member of the Union Society; owned two slaves.

⁸⁴Member of the Union Society; owned one slave.

⁸⁵Owned fifteen slaves.

⁸⁶Witness; justice of the peace.

⁸⁷No property; member of the Union Society.

⁸⁸No property.

Geo[rge] Ash⁹⁰
 Jno Richard⁹¹
 Wil[liam] Way
 Jacob Miller⁹²
 Tho[ma]s Woodbridge⁹³
 J[ohn] Bowman⁹⁴
 John Winter⁹⁵
 Tho[ma]s Corvell
 David Miller⁹⁶
 William Morel⁹⁷
 John Penny
 S. Bond⁹⁸
 John Scriven⁹⁹
 Job Bolles¹⁰⁰
 F[rancis S] Fell¹⁰¹
 Robert Pooler¹⁰²

⁸⁹Member of jury; no property.

⁹⁰Commissioner of market; storekeeper.

⁹¹Member of the Union Society.

⁹²No property; subscriber to the Female Asylum.

⁹³No property; member of the Union Society.

⁹⁴Laborer.

⁹⁵Owned sixty-three slaves.

⁹⁶No property; member of Union Society; subscriber to Free School.

⁹⁷Lawyer or doctor.

⁹⁸Clerk of the court of ordinary; city assessor; member of the Union Society; owned four slaves.

⁹⁹Planter; member of the Union Society; owned eleven slaves.

¹⁰⁰Clerk of the superior court; owned two slaves.

¹⁰¹Editor of the *Savannah Republican*; member of the Union Society; owned three slaves.

¹⁰²Subscriber to the Free School; owned two slaves.