

Savannah Municipal Archives Internship: Municipal Slavery Research Project Phase Three

Hannah Dinning

Savannah College of Art and Design

November 2024

## Research Summary

This work has built upon the second phase of the Municipal Slavery Research Project completed by Mark O'Dell which focused on identifying the use of the hiring-out system to secure enslaved labor for municipal projects. O'Dell's research identified four thousand entries from the City Treasurer of Savannah's Annual Settlements Book and Cash Books, which was organized into a spreadsheet broadly identifying the category or department the enslaved person was used for. After completing his work, O'Dell suggested a further phase of research be conducted into the individual projects that were completed around the City. As the third phase of the Municipal Slavery Research Project, this research has sought to identify specific City infrastructure projects completed by enslaved persons in Savannah.

## Project Scope

When phase three of the Municipal Slavery Research Project began, I selected one thousand of the four thousand entries identified and transcribed by O'Dell. From that point I began looking through City records that corresponded with the time frame of the selected projects, from 1810 to 1866. In doing so, the scope gradually became narrower as certain projects, like work completed on streets and lanes, yielded no results. After conducting further research using the Committee Report Register from 1859-1866, and Accounts Passed in Council from 1847-1857 and 1857-1860, I narrowed the project scope to Springfield Plantation, Savannah River dredging, and Laurel Grove Cemetery. Once I had exhausted the records in the City of Savannah's Municipal Archives, I began looking through the Georgia Historic Newspapers Database to find announcements on projects that correlated with the identified projects. The breadth of information to be found in the newspapers allowed for projects on the William Scarbrough House, Springfield Plantation, Laurel Grove Cemetery, and street leveling to be identified. Due to time restraints the newspaper research was only completed up to 1853.

## Research Steps

In the first week of research I went through O'Dell's spreadsheet to select projects that could be best identified through research.<sup>1</sup> Once I selected the projects, I organized them by project type (ie. streets and lanes, fortifications, dry culture, cemetery, etc.). I then identified how many of each project type there was and found that Laurel Grove Cemetery, Springfield Plantation, and streets and lanes had the most entries; 546, 138, and 101, respectively. I also went through the projects to identify the names of people who were paid to later assist in identifying projects by the people who were paid. This was most helpful, for example, when finding Laurel Grove Cemetery projects that were connected to A.F. Torlay. After doing this, I started to select records from the Municipal Archives' collections, but soon realized that I needed to organize the projects I selected chronologically to better identify which records would fit the projects. Once identifying the date range of 1810-1866, I selected records that fell within the date range. The first round of records I selected were from the Committee on Building and Zoning, the Chatham County Commission scrapbook, City Council Meeting Papers from 1860-1869, Miscellaneous Meeting Papers Index, Contracts Index, and the City Council Meeting Papers for the Mayor's Office, Ordinances, Board of Appraisers, and Public Works. None of these records yielded any results. Often times, there were

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<sup>1</sup> Mark O'Dell, "Transcription Spreadsheet," Savannah, Georgia, accessed September 9, 2024, <https://www.savannahga.gov/1452/Municipal-Slavery>.

only one or two records that fell within the date range and they often did not correlate with any of the selected projects.

While I was looking at documents in the Municipal Archives, I also spent time reading the annual reports from the mayors. These reports were most helpful in identifying what municipal projects were occurring by looking into the annual report of funds. The reports helped to contextualize what was happening in the City from 1855 to 1866, but didn't identify any specific projects. These reports were often very detailed in providing reports of funding for infrastructure projects and can be used to understand how much money was going towards specific projects annually. At this phase of the research project, this was helpful to narrow down what the City was defining as an important project. For example, in the 1856 report, streets and lanes accrued the most expenses of \$21,510.14.<sup>2</sup> After finishing the mayor's reports, I pivoted to looking at the City Council Meeting Minutes from 1791-1855. The Meeting Minutes did identify projects that were being worked on which correlated to data entries, but the quality of the microfilm made it difficult to read many of the entries, and the inability to command word search required reading every entry that could potentially correlate to data entry dates. This often took long stretches of time and very rarely revealed anything of use. However, the one entry which would become important later while doing newspaper research was from the meeting minutes from April 30, 1810 which confirmed the census of male slaves that was ordered to be taken (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Edward C. Anderson, "Report of Edward C. Anderson, mayor of the City of Savannah for the year ending October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1856," (Savannah: Power Press of Geo. N. Nichols, 1856), 7.

<sup>3</sup> "City Council Meeting Minutes: 1805-1812," Savannah, Georgia, 481.  
[https://www.ancestryinstitution.com/imageviewer/collections/60565/images/41708\\_312566-00480?ssrc=&backlabel=Return&pId=1108](https://www.ancestryinstitution.com/imageviewer/collections/60565/images/41708_312566-00480?ssrc=&backlabel=Return&pId=1108).

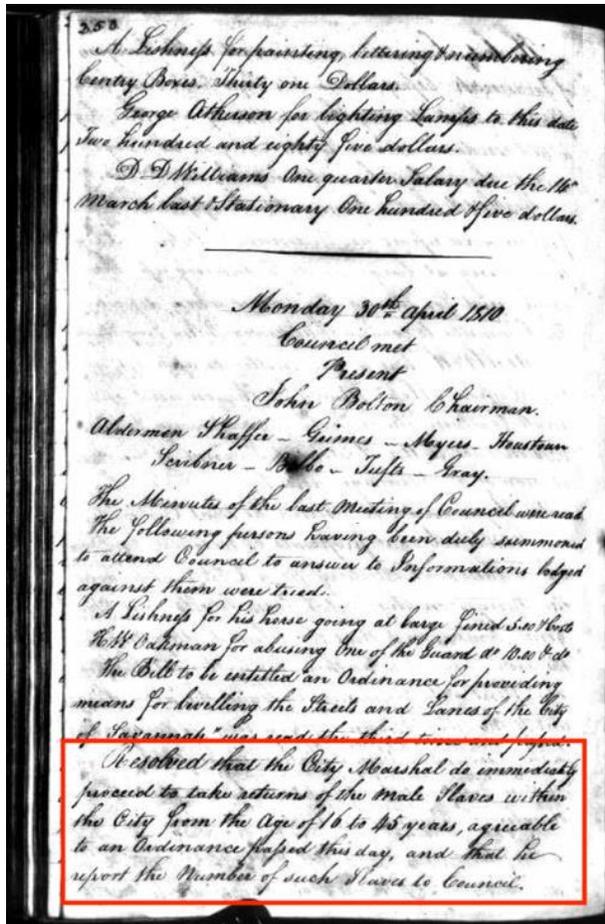


Figure 1: Entry from the City Council Meeting Minutes on April 30, 1810.

