THOMAS GIBBONS, ESQUIRE

by

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HIS 300/500
Dr. Warlick
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THOMAS GIBBONS

Recollections From Friend and Foe

"He was a violent man in his temper; it was easy to set him against one, anything would set him up against Colonel Ogden." Jonathan Trumbull during 1848 Trenton trial, Den vs Gibbons.

"Mr. Gibbons was sick, had a paralysis; this was entirely confined to his muscles, he could not get up alone. He was not a man to be easily controlled." James Anderson, practicing physician of New York City, attended Thomas Gibbons from August 1823-26, Den vs Gibbons.

"I recollect being called on by Thomas Gibbons to go over to John M. Trumbull, and say to him, if he persisted in prosecuting the libel suit (1818), that he would cut him and his children off forever." Luke Tucker, proving his signature as a witness to the will of Thomas Gibbons, dated 25th October 1819, Den vs Gibbons.

"He was a man of strong mind, not easily led by others, but of violent passions, and went every length in his prejudices." Samuel Dawes, friend, 1815-26, Den vs Gibbons.

"He used to ask William Gibbons' advice, and then follow his own mind. William Gibbons employed whoever his father told him to employ." Mrs. Cole, who knew Thomas from 1813-26. She ran a boarding house in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, Den vs Gibbons.
"I told him he ought to provide for Trumbull's children, on his own account; he said, 'There is my will, and I left property so that they shall never have any. You know the Almighty has said he would visit the sins of the father upon the children, and I consider myself an instrument in His Hands to execute that sentence.'" David B. Ogden, counsel for John M. Trumbull during libel suit, brought in 1816 and tried in June of 1818, Den vs Gibbons.

"I don't believe any human being could control him." Cornelius Vanderbilt, Captain of Gibbons' steamship, the Bellona, Den vs Gibbons.

"Never heard him speak of Trumbull after 1820; before that, heard him say Trumbull was a great fool to take $75,000 for a third of his estate. No man on earth exercised a controlling influence over him." James P. Allaire, who sold Thomas the steamboat, Bellona, Den vs Gibbons.

"At Elizabethtown Mr. Gibbons kept a lewd house; had his wenches there, and I remonstrated with him. Mrs. Gibbons was a godly woman; when I took her to Mr. Gibbons' house, she remained there five or six weeks; she left his house, as it was a lewd house." John M. Trumbull, Den vs Gibbons.

"Thomas Gibbons is a man whose soul is faction, and whose life has been a scene of political corruption." James Jackson, 1792 Congressional Hearing in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March session.

"Thomas Gibbons was a lawyer of consummate ability, a man of large means, of untiring energy, of iron will, and capable of employing means to attain an end which some men thought questionable." The Judicial and Civil
History of New Jersey, from Savannah Duels and Duellists.
"I never judge whether the action is popular or not;
    With that I have no business;
    I determine how far the party hath a right.
I shall on these principles do my duty and set consequences at defiance."

Thomas Gibbons, Esquire

Savannah Morning News, January 19, 1930
FORWARD

To make reading easier, I have chosen to use full names as much as possible without tiring the reader. So many of my people had the same names and named their children after themselves, brothers, sisters, and mothers and fathers. I will establish the characters so as not to bore the reader with parenthetical names interjected throughout the narrative.

Thomas Gibbons, Esquire: Subject of paper, will be referred to as Thomas throughout the paper.

Ann Miles Heyward Gibbons: Thomas's wife, she will become Ann Gibbons.

William Gibbons: Thomas's brother.

William Gibbons: Thomas's son. I will discriminate between the two by saying, William Gibbons, Thomas's son or brother, whichever instance I use.

Thomas Heyward Gibbons: Thomas's son.


Jonathon M. Trumbull: Thomas's son-in-law, will be referred to as John or Jonathon Trumbull.

I hope that it will be easier understood and for future reference for I fully realized how difficult it was to try and discern who was who simply by initials when everyone carried the same names.
THOMAS GIBBONS, ESQUIRE

Chapter One: Early Life from 1757-1785.

Chapter Two: Legal Practice in Savannah, 1786.

Chapter Three: Political Career in Savannah Politics, 1787-1792.

Chapter Four: Family Life and Financial Stability, 1757-1802.

Chapter Five: Northward to Gibbons vs Ogden 1824, 1803-1826.
Chapter One
Early Years: 1757-1785

Thomas Gibbons was born December 15, 1757 near Newington Village, which was located about nine miles northwest of Savannah on the Newington Road, now the Louisville Road.¹ The Louisville Road is perpendicular to the Dean Forest Road near the Savannah Airport. Thomas was born and reared at his father’s plantation, Mulberry Hill.²

There is sparse evidence pertaining to Thomas’s education. After being tutored at home, Thomas was sent to school in Charleston, South Carolina.³ It is uncertain of the year he began his schooling, but there is an account in Joseph Gibbons’ estate which mentions “Paid 1 yr. schooling and boarding Tommy 6.5 pounds.”⁴ Thomas had lost his father, Joseph Gibbons, in 1769 when Thomas was twelve years old. It was at this time that Thomas inherited the 1000 acre tract of pineland that later became the Savannah Airport.⁵

After finishing his ordinary schooling, Thomas acquired his legal training in Charleston, South Carolina, under Mr. Parsons, an Irish gentleman of high grade in the law.⁶ Thomas received an extensive schooling during his early years. This was due to a statement in Joseph Gibbons’ will specifying that his children were to be educated “as their respective estates will admit.”⁷ Thomas, at twelve years old, had already become a gentleman.

Thomas was eighteen years old when the Revolutionary War began. Although the other members of his family were patriots, Thomas was a Loyalist. “Thus the Gibbons property was saved during both the British occupation and the anti-Tory reaction.”⁸

Under the Act of Confiscation of May 4, 1782, the state of Georgia leveled arrest and confiscation on all Loyalists. According to this act,
those accused were to be arrested and held as prisoners until they could be transported to the British King's Dominion. Thomas was among those Loyalists who took the oath of allegiance to King George III. As a result of this, he was attainted of high treason by the Legislature of 1782, but was not punished harshly. He was confined to his mother's plantation, Mulberry Hill.\(^9\) I would like for the reader to note and remember that in 1782, Thomas's brother William Gibbons was Speaker of the House in Georgia. Source: *Savannah Morning News*, February 23, 1930. This fact will be footnoted properly later in this paper, but I feel it is a clear indication of Thomas's ability to avoid severe punishment.

