

From the First Forty to the Great Embarkation: The rise and fall of early Georgia

*A study of the Savannah River Settlements and their colonists,
1733-1740*

by *Jefferson L. Hall*

Preface

This comprehensive narrative reconstructs the story of Colonial Georgia, from its idealistic founding in 1733 to its near-collapse just eight years later. Through an exhaustive, twelve-year study of Georgia's *Colonial Records* and other early sources, this volume recreates for the first time in two and-a-half centuries the original house lot locations of Savannah's first four wards and the ship musters for nearly every vessel that came to Georgia from 1732-36. The early colony was a story of its people, and this book uses their words. With hundreds of correspondents on both sides of the Atlantic, the book is an eyewitness view of Georgia in the 1730s. While secondary sources, such as Charles C. Jones *History of Georgia* and Temple and Coleman's excellent tome *Georgia Journeys* were used for confirmation, this study is taken almost exclusively from the primary sources. A little background on the sources....

The *Colonial Records of Georgia* remains the best, and in some cases, the only documentation for events of those first 50 years. A massive, 39-volume set culled from sources as varied as proceedings of Council, finances, land grants and indentures, personal correspondence, journals and record books of the Georgia Board of Trustees, these *Colonial Records of Georgia* represent within their pages a wealth of early Georgia history, and present to us in published form a hodgepodge of unwieldy information that would otherwise be lost or relegated out of context.

The *South Carolina Gazette* frequently offers rich source for information on early Colonial Georgia. Established by Thomas Whitmarsh and publishing its first issue on January 8, 1732, the *Gazette* suspended publication following Whitmarsh's death in September, 1733, but resumed under L. Timothee on February 2, 1734.

The biting commentary *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America* was written by Georgia colonists Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson, *et al* and published from a Charlestown printing house in 1741. The page numbers, where cited, refer specifically to the 1960 University of Georgia Press printing of the book, entitled *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America, With Comments by Egmont*, and includes John Percival's lengthy asides and counter-arguments.

John Percival wrote extensively, leaving behind not only the *Egmont Journal*, but also his dense three-volume *Diary*, covering his personal and professional life from 1728 to 1747. Arguably

Percival’s most significant contribution to the Georgia record was the *List of Early Settlers*, a meticulous, encapsulated list of all of the colonists who were sent to Georgia over its first ten years, with additional notes, updates and commentary by Percival.

John Wesley’s *Journal*, the complete nine-volume set, edited by Nehemiah Cornock and published in 1909, features portions of his shorthand diary in addition to his unedited journal writings.

Samuel Urlsperger’s multi-volume *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers in America*, originally printed over the 16-year span of 1735-1751, would not see the light of day—in English—until the Wormsloe Foundation published the volumes from 1968 to 1990, more than two centuries later.

In 1963, the Wormsloe Foundation also published the invaluable and previously “lost” *Journal of Peter Gordon*.

The numerous misspellings and examples of archaic English within the quoted letters are reproduced unaltered and uncorrected. Similarly, all dates within this volume are unaltered Old Style.

- Jefferson Hall, 2022

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1740

“the terrible bad Situation of Affairs” **GOSPEL OF THE SEVEN SCOTS**

On March 3, 1739 Georgia resident Hugh Anderson penned a dire and frank letter to John, Lord Viscount Percival, president of the Georgia Board of Trustees. The two men had met over dinner at Percival's home on May 31, 1736, and as Percival observed in his *Diary*, “I found him a decent, considerate, and very intelligent gentleman.” (vol. 2, p. 276) Arriving in Georgia on June 22, 1737, Anderson had settled in Savannah's fifth ward, today known as Reynolds, with his wife, two sons and a daughter. He, like so many others who had come to Georgia as an adventurer on his own account, had found himself financially crippled by Georgia, disillusioned by a sandy coastal soil, a lack of slaves and an oppressive credit system that had seen countless Savannahians imprisoned since 1734. He remarked of a colony that, through mismanagement and confusion, had fallen into disarray and seen all its ideals shattered. It had been, as he wrote to the Trustees, “the Joy of Friends... and the terror of Enimys to See the... Safeguard of British America Rise... under your forming hands,” at its inception. But as he remarked: “The best Concerted Schemes are but Theories and can not arrive at Certainty untill put in Execution.”

But Ah how fallen: how Chang'd; The Beautifull town of Savannah Decaying and Desolate[,] The greater number of its inhabitants dispers'd in other parts of the world to Shun Misery and Famine, the Remainder Dispirited and in want of Common Necessarys of Life.

- Hugh Anderson, March 3, 1739 (*Colonial Records of Georgia* [hereafter, *CRG*] XXII, pt. 2, p. 95-6)

The picture he painted was a bleak one:

The Cultivate Plantations deserted and overgrowing with brush, The Villages Unpeopled, Manufactures given over, Credit lost And publick works mouldering to Destruction before they are finishd.

Anderson had observed the simple truth that had plagued the Georgia colony since its beginning: “This Colony is composed of two Setts of People, those Who were Sent over by the Trustees and Supported by them or Others who from the probable View of Success ventured their private fortunes in the Adventure.”

The Georgia colony had no middle class; arguably the closest it came was the colonists of 1733. Increasingly, as the decade progressed and more Trust Servants and foreign Protestants were sent, the disparity between the wealthy adventurers paying their own passage to Georgia and those coming on the account of the Trustees became more pronounced. But in the end, the Trustees failed to do enough to encourage either of these divergent factions to success, and by 1740, with war looming and a Savannah government in the hands of drunkards and apathetics,

the Georgia colony was locked in a downward spiral that the Trustees had created but through myopia failed to see.

“We have seen the ancient Custom of sending forth Colonies,” Anderson and fellow Georgia colonist Patrick Tailfer wrote in the opening of their book, *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*. But, as they continued in their satirical dedication to James Edward Oglethorpe, “Your Excellency lives to see (what few Founders ever aspired after) the great Decline and almost final Termination of it.” Contrasting the settlement’s heady days to the state of the colony by 1740 the authors noted:

At least two hundred lots were taken up in Savannah, about one hundred and seventy of which were built upon (several of these had more than one house upon them); a great many of these are now ruinous, and many more shut up and abandoned; so that the town appears very desolate, scarce one quarter part of its inhabitants being left, and most of those in a miserable condition, for want of necessaries in life.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 142-3

In 1741 *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia* was printed out of a publishing house in Charlestown. It was authored by a cabal of dissatisfied Scotsmen of means—Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson, David Douglas and Andrew Grant; with input by John Baillie and the Sterling brothers—most of whom had been in Georgia since 1734. “Though our endeavours are too late to relieve the dead, the dying, and those many now dispersed in all corners of His Majesty’s dominions,” Tailfer wrote that he hoped the publication of the book would “be the means of ushering in sympathy and assistance to the survivors, and to the multitudes of widows and orphans of the deceased.” (p. 20)

Tailfer and Anderson’s remarks were politically devastating, and their picture of the state of the settlement was apocalyptic. “We are all over Ruins; our Publick-Works, Forts, Wells, High-Ways, Light-House, Store and Water-Mills, &c.” Prophesying the last employed human in Georgia would be the jail keeper, they wryly remarked:

The Logg-House, indeed, is like to be the last forsaken Spot of Your Empire, yet even this, through the Death, or Desertion of those who should continue to inhabit it, must suddenly decay; the Bankrupt Jailor himself shall be soon denied the Privilege of human Conversation.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 5

“And when this last Moment of the Spell expires,” they concluded, “the whole shall vanish like the Illusion of some *Eastern Magician*.”

By these and many other such hardships, the poor inhabitants of Georgia are scattered over the face of the earth; her plantations awild; her towns a desart; her villages in rubbish; her improvements a by-word; and her liberties a jest: An object of pity to friends, and of insult, contempt and ridicule to enemies.

- p. 160-1

With its acerbic wit and biting commentary the book marked a final salvo by the malcontents who had largely vacated the colony by the Spanish threat of 1740. “I find almost as many Lies as Pages,” William Stephens observed dryly in his *Journal* as the Tailfer book came to his hands in the summer of 1741. William Stephens, appointed as the Trustees’ loyal scribe and faithful

correspondent in Georgia, represented the other side of the argument. Arriving in 1737, he quickly denounced the malcontent contingent headed by Tailfer and his fellow Scotsmen as the “Scotch Club.” And on a Wednesday morning in the early summer of 1741 he received the long-awaited book.

Wednesday [June 24, 1741]. Early this Morning arrived John Penrose from *Charles-Town*, and brought with him various Letters....Among other Things sent me from Mr. *Hopton* by *Penrose*, I received the famous (or rather I should say Infamous) Narrative of the State of *Georgia*, that had been so long expected, and advertised to be ready for Publication, written by some of our old Acquaintance, the Remnant of the *Scotch* Club, and which I had bespoke Mr. *Hopton* to get for me, as soon as it came abroad; and I hope he will also take Care to send the same for the Perusal of the Honourable Trustees.

- *CRG IV*, Supplement, p. 174-5

Stephens lambasted the book: “Such an Heap of malicious Calumny and vile Falsehoods, perhaps no Instance can be found of, put together in the like Compass.” And of its authors Stephens let forth a rare tirade in a December 31, 1741 correspondence to the Trustees. “Such a Multiplicity of Riff Raff I would look on, as I would on Sheeps Excrements, which are numerous & much of a size.” (*CRG XXIII*, p. 195)

Across the Atlantic, Lord Percival’s response to the inflammatory book could be pretty much summed up by one of his countless lines scrawled within the margins of his own copy of the book: “These Authors lye for lying sake.” (p. 54) Percival received a copy of the book almost as quickly as Stephens, and from an unexpected source: Patrick Tailfer’s father, who actually approached the former to ask his opinion of possibly reprinting the book in London.

Thursday, 2 July [1741]...

... This month Captain Tailfer, father of Patrick Tailfer, the surgeon, came twice to see me; he showed me the pamphlet printed at Charlestown against Col. Oglethorpe and the Trustees, wherein the surgeon had a principal hand, and left it with me to read, with leave to show it some of the Trustees. We had much discourse about it. It was sent to him to cause reprint in England, but he came to ask my advice.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 225-6

One might imagine a curt smile as Percival concluded of the awkward meeting: “I took it [the book] kindly and treated him very civilly, and told him I believed it would not sell.”

Georgia settler Patrick Tailfer had arrived in the summer of 1734. Percival summed up his career in Georgia in the following capsule within his *List of Early Settlers*:

1153. Tailfer, Patrick - Surgeon; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. Settled at first on the river Nese, but quitted to practice surgery in Savannah. He had a grant of 500 acres 18 Oct. 1733. A proud saucy fellow and a Ringleader for allowance of Negroes & change of tenure. Went away to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards 31 Aug. 1740.

The Tailfer book, published at a time when Georgia's very existence seemed uncertain, gives the impression (and seems to work under the assumption) that the Georgia colony and its Savannah settlement were doomed by mighty Providence from the beginning, but the truth is that elements of Savannah's decline lined up through a confluence of events and a sequence of bad judgments throughout the decade.

To put it in perspective, the Trustees from the beginning were determined to not make the same mistakes made 60 years before by Charlestown... a city whose vices in regards to an excessive slave population, over-abundance of alcohol and poor relations with Native Americans had spurred the Trustees to a more deliberate—some might say overly-deliberate—approach with their settlement. As Tailfer observed, the Trustees sought, “by seeing the mistakes and failures of other colonies, both to avoid and rectify them,” (*Tailfer*, p. 41) which, by itself was a laudable aim. But in the end, the Trustees also failed to embrace what was *right* with Charlestown, namely, a successful business model. While ultimately failing to guide Georgia to any lasting and self-supporting industry the Trustees imposed utopian concepts on wealthy colonists who viewed restrictions on slavery, land tenure and liquor as unnatural handicaps, and poorer colonists whose inability to aspire to these goals led to malaise, or worse, contempt. Even Peter Gordon, Savannah's first chief magistrate, had come out in open defiance of the Trustees after returning to England, declaring that if not for the stilted policies of the Trustees, the colonists

...would have been able long before this time, not only to have subsisted themselves, but would likewise made a considerable figure in their exports, neither of which the people of Georgia are able to do.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 60

“Nor can the wisest man living say when they will,” he concluded, “while the constitution of the Colony remains upon the same footing as it does at present.”

Gordon had fled Georgia in 1735 and never returned, complaining that “placing the Government of the Colonie in the hands of people that are not in any degree qualified for so great a trust,” such as himself, was another dangerous error.

The colony's abandonment by its own first magistrate was only the first black eye the Savannah magistracy would endure; indeed, it was a local government that struggled time and time again just to maintain its own credibility. By 1737 Gordon's successor, Thomas Causton, would find himself the subject of a non-binding (but humiliating), 13-count indictment by a Savannah grand jury. By 1740, with a magistracy that had overturned twice in two years, the threat of a Spanish invasion and an almost complete collapse of relations with South Carolina the Georgia settlement was in serious danger of failing.

John Pye had arrived in Savannah in 1737...

Sr
After a Voige of Ten Weeks I Ariv'd safe at Savannah ye 6 Day of June where I am in good health...