[https://www.ancestryinstitution.com/imageviewer/collections/60565/images/41708\\_312566-00480?ssrc=&backlabel=Return&pId=1108](https://www.ancestryinstitution.com/imageviewer/collections/60565/images/41708_312566-00480?ssrc=&backlabel=Return&pId=1108).

After yielding no success with Municipal Archives' records I thought were going to connect to the research, I decided to pull any records that fell within the 1810–1866-time frame. These records included the City Marshal records, Clerk of Council Accounts Passed in Council from 1847-1857 and 1857-1860, the Committee Report Registers from 1849-1853 and 1854-1866, the Committee Book of Records from 1858-1859 and 1860-1868, and the City Ordinances and Code Books from 1854 and 1858. I found that the Committee Report Register from 1859-1866 contained twelve entries that correlated to the spreadsheet I was working from. For example, one entry from January 1, 1862, had an entry for Dry Culture, where the report shared information relative to the drainage of Springfield Plantation (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> This report would have correlated to the work being completed at the end of 1861 and the upcoming work in 1862.

<sup>4</sup> Record Series 5600CL-140, Clerk of Council- Committee Reports Registers, Volume 2, 1859-1866.

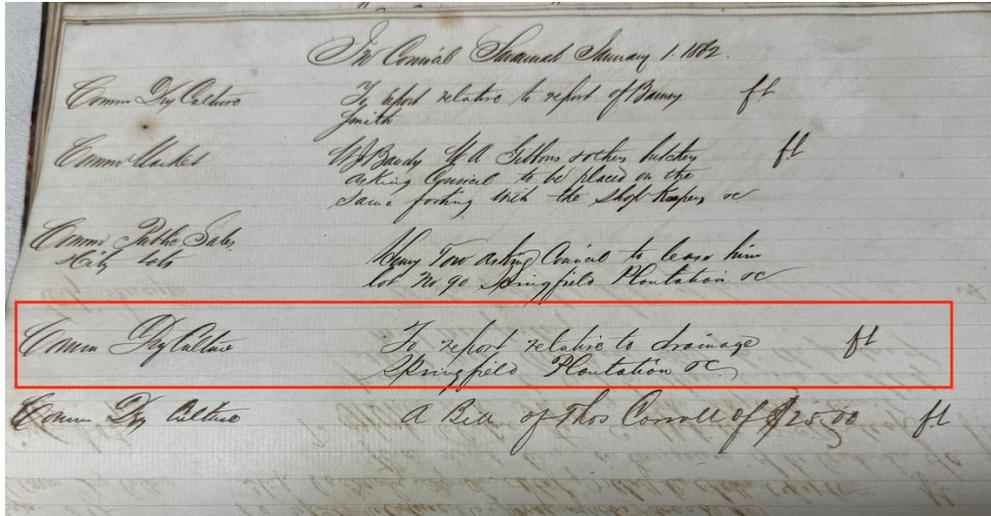


Figure 2: Entry from the Accounts Passed in Council from 1859-1866 containing an entry pertaining to a report on the Dry Culture work at Springfield Plantation.

The Accounts Passed in Council from 1847-1857 and from 1857-1860 yielded the most results. These records identified payments that related to the Springfield Plantation and Laurel Grove Cemetery. For example, August 29, 1850, an entry paid C. Murray \$50 for work on Springfield Plantation which correlated with the Treasurer’s Record which noted a payment for the City Marshal for laborers at Springfield Plantation for \$25.25 (figs. 3 and 4).<sup>5</sup>

No.	Name	Description	Amount
1	W. P. Jones	Salary	250 -
2	E. J. Wilson	Salary	50 30
3	J. S. Jones	Salary	15 -
4	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
5	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
6	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
7	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
8	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
9	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
10	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
11	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
12	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
13	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
14	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
15	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
16	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
17	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
18	J. S. Jones	Salary	16 66
19	C. Murray	Work on Springfield Plantation	57 -
20	City Marshal	Salary	25 25
21	J. S. Jones	Salary	52 -
22	John Oliver	Painting in Market	18 -
			933 89

Figure 3: Entry of payment for Springfield Plantation from the Accounts Passed in Council, Volume 1, 1847-1857.

5600CT-410      09      1850-08-30      Springfield Plantation      Paid City Marshal for Labourers      25.25

<sup>5</sup> Record Series 5600CL-020.1, Clerk of Council- Accounts Passed in Council, Volume 1, 1847-1857.

Figure 4: Entry from Mark O’Dell’s spreadsheet recording a payment of \$25.25 for labor on Springfield Plantation.

In the other Accounts Passed book from 1857-1860 a record from April 2, 1857 recorded that the City Marshal was paid for more work at Springfield Plantation for \$144.87 which again matched with the Treasurer’s Record where the City Marshal was paid \$144.87 (figs. 5 and 6).<sup>6</sup> The Accounts Passed records were only helpful for confirming that the projects did in fact happen, but there were times, like the August 29, 1850 record, where the amounts recorded varied even though the projects were the same.

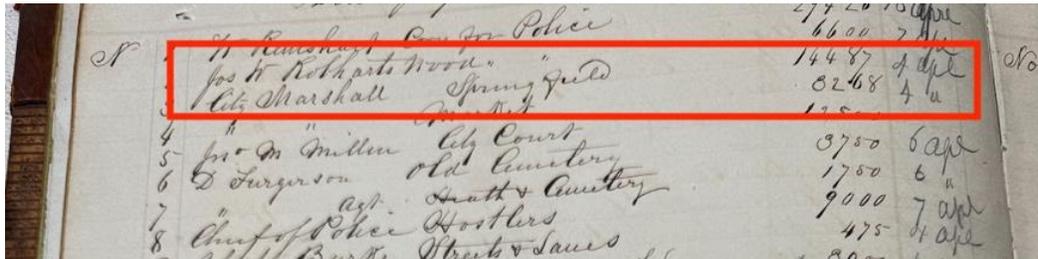


Figure 5: Highlighted entry from April 2, 1857 showing a payment to for labor at Springfield Plantation in the 1857-1860 Accounts Passed in Council, Volume 2.

5600CT-410	12	1857-04-01	Springfield Plantation	Paid City Marshal Labor	144.87
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Figure 6: Entry from Mark O’Dell’s spreadsheet recording a payment of \$144.87 for labor on Springfield Plantation

The second phase of records were helpful in re-confirming payments for enslaved labor, but details of the infrastructure projects I was trying to identify were sparse. The first record which described a project in detail was the Clerk of Council Book of Records which outlined the work completed on the sewer on Whitaker Street from McDonough Street to Perry Street (fig. 7).<sup>7</sup> An entry from October 1860 recorded two payments to Jno. B. Hogg for time of hands-on sewer on Perry Street, this correlation helped to prove that it took close to a year to work on the project (fig. 8). However, the actual description of the sewer work was the first infrastructure project in Savannah I was able to identify that clearly outlined what work was done.