Thomas escaped extradition due to the wealth and political power of his family. Although his brother, William Gibbons, was a patriot, Thomas may have been influenced by the Loyalist cause due to his sister's husband, Nathaniel Hall. Nathaniel Hall was the pre-Revolutionary War owner of Morton Hall and also a member of King George's House of Assembly in Georgia.\(^{10}\)

In the Revolutionary Records of Georgia, on June 13, 1782, Morton Hall, a confiscated estate, was sold to Mrs. Hannah Martin Gibbons (Thomas's mother).\(^{11}\) Nathaniel Hall had lost his plantation due to the Act of Confiscation.

In Volume Two of the Revolutionary Records of Georgia, on October 30, 1782, a petition from Thomas Gibbons was read, praying that he may be liberated until the meeting of the General Assembly. The General Assembly then ordered Thomas be confined to his mother's plantation, Mulberry Hill, and be allowed to pass to and from Savannah, to his mother's, still being regarded as a prisoner to the Sheriff of Chatham County and the Sheriff being furnished with a copy of the order.\(^{12}\)
I feel that Thomas Gibbons escaped harsher punishment due to his brother William's political pull and his patriotic antics during the Revolutionary War. On May 11, 1775, six men broke into the King's powder magazine, under the protection of Governor Wright, the royal governor of Georgia. The magazine was stored in Savannah. The six men: Dr. Noble Wymberly Jones, Joseph Habersham, John Milledge, Edward Telfair (later governor of Georgia), Joseph Clay, and William Gibbons sent part of the ammunition to South Carolina and concealed the rest in their homes.13

On July 24, 1783, Thomas filed another petition to the House Assembly, Petition #35, begging to be taken off the Act of Confiscation. The House resolved that Thomas be taken off the Act of Confiscation and put on the Bill of Amercement.14

Another factor enabling Thomas to escape punishment was that he began practicing law during the British occupation of Savannah. He had offered legal counsel to Whigs imprisoned by British authorities and filed affidavits with his petition declaring his help.15

Thomas was restricted by the Bill of Amercement. He could not vote at elections, hold offices under the government, was ineligible to a seat in any department, or practice law for fourteen years.16 However, by February 1787, Thomas had regained all of his civil rights.17 This could be due to the fact that Edward Telfair was governor and had married into the Gibbons family by marrying Sarah Gibbons, Thomas's first cousin.18

Thomas's relative ease of avoiding severe punishment and having his legal practice resume so quickly angered an opponent of his. This opponent, James Jackson, had been the guiding force for trying to disable Thomas as an
attorney. One can only imagine James Jackson's bitterness as his plan failed.

Chapter Two
Legal Practice in Savannah, 1786

Despite defeating various bills and acts levelled against him, Thomas resumed his legal practice with zest. After securing readmission to the bar, Thomas brought suit against several patriots who had purchased confiscated Tory property.20

One particular case was Mary Fleming vs Colonel Benjamin Fishbourne. Colonel Fishbourne had bought the land and dwelling that had once belonged to Mary's husband, Thomas Fleming who, like Thomas, had failed to support the patriotic cause. Mary Fleming, now widowed, engaged Thomas to obtain for her a widow's one-third dowry's right.21

Colonel Fishbourne correspondence with Thomas wound up in the Georgia Gazette. Rather than send the letter to Thomas, Fishbourne chose instead to publish it in the paper for all to read. He informed Thomas that "the laws of England say where a man is attainted of treason against the state no wife can ever receive her dower." Fishbourne added more fuel to the fire by placing a star beside the word "treason" and added an insulting postscript: "A word you should never forget, by the by, while the name of Lincoln remains."22

On September 14, 1786, the Georgia Gazette printed the letter:

The enclosed papers, with the conduct of the caitiff concerned, are of so extraordinary a nature that I think it a duty I owe my fellow citizens in warning them against the wife and malicious proceedings—[he (Thomas)]
having declared "that let him once be admitted (to the bar) he would over-
turn the whole confiscation law, etc., and that he would make purchasers
of such property sweat for their hardiness." 23

What Fishbourne was referring to was that Thomas had been helping
Loyalists retrieve their homes and property which had all been confiscated.
This rubbed salt into many an old patriot's wounds for they had been able
to purchase these confiscated estates and they were reluctant to have what
they bought rather cheap taken away by Thomas, a Loyalist.

Thomas replied to Fishbourne "Your conduct in this business compels
me to call you forth to atone for the injuries received." 24 Thomas had
challenged Fishbourne to a duel.

On September 15, 1786, Thomas and Fishbourne met at Spring Hill.
Major John Berrien was Fishbourne's second while Captain William McIntosh was
second for Thomas. Both Thomas and Fishbourne were extremely bitter and their
seconds urged them to go to South Carolina. In South Carolina, the customary
ten steps were measured off but Fishbourne demanded only six steps, a dis-
tance of about eighteen feet. 25

Fishbourne then announced to Thomas that he would support the article
written in the Georgia Gazette with his own blood for he was the author of
it. The seconds, Berrien and McIntosh, managed to soothe the duellists and
later stated that both had acted courageously and admirably. Fishbourne
apologized for not allowing Thomas the right of seeing the letter before
publishing it. 26 The duel was subsequently called off and both parties
satisfied.

However, as soon as Thomas returned to Savannah he was met at Captain
McIntosh's home by a Mr. Davies and two others as "a committee from General
James Jackson and some other gentleman" who were at the coffeehouse. 27
This General James Jackson had the distinct honor of being the first American soldier to enter Savannah after General Anthony Wayne freed it from British occupation.\textsuperscript{28} (See Chapter Three for Jackson’s further adventures with General Anthony Wayne, due to more of Thomas’s mischievousness.) Jackson had been hoping that Colonel Fishbourne would kill Thomas in the duel. Jackson had become both a personal and political foe of Thomas’s. This was partly due to Thomas’s ease into returning to private legal practice and having all of his rights restored while many still considered him an enemy of the United States.\textsuperscript{29}