- John Pye, June 29, 1737 (*CRG XXI*, p. 490)

...and by 1739 was recommended to the Trustees by Oglethorpe as a capable successor to Thomas Christie in the position of the colony's recorder. "A very industrious young man," Oglethorpe remarked in November, 1739, "who writes an exceeding good hand, is a pretty good Scholar very honest and sober." (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 269) But within six months Pye expressed dismay with the settlement.

I am very sorry to See the Alteration in Savannah within these 6 Months; And am Afraid a greater Alteration will be in 6 Months.

- John Pye, March 25, 1740 (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 367)

Pye wrote to the Trustees in late March, 1740 of a colony that had come eerily full circle seven years after the 'first forty' families settled the first ward. "There is not 40 English Famillys left in Savannah, Severall of whom have Agreed with Capt. Barnes on his Return here in about two Months time to goe to New York & others wait for an Opportunity to Charles Town." (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 366)

Indeed, the pages of William Stephens' *Journal* record an alarming exodus by the late summer of 1740:

August 19, 1740 -

Tuesday. Mr. Whitfield went on board his Sloop very early, about Three in the Morning... and taking with him... divers others, Men and Women, Strangers, went Passengers as far as Charles-Town... Mr. Tilly also took the same Opportunity, and left us; [and] Robert Gilbert (one of our Freeholders, and Magistrate last year) with his Wife.

- CRG IV, p. 645

September 20, 1740 -

Saturday.... It is said that the Fear of the Spaniards was what drove away these next following... viz. Dr. [Samuel] Nunez and his Son Daniel, [Abraham] De Lion's Wife, [John] Pye's Wife (Sister to Mr. Brownfield) Our Constable [Andre] Duchee's Wife; their Husbands yet staying to wait a farther Event; and [John] Penrose's Wife went off in Defiance of hers; a notorious Termagant.

- p. 655-6

Though Whitefield would return in December, many who accompanied him would not, including Robert Gilbert, who had come to Savannah on the *James* in 1733, ascended to the magistracy, and now represented another former magistrate to abruptly take his leave of Georgia. But the exodus that most excited Stephens' pen was the group of persons who had arrived in 1734 and had long remained a thorn in his side....

Saturday [September 20, 1740]. The first News I met with this Morning... was... that the Doctor [Patrick Tailfer] and his Crew made their Way North (it is said) to Charles-Town; his Attendants or Followers soon after, were [Andrew] Grant, [David] Douglas, [Will] Sterling, [John] Baylie, and (to make the Set compleat) Landlord [Edward] Jenkins, with his Wife also.

- p. 655

"Thus," he concluded, "we at last see an End of that cursed Club, which has so long been the Bane of this Place." But as we've already seen, this assessment proved premature.

John Fallowfield had come to Savannah in February, 1734, and succeeded Robert Gilbert as second bailiff in 1739. Fallowfield, as Peter Gordon before him, quickly admitted before the Trustees that he had no experience from which to draw. "It is wth. some Confusion, I take upon mee a place, that I am not very [well] Qualified," he wrote. "But as it is the will of your Honrs. it should be so shall think my self in Duty bound to Discharge yt. [that] office." (CRG XXI, p. 294-5)

Oglethorpe, though, seemed impressed by the choice of Fallowfield, remarking in December, 1739, "Mr. Fallowfield has been a very active Inhabitant of the Colony... settled here at his own Expense, and expended a great deal of money." (CRG XXI, p. 291)

But infighting within the magistracy further reduced the credibility of the Savannah government as Fallowfield had a falling out with Thomas Jones, the third bailif, referring to him as "The Chief Actor here in all... Dispotick Measures." (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 478.)

"Meeting Mr. Fallowfield in the Street," William Stephens noted in his November 6, 1740 *Journal* entry. "Mr. Fallowfield appeared pretty warm, and began to throw out some Angry Reflections... then turning abruptly from me, he went directly (as I observ'd) to Andrew Grant's House." *Andrew Grant*... the same Andrew Grant Stephens thought had left two months before. Apparently, not all the "Scotch Club" had packed up for Charlestown...

This *Andrew Grant* was one of the principal Members of the late memorable Club, which broke up and dissipated, as noted on the 20th of September; when he, among others, was said to be gone to Charles-Town; But it prov'd only a Feint made by him; for he was soon after known to be yet in Town.

- CRG IV, Supplement, p. 22-3

"Though he lived very retired, and was seldom seen," Stephens noted the malcontents had retained an embassy in Savannah *via* Grant's house, evidently as a pipeline for the completion of the book soon to hit the presses. But Fallowfield's daily liaisons in the dark house caused heads to turn and had marked him from an upstanding second magistrate to malcontent almost overnight.

it was evident to all People, that Mr. Fallowfield daily frequented that House, and seldom associated himself with any one but him, and one or two more, who were the little Remnant of those Malcontents, and were look'd upon now as a Sort of Office of Intelligence, from whence Advice was sent to their departed Brethren in Carolina, of what was accounted worth their knowledge that was doing here.

- p. 23

On January 1, 1741, Fallowfield wrote a letter to the Trustees: "Your favour Received dated March ye 25. 1740 wherein you desire me to Discourage that Mutinous spirit wch. has Lately appeared against all Order and Government and the Laws of the Country," he wrote, but: "No Mutiny has Ever been here to my knowledge, and Ive been here near Seven years." (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 476-7)

Though barely a year had passed between Fallowfield's humble thanks to the Trustees for his new position and the letter he wrote to the Trustees on January 1, 1741, the tone had altered to

such an extent that it could have been another man altogether, as he launched into a tirade against third magistrate Thomas Jones and described a town whose streets were all but abandoned:

I am Sorry to tell your Honrs. here are But verry few people Left, The Town is full of Buildings, but Thin of Inhabitants, Three houses are Emty Through the Town for one yt [that] has a Familly in it.... I am Determind to write the truth & not deceive Your Honrs.

- John Fallowfield, January 1, 1741 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 2, p. 477)

Remarking of the “Welfare of the Colony,” he wrote that the “failure of it after seven years’ time in the prime of my Dayes & some hundreds of pounds Sterling Expence,” might force him to start over somewhere else, “with those that are left here in Savannah if wee have not the priveledg as they have in Carrolina,” meaning slaves and land tenure.

The Trustees rewarded Fallowfield’s comments with typical myopia. As Percival remarked in his entry for Fallowfield in the *List of Early Settlers*: “Turn’d a violent malecontent 1740.” As to Pye, who remarked plainly of no influx of “mony Spent in Savannah these 10 Months,” and prophesied “the Light House at Tybee will shortly fall Down for want of Repair,” Percival remarked similarly: “Turn’d a busie malcontent 1740.” David Douglass - “A factious man...” Andrew Grant - “A factious man...” Will Sterling - “wasted [his] substance...” Patrick Tailfer - “proud saucy fellow...”

“And indeed,” as Tailfer observed keenly in his book, “in all the applications we made for redress, we were brow-beat, obstructed, threatened, and branded with opprobrious, such as proud, idle, lazy, discontented and mutinous people, and several other appellations of that kind.” (*Tailfer*, p. 20) Addressing his conviction that the Trustees, in England, had too-long remained tied to their textbook model of Georgia at the expense of their colonists, Tailfer observed:

we made all dutiful and submissive applications to... the Trustees and to Mr. Oglethorpe; but alas! our miseries could not alter his view of things, and therefore we could obtain no redress from him; and the honourable board we found were prejudiced against our petitions (no doubt) through misinformations and misrepresentations.

- p. 7

Instead of trying to understand the reasons that had seen the colony’s best and brightest fall away from them, the Trustees seemed more content to simply brand their critics as “factious malcontents.” Whether or not Tailfer knew Percival had *already* branded him “proud,” his point remains a valid one in examining the gradual breakdown of relations between the Georgia Office in Westminster and its Georgia Colony in the New World: Anyone speaking ill of the Trustees’ policies was no longer to be trusted. This was the Cardinal Sin in the eyes of the Trustees, and it was a sin from which many never recovered. It was the failure to recognize this fundamental issue that marked the downward spiral of mutual mistrust between the Trustees and their colonists... a spiral that inevitably led to Georgia’s near-collapse by 1740.

But the Georgia story began years before.

1718

Past As Prologue

Twenty-three years before the desperate letters of John Pye or the barbs of Tailfer's incendiary book, Captain Thomas Coram (1668-1751) petitioned the king for the establishment of a new colony in America. The year was 1717. He himself was a veteran of American colonial life; he had moved to Massachusetts in 1693, married a Puritan girl, and as an Anglican faced the religious intolerance of the Puritans. Now he strove to begin a new colony free from religious intolerance, under the name of Nova Anna. The name itself honored Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts, who had died just three years before. The following year, 1718, Coram resubmitted his petition with a new name, a name this time honoring the current British monarch; the German Elector of Hanover, a man who had a debatable claim on the throne and little desire for it, inheriting it simply because he was the closest Protestant heir, the great-great grandson of Anne's great grandfather, a man who neither spoke nor understood English, and in fact conversed with Parliament in French—George I.

Georgia.

In most respects this Georgia was just like the one that would follow it under the direction of John Percival and James Oglethorpe. It would be open to almost all peoples. It would be directed with the idea of relieving the poor. It would be run by a council of trustees. There was only one major difference: according to the specifications of Coram's document, its geographic boundary to the north was to be the Kennebec River, and to the south the St. Croix.

In short, today Georgia would today be occupying the northern two-thirds of Maine. Had this petition succeeded without dispute Georgia would be the northernmost state on the Atlantic coast. The petition proclaimed "it may in a little time become the most useful Province in America;" even boldly promising that Georgia "may render it capable to reduce Canada in a further war with France."

The petition was granted. But in those careless days of Crown landgrants with overlapping or unclear boundaries several Massachusetts landholders went to court to retain the property they insisted was theirs. The battle for Georgia had begun, and it would be twelve years before it was over. But by then the whole concept of Georgia would be different.

1732 - 33

“We shall be a flourishing People” OGLETHORPE’S GEORGIA

*Here let the Wretch have Peace,
the Hungry plenty and the Poor increase...*

- excerpted from an ode to Georgia’s founding
printed in the *South Carolina Gazette*, February 10, 1733

The Vanguard: Purrysburg

Three weeks before the arrival of the *Anne* and the Georgia colonists in Charlestown, they were beaten to the punch by Purrysburg. On December 27, 1732 the vanguard of the Savannah River Settlements set out from Charlestown.

CHARLESTOWN, Decemb. 30...

On Wednesday last Col. John Peter Purry, set out, in three Pettiaugers, with Eighty-Seven Switzers, in order to settle a Colony on Savannah River, in Granvile County, and was saluted with Seven Guns from the Bastion at their passing by.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, December 30, 1732

The settlers for the prospective Purrysburg settlement had arrived in Charlestown in mid-December, aboard a ship making its maiden voyage across the Atlantic, a ship, in fact, named the *Purrysburg*. Its captain was a capricious and ill-tempered man by the name of Tobias Fry; 15 months later Captain Fry and the *Purrysburg* would return to Charlestown Harbor with a second distinctive group of foreign Protestants who would comprise another Savannah River settlement... the Salzburgers.

In fact, the Salzburgers of Ebenezer and the Swiss of Purrysburg would share more than just the same ship. Encouraged to migrate elsewhere due to religious persecution at home, in the 1730s they would neighbor one another as the most ethnically distinctive enclaves on the Savannah River... and (in the short term, at least) annoy Tobias Fry with languages he could not understand.

The *South Carolina Gazette* recorded the first entry of the *Purrysburg* into Charlestown Harbor in the December 16 issue:

Custom House, Charlestown, Entered inwards...

Ship Purrysburg, Joseph [Tobias] Fry, from London, *with European Goods, and 49 Switzers.*

The *Purrysburg* was actually the third ship of the first Purrysburg emigration; the first—the *Peter and James*—had arrived six weeks before.

CHARLESTOWN, Novemb. 4...

On Wednesday last, a Ship arrived here, in about 12 Weeks from London, having above Sixty Switzer[s] on Board, the Master of whom Reports, that we may expect Col. Purry with more every [any] Day.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, November 4, 1732

On March 12, 1733 Purry recorded the number of arrivals as follows:

November 1, 1732, in the ship *Peter and James*,
61 men, women and children.
December 13, 1732, in the ship *Shoreham*,
42 men, women and children.
December 15, 1732, in the ship *Purryburg*,
49 men, women and children.

Colonel Jean Pierre Purry had been trying to establish a settlement for Swiss Protestant refugees for nearly a decade by the time he sailed into Charlestown Harbor. As he wrote in his 1724 petition: “Never, perhaps, have circumstances been more favorable than at the present time for enlisting excellent colonists in Switzerland. How many families are today, in that country, in debt through the misfortunes of the times and the stagnation of trade!”

The public being once fully persuaded of the fertility of Carolina, what joy will fill the hearts of the poor, and with what eagerness they will hasten thither when they are well assured that they will go to the end of their days in one of the most delightful countries in the universe!

- Jean Purry, *Memorial of Carolina, and the Means of its Amelioration*

Granted by the Crown an isolated tract of land adjoining the Savannah River, Purry went to work. In May, 1732, Purry’s son wrote from London to a correspondent in Charlestown:

Sir, My Father is in Switzerland, where he has purchased a Number of People, and hath great Hopes to get a many Free Men, besides Women and Children; he intends to come back with them the next Month, or in July, to be all imbarked for South Carolina. The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, & the Privy Council, have granted him some Encouragement to carry on that Project, which I hope will meet with good Success.