<sup>6</sup> Record Series 5600CL-020.1, Clerk of Council- Accounts Passed in Council, Volume 2, 1857-1860.

<sup>7</sup> Record Series 5600CL-160, Clerk of Council- Book of Records, Volume 1, 1858-1911, 18.

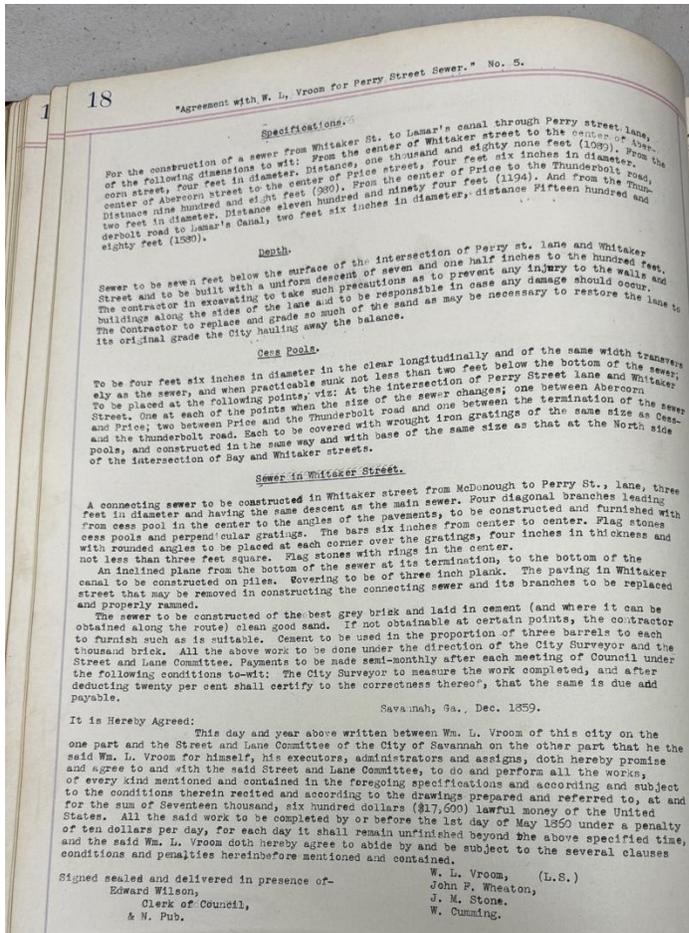


Figure 7: The entry from the Clerk of Council Book of Records from 1858-1911 which outlined the sewer project in 1859.

5600CT-410	13	1860-10-03	Streets and Lanes	Paid Jno. B. Hogg Time of Hands on Sewer Perry St.	88.22	3	33	use of ditto marks	HANDS
5600CT-410	13	1860-10-03	Streets and Lanes	Paid Jno. B. Hogg Time of Hands on Sewer Perry St.	55.50	2	33		HANDS

Figure 8: Two entries from Mark O'Dell's spreadsheet recording payments of \$88.22 and \$55.50 for work on the Perry Street Sewer.

After exhausting the potential records in my timeframe, I began to search the Georgia Historic Newspaper Database to find announcements for projects. I was able to find the most information by looking into the newspapers but was only able to work up until 1853. Using the chronological spreadsheet I had created, I started in 1810, and keyword searched the database until I was able to identify newspapers that correlated to the spreadsheet data. The first data entry I began looking for was on the census taken by C.M. Maxwell to identify able-bodied enslaved males. On May 5, 1810, *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* listed the ordinance which called for this census. The ordinance passed had C.M. Maxwell conduct a survey of all the enslaved men in Savannah and surrounding Savannah between the ages of 16 and 45 that could work two days a year leveling the streets for the City (fig. 9).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> John Bolton, and D.D. Williams, "An Ordinance," *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, May 5, 1810.

Lots, levied on under and by virtue of an execution, Hunter & Minis, against H. Hartford, and other executions against the same defendant. Conditions, cash.  
 John Ross, D. S. St. C.  
 May 5—54

### An Ordinance,

For providing means for Levelling the Streets and Lanes of the City of Savannah.

1st. Be it ordained, by the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Savannah, in Council assembled, and it is hereby ordained, by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Ordinance, the City Council shall be authorized by resolutions, to call out for a space of time, not exceeding two days, in any one year, and on such days as they may deem proper, all the male slaves between the ages of sixteen and forty five years, living in the city, for the purpose of levelling the streets and lanes thereof.

2d. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That the slaves of the different wards shall be called out for the purpose aforesaid, in succession, so that the slaves of not more than one ward shall be called out at the same time; which slaves, when thus called out, shall be under the direction of an Alderman, named for this purpose, and one or more city constables, who shall order and direct their labor in such manner as shall appear best calculated to answer the intended purpose.

3d. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of every master, owner or manager of slaves of the description aforesaid, to make a return on oath, of the number of said slaves, to the marshal of the city, at such time as he or she shall be required so to do by the said marshal, whose duty it shall be to call upon the inhabitants and receive such return, at such time or times as he shall be required so to do by resolution of council. And any person refusing or neglecting to make such return, when called on, shall be liable to pay for every such refusal or neglect, a sum not exceeding twenty dollars, to be recovered by information before council, in the usual summary way; and applied to the use of the city.

4th. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That after such returns shall have been made, the said Marshal shall, by advertisement in the public gazettes of the city, call out the slaves liable to labor as aforesaid, in such ward, on a particular day, and at a particular place, in such advertisement to be specified, and for so many days as council shall direct, conformably to the provisions of this ordinance. And any person refusing or neglecting to send out their male slaves, who shall be so called out, according to the provisions of this ordinance, shall pay for every day they shall so neglect or refuse, the sum of two dollars for every slave liable to be called out under the provisions of this ordinance, unless good and sufficient excuse be made and admitted for such neglect or refusal; which sum of money shall be recovered in manner herein before directed and applied to the use of the city.

5th. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That each and every slave attending to labor in the manner required by this ordinance, shall be furnished by his master, owner or manager with a hoe or spade, and on failing to be so furnished, the master, manager or owner of such slave or slaves, shall pay for every such failure, a sum not exceeding one dollar, to be recovered and applied in manner herein before directed.

6th. And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of the attending alderman to report the name or names of such persons, as shall fail to comply with the provisions of this ordinance to the clerk of council, who shall summon such persons so failing, to appear before council at their next meeting, to answer for such failure or neglect.

In Council, Savannah, 5th April, 1810.  
 Passed,  
 JOHN BOLTON, Chairman,  
 Attest,  
 D. D. WILLIAMS, C. C.

### Notice.

The subscribers respectfully acquaint the public, that they have taken into copartnership  
 ALEXANDER LOY and JAMES McLEIST—

Figure 9: John Bolton and D.D. Williams, “An Ordinance,” from *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, May 5, 1810; which discusses the census completed by C.M. Maxwell.