Mr. Davies accosted Thomas “in an ungentlemanly style,” and informed him that he “had the choice if he wanted satisfaction of either General Jackson or himself.” This second duel was directly related to Thomas suing for old debts as far back as 1778. There were many old debts that were carried over from the Revolutionary War, debts due to British subjects who had been Loyalists. The state of Georgia had erased all debts owed by Patriots to Loyalists. And given Thomas’s nature, a nature laced not only with stubbornness but an attitude that if it was right and just, he would pursue justice. “I knew not on what footing the debts stood, but if the law compelled the debtor to pay such debts, I would, if applied to, prosecute such actions to effect.”\textsuperscript{30}

The duel had many delays before James Jackson agreed on a time. Thomas had been initially approached on September 15, 1786, as he returned from the duel with Fishbourne. The duel with James Jackson did not occur for sixteen days. Thomas had recently resumed his private legal practice and was attempting to prosecute patriots.\textsuperscript{31}

At this time I would like to point out two very critical facts. First,
Edward Telfair, who had married Thomas's cousin, Sarah Gibbons, was Georgia's governor in 1786. Secondly, William Gibbons, Thomas's brother, was Speaker of the House in 1786. It was in 1786 that Thomas had all restrictions removed and was readmitted to the bar. Perhaps one can understand the deep hatred James Jackson felt for Thomas Gibbons, who always managed to dodge any law or restriction.

The duel between James Jackson and Thomas was arranged, after the delays of a proper time, proper place, and much heated correspondence between the parties involved. There were several men who wanted Thomas killed. Thomas showed great courage and resignation of the fact by stating "It is my wish to adjust this matter with the General first. Afterwards I then turn my face towards these inhabitants (of Savannah) or some of them."

On October 1, 1786, Thomas met James Jackson on the field of honor. The site chosen was to be in South Carolina since so many people had heard of the impending duel and wanted to see it. Seconds were John R. Stafford for James Jackson and Captain William McIntosh for Thomas. In this particular duel, Thomas shot the pistol from James Jackson's hand and the seconds stepped in, as the code of honor required, and had the duellists discuss their feelings before reloading the pistols. The pistols were reloaded only once but they were not shot. The seconds managed to quell the duellists on this crisp October morning. However, Thomas and James Jackson would meet again...in 1792.
Chapter Three
Political Career in Savannah Politics, 1787-1792

By February of 1787 Thomas had regained all of his civil rights. Thomas represented Chatham County in the House of Assembly (1787-89) and was a delegate to both the December 1787 Convention that ratified the U.S. Constitution and the 1789 state constitutional convention.36

In 1788 Thomas was elected a tax receiver for Savannah. At this time Thomas had a very profitable legal practice which earned him $15,000 a year.37 Thomas's law practice was not the only money earning operation he had. In 1769 when Joseph Gibbons died, he left Thomas 1000 acres of pineland. During the intervening years following the Revolutionary War until 1820, Thomas subsequently added onto this 1000 acre tract, an original crown grant that Joseph Gibbons received in 1759.38

Whitehall Plantation was the name given to the land Thomas inherited from his father. As his land holdings accelerated, his political career did likewise. According to the Georgia Gazette, April 30, 1789, Thomas was elected to represent the county of Camden in the state convention to be held at Augusta the following week.39

The city of Savannah, particularly the Patriots who still could not forgive Thomas for being a Loyalist, accused him of being a traitor back in 1789. When Colonel Fishbourne mentioned the name of Lincoln (Page 4 of this paper), he was referring to General Benjamin Lincoln, commander of the American forces who surrendered the largest force of Americans to the British, 5000 men at Charleston, South Carolina.40 Thomas was blamed for this by the rumor that he had been General Lincoln's secretary while General Lincoln was encamped
at Purrysburg (present day Hardeeville), South Carolina, and that Thomas had betrayed the General's army in the spring campaign of 1780.41

Thomas wrote an eloquent letter to General Lincoln, asking him to absolve Thomas of all blame in the 1780 campaign. General Lincoln replied, remarking that he did not recall a Thomas Gibbons who was supposed to have been his secretary nor did he remember a Thomas Gibbons anywhere in his camp. Thomas had both letters printed in the Georgia Gazette on September 17, 1789.42

In 1790 a Thomas Gibbons, Junior, became clerk of the Savannah City Council.43 However, I say that this cannot possibly be true. My Thomas Gibbons was always signed "Esquire" following his name. The Thomas Gibbons, Junior, mentioned as the clerk of the Savannah City Council signed his name, "Thomas Gibbons, Junior." Although the source "Whitehall Plantation" states that Thomas Gibbons became clerk of the city council in 1790, I believe it was Thomas Gibbons, Junior, who was murdered in 1794. There was a Thomas Gibbons, Junior, also living in Savannah during the same time as my Thomas. According to any correspondence Thomas sent, his name was always signed, "Thomas Gibbons, Esquire." He was never a junior. In the letter to General Lincoln, Thomas sent the letter from "Thomas Gibbons, Esquire." In the Georgia Gazette of April 30, 1789, the "Honorable Thomas Gibbons, Esquire, was to represent Camden County at the state convention."

I traced the Thomas Gibbons, Junior, until his demise on January 11, 1794. He was murdered by Ephraim Hoxford, a shoemaker.44 I believe this was the "Thomas Gibbons, Junior" who was clerk of the Savannah city council in 1790.

I also checked the secondary source "Whitehall Plantation" footnoted, the Dictionary of American Biography, and found no reference stating that
Thomas Gibbons, Esquire, was the clerk of the city council.

On March 9, 1791, Thomas Gibbons was elected by the city council of Savannah as Mayor of Savannah. However, ninety days earlier, on January 3, 1791, Thomas had been very busy, acting as campaign manager for General Anthony Wayne in the congressional election. Thomas, along with Judge Henry Osborne were General Wayne's campaign managers.

When the first Congress of the United States met in New York City in 1789-90, the Savannah district, known as the lower or eastern district, was represented in the House by General James Jackson, an old political and personal foe of Thomas's. Thomas was a staunch Federalist while James Jackson was a Republican.

The Federalists cast about for a worthy opponent to face James Jackson in the upcoming election of 1791. They chose General "Mad Anthony" Wayne. The irony manifested here was that James Jackson, a colonel during the Revolutionary War and later brigadier-general of the Georgia militia, was the first American soldier to enter evacuated Savannah, selected by General Wayne, his opponent now. And the Federalists, headed by Alexander Hamilton, wanted General Wayne elected and they chose him to use as a political whip. The Federalists needed unscrupulous, shrewd, and daring campaign managers who could maneuver the election and would stop at nothing to do so. The Federalists chose Judge Henry Osborne and Thomas Gibbons.