- Charles Purry, May 10, 1732

(printed in the *South Carolina Gazette*, September 23, 1732)

Returning to London in June, Purry made a personal appearance before members of the Georgia Society who were about to become the Board of Trustees.

Thursday, 29 [June, 1732].

... Mr. Pury, a foreigner, came before us. He has obtained a grant of lands, part of South Carolina, on the opposite side of the river Savannah, which bounds our province on the north, and is lately come with some persons of Berne, in Switzerland, to settle a colony there. He has four with him in London, seventy-eight waiting at Calais, and expects a hundred more from Berne.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 282-3

Though his land grant was in South Carolina and supplied by the Crown, Purry went out of his way to pay his respects to the Trustees with each visit to London. The relationship between Purry and the Georgia Board of Trustees ran deep. Purry's agent and promoter in London was Jean/John Vat, a man who would later be appointed commissioner of Ebenezer. Another common link was the fact that both the Purrysburg and Georgia settlements were enthusiastically backed by Peter and J.C. Simmond, whose shipping firm transported all the colonists—and whose ships took the names of some of the settlements (*Purrysburg, Georgia, Savannah*, all christened 1732-3). But even beyond that, as an English settlement of foreign-speaking Protestants Purrysburg presaged Ebenezer, and like Savannah, featured squares in its layout.

Wednesday, 21 [November, 1733]. - This morning Captain Pury and Mr. Simmonds, the merchant, came to see me. The Captain came last week from Purisburg, where he tells me he has settled about 200 souls.... The first thing he did was to build a fort of four bastions with six cannon, and a large watch-house, which serves for Town Hall and Church. He showed me a map of the River Savannah, and of all his district, which is near 120,000 acres, and a draft of his town, which is laid out in streets and squares, each square being a lot of four acres, with as many houses for families.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 443

In observing the close proximity between Savannah and Purrysburg, Percival noted, “his settlement is on the other side of the river Savannah, eight hours distant from our town by land and three only by water.” (p. 440)

On November 29, 1733, Purry came to Percival, asking if the Trustees could solicit funds from Parliament for his town. “He proposed that [the] Georgia trustees should assist in getting money from Parliament for his settlement at Purisburg.” Percival politely demurred. “I replied, as we had been beggars ourselves, I feared we could not engage ourselves to ask for others.” (p. 451)

But perhaps the most telling overlap between Purry and the Georgia settlement was the fact that on December 4, 1731 Purry had entered into an agreement with James Oglethorpe, allotting to him one fourth of the Purrysburg land grant. This land, north of what became the Purrysburg settlement, seems never to have been cultivated, nor was the purpose of the landgrant clear—whether it was a personal grant to Oglethorpe or whether it was held on behalf of the Trustees. But one thing is clear: The Trustees (*via* Oglethorpe) retained a vested interest in the Purrysburg tract, and though not permitted to own any land in Georgia, they did own land in South Carolina.

To further illustrate a relationship between the two parties, in the weeks before departure for South Carolina the Swiss settlement hit an unexpected snag, it was Oglethorpe who was able to resolve the issue.

Wednesday, 19 [July, 1732].... One Bignon, and three other inhabitants of Berne in Switzerland, came to complain of Mr. Pury, a gentleman who has lately obtained from the Province of Carolina a grant of 20,000 acres to plant a colony of strangers upon. They said he had seduced them with 130 others to go over with him and settle there, but had prepared a ship to carry them so small that not sixty could conveniently be held therein.... I told them I had seen Mr. Pury and had a better opinion of him, and recommended them to Mr. Oglethorp to tell their story to.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 285

Thursday, 20 [July, 1732].

... Mr. Pury, lately mentioned, attended on us with seven or eight more of the chief of the foreigners who go over with him. Mr. Oglethorp had reconciled those people to him, and procured another ship to go with the former, so that they had sufficient convenience for their passage. Bignon, who I formerly mentioned, was now a minister, being ordained by the Bishop of London.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 286

“Pury told us,” Percival concluded, “he was the son of an eminent minister of Berne of that name, and had University education, which surprised me, when from his own mouth I learned that he was a gardener.”

Whatever his family history, Bignon, the intended minister for Purrysburg, would not remain long. Only months after the establishment of Purrysburg the settlement would find itself without a minister. Percival noted in a November 9, 1733 *Diary* entry: “He [Purry] said his minister proved a factious fellow, and minded nothing less than his parochial duty.” (vol. 1, p. 451) In a January 26, 1734 correspondence the unidentified author wrote of six couples intending marriage within the community and no minister to perform the ceremony, “being by the Grace of God rid of that base Mr. Bignon.” (*CRG XX*, p. 48)

“They [the Purrysburgers] consider the Salzburgers very lucky to have their own ministers,” John Martin Bolzius, lead minister to the Salzburgers, wrote after he arrived in Georgia in March, 1734. He explained the Bignon situation as it was related to him.

A short time ago they and the members of the Reformed church had a French student of theology for their preacher. But, as they accuse him, he led a shameful life and was mixed up in scandalous affairs; so they chased him away and, consequently, are now without a preacher.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 64)

Instead, the six couples in question in January, 1734 ventured down the Savannah River, to the town named for the river and founded by Oglethorpe five weeks after the arrival of Colonel Purry.

They landed at Savannah Town and Mr. Oglethorpe received them in the most obliging manner and with much Generosity. He ordered presently a fine Hog to be killed for the Entertainment of the Company. Beer, Wine, Rum and Punch was very plentiful. They were all very merry and danc’d the whole Night long. The next day they went to Mr. Oglethorpe to take their Leave and thank him for all his Kindnesses, and as their Boats were passing the River they were Saluted from the Fort by a Volley of the great Guns. They all returned safe here [to Purrysburg]. I cannot express how much our People were pleased with their Journey and how many times they bless’d Mr. Oglethorpe.

- unidentified Purrysburg correspondence, January 26, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 48)

“Mr. Oglethorpe is a very good friend to Purrysburgh,” Hector de Beaufain remarked in a letter to the Trustees on January 23, 1734, “and where he is a friend he is a usefull one.” (*CRG XX*, p. 47-8) The following month a correspondent spoke of the two new settlements and their usefulness:

‘Tis true we have two new Settlements making to the Southward on Savannah River, that is the Swiss Settlement under the Conduct of Mr. Purry and the other called Georgia under Mr.

Oglethorpe; but these tho' in time may be good Frontiers, at present will be of little Service in case of an Indian War because those Strangers would make but a poor Stand in our Indian method of fighting.

- author unknown, February, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 49-50)

“The Swiss Settlemt. goes on very well and the People very industrious,” the correspondent concluded, but in a swipe at Georgia, remarked plainly, “the others are not so laborious.”

Purry recruited and led two Swiss emigrations to Purrysburg in its first two years; the second arriving in October of 1734.

The 27th of Oct [1734]. For several days we again have been hearing the cannon being fired in Savannah, and now we here received the news that Mr. Pury has arrived in Savannah with a great ship full of people from Switzerland whose destination is to be Purrysburg. There are said to be two or three such ships in the neighborhood of Charlestown.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 18)

The second embarkation, in fact, consisted of three ships, as described entering into English waters in the August 19, 1734 *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*:

Colonel Purry, a native of Switzerland... arrived in the downs las t Sunday in the Symonds, a new ship of 150 tons; and the James, Captain Yoakley, from Calais, with 300 men, women, and children and the Peter and James another ship with 100 more Swiss... hourly expected to sail together for Savannah and the Colonel goes with them.

Jean Purry's second-visit, three-ship "great embarkation" predated—and perhaps provided the model for—Oglethorpe's similar second-visit, three-ship return to Georgia in 1736, with one of the ships, the *Simmond*, taking part in both. With three ships for Purrysburg and two for Ebenezer over the course of 1734, foreign-speaking arrivals would far outnumber English arrivals to the Savannah River Settlements in 1734. In March, 1735 the *Two Brothers*, captained by William Thompson, would arrive in Savannah with 24 additional families for Purrysburg. Following a visit to Purrysburg, Samuel Eveleigh would remark in a May 28, 1735 correspondence to Oglethorpe of a settlement no longer just Swiss, but by now representative of all Europe. “I found there was men there [of] almost all European Nations as English French Dutch High German Prussians Russians Switzers Savoyards & Italians.” (*CRG XX*, p. 353) But soon after these heady days Purrysburg's great promise would begin to wither. The meteoric rise of Purrysburg came to a halt in the wake of its founder's death in the settlement's fourth year.

Thursday, the 26th of August [1736].

... I heard the reliable report in Purysburg that the old Mr. Pury, who brought so many people from Switzerland to our neighborhood in Carolina, has died. In Purysburg almost everyone is sick with fever.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 201)

By December 10, 1736, Bolzius would remark of a town in serious danger of failing, noting of Purrysburg, “it looks wretched there now, almost everyone is moving away and leaving his house and gardens behind. And many of them are just dying away.” (*Urlsperger*, vol. 3, p. 259)

John Wesley, making a sojourn to the town just four and a half months after Boltius' visit, found a wasteland falling far short of the reputation he might have expected after 14 months of hearing of the town. He remarked of this site where his "Miss Sophy" had married the month before that it was "a town the most without the appearance of a town I ever saw, with no form or comeliness or regularity."

Wed. 27th [April 1737].... Mr [Hector] Belinger [de Beaufain] sent a negro lad with me to Purrysburg. Oh, how hath God stretched over this place 'the lines of confusion and the stones of emptiness'!

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 352

Though the town would achieve a moderate recovery in the short term it never again would regain the prominence or promise that it had enjoyed under its brainchild, Jean Purry. There too, Savannah would follow that similar model, mired in disarray with each absence of its founder, James Oglethorpe.

In January, 1739 a Purrysburg woman's corpse was discovered floating off the shore of Tybee. "In Savannah, I learned that a boat carrying people from Purysburg had capsized between Port Royal and Savannah and that all on board had perished in the water," John Martin Bolzius noted on February 1, 1739. In Savannah, William Stephens recorded the calamity as well.

Tuesday [January 30, 1739].... A melancholy Accident was discovered, by a Woman that was found dead, and cast up by the Sea near Tybee: She was known by some who went to view the Body, to be the Daughter of Major Richards at Purysburg, who had twice been married, and her last Husband was yet living there... and meeting with bad Weather in Delfuska Sound, which is noted for many dangerous Shoals, that occasion great Breakers, it is supposed they drove on them, and every Person was lost.

- William Stephens Journal (*CRG IV*, p. 271)

Bolzius made special note of the woman, and knew of the troubled marriage. An attempt by the husband to reconcile his family had instead left him its sole survivor.

I have learned that the tailor, Metzcher of Purysburg, who some time ago had placed two of his children in our orphanage and school, has also been affected by the recent disaster in which a boat from Purysburg capsized near the sea, with all the people in it killed. He lost three children on this occasion, a grown son about 19 years, one of 13, and a girl of 10. His wife had left him again during the harvest and had taken two of the children. When the man learned that she lived by begging in Charlestown, he sent his grown son after her to bring back the children with the help of the authorities, and all three took passage on the boat that was destined for Purysburg.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 6, p. 23)

Thus, as Bolzius lamented: "All three drowned together with eleven others."

Purrysburg was just the first of several settlements that would spring up near the banks of the Savannah River; likewise, it was one of the first to flag. Others, like Patrick Mackay's Josephs Town, Walter Augustine's Westbrook and Robert Parker's Mill Bluff, flamed out almost as quickly as they were begun, while Abercorn barely had the opportunity to grow before terminal decline set in. "It is a blessing," Bolzius wrote of Ebenezer in 1739, "that the Lord Trustees," in their wisdom, "have ordered for each family to be given not too much and not too little land: for

else we would fare like the people in Purysburg, who do not live close together as neighbors but are spread far apart because of the wide tracts of land that each of them owns, particularly the so-called squires among them.” (*Uralsperger*, vol. 6, p. 40) Yet even Ebenezer would eventually fade into the recesses of history, leaving in the end only Savannah... a settlement which itself almost did not survive the 1730s.

The Board of Trustees & the Push of the First Forty

Following his death at the age of 88, an anonymous correspondent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* lampooned Oglethorpe in the publication's July, 1785 issue:

ONE HUNDRED TWO! Methusalem in age,
A vigorous soldier, and a virtuous sage;
He founded GEORGIA, gave it laws and trade;
He saw it flourish and he saw it fade!

Philip Thicknesse, who had come to Georgia on the *Two Brothers* in the late summer of 1736 and remained a mere eight months, eulogized Oglethorpe in a similar facetious manner in a July, 1785 correspondence to the *St. James Chronicle*.

He was, you know, the Founder of that ill-conceived and badly conducted Plan of settling the Colony of Georgia, to the Southward of South Carolina. He took with him forty Families, who were called the *first Forty*. I was not one of the first forty Fools who went thither with him, but I was Fool enough to follow him.