After this initial success with the newspapers, I continued searching year by year to find specific articles that correlated to the Treasurer's Records. Some years, and projects, yielded more results than others. One of the most intriguing finds was that of the work of enslaved workers on the William Scarbrough House. In the second phase of the Municipal Slavery Research Project, O'Dell had identified that work had been done on a house for President James Monroe's visit to Savannah in 1819. An anonymous report from March 1, 1819, called out the City of Savannah for being woefully underprepared for Monroe's visit (fig. 10).<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Fill—I observe by an article in your pa-  
 per of the 26th ultimo, extracted from the Charles-  
 ton City Gazette of the 24th, that the good people  
 of that city and its vicinity are about to place the  
 fortifications, etc. there, in good repair, preparato-  
 ry to an expected visit from the President of the  
 United States. It is not unlikely that, should he  
 come so far south, he will extend his visit to Sa-  
 vannah, and probably Augusta—in case of such  
 an event, and in order to meet it, I trust that the  
 public spirit that has universally prevailed with us  
 will not be neglectful of its duty on the occasion  
 I believe, at present, almost all the public works  
 and near this city, are out of repair—let us  
 and those whose particular duty it is, attend to  
 this important duty. AN INHABITANT.

Figure 10: From an anonymous writer in the *Savannah Daily Republican*, March 1, 1819, describing the unfit state of Savannah to welcome President James Monroe.

The following week, March 12, 1819, an article discussed a motion from City Council that allowed for every measure possible to be taken to ensure the City was prepared for the President's visit (fig. 11).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Anonymous Writer, *Savannah Daily Republican*, March 1, 1819.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Harris, T.U.P. Charlton, and John H. Ash, "The President," *Savannah Daily Republican*, March 12, 1819.

they can, and return again to their rendezvous before day-light. We hope soon to hear of their being lodged with their copartners in gaol.—Times.

**THE REPUBLICAN.**

FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 12, 1819

**THE PRESIDENT.**

*In Council, Savannah, Monday, March 8, 1819.*

It having been represented to council that the President of the United States proposes to pay a visit to this city, on his way to the westward—It is therefore resolved, on motion of Mr. alderman Harris, that council will take every measure in their power to entertain the president in a manner suitable to his office and his eminent virtues.

Resolved, That aldermen Charlton, Harris and Ash, be a committee to report, at an adjourned meeting of council, the most suitable measures to be taken by the board for the reception of the president.

*In Council, Wednesday, March 10, 1819.*

The following report was read and accepted, viz:—

The committee to whom was referred the resolution announcing an expected visit from the president of the United States to this city, and to propose the adoption of such measures as may suit the occasion, report—

1. That the resolution of council, on this subject, ought to be published in the gazettes of this city, and that the citizens be invited to meet and make preparations for the event.

2. That the military and the several corporate bodies of this city, be requested to join the citizens and council in adding to the dignity and splendor of his reception.

3. That a permanent committee of council be appointed to meet any other committee of citizens, military, or bodies corporate, for the purpose of devising, and aiding in, the best and most respectful mode of receiving this distinguished chief magistrate.

4. That council ought to provide a well furnished house for the residence of the president and suite, there to be entertained during his stay, and that persons be employed to superintend the same.

5. That council will attend with its officers, on the president the day after his arrival, and congratulate him on his visit to this city, and express such other sentiments of gratitude and joy on the occasion as comport with the simplicity of republicans and the eminent patriot and virtuous citizen they propose to felicitate on his arrival; and that the address on such occasion be passed and voted in council, and delivered by the Mayor.

6. That the mayor be appointed and requested to draft an address, as the one above recommended.

ed, and that the same be read before council at their next or any future meeting.

7. That a committee be appointed to attend to the house to be provided for the president, to do the honors of the same, and order and direct all suitable measures necessary for his comfort and entertainment and that of his suite.

8. That the mayor be requested to correspond with the mayor of Charleston, and to ascertain the time the president is expected in that city and how long he proposes to remain there, the road he will take on his coming to this city, and such other information as may be necessary on the occasion.

The committee further report, that William Scarbrough, esq. has politely offered his new and elegant house, at the west end of the town, for the reception and residence of the president, and which your committee have accepted with thanks.

CHARLES HARRIS,  
T. U. P. CHARLTON, } Committee.  
JOHN H. ASH.

Aldermen Ash, White and Rees, were made the committee under the second clause of the report—and the Mayor, aldermen Harris, Charlton and Waring, the committee under the seventh clause.

Figure 11: Charles Harris, T.U.P. Charlton, and John H. Ash's article "The President," in the *Savannah Daily Republican*, from March 12, 1819 describing the planned actions from City Council to prepare for Monroe's visit and Scarbrough offering his house.

At the end of this article, it was reported that William Scarbrough had offered his new house for the reception and residence of the President. This article correlates to the incidental charges from April 26 and May 17, 1819, where Jos. Garnett was paid labor at the President's House (fig. 12).

5600CT-410	02	1819-04-26	Incidental Charges	Paid Jos. Garnett for labor of Negroes at the President's house	85.25
5600CT-410	02	1819-05-17	Incidental Charges	Paid Jos. Garnett for Negro hire for work to President's house	28.50

Figure 12: Two entries from Mark O'Dell's spreadsheet recording payments of \$85.25 and \$28.50 for work on the President's House.

At this time there is no further information as to what work was completed by the enslaved laborers that were paid to help complete the work at the Scarbrough House in 1819.

Throughout the research project, the scope has fluctuated to reduce the type of projects I was looking into, but the results yielded from the newspapers widened the scope to find more information on the work completed at Laurel Grove Cemetery, on the streets and lanes, and at the Springfield Plantation. Due to the ten-week time constraint, I was unable to finish going through the newspapers, and was unable to investigate the City Engineer's maps the Municipal Archives hold that may be able to show work done throughout the city.

## Identified Projects

### *1810 Census of Enslaved Peoples*

On April 30, 1810 the City Council had resolved that the City Marshal conduct a census of all enslaved men between the ages of 16 and 45. *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* expounded upon the City Council Meeting Minutes and shared that an ordinance was passed that would allow two days a year for all male slaves to come and level the streets of Savannah. In addition, the master or manager had to provide their enslaved person with a hoe or spade to complete their work. On May 28, 1810 Mr. Maxwell was paid \$200 for taking this census, but on May 29, 1810 it was recorded in the Treasurer's Records that C.M. Maxwell had been paid \$100 for the census of enslaved men.

### *Fortifications*

Throughout the fall of 1814, enslaved laborers worked on the fortifications. On September 27, 1814, *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* issued a call to the people of Chatham county to provide labor, provisions, or money to aid fortification work. In the same edition, it was announced that the following Thursday, men were supposed to meet with hoes, spades, and axes to work on the fortifications. By October 10, 1814, the City Council Meeting Minutes show that the Committee of Defense found it necessary to have a greater number of enslaved workers to come to the fortifications. The Committee offered a payment of \$0.25 per day for every enslaved man who could bring a spade or hatchet, and was authorized during the meeting to hire laborers for the fortifications. The next day, *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* issued a call for men to help erect a fortification in Savannah.