While General Wayne was held in high esteem by the people of Georgia, James Jackson had the added benefit of longer and closer personal contact with the voters of the five counties: Camden, Chatham, Effingham, Glynn, and Liberty. James Jackson was also the incumbent and except for the Federalists, everyone seemed pleased by his efforts in office.
Thomas and Judge Osborne left Chatham and Liberty counties alone. They chose instead the sparsely settled counties of Camden, Effingham and Glynn in their attempt to defeat James Jackson. Thomas was in charge of the Effingham county vote and Judge Osborne manipulated Camden county where his influence was the greatest. To defeat James Jackson, Wayne’s campaign managers had to resort to every form of political corruption and trickery they could conjure.

The election in Camden County was held at Saint Patrick’s on the Satilla River. There were only seventy voters in Camden County and poll managers Wright, Bryant, and Brown managed the election honestly. There was plenty of liquor available and much camaraderie. When sunset closed the polls, the votes were counted and according to witnesses, there were less than forty ballots in the box. Sheriff Smith, having seen the polls closed and the vote officially counted, rode off home.

Just as darkness closed in, Judge Henry Osborne, who was a Superior Court judge of the Eastern Circuit, arrived in a boat with eight others. Judge Osborne promptly ordered the polls reopened, installed himself as presiding justice and chose James Armstrong, H. Wright, Langley Bryant (Wright and Bryant were the previous poll managers), and Robert Seagrove as new poll managers. Judge Osborne and his new managers voted for Wayne and dropped in ballots for Wayne for others who had not shown up at Saint Patrick’s to vote.

During the hearing that followed concerning the illegal voting procedures, Daniel Miller, who had taken the census of Camden county, swore that there were but seventy qualified voters in the county, but after Judge Osborne closed the polls for the second time and the votes were counted again, General Wayne had seventy-nine votes and James Jackson had ten. Camden county was not handled as conspicuously as Effingham county, with Thomas at the helm.
Thomas showed far more discretion and deception in maintaining the election for Wayne's behalf.

The polling place in Effingham county was Elberton, on the Ogeechee River. Reports indicated that most of the voters were drunk before eleven o'clock that morning. Nathaniel Hudson, who had been elected a magistrate by the legislature but had never qualified, was induced by Thomas to preside. John London and Jeff Bell, neither of whom was a justice of the peace, served also with Hudson. Sheriff Thomas Lane was more than happy to take the returns to Augusta for he had been paid quite liberally for this task by Thomas. Thomas relied on his legal bearing and attorney-at-law reputation to convince voters that as a lawyer, he was not to be disputed. Like the Camden vote, Effingham showed more votes than voters. 54

That dispensed with two counties, both carrying General Wayne as the victor. Glynn County had not been maneuvered properly and Judge Osborne secured the Glynn County votes and the votes never reached Augusta, the capital of Georgia in 1791. On January 27, 1791, Governor Edward Telfair, with the vote from four counties before him, declared General Wayne elected. 55

The subsequent explosion from James Jackson was delayed due to President George Washington's visit south. No one wanted the President of the United States touring a state torn apart by a factional election that had been illegally fixed. 56

James Jackson, who had been north during the election, came back to Georgia, fully aware of what had happened due to reports from his campaign managers. 57 Perhaps worse than this election loss was that on March 9, 1791, Thomas became Mayor of Savannah. And it was Thomas who toasted President Washington on his visit in Savannah.
Jackson suppressed his bitterness throughout these events. On April 7, 1791, he published a card, thanking his supporters and stating that he "retired from public life with a pleasing satisfaction of having done his duty." 58

On April 19, 1791, the Honorable Mayor of Savannah, Thomas Gibbons, Esquire, and a committee of council complimented James Jackson "on his return to Georgia and domestic enjoyment," and thanked him "for his patriotic exertion, for the firm attachment evidenced to the interests of the Southern states in general and of this state in particular." 59 One can only imagine the sheer hatred and contempt that Jackson was forced to swallow while the Savannah public read these letters of gratitude. And it was quite possible that nearly everyone knew of the circumstances of the election. On July 28, 1791, the entire front page of the Georgia Gazette was used by him to tell the story of the election. 59

Judge Henry Osborne was suspended from office by Governor Edward Telfair. This was done in response to James Jackson and his friends demanding that Judge Osborne be impeached at the November session of the Georgia House of Representatives. Again, of critical importance is that in the Georgia House of Representatives from Chatham county were: Josiah Tattnall, Jacob Waldberger, John Milledge, and William Gibbons, 60 Thomas's older brother.

On December 21, 1791, the State Senate found Judge Henry Osborne guilty, removed him from his position as judge of the Superior Court; removed him as one of the justices of Camden county; declared him incapable of holding any office of trust, honor or profit in Georgia for thirty years; ordered his name struck from the roll of attorneys at law; and imposed a fine of $600 to defray the cost of prosecution. The only acquittal Judge Osborne received was the
one of suppressing the returns of Glynn county. He was restored to full citizenship under the constitution of 1796, in one of its articles.61

And what of Thomas Gibbons? After securing Osborne's conviction, Jackson began the fight to oust General Wayne from the House of Representatives. Jackson filed his petition on November 14, 1791 and on March 12, 1792, the case came before Congress, then in Philadelphia. Jackson at no time during the course of the case made any derogatory remarks upon General Wayne's character. Instead, he saved his strength and attacked Osborne and particularly Thomas.62 Jackson realized that General Wayne had been a political pawn.

On March 19, 1792, a resolution declaring James Jackson entitled to the seat occupied by General Wayne in the House was voted on: yeas, 29; nays, 29. Jonathan Trumbull, speaker of the House, an ardent Federalist, voted negative, denying James Jackson the seat. Immediately another resolution was presented and adopted declaring the seat vacant that General Wayne had filled and John Willledge was voted on to fill it.63

Thomas remained unsathed in this congressional hearing. He did resign as Mayor of Savannah on March 12, 1791,64 the very date the congressional hearing began. Judge Osborne's career was in shambles. John London, who had presided over the Effingham county election, was impeached by the Superior Court of Effingham county, by a bill found against him for perjury, on the oaths of Sheriff Thomas Lane and Mr. Thomas Gibbons.65 And Thomas Gibbons rose above the present troubles. His political career was intact, along with his legal practice. Again I mention his two very good reasons. They are Edward Telfair who was governor in 1791 and brother William who was representing Chatham county in the House of Representatives.