- "M.M." [Philip Thicknesse], *The St. James' Chronicle*, July 30, 1785

As the *Gentleman's Magazine* observed: “he was always very unwilling to tell his age; perhaps he was not certain about it; he was remarkably tall and thin, and had an exceedingly shrill voice, which could be heard in the lobby when he was speaking in the House.” (*The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1785*, vol. LV, p. 573)

James Edward Oglethorpe was born on December 22, 1696, the youngest of nine children born to Theophilus and Eleanor Wall Oglethorpe, and the second son to be *named* James Edward. The first James Edward Oglethorpe had been born on June 1, 1689 but died a year later and was buried at St. James Church, Piccadilly, on June 15, 1690. Both James Edwards Oglethorpe were named in solidarity with the young Prince James Edward Stuart, son of the English monarch forced into exile in the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688.

King James II had ascended to the throne in 1685, a Catholic in Protestant England. When his son was born in 1688, altering the line of succession from Protestant daughter Mary, it prompted fears of a new Catholic dynasty upon the throne. Facing growing opposition and an invasion fleet of Mary's husband, James II and his immediate family fled to France in December of 1688, establishing a court in exile at St. Germain. Throughout the chaotic reign of the Stuarts, the Oglethorpe family had remained loyal servants to their kings; Theophilus was even a personal

friend of James II. Even after the King was forced to flee, Eleanor Wall Oglethorpe and two of her daughters converted to Catholicism and joined the exiled court at St. Germain.

Of the nine Oglethorpe children five were males; only three of those males lived into adulthood. The eldest, Lewis, died in 1704, shortly after their father. Theophilus Jr lived until 1737, but became so swayed by his Jacobite leanings that he too joined the exiled Court and converted to Catholicism... leaving James Edward Oglethorpe as the only member of the family with a viable political future in Protestant England. In 1722 this youngest Oglethorpe, blessed and cursed with the name of a deposed dynasty, continued the legacy begun a generation before, taking the old family seat in Parliament, the seat previously held by Lewis... and before that Theophilus Jr... and before that Theophilus Sr. In the 12-year period between 1698 and 1710 only two years went without an Oglethorpe in Parliament representing Haslemere. This youngest Oglethorpe would hold his seat for three decades. But he would prove be the last—he may have given birth to Georgia, but James Oglethorpe would have no children.

Mercurii 14 die Maii, 1729.

Mr. *Oglethorpe*, from the Committee appointed to enquire into the State of Goals of this Kingdom, made a Report of some Progress which the Committee had made in their Enquiry into the State of the Prison of the Court of *Marshalsea*... AND ALSO of a further Progress which the Committee had made in their Enquiry into the State of *Fleet Prison*....

- *A Report from the Committee Appointed to enquire into the State of Goals in this Kingdom*, p. 1

On February 25, 1729 Oglethorpe became the head of a Parliamentary committee for the reform and investigation of jails, whose reports on Fleet and Marshalsea Prisons in 1729 and King's Bench in the spring of 1730, uncovered a litany of corruption, atrocities and neglect. "The crowding of Prisoners together... is one great Occasion of the Goal Distemper," the *Report* concluded in some of its more flowing prose. "Pyrates are kept as well as Debtors; and the first, who are generally a very desperate and abandoned Sort of People, are suffered to mix with all the unhappy Debtors of the Common." (p. 8) The prisons were overcrowded, health conditions terrible and food in scarce supply. "When the miserable Wretch hath worn out the Charity of his Friends, and consumed the Money which he hath raised upon his Cloaths and Bedding, and hath eat his last Allowance of Provisions, he usually in a few Days grows weak for want of Food." (p. 4) Worse, the *Report* accused the prison keepers of "Beating poor Debtors at their pleasure... beating the Prisoners," and of becoming "a Terrour to them." (p. 8) In short, the Committee found the instances laid before them "of cruel Beating, Ironing, Torturing, and Murdering Debtors, too shocking and too numerous to be thoroughly examined in so short a Time." (p. 9)

Upsetting the establishment while exposing to London Proper to "the Various Tortures and Cruelties" (p. 9) to which many honest debtors were subjected, it was from this that the inspiration for his Georgia colony would eventually arise, as Oglethorpe began to consider a colony in the West Indies or the Americas for England's desperately poor and indigent. Georgia's earliest documented beginnings came on a Friday the 13th, as fellow colleague and friend John, Lord Viscount Percival wrote wearily of two of Oglethorpe's pursuits.

Friday, 13 February [1730]...

He [Oglethorpe] then talked to me of restoring the Committee of Gaols.... I was not very willing to revive the Committee, because I knew the ill will the Administration bore it, and the weight of the judges and Court would be against us.... However, I did not actually reject the design.

Percival (July 12, 1683 - May 1, 1748) had previously sat as a member of Irish Parliament from 1703 to 1715, before coming to represent Harwich in the Parliament of Great Britain in 1727. Following the Committee's investigation of Fleet and Marshalsea, Percival was reticent to revive the Prison Reform Committee so soon for King's Bench, for fear of ruffling feathers. But he did seem at least a little intrigued by a rather far-fetched colonization scheme that Oglethorpe presented to him at that same meeting. Oglethorpe "informed me that he had found out a very considerable charity, even fifteen thousand pounds," five thousand of which could be applied to a scheme of Oglethorpe's design.

the scheme is to procure a quantity of acres either from the Government or by gift of purchase in the West Indies, and to plant thereon a hundred miserable wretches who being let out of gaol by the last year's Act, are now starving about the town for want of employment; that they should be settled all together by way of a colony.... that in time they with their families would increase so fast as to become a security and defence of our possessions against the French and Indians of those parts.

- p. 44-6

"All of which I approved," Percival noted, though without great enthusiasm.

The concept that would become Georgia arose out of the spoils of a successful legal suit to control the financial legacy of a haberdasher named Joseph King. The 15 thousand pounds in question was a sum that had been trapped in a dysfunctional trusteeship. While two of the trustees were older men and wished to put the moneys to use, the third refused to comply, and as a younger man he was prepared to wait out the life spans of the other two and become sole inheritor. "The two old men were very honest and desirous to be discharged of their burthen," as Percival explained, and they approached Oglethorpe. "The heir of the testator had opposed this, and there had been a lawsuit thereupon, which Oglethorpe had carried against the heir." (p. 44-5)

Wednesday, 1 April [1730]. - I called on Mr. Oglethorpe, who kept me three hours and more in explaining his project of sending a colony of poor and honest industrious debtors to the West Indies by means of a charitable legacy left by one King, a haberdasher, to be disposed of as his executors should please. Those executors have agreed that five thousand pounds of the money shall be employed to such a purpose, and our business is to get a Patent or Charter for incorporating a number of honest and reputable persons to pursue this good work, and.... Mr. Oglethorpe told me that the number relieved by the last year's Act out of prison for debt are ten thousand....

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 90

From these inauspicious beginnings—first recorded by Percival on a Friday the 13th, and continuing next as a slightly annoying rant that could have been misconstrued as an April Fool's joke, came Georgia.

By the summer, the fanciful musings of a general debtors' colony began to take serious form. "Georgia-relevant" entries in the *Diary of Viscount Percival* are sporadic, but compiled together document this, most embryonic journey of the Georgia colony:

Friday, 26 [June, 1730]. - Mr. Oglethorpe came from London, and dined with me. His business was to talk over his scheme of settling poor debtors in Carolina.

- p. 98

Wednesday, 1 July [1730]. - Went to town to a meeting of the new Society for fulfilling Mr. Dalone's will in the conversion of negroes, and disposing of five thousand pounds, a charity that will be put in our hands by Mr. King's trustees, and which we design to dispose in settling some hundred of families in Carolina, who came necessitous out of gaols [jails] by virtue of our late debtors Act.

- p. 98

Saturday, 25 [July,1730]. - Mr. Oglethorp came to dine with me, and discourse the charter we design to apply for.

- p. 99

Thursday, 30 [July,1730]. - Went to town to the Society of Associates for Mr. Dalone's Legacy to convert blacks in America, and settle a colony in America. There were present Mr. Oglethorp, myself, Mr. Anderson... Mr. Hucks, junior, Captain Coram, the Reverend Mr. Smith, and the Reverend Mr. Hales. We agreed on a petition to the King and Council for obtaining a grant of lands on the south-west of Carolina for settling poor persons of London, and having ordered it to be engrossed fair, we signed it....

- p. 99

By February 6, 1731, the particulars of the government began to come into focus. Percival remarked:

Mr. Oglethorp came again to talk over the Carolina settlement, which is in a good way. The Board of Trade have reported in favour of it, and we the undertakers or managers have the government of the people we send thither for twenty-one years, with a large tract of land granted, that lies between two rivers.

- p. 127

But there were concerns at home. On February 9 the core actors in the Georgia scheme met to "consider a scruple arisen in some gentlemen's heads, whether the acceptance of the government of the colony we are sending to Carolina, doth not vacate our seats in Parliament, and what we should do to remedy it, supposing it so." (p. 129) In the end, the Trustees did not have to surrender their seats so long as they did not accept any title overseas; this technicality explains why Oglethorpe never accepted the position as governor of South Carolina, a position that would be repeatedly asked of him during the latter part of the decade; but to take such a position he would have had to voluntarily surrender his seat in Parliament.

Without ceremony or further explanation, the "West Indies" settlement of spring 1730, which became the "Carolina settlement," of summer 1730, became suddenly the "Georgia Settlement" in Percival's February 27, 1732 *Diary* entry.

This day I drew up reasons why the trustees of the Georgia Settlement cannot agree to the Governor of Carolina's naming the officers of the Militia, which paper, if the trustees approve, shall be conveyed to the King.

- p. 230

In fact, a sticking point for the Trustees in the latter stages was autonomy from the Carolina colony. As Percival argued, "if one person must have two masters, namely, the trustees in the civil and the Governor of Carolina in the military, we conceived the affair of settling a colony

could not proceed on our scheme.” (p. 227) Not that it seems to have been any concern to Robert Johnson. Having already served as South Carolina’s Royal Governor a decade before, and appointed to a second term in 1729, Johnson had his hands full in a position that would become increasingly more embattled at home in Charlestown until his death in 1735.

June 9, 1732 was the date officially recorded as the passage of the Georgia Charter; however the date remains, more or less symbolic; the Charter was not fully cleared before late June. As Percival remarked in his June 29 *Diary* entry: “the charter... was signed the 9th inst., but did not pass all the offices till this week.” (vol. 1, p. 282) Percival described the property that would become the Georgia Offices, a property of offices owned by Nathaniel Blackerby.

Thursday, 22 [June, 1732]...

We met in our new house, taken for a year certain, with liberty to continue if we like it. We pay only 30*l.* a year, and not manner of taxes. Our landlord is Justice Blackerby. It stands in a lane that goes out of that street that leads from Palace Yard to Millbank ferry.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 282

He concluded: “I found there James Vernon, Esq., Mr. Oglethorp, Mr. Hales the clergyman, Mr. Heathcot, Mr. Roger Holland, Mr. La Roche, Captain Coram.” As he explained, “They were all busy setting down the names of the Aldermen of London in order to apply to them for subscriptions to promote the colony.”

As landlord, Blackerby was not immune to their subscriptions, himself a regular contributor of two pound and ten shillings—eleven times over the next four years—as recorded within the pages of the Trustees’ Account Book.

Following two years of start and stop evolution, the Georgia Board of Trustees was in place, and the legacy of the Prison Reform Committee was obvious, with ten of the Georgia Trustees former Committee members.

The Georgia Board of Trustees as listed in the Georgia Charter:

Lord Percival *	Robert Hucks *	Stephen Hales
Edward Digby	Rogers Holland *	John Burton
George Carpenter	William Sloper *	Richard Bundy
James Oglethorpe *	Francis Eyles *	Arthur Bedford
George Heathcote *	John Laroche *	Samuel Smith
Thomas Tower *	James Vernon	Adam Anderson
Robert More *	William Belitha	Thomas Coram

** had also served prior on the 1729 prison reform committee.*

LONDON, July 22

On Thursday last the Trustees for establishing the Colony of *Georgia in America*, held their first regular Meeting. Their Charter was read, as also a Certificate from the Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty’s Exchequer, by which it appeared that the Rt. Hon. the Ld. Visc. Percival had qualified himself as President & taken the Oath for the faithful Administration of his Trust before

his Lordship. Then the President administered the oath for the faithful Administration of their Trust, to the several Trustees present.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, December 9, 1732

At the cusp of 49, the acerbic, aristocratic but practical John Percival was to be president of the corporation. A modest man, his only mention of the decision was a casually buried within his June 22, 1732 *Diary* entry. “In the evening I went, according to summons, to the weekly meeting in the Common Council appointed by charter to settle the colonies in Georgia, of which the charter has appointed me the first president.” (vol. 1, p. 282)

From the Charter: “And Our will and pleasure is that the First President of the said Corporation shall be our Trusty and Well beloved the said John Lord Viscount Percival.” Though it was intended that the presidency might revolve to any other interested parties, Percival would hold the office for ten solid years, his focus and determination—his unwavering commitment and his sheer energy was indefatigable... and unmatched, ultimately, even by Oglethorpe. In an interesting contrast, both men would dedicate the next ten years of their lives to the Georgia colony, and while Oglethorpe would slice through brush in Georgia, Percival would slice through the even thicker bureaucracy in London. It was their efforts—and their two very different styles—that would mold the Georgia of the 1730s.