In return, the men would receive \$0.25 with a ration of beef, pork, rice, and whiskey for each day of work. On October, the 29<sup>th</sup>, the House of Representatives passed a bill appropriating \$45,000 for the construction of fortifications and block houses in Savannah. The Governor eventually appropriated money solely for the hiring of laborers, but it was never specified how much. A man named Williams was paid twice, once for \$40.00 on November 9, and \$60.00 on November 17. In addition, Jos. Savy, D.D. Williams, R. Habersham, and J.P. Oates were paid for hire during November. On November 24, 1814, *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* printed an address to the citizens of Savannah and Chatham County sharing fears of British attacks on the coast and the dire need for better fortifications. The Mayor claimed that every other city besides Savannah was ready for an attack and requested that every man capable of laboring himself, or having an able-bodied slave would work on the fortifications. Throughout December, *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger* put out announcements to certain wards which required all men and enslaved men to meet outside the courthouse to conduct work on the fortifications. On December 6, 1814 there was an announcement to the men of Darby and Warren wards to meet in front of the courthouse on December 7<sup>th</sup>, and on December 13, 1814 there was an announcement to the citizens of Anderson and Franklin wards to bring their enslaved men to the courthouse that Thursday.

### *Opening Roads*

On May 23, 1818 the Treasurer's Record Book recorded a payment of \$96.87 to F. Stone for opening Thunderbolt road. In the same year, Stone was also paid \$20.00 for laborers to open White Bluff road. *The Savannah Republican* later confirmed both payments on September 1, 1818 in of the incidental charges for the year.

### *President's House for James Monroe, 1819*

In April and May, two payments were recorded to Jos. Garnett for enslaved labor at the President's House. The first payment was on April 26, 1819 for \$85.25, and the second one on May 17, 1819 for \$28.50. During phase II, O'Dell had assumed that the President's House was a new construction project. On March 1, 1819 an anonymous writer wrote to the *Savannah Daily Republican* expressing the dire need of repairs for public works of the City prior to the arrival of President James Monroe. Monroe was coming to Savannah as part of his tour to see the US Steamship Savannah before it made its first crossing of the Atlantic Ocean. A week later, an article from the *Savannah Daily Republican* on March 12, 1819 announced that William Scarbrough would offer his new home, today's the Ships of the Sea Museum, for the reception and residence of the President during his visit. At the time, the Scarbrough house had not yet been finished and so it is likely the City offered enslaved laborers to expedite the process of finishing the house prior to Monroe's visit. It is currently unknown what work these enslaved laborers completed.

### *Springfield Plantation and Cemetery*

On May 10, 1850 a payment was made to a City Scavenger for labor in surveying Springfield Plantation for \$12.00. After the survey, Robert D. Papot submitted a proposal to the Dry Culture

Committee to begin working on the canal at Springfield Plantation which was approved by the Dry Culture Committee on May 25, 1850. The next payment was on June 5, 1850 to R.D. Papot for work on Springfield Plantation for \$140.00, this payment, and many others, were recorded in Volume 1 of the Accounts Passed in Council. By June 29<sup>th</sup>, *A Friend of the Family* reported that the lowlands west of the Ogeechee Canal and south of Augusta Road had been well drained with a well-built bank fortification. Early in July, however, R.D. Papot filed a petition for \$435.50 to pay the laborers. That amount was paid in full, and an additional \$60 was paid to Papot for Superintendence. During the rest of July, payments to Wm. Hughes for \$10, R.D. Papot for \$16, and the City Marshal for \$28, on July 19<sup>th</sup>. By September 14, 1850 the Savannah and Ogeechee Canal Company had obstructed the drainage of the lowlands of Springfield Plantation. To resolve this issue, the Company was required to create a culvert fourteen feet wide and two feet deep in the span of thirty days. By October 9, 1850, just shy of thirty days later, there was a payment to W. Remshart for providing an enslaved man to survey Springfield Plantation. This survey was likely done to assess the drainage after the culvert had been constructed by the Savannah and Ogeechee Canal Company. Shortly after, D.H. Stervent and C.M. (likely C.M. Maxwell) were paid for laborers \$114.75 to continue the work that was stalled by the obstruction. On November 30, 1850, J.P. Screven shared the proceedings on the Dry Culture Committee to the City Council. On the Springfield property, the ponds between the Ogeechee Canal and Railroad had been drained making it suitable for agriculture. In addition, a canal thirty feet wide, extending from the Ogeechee Canal culvert to the Springfield settlement, had been excavated as deep as possible. An embankment nineteen feet wide and seven feet high had been constructed to support the new canal. The next year, a petition was announced in *A Friend of the Family* where it had been resolved in City Council that \$300 be appropriated for the payment of the City Marshal for completion of the work on Springfield Canal, this payment came between two entries paying the City Marshal for labor one on January 3 for \$647 and the other on February 14 for \$471.41. February 27, 1851 an ordinance was passed by City Council which called for the drainage of lots 15, 16, and 17 on Springfield Plantation, a ditch was to be dug so allow the drainage in lieu of a ten foot reservation. A payment on March 8, 1851 for sundry workmen for \$525.39 likely connects to this ordinance. By March 21, 1851 another ordinance gave the City full control over the draining at Springfield Plantation. The next payment related to Springfield Plantation was for Springfield Cemetery. An article from the Daily Morning News on February 3, 1851 announced a \$100 premium for the best plan for the new cemetery. By May 24, 1851, one of the first payments of \$39.75 was made to the Springfield Committee for labor completed on the cemetery. There are many entries in the Accounts Passed in Council Volume 1 book that record payments for work being done on Springfield Plantation that were not identified in O'Dell's spreadsheet.