James Jackson's remark that Thomas was a man "whose soul is faction,
and whose life has been a scene of political corruption," led to another duel when Thomas challenged his. In April of 1792, Thomas and Jackson met once more on the field of honor. Three shots were fired but neither was hurt.

Chapter Four

Family Life and Financial Stability, 1757-1802

Upon entering the years 1792-1801, I will pause and reflect upon Thomas's family life and bring the reader up to date on several items. Thomas married Ann Miles Heyward sometime in 1781. Ann Heyward Gibbons was born in James Island, South Carolina, on July 8, 1757. The children Thomas and Ann Gibbons had were: Ann Heyward, Thomas Heyward, William Heyward, and Hannah Gibbons. Thomas and Ann purportedly had twelve children, three of which matured into adulthood.

The child Hannah died in Charleston, South Carolina, sometime in late August of 1796. Hannah could possibly have died an infant, but why were the other eight children not mentioned by name? Infants were usually not named as surviving children if they died during their infancy. I suspect Hannah may have been older, possibly a teen-ager away at school or young child. Since Thomas and Ann married in 1781, Hannah could well have been in her teen years by 1796. The next child born was Ann who arrived in 1790.

In the year 1792, Thomas became a stronger force in Savannah. In September of 1792, he became Senator Thomas Gibbons, Esquire. He defeated a Jackson supporter for this post of state senator, but was cued out of his seat because of voting irregularities.
On March 2, 1794, Thomas was elected an alderman of Savannah. Then on March 10, 1794, Thomas was elected Mayor of Savannah for a second term.

During this time Thomas had a beautiful home in downtown Savannah where Bay Street intersects West Broad Street. This town house was on the southwest corner of the two streets in the village of St. Gall, later Yamacraw, where lots 11, 12, 20, 21, and 22 had been utilized into a beautiful town estate. A Krissay Chirch is located there at present.

It was during this second term as mayor that Thomas began adding onto his inherited estate on the Savannah River. Thomas purchased Argyle Island on the southeasterly section curving close to Hutchinson island. After this, he turned towards the mainland between Pipemaker’s Creek (now Pipemaker’s Canal intersecting Dean Forest Road) and the Grange Plantation (John Musgrove’s original plantation, called "Cowpen" in 1733.)

In 1795 Thomas bought 352 acres of the Grantham tract from Isaac Young. This Grantham Tract belonged to Joseph Watson, a five hundred acre tract he referred to as "Grantham Town." To this 352 acre tract Thomas gave the name of Fair Lawn, as he spelled it.

In 1796 Thomas secured a 300 acre inland tract belonging to John Barnard, paying $428.57 to the present owners, Hannah Houston and Joseph Bryan. Another part of Grantham, belonging to Francis Davies’ plantation, was the 100 acres, bought in separate years: 1798, 19.5 acres from Francis Davies for 43 pounds; in 1800, 80.5 acres from Peter Davies, Francis’s son. Through a sheriff’s sale, Thomas bought 153 acres of the upper Shaftesbury Tract and three of the back river march islands for $3000. From Peter Deveaux and Mary, Thomas bought 151 acres of "river swamp" south of his former purchases and 90 adjoining acres of cleared land. In 1800 a long narrow strip of 36 acres with a small river
frontage was bought by Thomas for $1000. This had been Mary Musgrove's favorite spot and where her home had stood on Cowpen Plantation. In 1804, 142 acres, above and adjoining the 153 acre tract were bought for $2175 from the heirs of Peter and Mary Deveaux. Thomas continued until he had purchased 2820 acres and river frontage of approximately one mile. The present location of Whitehall Plantation is taken up by Union Camp, Georgia Ports Authority, the Dixie Crystals Sugar Refinery and part of the Savannah Airport.

Recorded in the Georgia Gazette, March 19, 1795, a petition signed by 110 citizens of Savannah was taken to Thomas by the aldermen, Mr. Wayne, Mr. Throop, and Mr. Hogg, thanking Thomas for such an outstanding job accomplished while Mayor of Savannah. Upon the close of Thomas's term as Mayor in 1795, he was elected an alderman of Savannah.

Thomas was elected an alderman, once again, representing the Oglethorpe Ward in July of 1799. Then on July 9, 1799, at a meeting of the newly elected aldermen, Thomas was elected Mayor of Savannah for a third term. On a Saturday in December of 1799, Thomas was re-elected president of the St. Andrew's Society at the Anniversary meeting.

It was while Thomas was serving as mayor for a fourth term, July 14, 1800 through July 13, 1801, that a clandestine operation Thomas was well aware of and had sponsored was brought to light. A Mr. Bouche, building contractor, was an odd character. According to the Georgia Gazette, on January 28, 1790, "Mr. Bouche said that he was instructed by his constituents to claim the counties of Avignon and Venaisson from the Pope."

In February of 1801 it was made public that Mr. Bouche, with the sanction of Mayor Thomas Gibbons, had been keeping "a riotous house...for sometime past." Though there had been many complaints from citizens, nothing happened
until Thomas issued Mr. Bouche a ticket granting permission to hold a dance for the Negroes. To this festive gathering were admitted "all Negroes indiscriminately with and without tickets from their owners." Near midnight in the midst of the noisy revelry "the whole assembly of blacks..." were "carried to the gaol" by William Smith, policeman, whose duty it was to guard against insurrection or insubordination on the part of Negroes. 83

Mr. Smith promptly reported to Mayor Gibbons, in spite of the late hour, and pointed out that Thomas had neither private nor official authority to permit such a gathering.

"I am ready to meet him (Thomas) at anything he pleases, except clubs; a two years illness disables me from engaging in personal contests.... but he can't deny me he met me and attempted to break my head with a club or bludgeon, on Saturday last, but was disappointed, and came off second best." 89

The above article appeared in the Georgia Gazette, March 19, 1801, written by Mr. Smith.