The Charter provided for additional Trustees to be elected to the Board as the years went along; elections held on the third Thursday of every March. The first election of new Trustees and Common Council members in March of 1733 saw William Belitha retire, his place filled on the Council by Richard Bundy, and eight new Common Council men sworn in. “John, Viscount Tyrconnel, James, Viscount Limerick, Will. Heathcot, John White, Parliament men; Richard Chandler, Henry Lapotre, Thomas Frederick, Esquires; Robert Kendal, Alderman of Cheapside,” Percival noted on March 21, 1733. (p. 344) It was also the day that would see financial benefactor James Stanley, the 10th Earl of Derby, joining the ranks of the Trustees. Though Savannah’s first ward would be named for him, Derby would be dead by 1736.

By the time the Board came to an end two decades later there were 71 Trustees, though few bothered to attend any meetings. As Lord Percival commented by 1740, “It is a melancholy thing to see how zeal for a good thing abates when the novelty is over, and when there is no pecuniary reward attending the service.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 124) As a result, Georgia was subject to the whims of a small handful of the most dedicated (or zealous) Trustees.

In addition to Percival and Oglethorpe, another of the most active of the Trustees was James Vernon (1677-1756). His father had served as William III’s Secretary of State a generation before, and at which time the young Vernon had been described in the pages of the memoirs of John Macky, Esq., as a “gentleman who hath a fine education, is master of abundance of learning; is very modest and sober, speaks little, not 25 years old.” As Percival noted: “To this I will add that he is a man of great honour and sense of religion.” (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 41)

But in the three decades since Macky’s observation, the now 55-year-old Vernon had learned to speak a bit more. “In the morning, when at Court, Mr. Vernon, one of the members of our Trustee Board, took me aside to express his concern at the behaviour of some gentlemen of our body,” Percival wrote in his March 3, 1734 *Diary* entry. As one of the associates of Thomas

Bray, Vernon represented the more heavily religious faction of the Trustees; he, for example, would become the force behind the Salzburger emigration. He would also frequently clash with Oglethorpe over what he viewed as the latter's poor management of the colony's affairs, and finances in particular. On that morning of March 3 Vernon complained of Oglethorpe's "drawing bills upon us without advice is a dangerous negligence, for thereby we are subject to be cheated by false bills."

He next complained of the behaviour of several of our young members, as George Heathcot, Mr. White, Thomas Towers, Hucks and Moore, who seem in his opinion to be carrying on some particular schemes, and on that account to neglect the general good of the Colony, and also to have too little regard to the religious part of our design.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 41

Stephen Hales (1677-1761) was another Bray associate. Made a Doctor of Divinity by Oxford in 1733, he was also a man of science. His opposition to gin and liquors would be reflected in no small part by the Trustees' opposition to liquors in Georgia. As Percival noted on the day of the passing of London's Gin Act in 1736, Hales "had tears in his eyes for joy. He had wrote last year an excellent treatise of the poisonous quality of spiritual liquors." (vol. 2, p. 241) Hales' anonymous tract, entitled "A Friendly Admonition to the Drinker of Brandy and other Spiritous Liquors," had been printed in 1734, and while it would not burn up the charts today, it can still be found on the Internet.

Over the twelve month period between June 1732 and June 1733 Percival attended the most Trustee Common Council meetings, at 34. James Vernon attended 32, Thomas Tower 30 and Robert Hucks and Thomas Coram rounded out the most frequent attendees, with both present at 29 meetings. The latter name might strike the reader as familiar... Thomas Coram—father of the 1718 Georgia, bogged down by more than a decade's worth of legal wrangling with Massachusetts landowners—had surrendered his attempts to place a colony called Georgia to the north. With the participation of Thomas Coram the Georgia of 1718 merged with the Georgia of 1732. He had been introduced to Oglethorpe & Co. in the summer of 1730 through the acquaintance of Thomas Bray and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The SPCK, *aka*, the Propagation of the Gospel, *aka*, the SPG, would remain the spiritual and philanthropic backbone of the Georgia Board of Trustees from its inception to its collapse twenty years later.

Thomas Coram, however, would not remain so invested. When in 1735 a letter was leaked to the Trustees "full of invectives," with "the name of the writer being scratched out," Percival wrote, "we can only guess the man; and him we believe to be Captain Coram, our fellow Trustee, who, on account of our not suffering females to inherit, left our Board in disgust, and prates against us." (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 199) He concluded: "Thus I perceive that enemies are gathering against us." (p. 200)

Robert Hucks (1699-1745), too, gradually became disillusioned with the Board. Alluded to above within Vernon's complaints, Hucks represented the secular faction of the Trustees, alongside Robert More, George Heathcote and John White, and as such they were frequently at odds with the religious aims of Vernon, Burton, Hales and Smith. On March 17, 1737 Percival wrote: "This morning Hucks and White whispered [to] me that they hoped we did not design to

elect any clergymen to be new Trustees.” (p. 373) Later that same day, he resigned from the Common Council. Remaining a Trustee, though, his continued association cast an unfortunate shadow.

Friday, 14 [April, 1738]. - Dr. Barecroft this day told me that Mr. Archer, knight of the shire for Bershire, lately told a friend of his that he designed to give 500*l.* to the Trustees for the Colony of Georgia, but that he, sitting in the House of Commons, overheard some of the Trustees making a jest at the religious uses of the Colony. I asked the doctor whether he named any of them; and he replied that he thought Mr. Hucks was one of them. This Mr. Hucks quitted the Common Councilship and has very seldom given us his company since as Trustee. He and some others were never well pleased since the dispute we had with them about disposing of the lands set apart for religious uses, seeming to us enemies to religious establishments.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 479

Not content to snicker in public, as a member of Parliament Hucks declined to vote to fund the colony the following year. As Percival noted with shock on February 26, 1739: “When our petition was presented, Mr. White, Hucks and Wollaston, all Trustees, rose from their seats and left the House, which was very surprising to the rest of our body.” (vol. 3, p. 28)

In truth, the tensions between these two disparate factions of the Board had been simmering for years, but hostilities boiled over in early 1736 in the dispute over “disposing of lands” alluded to above by Percival... a contentious debate that occurred over the use of just one word.

On January 19, 1736 Percival “went to the Georgia Office, this being a day appointed for a Committee to consider of a proper settlement of income for a minister in Savannah.” (vol. 2, p. 222) Two weeks later the Trustee Common Council issued an order to set aside 300 acres of land that would help pay for all religious expenses in Georgia. As Percival later explained to Oglethorpe, the goal was to set out the 300 acres “either in whole or in parcels, near Savannah town, and be the best of the land. That the same might be enclosed and cultivated as speedily as possible in order to raise a rent to maintain a minister.” (p. 253) George Heathcote “was of the opinion the land was too much, and that if so much was to be applied to religious uses, we could not afterwards employ part of the revenue to civil uses.” (p. 228) John White, who was presiding in the Chair, sided with Heathcote, as did John Laroche and Earl of Shaftesbury; their objection was that the land should not be *exclusively* dedicated to religious purposes... but in the end the wording of the motion to create this “300 acres to religious uses only” was allowed to carry.

The following week James Vernon opened up the meeting by drawing attention to finalized version entered into the books, wondering where the word “religious” had gone. After the prior meeting White and Heathcote had decided to scratch it out. As Percival noted later, the document now “was accordingly enter’d without that word, which was diametrically opposite to what the board had resolved upon debate.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 128) He lamented “the headstrong humour of the gentlemen of our Board, who take all occasions of showing the world that they are averse to anything that bears relation to the Church.” (vol. 2, p. 237)

Whether or not to restore the word “religious” became the firestorm that would consume the Board for much of the next month, with Percival and Vernon threatening to quit if it was not, and White, Hucks and More threatening to quit if it was. By the end of the month the secular/dissenter faction relented. “This morning... Mr. Towers acquainted us that the

gentlemen who so long opposed the appropriating 300 acres to religious uses only had given the matter up.” (p. 238) But the issue had left behind scars that would never heal. “Mr. White, La Roche, Heathcote and Moore forbore to be at this meeting to show that, although they acquiesced, it was against the grain.” (p. 239) By April the missing Trustees still had not returned, and when summoned for a Common Council meeting that lacked a quorum, “Mr. Hucks said... he could not come, but gave no reason, and Mr. White did the same. Alderman Heathcot promised, but came not.” (p. 259) Percival coolly wrote:

I observe that since the opposition made to granting the 300 acres... for religious uses, neither Mr. White nor Mr. Moore has attended the Board, and Mr. La Roche, Alderman Heathcot, Mr. Hucks and Lord Shaftesbury but rarely.

- p. 252

“It is unfortunate that Mr. White was ever among us,” Percival wrote by 1737, “for by what appears he is no friend to Church Establishment, and... he doubtless has been prejudicial to us with respect to the Episcopal people, and by his persuasion has wrought on Mr. Moore and Mr. Hucks to desert the Common Council.” (p. 373) Still Trustees—though no longer on the Common Council—the White, More and Huck faction had morphed into a disaffected minority whispering slights and disrupting the Trustees’ daily business. “Moreover, they use little artful managements to carry their points (of which Mr. Vernon and I and Dr. Hales take no public notice) to carry matters their own way, caballing together and not communicating their thoughts to us.”

By 1739 other Trustees, too, had grown aloof. “Mr. Laroche was in the House of Commons but industriously kept out of the way and is manifestly cool to the Trust; the reason I cannot yet well clear up.” (vol. 3, p. 25) Meanwhile, Thomas Tower had fallen under the sway of Sir Robert Walpole, who was in favor of handing over Georgia to Spain; Percival found him now to be one of “Robert Walpole’s creatures.” (p. 168) By 1740, when John White had to be reminded that he was five years’ negligent in financially contributing to the portrait of the Trustees posing with Tomochichi’s delegation, he made it clear that he was done with the Georgia Board.

Wednesday 5 [March, 1740]...

Mr. [William] Verelst told me that when he asked Mr. White to pay his share of the Trustees’ picture, he replied, ‘Yes, if you will cut out my face.’ Thus may [be] seen the hatred he bears to us, that even to be seen in our company in a picture displeases him.

- vol. 3, p. 119

So these were the Trustees. On the topic of finances, the Trustees’ Accountant, a man who would not only keep the books but write many of the Trustees’ correspondence over the years, was Harman Verelst, formerly “King’s waiter in the custom-house,” a relation to the painter mentioned above and a gentleman who in 1732 was initially turned away by the Trustees.

Thursday, 20 [July, 1732]...

I produced letters I had received from Mr. Morgan, Mr. Stackpole and Mr. Verhelst, desiring to be employed in the Company’s service as secretary, accountant, or writer, but we considering our infant state... therefore we civilly dismissed those gentlemen without receiving them.

- vol. 1, p. 286

But two weeks later, they put him to work. “As a Common Council,” he wrote in his August 3 entry, “we... directed that Mr. Verels, an extra man at the Custom House, should meet us next Thursday and act as accountant.” (p. 289)

The Georgia Board worked for free; no Trustee could receive payment, nor could he benefit from the colony in any financial reward: “no President... Chairman of the Comon Council... or member of the said Comon Council... shall have take or receive directly or Indirectly any Salary Fee perquisite benefit or profit whatsoever.” Such a prerequisite did not necessarily extend to Verelst, who though “offered to serve us gratis till the colony shall be in a condition to allow” a salary, did eventually become a paid employee of the Board, though not as well paid as he might have been....

Thursday, 7 [December, 1732]...

Mr. Vernon moved to allow Mr. Verelst, our accountant, for the great pains he has been at, 50*l.*, but the Board considered their circumstances, and though they thought that a fit salary for him, ordered for the present only 25*l.*, for which he was thankful.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 301

It is hard to tell if this moment was as awkward in person as it might seem in print.

The Georgia Charter declared that the colony was to offer freedom of worship to all peoples “except *Papists*.” The reason for this was more political than religious; Catholicism in England was all but dead; not so much a faith anymore as an exiled party philosophy. As Percival opined: “I should be against sending any Papist over, for they would only be spies upon our colony to inform the French or Spaniards of the condition of the colony. The gentlemen were of my sentiments.” (p. 299) In 1733, Percival even penned a treatise on Catholics:

Thursday, 7 [June, 1733]...

I sent my small treatise upon the *Idolatry of the Papists* to Mr. Read, publisher of the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, and the Saturday following saw it in print.

- p. 385

As Patrick Tailfer would remark in his satirical 1741 book, *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America*:

Inhabitants of all sorts, Roman Catholicks only excepted, from all parts of the world, were invited to possess this *promised land*, and large sums of money from the Parliament, as well as contributions from private and publick charity, were collected; the country was laid out as an *Earthly Paradise*.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 40

The Trustees rotated as chairmen of the meetings from week to week; from the Charter:

in Order to preserve an Indifferent Rotation of the several Offices of President of the Corporation and of Chairman of the Comon Council of the said Corporation wee do direct ... that all and every... members of the said Common Council... shall severally and respectively in their Turns preside at the meetings which shall from time to time be had and held of the said Corporation or of the Common Council of the said Corporation respectively.

In the five year span between 1732 and 1737 the Trustees would send 1303 settlers to Georgia on their own account. In the larger ten year span between 1732 and 1743, 2831 settlers came on the Trustees' account.