### *Laurel Grove Cemetery*

On July 3, 1851 a payment was made to the City Marshal for labor on Laurel Grove for \$619.25, the Accounts in Passed in Council Volume 1 recorded a payment for cedar posts for Laurel Grove the same day. It is possible that the cedar posts were installed using enslaved labor and the two payments went together. The Accounts Passed in Council confirm many of the payments recorded by the Treasurer. On October 14, 1851 an announcement from W.M. George, the gardener of Laurel Grove, in the *Daily Morning News* shared that 500 cords of pine wood were for sale. People could purchase 1 cord to all 500 cords. On October 4<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 27<sup>th</sup>, payments for \$77.50, \$45.25, \$48.25, and \$35.00, respectively,

were made for wood cutters at Laurel Grove Cemetery. The following year on February 28, 1852 City Council shared the resolution that the Committee on Health and Cemetery was to pay \$151.50 to the gardener and hands employed at Laurel Grove Cemetery. An entry from the Treasurer's record on February 27, 1852 confirms this payment. The first record in the Accounts Passed in Council Volume 1 recording the payment of Laurel Grove Cemetery's keeper, A.F. Torlay, was on February 10, 1853 for \$72.13. The entries found in the rest of Volume 1 and into Volume 2 of the Accounts Passed in Council, continue to show payments to A.F. Torlay for varying amounts, confirming the Treasurer's records O'Dell identified. On March 26, 1853 a resolution had been resolved for \$140 to be paid by the Treasurer to the City Marshal for the hands employed in cleaning the Cemetery for people of color. An entry on the same day from the Treasurer's record confirms this resolution. On the same day other payments for Laurel Grove Cemetery were made, such as the payment to A.F. Torlay for labor for \$49.25 which was confirmed by the Accounts Passed in Council Volume 1 records. In April a call went out to the public for the Keeper's dwelling, a Porter's Lodge, and a Chapel for the cemetery. If these plans could be tracked down it is more than likely that the payments throughout June, July, August, and September were for the work completed on these buildings. The plans for these buildings were due before May 2, 1853. On October 10, 1853 another call went out to builders, seeking someone to build a public vault 15 feet long, 11 feet wide, and 7 feet high. John Mallery oversaw collecting these plans. There are no payments recorded to John Mallery in connection to enslaved labor, but it is likely that some of the payments in late October, November, and December were for the construction of the vault.

#### *Culvert East of Canal*

On June 19, 1852 three payments were made for labor on the culvert East of the canal. The first was for \$67.75, the second for \$46.00, and the third for \$98.81. These payments were part of the appropriated funds for the Dry Culture Committee to drain the lands near the canal, the cost of labor was not to exceed \$500. On the same day as the payment, \$1,000 was appropriated to pay J. & E. Scudder for their work on the culvert.

#### *West Broad Street Public Dock*

On August 25, 1852 the City Marshal was instructed to advertise for one month that at the end of the month he would rent the Public Dock at the foot of West Broad Street for a year. The piece of land the Marshal was renting, ran from Canal Street to the Savannah River and from a line on the East by the wall of the Steam-boat Company's warehouse. A month later, on September 27, 1852, a payment was made for \$187.76 to the sundry laborers as gratuity for the work completed on the dock at the foot of West Broad Street under the contract of C. Lorigan after he had failed his contract. Then on October 9, 1852 a payment was made to the City Marshal for time-of-hands from September for \$244.75. These payments make it clear that work was continuously occurring at the dock and can lead to future research into City Marshal documents that prove the rent for the land and any plans to work on the dock.

*Perry Street Sewer*

The sewer from Whitaker Street to Lamar's canal through Perry Street, was one of the only projects identified where a detailed description was found. In the Clerk of Council Book of Records, Volume 1 from 1858-1911 a description of the specifications, depth, cess pools, the sewer, and the contract were written out. As part of the specifications, the sewer would be four feet in diameter from Whitaker Street to the center of Abercorn Street and would be 1,089 feet long. From the center of Abercorn Street to the center of Price Street the sewer would be four feet six inches in diameter with a distance on 980 feet. Then from the center of price Street to Thunderbolt Road, the sewer would be two feet in diameter and 1,194 feet long. Finally, from Thunderbolt to Lamar's Canal the sewer would be two feet six inches in diameter and 1,580 feet long. The depth of the sewer was to be seven feet below the surface of the intersection of Parry Street and Whitaker Street and was to be built uniformly with a descent of seven and a half inches per hundred feet. All the cess pools were only to be four feet six inches in diameter and of the same width, they were only to be two feet before the bottom of the sewer. They were going to be placed at the intersection of Perry and Whitaker, one between Abercorn and Price, two between Price and Thunderbolt, and one between the termination of the sewer and Thunderbolt. Each cess pool was to be covered with a wrought iron grate the same size as the cess pool. A connecting sewer was constructed in Whitaker Street from McDonough to Perry Street, three feet in diameter and have the same descent of seven and a half inches per hundred feet as the main sewer. The paving on Whitaker Street was to be removed to construct the connecting sewer and its four branches connecting to other cess pools. The sewer was going to be constructed with grey brick and laid in cement. This project was to be completed for \$17,600 and to be completed before the last day of May 1860. This description and plan had been approved in December of 1859. A payment made to Jno. B. Hogg on October 3, 1860 for time of hands on the Perry Street sewer suggests that the project either continued longer than anticipated or payments were made later in the year. The first payment was for \$88.22 and the second for \$55.50. However, it is possible that many of the earlier payments for work on streets and lanes correlate to this sewer project. It would be worth trying to find documents tracking the work completed by the City Surveyor and the Committee on Streets and Lanes.

Further Recommended Research

Using O'Dell's spreadsheet, more research can be conducted on a wider scope using the newspaper database to identify further projects completed by enslaved laborers. In addition, the Engineering Department Retrospective Maps Collection, both the East/West Maps and the General Maps, should be analyzed to compare different years to identify projects that were completed across the City. In doing this, researchers may be able to identify the maps that correlate to projects on the streets and lanes, sewers, fortifications, etc. There is also the opportunity to further research the work conducted on the William Scarbrough House, and to find the report completed from the 1810 census from C.M. Maxwell.

Primary Sources- City of Savannah Municipal Archives

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Anderson, Edward C. "Report of Edward C. Anderson, Mayor of the City of Savannah for the year ending September 30, 1866." Savannah: C.E. O'Sullivan, Printer, 1866.

Arnold, Richard D. "Report of R.D. Arnold, Mayor of the City of Savannah, for the year ending September 30, 1860." Savannah: Power Press of John M. Cooper & Co., 1860.

Purse, Thomas. "Report of Thomas Purse, Mayor of the City of Savannah for the year ending September 30, 1862." Savannah: E.J. Purse, Printer, 1862.

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Screven, John P. "Report of John Screven, Mayor of the City of Savannah for the year ending September 30, 1857." Savannah: E.J. Purse, 1857.

#### Newspaper Articles (Organized Chronologically with Annotated Summaries)

Bolton, John and D.D. Williams. "An Ordinance." *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, May 5, 1810.

This article shares the ordinance passed which correlates to the payment recorded May 5, 1810 to C.M. Maxwell for making a census of enslaved males. This ordinance required enslaved men between the ages of 16 and 45 living in Savannah to help level the streets twice a year. Section five clarifies that a master or manager had to provide the enslaved person with a hoe or spade to complete their work.

Williams, D.D. "In Council, 22nd September, 1814." *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, September 27, 1814.

A call for the people of Chatham County to aid in the labor at the fortifications through labor, provisions, or money. This correlates to the payments on October 6, 1814, to Geo. Bolton for work and materials at the fortifications.