All such bawdy behavior on Thomas's part had absolutely nothing to do with his political bearing. Senator Gunn secured for Thomas from President John Adams the appointment to a federal judgeship under the Judiciary Act of 1801. The Georgia Gazette of March 19, 1801, reported the fact that Thomas had been selected. However, in March of 1802, the new Republican Congress repealed the Judiciary Act and Thomas lost his federal judgeship. 90

By this time, though, Thomas had already begun looking northward for future investments as we will discover in the next chapter.
Chapter Five
Northward to Gibbons vs Ogden 1824

"On January 30, 1797, Aaron Ogden, Jonathon Dayton, and John Stites owned the New Point ferry, boats, etc., at Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), New Jersey point, as tenants in common, and, in April of 1797, made a declaration of trust respecting the same, which was to be divided into six hundred shares, and certificates issued therefor; that (John) Stites conveyed his interest to (Aaron) Ogden and (Jonathon) Dayton; that Dayton, on October 14, 1801, owned the Old Point ferry, situated near the New Point ferry, which was a rival ferry to New York, and sold a moiety of the same to Ogden; that Dayton and Ogden then made a second deed of trust respecting the Old Point ferry, similar to that respecting the New Point ferry, it being their intention to unite the two ferries in one; that Dayton, by two deeds: July 29, 1802 and September 19, 1803, conveys to Thomas Gibbons his moiety in the ferries, etc., and three hundred of the certificates; and that Ogden and Gibbons were then seized, as tenants in common, in equal moieties of both ferries, etc., subject to the trust deeds, etc."91

Thomas had bought these shares into the ferry boat business and was an equal partner with Aaron Ogden at this time in 1803. In 1810 Thomas purchased an estate in Elizabethtown as a summer residence.92 I will now introduce the Hopkins Hypothesis. Thomas bought the summer estate to now protect his interest in the ferry boat business. The case of Gibbons vs Ogden 1824, whereas Thomas appealed the steamboat monopoly laws and Chief Justice John Marshall ruled the U. S. Constitution allowed interstate commerce on the waters of the United States (See 2 Wheaton, 1). The Gibbons vs Ogden case was due to Thomas's setting up a rival ferry that competed with Ogden's and nearly ruined him in the steamboat-ferry business. However, I have found ample proof supporting my hypothesis that Thomas's son-in-law, Jonathon Trumbull (hereafter referred to as Trumbull), managed to inherit the three hundred shares in the partnership with Ogden. Thomas was out to destroy Trumbull, but unfortunately, Ogden got in the way.

On February 27, 1810, Thomas Heyward Gibbons married Miss Mollie (Mary)
Dayton of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. On March 5, 1810, Ann Heyward Gibbons married Jonathan M. Trumbull of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Both Dayton and Joseph Trumbull were business partners with Thomas at this time.

Trumbull, living in Connecticut in 1810, was embarrassed and in the spring of 1811, went to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, to live at Thomas's summer place. This is the first incident of financial problems that would continue to plague Trumbull. He was a continual beggar of money from his father-in-law, sowing the seeds of wrath and destruction Thomas knew only too well how to nurture.

In August of 1811, John Heyward, Ann Trumbull's uncle, came to visit the Trumbull family. "And being wealthy, unmarried, and without children, and he (Trumbull) still embarrassed and in necessitous circumstances, made known the same to Heyward, and solicited from him a gift of $5000." John Heyward also made known to Trumbull that Thomas owed Heyward a sum of money. "John Heyward said he must apply to Thomas Gibbons to pay a note he held for $12,800 and interest, and next day offered to give it (the $12,800 plus interest) to complainant (Trumbull)."96

This episode of money owed by Thomas to Heyward that Trumbull discovered would eventually culminate, along with extenuating circumstances, into Gibbons vs Ogden.

In October of 1811, both Thomas and Heyward, "being desirous of making a provision for Ann Trumbull," would agree that the money owed by Thomas "be conveyed to Ann Trumbull for the use of her and her children." Plus, the Trumbulls now had complete use of Thomas's estate in Elizabethtown and interest in the New Point ferry and the Old Point ferry, and that Thomas should settle the amount Heyward lent Trumbull ($5000).97
The pivotal action occurred on October 24, 1811. Thomas "gave his bond to Heyward for the sum of $12,857.74, who, on October 29, 1811, assigned it to Trumbull, who still has said assignment (in 1818)." The bond was originally assigned to a trustee for Ann Trumbull and Thomas did not want Trumbull assigned as trustee. But Heyward conveyed to Trumbull the authority as trustee over Ann Trumbull, Trumbull's own wife, and it was only after Thomas had paid the bond, conveyed his three hundred shares in the ferry boat business, and allowed the use of his lands, did he discover that Trumbull stood as trustee over Ann Trumbull.

The final action occurred on June 9, 1812, when Thomas conveyed the deed to trustees: William Gibbons, Elias B. Dayton, and Jonathon Trumbull, "the lands and premises as set forth in complainant's (Trumbull) bill." Trumbull had been up to devious plans in October 1811. He wrote a letter to John Heyward. One can only surmise what the letter contained. It was possible that the letter had something to do with Heyward urging Thomas to pay up what he owed. For on October 24, 1811, the original bond action occurred and Thomas's initial concurrence with setting up a trust fund for daughter Ann Trumbull.

By 1815 Thomas came to reside in Elizabethtown "to promote the interests of his daughter and her children in the trust estate, and obtained from Coit (replaced Elias B. Dayton) and William Gibbons, two of the trustees, power to settle with (Aaron) Ogden." Aaron Ogden held half of the Old and New Point ferries. Thomas no longer owned anything of a ferry boat business by 1815. He had conveyed his interests to the trustees, of which Trumbull was one.

A year after moving to Elizabethtown, Thomas wrote to his wife for her
to come northward for the summer. Ann Gibbons was living in Savannah at the Gibbons' residence on Bay and West Broad Streets. Apparently there had been marital strife at this point in Thomas and Ann's life. Thomas's observation on this matter from his diary shows a portion of it:

Some time about the month of January last (1816), I wrote to Mrs. (Ann) Gibbons, giving her an invitation to come to Elizabethtown, and spend the summer with me; she accepted the invitation. My son William wrote to me that his mother wished to come as early as May; that my business there (William's business) would not allow his leaving Savannah earlier than July. I mentioned this difficulty to Trumbull; he offered to go. It was agreed that he should go, and I agreed to pay his expenses. But as soon as this abuse of Mrs. T. (Ann Trumbull) took place, and this quarrel about my will and some other disputes followed, I told Mr. T. that I did not wish him to go.102

Needless to say Trumbull disobeyed Thomas and on May 9, 1816, he sailed for Savannah, with the intent of bringing Ann Gibbons northward, and informing his wife to say he had gone to New York.103 Thomas had never liked his son-in-law, Trumbull, and the dislike was evident as far back as Trumbull's marriage to Ann:

"Sir, did I not say to you in Savannah, in the presence of my daughter Ann, before your marriage, Mr. Trumbull, if you marry my daughter, and Ann, if you marry Mr. Trumbull, I will never give either of you the value of one shilling of my estate; to which Ann replied, 'we must go to work'."104

Trumbull began employing other acts of subterfuge in his effort to undermine Thomas. He went to Savannah, against orders, and brought Mrs. Gibbons northward only to increase the hostility that was simmering in Elizabethtown that year of 1816. Thomas wrote to his son, William Gibbons, and informed him to "turn T. out of my house in Savannah."105 This was after Thomas had discovered that Trumbull had indeed gone to Savannah for Mrs. Gibbons.