Regular Trustee meetings in the four month period between inception and the departure of the first migration on the *Anne* numbered 19, with one cancelled for lack of attendance: (*source: CRG I*)

<i>July...</i>		<i>September...</i>		<i>November...</i>
20		7		1
27		14		2
<i>August...</i>		21		8
3		28		16
10		<i>October...</i>		
17		5 (cancelled)		
23		12		
31		19		
		26		

Trustee Common Council meetings held in the same time period: (*source: CRG II*)

<i>August...</i>		<i>October...</i>		<i>November...</i>
3		3		1
23		24		8
		26		

Of course, to establish a colony in the New World the Trustees were going to require the aid and advice of someone already there. As Percival noted: "The gentlemen acquainted me that the King had ordered Governor Johnson in Carolina to be assistant to us." (*Diary*, vol. 1, p. 295)

In September, 1732, South Carolina Governor Robert Johnson penned a letter to the Trustees, congratulating them on the passage of their charter and promising his assistance to the colony, as Percival noted, even personally "subscribing 50*l.* to it." (p. 304) He suggested the establishment of the settlement on the Altamaha river and wrote candidly about the harsh realities of life in America.

A great Consideration is where You design to Set down and build your Town.... I am advised the [the] Alatomaha River is the best and properest Place.... I must likewise take the Liberty to advise You to send none but People used to Labour and of Sober Life and Conversation, for others will never be govern'd nor make good Settlers.

- Robert Johnson, September 28, 1732 (*CRG XX*, p. 2)

The Trustees ordered a response prepared; penned the following month by the Trust's secretary, Benjamin Martyn.

They [the Trustees] are very much pleased, that their Conduct hitherto agrees so well with your advice; They have sent none but People inured to Labour, who are prepared for the hardships they must undergo.... All of them likewise have the Character of Sober, Industrious, and Moral Men.

- Benjamin Martyn, January 24, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 3)

Benjamin Martyn, another important employee of the Georgia Board, had been recommended to the Board by George Heathcote in July of 1732. Martyn, as Verelst, “offered his service to act gratis till such time as the Corporation should be in a condition to allow him a salary.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 286) He was confirmed as the Trust’s Secretary in August of 1732, during the first regular meeting of the Common Council:

August the 3d 1732....

Mr Hucks acquainted the Trustees in the said Common Council that in Consideration of the Generosity of the Design, Benjamin Martyn Esqr offered to serve the Trustees for the Space of One year as Secretary without any Pay or Consideration, and then Gave a very handsome Character of the Abilitys & worth of the said Mr Martyn.

Mr Heathcote confirmed what had been said relating to Mr Martyn, and Seconded the Recommendg him as Secretary.

- *Minutes of the Common Council* (CRG II, p. 3)

Interestingly, Martyn was also a playwright. As Percival noted in his *Diary*: “He is a very ingenious young man, and writ a tragedy last year, which had great success on the stage.” (vol. 1, p. 286) *Timolean* was the name of Martyn’s tragedy. Premiering in January, 1730 it had run its course after just 14 performances.

Following his assurances to Robert Johnson regarding the “Sober, Industrious, and Moral men,” Martyn further addressed the location of the settlement: “The Place will be determin’d by Mr. Oglethorpe; But the Trustees have thought proper to plant them [the settlers and the settlement] as near the Savanah, as conveniently they can.” (CRG XXIX, p. 3) Ironically, this letter, sent *via* the *James*, was penned on January 24, 1733, the very day Oglethorpe returned to Port Royal following his scouting trip to choose the Savannah settlement site and more than ten days after Oglethorpe’s meeting with Johnson. It seems curious that Martyn was penning in the future tense some events that even at the time of the writing had already passed, but this was the reality of corresponding across the Atlantic in the eighteenth century. The missive would not reach Johnson before May, eight months after his own letter, and more than three months after the creation of the Savannah settlement. Oglethorpe’s introductory letter *followed* Oglethorpe’s introduction by exactly four months.

But this seemed somehow fitting in a colonization effort now overtaking the comfort level of some of its Trustees. The Georgia embarkation was speeding forward at a pace that left even Percival dizzy. He summed up a whirlwind of events in his *Journal* on November 1:

1 Nov [1732]...

Resolv’d to establish a Civil Govermt. in Georgia, and a Town on the River Savannah to be call’d by that name.... Mr. Oglethorp offering to go in person and conduct the people, Powers under the Corporation were given him.... A Skilfull Surgeon was appointed to go with them.... And the Revd. Mr. Herbert bastard Son to the E. of Torrington, having offer’d his Service to attend them and officiate in Savannah till another Minister Should be found to Succeed him, his offer was accepted.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 7-8

Scared of the money situation, he ordered new deputations for collecting funds but remarked that he thought they had just enough cash to pull off the first embarkation. “Our fund is as yet little above 2,000*l.*, but it will by our good management answer the first embarkation and settlement.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 295) Panic is a strong word, but Percival was... uncomfortable.

Put simply, the Georgia Board of Trustees of September and October bore little resemblance to the more meticulous and careful body of July and August. The catalyst of two months of rush following two months of cautiousness was the absence of Percival.

Wednesday, 26 July [1732]. - Went to London with my wife to consult physicians, she being very ill of colic.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 287

Catherine was his wife, daughter of Sir Philip Parker. Married in 1710, she bore Percival seven children, three of whom lived to adulthood. To a man who had celebrated his twenty-second anniversary only weeks before and boasted in his *Diary* that “I bless God that I have lived so long with the best wife, the best Christian, the best mother, and the best mistress to her servants living,” (vol. 1, p. 281) this illness required his attention, and he made the decision—“for her illness... obliged her to go to Bath”—to accompany her.

Friday, 11 August. - My wife and I set out for Bath, where we arrived on the 14th at dinner time, and took lodgings at Leak’s, the bookseller’s.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 290

James Leak, the bookseller above, would generously contribute “One thousand Spelling Books,” (CRG III, p. 23) to the Georgia colony on December 31, 1732. “We also desired,” Percival wrote after a January 17, 1733 meeting of the Georgia Board, “that I should thank Mr. Leak, bookseller at Bath, for his present of 1,000 copies of Dixon’s Spelling Books for use of the colony.” (*Diary*, vol. 1, p. 309)

But during Percival’s lengthy absence from London—a period from August 11 to October 27—he missed no fewer than 15 combined Common Council and Trustee meetings. With the meetings now composed almost entirely of hawks for colonization, the more cautious and deliberate approach of the Trustees exhibited in the first four meetings of July and early August (over which Percival had presided) was entirely jettisoned in favor of a rush to colonize.

With Percival in Bath, the first embarkation of colonists was put up to a vote and agreed to by the beginning of October, 1732. Decreeing that an “Embarkation not exceeding Thirty five Men and their Families be made for Georgia,” during the Trustees’ October 3, 1732 meeting, it was ordered “that Lord Carpenter, Mr. Oglethorpe, Mr. Heathcote, Mr. Hucks, Mr. More, Mr. Tower, Mr. Belitha and Mr. Hales or any Two of them do Treat with proper Persons for carrying on said Embarkation.” (CRG II, p. 6) Two weeks later Percival, still in Bath, received notice of their action and tried to put a good face on his disapproval:

Wednesday, 18 [October, 1732]. - I had an account from Captain Coram that the trustees of the Georgia Colony had concluded to send a small number of persons over, and that Mr. Oglethorpe resolved to go with them. Though I am not of opinion they should send any away so soon, yet it

rejoiced me that Mr. Oglethorp would go, for my great pain was that... it would be difficult to find a proper Governor, which post he has accepted of.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 293

Oglethorpe was going to Georgia. James Edward Oglethorpe's involvement in the Georgia project had already spanned two years by the time the Charter was approved. He held no title within the Georgia Board and had no authority over any other Trustee, nor would he ever hold a position such as governor in the New World, however, he did make in October of 1732 the crucial decision to personally accompany the first voyage. "To Mr. Oglethorp (who has the public spirit to go over with them) we gave special powers under our seal," Percival wrote in his November 1, 1732 *Diary*. (vol. 1, p. 295) Oglethorpe would be the only Trustee to ever come to Georgia. Whether this fact was a boon or a hindrance was debatable even nine years later, as Patrick Tailfer observed: "To our great misfortune, none of that honourable body (excepting Mr. Oglethorpe) ever had the opportunity of viewing the situation and circumstances of the colony, and judging for themselves as to the necessities thereof." (*Tailfer*, p. 7)

Oglethorpe would make three visits to Georgia:

February 1733 - May 7, 1734

February 5, 1736 - November 23, 1736

September 15, 1738 - July 22, 1743

By October 24, a mere three weeks after an embarkation had been agreed to and with Percival still in Bath with his wife, the final pool of colonists had been chosen and attended a meeting of the Trustees. As the Minutes of the meeting noted: "The Persons to go on the first Imbarkation attended, and were called in, four excused themselves from going." (*CRG II*, p. 7)

Percival was missing the boat, literally. He returned to London, and attending his first meeting in almost two months on November 1, found an embarkation mentioned to him only two weeks before now a virtual *fait accompli*. The 'first forty' was being shoved out the door.

That day of his return, November 1, 1732 saw the creation of Savannah's civil structure, the Savannah common, even *Savannah* itself. "We resolved a civil government should be established in Georgia, and the town to be erected should be named Savannah, and the lands thereto belonging to be 5000 acres."

We nominated our bailiffs, judge, recorder, storekeeper, and justice of the peace, and added some persons to the number that are to go in the first embarkation, which is now designed 100 whole persons. They were now but 98, of which perhaps about 40 are able sensible men, the rest women and children.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 295

As Percival boasted: "Thus I hope, with the blessing of God, this noble, charitable, disinterested and profitable design to the nation will take root and flourish, having taken all the care possible for its success." (p. 295)

The 5000 acres alluded to on November 1 had been established the week before. On October 25, 1732, the Trustees, unable by their own rules to own any land in Georgia, leased the 5000 acres

(7.81 square miles) comprising the future City Common and Garden Lots to a holding trust for an exchange of five shillings. The trust consisted of Georgia colonists Thomas Christie, Joseph Hughes and William Calvert. Thomas Christie would remain an active, though somewhat reluctant, figure in Savannah's political scene over much of the first decade, first and foremost as Recorder, then later (however briefly) as first bailiff. Christie's colorful career was summed up by Percival in 1743:

240. Christie, Tho. - Age 32; mercht.; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 19 in Savannah. Recorder of Savannah till made 1st Bailif in Hen. Parkers room 20 June 1739. But removed 25 March 1740 by letter from the Trustees & likewise suspended from being Recorder till an acct. he has made with the stores be made up. He lives in open adultery with [Richard] Turner's wife and is guilty of other faults. Abt. April 1740 he left Georgia, & in June following came for England, where he proposed to stay, but returned.

Joseph Hughes, in the meantime, described by Percival as a "cyder mercht," would serve in the capacity of Savannah's first Storekeeper until his death less than a year later; or as Percival put succinctly: "Storekeeper to the Trust while he lived." William Calvert, a "Trader of Goods," on the other hand, would quickly fade from prominence, so much so that by 1743 Percival was uncertain of his whereabouts, remarking he was "Said to be a land holder at Fort Arguile, 16 Jan. 1737-8, but I don't find him in the list." While these men remained the legal landholders of the City Common an additional resolution the next day empowered James Oglethorpe to "set out limit divide & bound" the tract, the garden lots and farm lots, as he saw fit, including the prospective town, officially christened "Savannah" by the Trustees during that very full and active November 1, 1732 meeting. (CRG XXXII, p. 3-10)

The town of Savannah, named more than two weeks before the departure of the colonists from English soil, was named for the Savannah River. As chance would have it, it was not the first. About a hundred miles upriver on the Carolina side of the river there had been a trading post called Savannah Town (by 1737 known as Fort Moore); not only was this to be the second Savannah, but the second petitioned Georgia, named for the second King George, founded by the second James Oglethorpe, named for the son of the second King James.

"As the settling of Colony's [colonies] has in all ages been esteemed a prudent, and praise worthy undertaking, so we find from many instances in history that they have often been attended with the success that such noble and generous undertakings deserved." Thus opens the pages of the *Journal of Peter Gordon*. (p. 23) Gordon was born in 1697; as a colonist undertaking this first voyage, he was only months younger than Oglethorpe, both 35 as of the fall of 1732. He was married to a woman by the name of Katherine; they had no children. He was appointed first bailiff of Savannah on November 7. As Gordon noted, the colonists were asked to attend and sign a document "prepar'd by order of the Trustees for that purpose whereby they oblig'd

themselves not to quitt the Colony in less thane three years without leave first obtain'd of the Chief Person in Power.” (p. 28) Asked to remain three years, Gordon remarked “they chearfully sign'd,” himself included, presumably... though Peter Gordon would actually leave the colony without permission in 1735.

Monday, 30 [October, 1732]...

The *Ann* Galley, of above 200 Tons, is on the point of falling from *Debtford*, for the new Colony of *Georgia*, with 35 Families, consisting of Carpenters, Bricklayers, Farmers, &c. who take all proper Instruments. The Men were learning Military Discipline of the Guards, as must all who go thither, and to carry Musquets, Bayonets, and Swords, to defend the Colony in case of an Attack from the *Indians*. She has on board 10 Ton of Alderman *Parson's* best Beer, and will take in at the *Maderas* 5 Ton of Wine, for the Service of the Colony. *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; one of the Trustees, goes with them to see them settled.