Williams, D.D. "In Council, 26th Sept. 1814." *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, September 27, 1814.

An announcement calling all able-bodied men to meet with hoes, spades, or axes for the purpose of giving personal aid to erect the fortifications. This article was from the same day as the other announcement for labor at the fortifications, but on a later action by City Council. Many of the payments throughout October, November, and December were for work completed at the fortifications.

Jones, George. "Fortifications." *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, October 11, 1814.

A call for labor on the fortifications a few weeks after the original call for labor on September 27, 1814. This call requested that every man bring a spade, ax, or hatchet and in return they could be paid 25 cents and receive a ration of beef, pork, rice, and whiskey. It is likely these were a mix of free white men and enslaved laborers. This article supports the continued payments for fortifications labor during early November, such as the one from November 9, 1814, that paid Great and Williams Waggon for hire.<sup>11</sup>

"Milledgeville, 29th, Oct. 1814." *Augusta Chronicle*, November 4, 1814.

Announces a bill passed by the House of Representatives which appropriated money for the fortifications and block houses for Savannah, St. Mary's, and other points of inland navigation. Savannah received \$45,000.

"A Bill." *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, November 8, 1814.

This article clarifies the use of the money from the House of Representatives. The \$45,000 was only to be used for purchasing raw materials and for munitions of war, and then the Governor appropriated a further \$10,000 for the same. There was a clear note that none of \$55,000 was to be used for hiring laborers. The article goes on to say that the governor was going to provide additional sums, but that amount was never mentioned.

McAllister, Matthew. "Address: To the Patriotic Citizens of Savannah and County of Chatham, and to the Planters on both sides of Savannah River and the neighboring Counties." *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, November 24, 1814.

At the time, there were fears of the British attacking the coast and so it was urged that the fortifications of Savannah be worked on with more expedience than previously. The Mayor went so far as to say that every other coastal city was ready for an attack except for Savannah. As such, he requested that every man capable of laboring himself or having an able bodied enslaved male would work on the fortification.

Mackay, Robert and John H. Ash. *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, December 6, 1814.

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<sup>11</sup> Unsure at this time if the record meant to say Great and Williams, likely enslaved laborers due to their first name records, were paid for bringing a wagon.

The citizens of Darby and Warren wards were required to meet at 6 o'clock in the morning at the courthouse on December 7<sup>th</sup> to proceed to work on the fortifications. From December 6<sup>th</sup> to December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1814, there were many payments made for work done at the fortifications. For example, on December 9, 1814, there was a \$99.25 payment to F. Roma for attend. and enslaved hire.

Roe, Alexander S., and Edward Harden. *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, December 13, 1814.

The citizens of Anderson and Franklin wards were required, with their enslaved men, to meet at the courthouse on December 14<sup>th</sup> to work on the fortifications. This article supports the one from December 6, 1814, meaning that it was common for the City to place ads for labor.

Williams, D.D. "100 Laborers wanted." *The Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, February 25, 1815.

The commissioners on fortifications received money and were requesting one hundred laborers to work on the fortifications. This article came out a month before D.D. Williams was paid on March 14, 1815 for hiring sundry drays on the fortifications.

Harris, Charles, M. Myers, and George L. Cope. "Incidental Charges." *The Savannah Republican*, September 1, 1818.

This article lists the incidental charges that reconfirms that F.M. Stone was paid for opening Thunderbolt Road which connects to the May 23, 1818, payment of \$96.875 for opening the road.

Anonymous Writer. *Savannah Daily Republican*, March 1, 1819.

In preparation for the arrival of President James Monroe, an anonymous resident of Savannah wrote to the *Savannah Daily Republican* commenting on the dire need for repairs of the public works of the City prior to the arrival of the President.

Harris, Charles, T.U.P. Charlton, and John H. Ash. "The President." *Savannah Daily Republican*, March 12, 1819.

In response to the anonymous complaint, Alderman Haris planned a motion so that every measure could be taken to entertain the President in a manner suitable to his office. Aldermen Ash and Harris formed a committee that drew up the measures needing to take place before Monroe's arrival. The article then goes to the Council Meeting from Wednesday March 10, 1819, where it was further reported that William Scarbrough politely offered his new and elegant house for the reception and residence of the President. Additional relevant information includes Council wishing to provide a well-furnished house for the residence of the President and his suite so they could be entertained throughout their stay.

Screven, J.E. "Proceedings of Council." *A Friend of the Family*, May 25, 1850.

This article has the report from the Dry Culture Committee for work to be done on Springfield Plantation. The Committee had accepted the proposal of Robert E. Papot to work on the canal. A week or so earlier, May 10, 1850, a City Scavenger had been paid for a laborer to survey Springfield Plantation.

Wilson, Edward G. "Proceedings of Council." *A Friend of the Family*, June 15, 1850.

As part of the proceedings of Council, it had been resolved that the Mayor deemed it necessary to order a survey of Springfield Plantation. This seems to be the beginning of the later work completed at Springfield Plantation which was recorded with payments throughout July 1850.

Wilson, Edward G. "Proceedings of Council." *A Friend of the Family*, June 22, 1850.

As part of the proceedings of Council, it had been that the report and resolutions be referred to the Special Committee on the Springfield Plantation, and that in the consideration of said report and resolutions, the Committee on Health and Cemetery be requested to work with the Springfield Special Committee. In addition, Alderman Screven, Chairman of the Committee on Dry Culture, submitted a statement showing that \$212.70 was due for the length of the canal completed upon Springfield Plantation. This article also connects to the later payments made in July.

*A Friend of the Family*, June 29, 1850.

The reporter had taken a walk with the Springfield Plantation Committee for draining the Springfield Plantation, and it was seen that much of the efforts for drainage were helping the lowlands west of the Ogeechee Canal and south of the Augusta Road. The embankment had been built up to withstand the elements. The work being done was credited to Mr. Robert D. Papot, the contractor. There are many Treasurer's Records that showed payments to R.D. Papot for labor.

Screven, J.P. "Reports Read and Adopted." *A Friend of the Family*, July 6, 1850.

This article had information about the petition from R.D. Papot that was submitted to the Dry Culture Committee. Papot said that he wasn't being paid enough as he was working on the Springfield Plantation, so underpaid he was unable to pay the laborers. He was still owed \$435.50 to pay the laborers, which had been verified by an examination of the books. The Committee approved the payment with an adequate compensation for the contractor and Superintendent for \$60. This directly correlates with the entry from July 5, 1850, to the City Marshal for laborers for \$495.50.

Wilson, Edward G. "Proceedings of Council." *A Friend of the Family*, September 14, 1850.