On June 1, 1816, Ann Gibbons arrived in New York and stayed at Washington
Hall. Trumbull accompanied her, no doubt filling her ear with amusing anecdotes of Thomas's exploits. For on June 3, 1816, she arrived at Thomas's house and refused to have her baggage taken to Thomas's. Instead, it was carried to the Trumbull residence, called "Slovenly" by Thomas. Thomas tried to console his wife and induce her to stay at his home. Ann Gibbons refused. 106

However, on one memorable occasion, Ann Gibbons did visit her husband and Thomas recorded it in his diary:

I requested frequently and urgently to Mrs. G. (Ann Gibbons) to come into the house, to let me know what all this warmth proceeded from; but she stood in the front piazza, and said that she would not come in, for that she had been told I kept prostitutes in the house, and that she never would come into a house of mine again. 107

Thomas and Ann's marital problems could have been calmed down, but Trumbull kept the flames of dissention fanned. On July 21, 1816, Trumbull sent for A. (Aaron) Ogden "to advise with him (Trumbull) and Mrs. G. on a plan or proceeding for Mrs. G. to pursue to obtain from me (Thomas) a divorce and separate maintenance." 108 Thomas steamed and stewed about, then he began to plot. Installing all animosity and hatred into fomenting a plan, Thomas set in motion the factors that culminated in a libel suit brought by Trumbull in 1816 and resolved in 1818, and his subsequent steamboat fight with Aaron Ogden, Gibbons vs Ogden. From his diary Thomas planned:

After my arrival at Saratoga Springs, I thought of my unpleasant situation—the wife of my bosom, with whom I had lived in comfort for thirty-five years, who had borne unto me twelve children, who had come to Elizabethtown to spend the summer months with me, torn from me by gross lies and the wicked machinations of T. and wife; left my house, as she told me, never to return, applying to lawyers to sue out a writ of divorce to obtain from me a separate maintenance, to live with such monsters as T. and wife, to leave me comfortless in the last hours of age, just entering the age of sixty. I became excessively wrath, and sat down and addressed a paper, styled the "Elogeant," the other letter giving the history of her family and of J.T. and wife. I designed to set down in full colours such matters as I presumed would awaken her feelings. I opened the most private
secrets of our family, and one which, although known to three of our family, was not known to her. 109

Thomas then had the letters printed in Boston, "wishing at least three or four copies of them for Mrs. G. and her relations." Thomas, after arriving in New York, sent five of the letters, sealed, to Ann Gibbons, with instructions on how they were to be distributed. One was for Ann herself; one for her brother, John Hayward; a third was for Glover, Ann's sister; a fourth to Aaron Ogden; a fifth to Richard Stockton, Ann's attorney-at-law. 110

Thomas Gamble, in Savannah Duels and Duellists, feels that Thomas "invented the grounds of Ogden's home at Elizabethtown and posted him in language that ordinarily would have merited a duel." Ogden countered with a suit of trespass against Thomas that had its final hearing before the Chief Justice of New Jersey in September of 1818. Thomas had to pay a fine of $5000 to Ogden. 111

This abortive duel had nothing to do with the steamboat controversy. Instead it was based upon Frumbull's insistence of dragging Ogden into a personal affair that Thomas resented. The letter Thomas sent to Aaron Ogden in August of 1816 was the basis of the trespass suit. Aaron Ogden considered the sealed letter addressed to him a challenge, and "preferred a bill of indictment against me and J. (Jonathon) Dayton; and on Monday, September 23 (1816), we were called to answer at Newark Court. Aaron Ogden read a part of the whole of one of my printed documents, which I had sent to Mrs. G., in open court." 112

Ann Gibbons asked her son William what had taken place at court. William informed her that Ogden had read her sealed letter aloud in court.
William then left the Trumbull residence and returned to his father’s home, a distance of about 150 yards. He was there five minutes when “a servant woman, named Sue, belonging to Mrs. G., came running into the house, crying out her mistress was dying. Master William, mistress is dying.”

On June 1, 1817, Ann Trumbull died in childbirth. Thomas acquired a steam ferry, the Steudinger, in 1817, and another in 1818, the Bellona.

Before the initial Gibbons vs Ogden trial of 1813, pertaining to the trespass suit, Trumbull had begun proceedings to prosecute Thomas because of the pamphlets he had published in Boston in 1816. Then, after John tried to get guardianship of the Trumbull children, Thomas opposed him. The securities he offered were Aaron Ogden and General Cummings. Trumbull applied for letters of guardianship in 1817.

Thomas's opposition to Trumbull's guardianship plea "was that he meant to fulfill his promise to his children, and not let their property fall into my (Trumbull's) hands."

After losing Ann Trumbull in 1817, Thomas set about to destroy Trumbull's holdings in Ogden's steamboat company. He had two steamboats by 1818. But in 1817, Thomas "set up a rival ferry, cut a canal, and trespassed on the trust premises," which he admitted was willfully done, saying, "the title was in the trustees," and Thomas could not be sued therefor without the consent of William Gibbons, a trustee and Thomas’s son. Thomas was not after Ogden's business initially. He was after Trumbull. Thomas "didn't know if the trustees had taken measures against Ogden; he (Thomas) had taken none against him, and is not answerable for what they shall be unable to obtain from Ogden."