- *Gentleman's Magazine for the Year 1732*, vol. II, p. 1029

The *Anne* was captained by Captain John Thomas. The Common Council approved the “Charterparty of Affreightment” for the vessel on November 6. The “Common Council hired the said Ship for a Voyage with her to be made from London to Beaufort Town in South Carolina in America.... And before... her departure from Gravesend shall receive & take on Board her... Passengers not exceeding one hundred whole heads & with sd. Goods and Passengers directly as Wind & Weather will permitt proceed & Sail to Beaufort Town in South Carolina (or as near thereto as she can safely gett).” (*CRG XXXII*, p. 18)

The day before departure of the vessel eight members of the Trustees' Common Council convened a regular meeting on board the *Anne* at Gravesend.

Thursday the 16 Novr.

This day sevell. of ye Trustees with James Oglethorpe Esq. dined at Gravesd. Came afterwds aboard. Were saluted from ye Ship wth 4 guns. Musterd all ye people. Settled sevell. things in Relation to ye Colony. A Petition was presented signed by the people aboard. Read, giving ye Trustees thanks for all their favrs... & desiring a List of their Benefactors in order to raise a pyramid to their Memory on their Arrival in Georgia.

- Thomas Christie's "Daily Record of the *Anne*"

The *Anne* “broke ground” that night, slipping “down a Litle lowr towds ye hope,” as if to get a head start. But it proved to be a false start... their pilot guide through the channel was found to be drunk. “The Pilot being in Liquor was set ashoar & anothr Ordered in his Room [stead].” Forget the Atlantic; they were in danger of not even making it out of the Thames.

On Friday, November 17, 1732, the population of Georgia officially set sail for its new home, weighing anchor sometime before nine a.m. (Oglethorpe November 18 correspondence: “about 9 in the morning,” *Journal of Peter Gordon*: “about eight in the morning,” Thomas Christie's "Daily Record:" “8 Morn. Weighd. & came to Sail.”). The *Anne* lost at least one of its passengers just before departure. As Thomas Christie remarked: “Mr. Gainsford on some advice from Londo. unwillg to proceed ye Voye. was set ashoar.” Oglethorpe explained the situation in more detail in a letter to the Trustees penned the following day:

Before We Sailed we dismissed William Gainsford one of the Sawyers, he desiring it because his family is taken ill with the small Pox at home and sent for him.... As Gainsford is taken off at £4 Mr. [Paul] Amatis is to be added at £6 to the List.

- James Oglethorpe, November 18, 1732 (CRG XX, p. 3)

Gainsford is not in Percival's *List of Early Settlers*; which suggests that not only did he not come over on the *Anne*, but that he never came on any subsequent ship either.

The *Anne* made little progress its first day; she was hemmed in by sandbars. As Peter Gordon remarked in his *Journal*, "we sail'd from Gravesend on board the shipp Ann, Captain Thomas, Commander, bound for South Carolina.... The same day about noon, we came to anchor, at the Bay of Nore, with the wind at N.B.W. [north by west]" (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 28) Oglethorpe wrote they "came to an Anchor... between the Nore and the Downs the Pilot not chusing to venture over the Flats in the night time." (CRG XX, p. 3) They did not clear the sandbars until the next day, then spent time taking aboard livestock and provisions for the voyage.

[November 18, 1732] Sailed this day over ye flatts & got into Ramsgate Road.... Orderd sevl. Dozn. of fowls Ducks & Geese 3 Sheep 4 Hogs 6 Quartrs of Mutton 2 Quartrs of Beef & Sevl. sorts of Roots wch came aboard.

- Thomas Christie's "Daily Record of the *Anne*"

As Oglethorpe remarked the same day, "All the Colony are very well except [for] Sea Sickness, which the Doctor [Cox] and I have escaped hitherto." (CRG XX, p. 3) On November 21 the *Anne* sailed past the Isle of Wight into the wild Atlantic.

Then the other shoe dropped. Like a prophesy arriving too late, six weeks later Governor Robert Johnson's belated letter arrived at the Georgia Board, urging them not to attempt a colony for another year, or at least until the infrastructure was in place.

I think You should employ Agents here to build convenient Houses, and provide fresh Provision for them. All this will require a year's time at least, So I don't Suppose You will make any Imbarkation till this time twelve months.

- Robert Johnson, September 28, 1732 (CRG XX, p. 2)

The rush to colonize had overtaken the mail, which held within helpful advice.

28 Decbr. [1732]

A Letter was read from Govr. Johnson of South Carolina, advising not to make an Embarkation these 12 months, or until houses were built to receive the people. It was dated 28 Septbr. but came too late.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 11

Percival felt vindicated by Johnson's urging of caution and privately reflected it in his *Diary*:

Thursday, 28 [December, 1732]..

A letter was read from Mr. Johnson, Governor of South Carolina, to Mr. Oglethorpe, dated 28th September, expressing his good wishes for the success of our undertaking... and advising the not making an embarkation this twelve months, because of the necessary preparations first to be made of houses, etc., which confirms my sentiments which I writ from Bath, that we should not send any persons over for a considerable time.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 304

“But,” as Percival concluded, “Oglethorp was eager to begin the colony, and the matter was determined before I returned to London.”

There was no going back now.

The Anne’s ‘Undocumented’s

Captain John Thomas’ *List of the Persons Sent to Georgia on the Charity by the Trustees for Establishing the Colony There* (Hereafter referred to as Thomas’ “Charity List”) records to history the name of all the Charity passengers aboard that first voyage. One hundred and fourteen persons are listed on Thomas’ November 16, 1732 count. William Gainsford, the man who departed the morning of the 17th to tend to his family, is not on the list; however, Paul Amatis, the man who replaced him, is. At departure from Gravesend, the colonists ranged in age from 55 (George Symes) to three weeks (George Marinus Warren). During the passage two children died—James Clarke and James Cannon. As Oglethorpe wrote the Trustees near the culmination of the voyage, “We have lost none of our People except the Youngest Son of Richard Cannon aged Eight Months and the Youngest Sone of Robert Clarke Aged one Year and an half both of whome were very weakly.” (CRG XX, p. 5)

[November] The 26th about six in the morning Mr. Canons child about eight months old was found dead in the bed and the same day about five oclock the child was putt in a wooden box and buried in the sea, Doctor [Rev.] Herbert performing the prayers proper for the occassion.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 29

Thomas Christie, too, recorded the death of the infant: “[November 26] James Cannon an Infant departd. this life.” He also records the death of James Clarke, which Peter Gordon did not have a chance to record in his *Journal* due to his own illness. “[December 22] Samll.[James] Clark, an Infant, departed, this life. Clark’s Child was throwd. over board This day & the Ceremony decently performd. by Doctor Herbert.”

The settlers on the *Anne*, and indeed, most over the first decade, are recorded within the pages of the Trustees’ “big list,” maintained through 1741. A *List of Persons Who Went from Europe to Georgia on Their Own Account, or at the Trustees’ Charge, or who Joyned the Colony or were Born in It, Distinguishing Such as Had Grants there or were only Inmates* (hereafter referred to as the *List of Early Settlers*, or even shorter: the “LES”) recorded encapsulated entries for nearly three thousand persons. Divided into two sections—those who came on the Charity of the Trustees (1675 colonists) and those who came on their own account (1304 colonists)—this volume accounts, all told, for 2979 Georgia settlers through 1741. Probably penned by Lord John Percival in or about 1743 with some later additional notes, this list represents an invaluable research tool, yet an over-reliance on it is problematic. It is worth taking a moment to explain its shortcomings.

The capsule entries were based on limited and sometimes erroneous information—and sometimes when nothing else was available, hearsay. Given to personal bias (another unmistakable clue the author was Percival), the author colors some of the capsules with scathing

commentary and broad strokes. Also, it must be acknowledged the dates within the capsules are not always accurate and inconsistencies abound, *viz*:

221. Clark, Elias - Son of Hen. & Anne;
born in Georgia 13 Mar. 1732-3; dead
28 Oct. 1733

223. Clark, Henry - Son of Hen. & Anne;
born in Georgia 17 Sept. 1733; dead
9 Sept. 1733

Henry and Anne Clark came on the *Georgia Pink*, the seventh ship to bring colonists in 1733. According to the above, not only did their son Henry die *eight days before his birth*, but Anne demonstrated an unnatural gestation in giving birth to Elias during March while producing his brother in September; this clearly illustrates errors in the record. Further, given the *Georgia Pink*'s June 15, 1733 departure Elias could not have been "born in Georgia" three months before the ship left England. Nor could he have been born the following year, as both parents were dead by the end of 1733. In addition, elsewhere in the *List of Early Settlers* Henry Clark, Jr. is listed as arrived in August on the *Georgia Pink* with his parents, so he is subject to redundant entries and his birth date in this second entry is clearly mistaken. In short, these two entries in the Clark family are so far mangled as to be irredeemable as a practical source.

Another pertinent example is George Marinus Warren, the son of *Anne* Charity Colonist John Warren ("Charity List" #98).

1585. Warrin, John - Age 34; flax dresser;
embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb.
1732-3; lot 10 in Savannah. He
landed with a child born on ship-
board whose name I know not.

A comparative study of John Thomas' "Charity List" reveals that child George Marinus Warren was not born on the *Anne*, but was aged three weeks at the time the family came aboard. Peter Gordon's *Journal* records his christening on the ship on November 21; Thomas Christie's *Daily Record* records the christening on November 23; more to the point, Egmont's assessment—some years removed from the event—was in error, in that there was no child born on the *Anne*.

The following is a transcription of the list of the 114 passengers recorded on the Thomas' "Charity List." Family groups are indented beneath their family heads.

A reconstruction of the *Anne* muster
arrived at Port Royal, January 21, 1733
John Thomas, Captain
[transcribed from Thomas' "Charity List,"
professions as listed in Percival's *List of Early Settlers*]
(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

1. Paul Amatis	<i>"Italian silk man"</i>		44. Elizabeth (d)	
2. Timothy Bowling	<i>"potash maker"</i>	☠	45. Peter Gordon	<i>"upholster"</i>
3. William Calvert	<i>"trader"</i>		46. Katherine Gordon (w)	
4. Mary Calvert (w)		☠	47. John Gready	<i>"farmer"</i>
5. William Greenfield (n)			48. Richard Hodges	<i>"basket maker"</i> ☠
6. Charles Greenfield (n)			49. Mary Hodges (w)	
7. Sarah Greenfield (n)			50. Mary (d)	
8. Elizabeth Wallis (ser)			51. Elizabeth (d)	
9. Richard Cannon	<i>"calendar"</i>		52. Sarah (d)	
10. Mary Cannon (w)		☠	53. Joseph Hughes	<i>"merchant"</i> ☠
11. Marmaduke (s)			54. Elizabeth Hughes (w)	
12. James (s)		☠	55. Noble Jones	<i>"carpenter"</i>
13. Clementine (d)			56. Sarah Jones (w)	
14. Mary Hicks (ser)			57. Noble Wimberly (s)	
15. James Carwell	<i>"peruke maker"</i>		58. Mary (d)	
16. Margaret Carwell (w)			59. Thomas Ellis (ser)	
17. Thomas Causton	<i>"calico printer"</i>		60. Mary Cormock (ser)	
18. Thomas Christie	<i>"mercht."</i>		61. William Littel	<i>"flax dresser"</i> ☠
19. Robert Johnston (ser)			62. Elizabeth Littel (w)	☠
20. Robert Clarke	<i>"taylor"</i>		63. William (s)	
21. Judith Clarke (w)			64. Mary (d)	☠
22. Charles (s)			65. Thomas Millidge	<i>"carpenter"</i> ☠
23. John (s)			66. Elizabeth Millidge (w)	
24. Peter (s)			67. John (s)	
25. James (s)		☠	68. Richard (s)	
26. Henry Close	<i>"cloth worker"</i>	☠	69. James (s)	
27. Hannah Close (w)			70. Sarah (d)	
28. Ann (d)			71. Frances (d)	
29. Joseph Coles	<i>"baker"</i>		72. Francis Mugridge	<i>"sawyer"</i>
30. Anna Coles (w)			73. James Muir	<i>"peruke maker"</i>
31. Anna (d)			74. Ellen Muir (w)	☠
32. Elias Ann Wellen (ser)			75. John (s)	
33. Joseph Cooper	<i>"writer"</i>		76. Elizabeth Satchfield (ser)	
34. William Cox	<i>"surgeon"</i>	☠	77. Joshua Overend	<i>"mercier"</i> ☠
35. Frances Cox (w)			78. Samuel Parker	<i>"heel maker"</i> ☠
36. William (s)			79. Jane Parker (w)	
37. Eunice (d)			80. Samuel (s)	
38. Henry Loyd (ser)			81. Thomas (s)	
39. Joseph Fitzwalter	<i>"gardiner"</i>		82. John Penrose	<i>"husbandman"</i>
40. Walter Fox	<i>"turner"</i>		83. Elizabeth Penrose (w)	
41. James Goddard	<i>"carpenter"</i>	☠	84. Thomas Pratt	
42. Elizabeth Goddard (w)		☠	85. John Samms	<i>"cordwainer"</i> ☠
43. John (s)			86. Francis Scott	<i>"reduced officer"</i> ☠

87. Richard Cameron (<i>ser</i>)		101. Richard (<i>s</i>)	
88. Joseph Stanley	"stocking maker"	102. John (<i>s</i>)	☠
89. Elizabeth Stanley (<i>w</i>)		103. George (<i>s</i>)	
90. John Mackay (<i>ser</i>)		104. Elizabeth (<i>d</i>)	
91. George Symes	"apothecary"	105. William Waterland	"mercier" ☠
92. Sarah Symes (<i>w</i>)		106. John West	"smith"
93. Anne (<i>d</i>)		107. Elizabeth West (<i>w</i>)	☠
94. Daniel Thibaut	"vintager"	108. Richard (<i>s</i>)	☠
95. Mary Thibaut (<i>w</i>)		109. James Wilson	"sawyer"
96. James (<i>s</i>)		110. John Wright	"vintner"
97. Diana (<i>d</i>)		111. Penelope Wright (<i>w</i>)	
98. John Warren	"flax dresser" ☠	112. John (<i>s</i>)	
99. Elizabeth Warren (<i>w</i>)		113. Elizabeth (<i>d</i>)	
100. William (<i>s</i>)	☠	114. Thomas Young	"wheelright"

The list breaks down to 72 males and 42 females. Of the 30 passengers—one fourth of the muster—who would be dead by January 2, 1734, two died in the passage on board the *Anne* and a stunning 16 more in the month of July, 1733.