A proceeding on the matter of the Savannah and Ogeechee Canal Company by its President Amos Scudder. There were obstructions to the drainage of the lowlands of the Springfield Plantation caused by the embankments. It was resolved that the Savannah and Ogeechee Canal Company obstructed the drainage of the lowlands of the Springfield Canal, and so the Company needed to commence and finish a culvert fourteen feet wide and two feet six inches deeper than the bed of the current culvert within the space of thirty days. The culvert was going to be built by the City Council at the expense of said Company. This likely correlates to the payments made throughout September for labor on the Springfield Plantation.

Screven, J.P. "Proceedings of Council." *A Friend of the Family*, November 30, 1850.

In the Council Meeting, it was shared that the Dry Culture Committee had received the task of improving the lands that had been acquired by the City from the late Joseph Stiles, this land was Springfield Plantation. The land bounded by the Railroad, Ogeechee Canal, and Springfield Canal had been drained. The Augusta Road from the Ogeechee Canal Bridge to the Springfield Canal Bridge was fine and would likely not need work for a while. The ponds between the Ogeechee Canal and the railroad had been drained, that land had been covered by three feet of water but was now available for agriculture. It was shared that the work to drain the ponds and canals led many of the laborers to get sick. In reference to the previous article the thirty-foot canal had been dredged as deep as the culvert would allow. The embankment was nineteen feet wide and seven feet high. The part of the canal that ran through the Vale Royal Plantation had been widened and deepened, with a very efficient embankment of the eastern end. There were plans for an embankment to be made of the western side as well. These proceedings of Council likely correlate to the payments made in October and November.

"Petitions." *A Friend of the Family*, February 1, 1851.

It was resolved that \$300 be appropriated for the payment of the City Marshal for contracts upon Springfield Canal. It was also resolved that the Committee of three Aldermen and three Citizens be appointed by the Mayor to appraise the lots recently laid off upon the Springfield Plantation by William Hughes, the surveyor. The Committee consisted of Aldermen Screven, Purse and Turner, with the three citizens, Hirman Roberts, W.W. Johnson, and O.A LaRoche, Esqrs. A payment was made on February 14, 1851 to the City Marshal for laborers for \$471.41.

Saussy, J.R. "One Hundred Dollars Premium." *Daily Morning News*, February 3, 1851.

A \$100 premium was passed by the Council for laying out the new Cemetery on the Springfield Plantation land. The proposals of the land will be received by the undersigned until February 20, 1851. A payment was made on May 24, 1851, for work done on the Springfield Cemetery for \$39.75.

Wilson, Edward G. "An Ordinance." *Savannah Daily Republican*, February 8, 1851.

An ordinance was passed giving permission to J. & J. Hines to excavate a basin for the Steam Saw Mill. They were permitted to make a lumber basin on their land purchased from the City on Springfield Plantation. The work had to be supervised by the Dry Culture Committee of Council, and the culverts and ditches will be determined necessary by the same Committee. It is unclear whether the City had enslaved workers working on this project, but could be connected to the later payments in March and April for labor on Springfield Plantation and the canals.

Wayne, R. "An Ordinance." *Daily Morning News*, February 27, 1851.

There was a repeal to the third section on an ordinance which meant that Lots 15, 16, and 17 would not be receiving a ditch for drainage, rather than doing the ten-foot reservation the ditch would be later determined and supervised by the Committee of Dry Culture. There were many payments throughout early March for labor on the canals of Springfield Plantation.

Wilson, Edward G. "An Ordinance." *Daily Morning News*, March 21, 1851.

Section five of the ordinance let it be ordained that the ditches and drains were to be constructed for the purpose of draining the low grounds of the Springfield Plantation and would be reserved to the City to do the work. The payments from early April and into May likely correlate with the work that the City was doing on the Springfield Planation.

"Proceedings of Council." *Daily Morning News*, May 24, 1851.

The Committee on Dry Culture reported on the petition of James W. DeLyon for additional compensation for services on Springfield Plantation, and the motion was discharged. We can at least use this article to prove that any payments in the rest of May and into June were likely not going to James W. DeLyon.

George, W.M. "Wood, Wood, Wood." *Daily Morning News*, October 14, 1851.

An announcement for 500 cords of wood that were for sale, which were said to be suitable for burning bricks. The wood would be sold from 1 cord to 500 at Laurel Grove Cemetery. This correlates to the three payments for wood cutters at Laurel Grove on October 13, 18, and 27.

"Resolved." *Daily Morning News*, February 28, 1852.

It was resolved that the Committee on Health and Cemetery was authorized to pay \$151.50 to the gardener and employed hands at Laurel Grove Cemetery. This was recorded on February 27 and 28 in the records.

“Resolutions.” *Daily Morning News*, June 19, 1852.

It was resolved that \$1,000 was appropriated for the payment in part of J. & E. Scudder for the work on culvert east of Canal. Alderman Screven authorized the Chairman of the Dry Culture Committee to use funds from the City Treasurer to pay the contractor for draining the lands near the Canal, the amount was not to exceed \$500. There were two entries recorded for payments on labor on Culvert East of Canal on June 1, 1852, one for \$67.75 and another for \$46.00. There was another entry on July 16 to the Marshal for pay of hands for June on Culvert East of Canal, for \$71.75.

Wylly, Elisha. “In Council, 25th August, 1842.” *Savannah Daily Republican*, September 23, 1842.

In the City Council meeting, it was resolved that the Marshal would advertise for one month that he would be renting the Public Dock at the foot of West Broad Street running from Canal Street to the River. A month later, on September 27, 1852, a payment was made to laborers for their work on the dock foot of West Broad Street for \$187.76. On the same day a payment was made for sundry laborers for gratuity for the work completed on the dock at the end of West Broad Street under the contract with C. Lorigan for the same amount of \$187.76. It is likely the two are the same payment, the second one just elaborated on what the payment was for.

Wilson, Edward G. “Resolutions Read and Adopted.” *Daily Morning News*, March 26, 1853.

It had been resolved that \$140 be paid by the Treasurer to the City Marshal for the hands employed in clearing the cemetery for colored people. This would have been work completed on Laurel Grove South. An entry on March 26, 1852, matches this article with a payment for labor per the resolution for \$140.00.

Mallery, John. “To Architects.” *Daily Morning News*, April 12, 1853.

An approval for \$100 to be paid for the best plans for a suitable edifice for Laurel Grove Cemetery. The plans needed to include a Keeper’s Dwelling, ample apartment and suitable rooms for servants, a Porter’s Lodge, and a Chapel. The plans for all of this had to be submitted by May 2, 1853. There is a potential, worth looking in to, to see if the payments during June, July, August, and September, were part of the work completed on these different building efforts.

Mallery, John. “To Builders.” *The Savannah Daily Georgian*, October 10, 1853.

An announcement to builders to submit proposals by October 17, to provide materials for building a public vault at Laurel Grove Cemetery. The vault was to be 15 feet by 11 feet with a height of 7 feet.

Throughout November and December there were payments made to A.F. Torlay, the keeper of the cemetery, for the hire of laborers.