"In 1818 Gibbons broke with Ogden and boldly started to run his own ferries from Elizabethtown to New York, competing with Ogden's Atalanta."
Thomas broke with one of the trustees in the company, Trumbull, and set out to destroy Trumbull's interest in the steamboat company. Thomas ran his own ferry at very reduced prices. Thomas had found out that Trumbull, in July of 1816, had access to Ogden's books on the Atalanta, and Thomas found out that Trumbull was making a comfortable living by investments,\textsuperscript{122} and coupled with what Trumbull was begging from Thomas, plus living rent free, made Thomas rather angry.

On March 9, 1820, Ann Gibbons died at the Gibbons' residence on West Broad Street. Dr. Gayard from South Carolina was her attending doctor. Her cause of death: decay of nature.\textsuperscript{123}

Thomas had little time to mourn. The steamboat controversy was now beginning to blossom. Ogden secured an injunction on October 21, 1818,\textsuperscript{124} to stop Thomas from operating his own steamboat business. Thomas appealed the decision, stating that his federal coating license was enough to permit the running of the ferry, but the injunction was upheld on October 6, 1819, and the state court of errors on April 27, 1820.\textsuperscript{125}

In 1820 Thomas begged Trumbull to go with him to fight Ogden since the dispute now became centered between Thomas and Ogden. "If you go with me, we can pull together and protect their (Trumbull children) against Aaron Ogden." Thomas then admitted the pamphlets he published against Trumbull and Ann was the "vilest thing I ever did." He said he was "perfectly satisfied (Trumbull) could do nothing less than prosecute him for libel."\textsuperscript{126}

Gibbons vs Ogden was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States which refused to accept jurisdiction in 1821 but finally heard the case in the February term of 1824.\textsuperscript{127} Thomas summoned forth every ounce of strength he had for the ensuing battle. He secured the legal services of Daniel Webster
and Attorney-General William Wirt, and made a provision in his will of $40,000
to carry on the case if he should die before it was settled. 128

In 1824 Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, made one of the
most famous decisions in his career. A decision that affected the entire inter-
state commerce clause in the U.S. Constitution. The decision ruled that
American waters were also considered public access and interstate commerce
was to be allowed on the waters the same as any other public access route. 129

Sometime in 1823, Thomas apparently had a stroke which left him paralyzed
on his right side. 130 At this time he was living in New York City. John Tenor,
a physician and dentist, stated, "Thomas had wasted away, broken down, was
pale and flabby-looking—no doubt bothered by the steamboat affairs." 131

On May 16, 1826, Thomas Gibbons, Esquire, died in New York City. 132
He was buried at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. 133
Afterword

Webster's Collogeiate dictionary defines shrewd as: mischievous, ominous, dangerous, severe, hard, marked by clever discerning awareness and hard-headed acumen (common sense). It is this last definition that I would like to apply to Thomas Gibbons, Esquire, subject of the preceding paper.

His ability to maneuver in, around, and under the law and come out without a scratch was not due to contempt of the law as much as practical sense and the ability to strike while the iron was hot.

Thomas had influential family backing, inherited wealth, and an intelligence that would help imprisoned Whigs or destroy his own family. He was not a man to fight with blindfolded or proclaim you had one on him. Upon closing, I would like to repeat what Jonathan Trumbull stated during the 1848 Den vs Gibbons trial.

"He was a violent man in his temper; it was easy to set him against one, anything would set him up against Colonel (Aaron) Ogden."

I feel Trumbull was as sneaky and devious as Thomas himself, but he underestimated Thomas at the end. Thomas died a multimillionaire and when the libel suit was ended in 1818, Trumbull was happy with $15,000 as his settlement, a third of what he thought Thomas owned. (See Recollections from Friend and Foe). Perhaps that was why Trumbull pursued every avenue in attempting to get Thomas to help his children and himself.

2. Georgia Writers' Project, "Whitehall Plantation," Georgia Historical Society Quarterly, Volume 25, p. 45. (Hereafter referred to as "Whitehall Plantation").

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 46.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 52.


12. Revolutionary Records of Georgia, Volume II, p. 102, GHS.


18. Genealogy Files, GHS, s.v. Gibbons Family.


20. Ibid.


22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. James F. Cook, Governors of Georgia, p. 68.
34. Savannah Morning News, January 19, 1930.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
40. Georgia Gazette, April 30, 1789, page 2, column 3. (Hereafter, page and column number will be referred to respectively p. and c.)
41. Thomas Gamble, Stories of Savannah, Gamble Collection, Savannah Public Library, s.v. Gibbons, Thomas.
42. Georgia Gazette, September 12, 1789, p. 2, c.1.
43. Ibid.
45. Georgia Gazette, January 16, 1794, p.2, c.3.
47. Savannah Morning News, February 23, 1930.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
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57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
68. Dictionary of Georgia Biography, p. 344.
70. James Barnwell Hayward, II, Hayward, GHS, p. 72.
71. Ibid.
72. Den vs Gibbons, p. 36.
74. Georgia Gazette, October 4, 1792, p.3, c.1.
75. Dictionary of Georgia Biography, p. 344.
76. Georgia Gazette, March 13, 1794, p.3, c.1.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., P. 347.
80. Ibid., p. 55.
81. Ibid., pp. 56-7.
82. Georgia Gazette, March 19, 1795, p.3, c.1.
83. Ibid.
84. Columbian Museun and Savannah Advertiger, July 5, 1799, p.3, c.4. (Hereafter referred to as CM.)
85. Georgia Gazette, March 10, 1796, p.3, c.1.
86. CM, December 6, 1799, p.3, c.3.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid., p. 59.
91. Dictionary of Georgia Biography, p. 344.
94. Marriages and Deaths, p. 40.
95. Heyward, p. 98.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid., p. 44.
99. Ibid., pp. 44-5.
100. Ibid., p. 45.
101. Ibid., p. 40.
102. Ibid., pp. 45-6.
103. Ibid., p. 34.
104. Ibid., p. 35.
105. Ibid., pp. 52-3.
106. Ibid., p. 35.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid., pp. 35-6.
110. Ibid., p. 36.
111. Ibid.
112. Savannah Duels and duellists, p. 68.
113. Den vs Gibbons, p. 36.
114. Ibid., p. 37.
115. Ibid., p. 43.
118. Ibid., p. 11.
119. Ibid., p. 43.
120. Ibid., p. 47.
123. Office of Vital Records, Chatham County Health Department, Eisenhower Drive. See Beverly Wall.
125. Ibid.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
131. Ibid.
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