Many from the *Anne* fade almost immediately into obscurity. As John Brownfield would note in a May 17, 1737 correspondence: "John Grady [#47] and James Willson [#109] live chiefly in Carolina." (*CRG XXI*, p. 469) Thomas Pratt (#84) only exists in the surviving record as having abandoned the colony. As Percival noted in his April 23, 1735 *Diary* entry: "One Pratt being returned from Georgia without license, we declared his house and lands forfeited, and ordered it to be granted to another person." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 172)

Walter Fox (#40) was listed as a turner in the *List of Early Settlers*, where Percival remarked of his agricultural industry: "In all his time he only fell'd 1 acre of ground." But evidently, he was otherwise occupied as a gunner. In a July 6, 1735 letter to the Trustees he wished "to acquaint your Honours yt I have Acted as Guner Ever sence our Landing. I used to goe in a boat Night & day where Ever his Honr Esqr Oglethorp Orders was & for ye most part of ye first year was to Look after ye Crann [crane]." (*CRG XX*, p. 433) Assuring the Trustees that "Rowing night & day is Very hard work," he politely asked the Trustees for a slight compensation.

We've already met Peter Gordon (#45), at 35 Savannah's first magistrate. Though the early weeks of the settlement would find him a very active figure, his role in Savannah diminished significantly after July, 1733. Suffering from a painful illness he spent August through October in Charlestown.

[I] contracted an illness which afterwards appear'd to be a fistula in ano, and ovr surgeon Mr. Cox being dead, and no persone in the Colony from whome I could expect any relief, was obliged to goe to Carolina, in order to gett the assistance of a surgeon there... during which time I was cutt three times and underwent incredible torture. But being informed by my surgeon that he hade compleated a cure, I returned to Savanah again, where in less thane a week I found my self so farr from being cured that... I applied to Mr. Oglethorp for leave to returne to England, which he granted....

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 63

Gordon left Savannah on November 8, 1733, boarding a ship in Charlestown bound for England on November 25 and arrived on January 6, 1734.

Percival sums up the complicated Gordon in the following manner in the *List of Early Settlers*:

522. Gordon, Pet. - Age 35; upholster, embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 23 in Savannah. 1 Bailif of Savannah but removed 1738. He thereupon return'd & remov'd with his wife in England, & by leave parted with his lot to the daughters of Major Will. Cook, 12 April 1738. Dead 1740. Quitted 12 April 1738.

After returning to Georgia in late 1734, accompanying Tomochichi and the Indians, Gordon's second stay in Georgia lasted less than three months.

Mr. Gordon has been sometime at Charles Town where he went in order to dispose of Some Goods he brought with him from England and it was Strongly Rumoured that he had a dession to return back but I am inform'd this Day that we are [not] likely to See him again here.

- Thomas Christie to the Trustees, March 19, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 273)

It was true; by March of 1735 he had again sailed for England, and this time without permission or the Trustees' knowledge. An irritated Percival noted in his *Journal*:

7 May [1735]....

Being inform'd that Peter Gordon 1. Bailif of Savannah a conceited unstable Man, and favourer of the malecontents in the Colony, was again return'd to England, We orderd he Should attend the board next Saturday....

There were rampant whispers, too, that Gordon was a Catholic; he was clearly not a fan of his junior magistrate, Thomas Causton, and on his second trip to Savannah he seemed unable to vacate the colony soon enough. Percival remarked of Gordon's character in his notes within *A True and Historical Narrative*:

In March 1735 he saild again for England contrary to his duty and Covenant being without leave of the Trustees or acquainting them therewith. He was a conceited unstable man, and his purpose in returning, was, as it afterwards appeared, to set up a punch house in London.

- Percival notes within *A True and Historical Narrative*, p. 54

However and whatever his situation, he seemed disenchanted with Georgia almost immediately. He officially surrendered his Savannah lot in a letter written April 10, 1738.

William Waterland (#105) was appointed as Savannah's second magistrate and intended as the settlement's schoolmaster, but as Percival observed in his *Egmont Journal*: "Waterland 2nd Bailif of Savannah was turn'd out of his Office by Mr. Oglethorp for drunkenness, whereupon he went to Carolina and never return'd."

He was brother to Dr. Waterland the Kings Chaplain, and had been by trade a mercer, but breaking [having gone broke] turn'd School master. His brother had renounc'd him & the very rich would do nothing for him, So he went over in the first embarkation on the poor acct.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 31

Waterland advertised his services in the *South Carolina Gazette* in the fall of 1734.

*Wm. Waterland the present Schoolmaster
of Wassamsaw-School, gives Notice, that any Gentle-
men Planter or others, who want to send their Children to School,
may be provided with good conveniency for boarding and at reason-
able rates within the Quarters. Writing and Arithmetick
in all its most useful parts, and the Rudiments of Grammar
are taught, but more particularly English, of which great care
is taken, and by such methods as few Masters care to take the
trouble of, being taught grammatically. NB. The above said
Master is not likely to move in a short time: For the late chan-
ges of Masters has been no small disadvantage to the School, and
the reason of this Advertisement.*

- advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, November 16, 1734
reprinted in the November 23 and 30 issues

His departure from Georgia left the second magistrate position empty for more than a year, and left Savannah without the prospect of any school. "There has been no Instrucr of Youth here since Mr Waterland went to Carolina," James Burnside wrote to the Trustees on January 16, 1735. (*CRG XX*, p. 166)

Thomas Causton (#17) arrived on the shores of Georgia as Savannah's third magistrate. History also reminds us he was the keeper of the Trustees' Store, but this was only a position that fell on him after the death of Joseph Hughes at the end of September, 1733. The *List of Early Settlers* describes Causton's rapid rise and fall as follows, though deprived of the drama and the acrimony that attended it in real life:

221. Causton, Tho. - Age 40; calico print-
er; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1
Feb. 1732-3; lot 24 in Savannah. At
first appointed 3d. Bailif, then 2d. &
lastly 1st. Bailif in 1734 [1735]. He was
also Publick Store Keeper on Hughes
death 30 Sept. 1733, but turn'd out
of both offices 1739 [1738] for abusing his
Trust.

Joseph Hughes (#53) served as Savannah's first Storekeeper, but his poor record-keeping, combined with an untimely death in September, 1733, left the finances in a mess beyond even Oglethorpe's ability to untangle. "I am now making up of all the Accots. in some parts of which I find a great deal of Perplexity, Mr. Hughs being dead," Oglethorpe wrote in a November 15, 1733 correspondence. (*CRG XX*, p. 38) By January he still seemed baffled:

The Death of Mr. Hughes who kept the Cash Book which we have not been able to find amongst his Papers puts us under great Difficulties in settling the Accompts.

- James Oglethorpe, January 22, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 42)

His wife Elizabeth Hughes (#54), remarried in April, 1734 to John West (#106). According to the *List of Early Settlers*, following West's death in 1739, Elizabeth "lived with Will. Killeway as wife with the character of a lewd woman" and died in June of 1740.

The colony was in the hands of a capable physician, William Cox (#34), the man Percival had referred to on November 1, 1732 as a "skilfull surgeon." During the second day of the *Anne's* passage Oglethorpe first made reference to him, singling him out for special notice to the Trustees' satisfaction: "Dr. Cox and Mr. Fitzwalter have behaved remarkably well and all the rest are very orderly and patient." (CRG XX, p. 3) As Peter Gordon noted, "Mr. [Joseph] Hughes had the misfortune of breaking his great toe," on December 9, while still at sea. The injury of the future Storekeeper was quickly attended to as the break was "emediately sett by Doctor Cox, our surgeon, who made a perfect cure of it in a short time." (*Journal*, p. 30) Identified on Thomas' List as a 41 year-old surgeon, Cox had been accompanied on the *Anne* by his wife. He had volunteered his services for free in an effort to further the Trustees philanthropic venture, and in return was granted a lot and provided provisions from the Store, a store managed by Joseph Hughes. In fact, as chance would have it the two men were eventually granted house lots across the street from one another, though, true; whether or not either men actually lived long enough to see their houses is questionable.

The colony's midwife was Elizabeth Stanley (#89), who boasted by early 1735 of having delivered 59 children in Georgia, and upon her return to England in early 1737, "over 128 children, of whom 40 are dead," Percival noted. (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 370) Georgia Close became the first child born into the colony, on March 17, 1733. The daughter of Henry and Hannah Close (#26, 27), by December both she and her father would be dead, leaving only Hannah and daughter Ann. Remarrying to South Carolinian James Smith two months after Henry's death, in February, 1734, Hannah would be subjected to further loss with the death of Ann in April. In the words of Percival, "Abt. 1740 they both left the Colony to settle in Scotland on an estate, and sold their lot to Capt. [William] Thompson for 20£."

Joseph Cooper (#33) and Joseph Coles (#29) died within days of one another in the spring of 1735. As Elisha Dobree observed to the Trustees: "29 March. Mr Cooper dyd this morning suddenly. He was abroad two days agoe, there was no body with him when he Expired." (CRG XX, p. 293) A few lines later Dobree noted, "Mr Johnson Dalmass of Skedaway was buried ab. 7 or 8 days since as was Mr Cole one of ye first forty of wch Number remains alive 19 or twenty."

James Carwell (#15) was described by William Stephens as "an old Soldier formerly," (CRG IV, p. 11) but Percival remarked of him in the *List of Early Settlers* as "of a very bad character." In 1734 he took advantage of the kindness of Charlestown merchant Isaac Chardon: "I have Credited James Carwell One of the first men that Came to Georgia to Encourage him," Chardon explained to Oglethorpe. But instead of buying goods with the money credited to him, Carwell took the opportunity to go on a drinking binge.

He bought his dry goods here in Town [Charlestown] of whome he pleased, and I paid for them to the Value of £205 our Currency, and he has Since made Shift to convert them all into Wett and Drunk them up.

- Isaac Chardon, October 26, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 92)

“Convert them all into Wett,” would make an excellent t-shirt. Chardon concluded sardonically: “He Ought if he had the Least Gratitude to have Drank [to] my health Since that is all I could Expect for my Mony.”

James Carwell and his wife Margaret (#16) served as guardians to Elizabeth Goddard (#44) after her parents’ death. As Edward Jenkins wrote with concern in the spring of 1735, “Elizabeth proves an unlucky child. I fear ye ill Conduct of the Master & Mistrise is two much ye Cause.” (*CRG XX*, p. 302)

And then there was John Penrose (#82), who as Percival observed, was “Fyn’d thrice for retayling spiritous liquours without lycense. And twice for assault and defamation.... Run away to Carolina Aug. 1742.” His wife Elizabeth, ten years older, was “Found guilty of the same things, and also of keeping a bawdy house 26 May 1736.” She left the Colony—and her husband—in the Spanish threat of 1740. As Samuel Mercer wrote to the Trustees in 1735, “Mr Penrose have Continued to Sell Rum and Other Liquors,” despite any punishments.

He hath been fined a Second time for it but doth not minde it Any ways and Continues to do the Same as before and Says that he will So Continue on.

- Samuel Mercer, April 25, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 326)

James Wilson (#109) was another troublemaker, with his resume of misdeeds recorded by Percival, *viz.*:

1638. Wilson, Ja. - Age 21; sawyer; em-, bark’d 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 32 in Savannah. Quitted, absent some years but ret. 1740. Bound in recognizance for assaulting the guard on duty 30 June 1734. Convicted of extortion in selling flesh meet [meat] 14 July 1735. Fyn’d 5 shillings for willfully destroying other mens hoggs 28 July 1735. M. Mildred d. of Robt. Moore 1 Feb. 1734-5. Quitted; absent some years but ret. 1740.

In contrast, Noble Jones (#55) was the very model of middle class Georgia, but he appeared to have no desire or ambition for the role of civic leadership; and clearly neglected his duties as surveyor. Percival summed up the Trustees’ mixed impressions of Jones thusly:

735. Jones, Noble - Age 32; carpenter, embark’d 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 41 in Savannah. Employ’d to survey the peoples lots, but removed for negligence. He took possession of this lot 21 Dec. 1733 and

afterwards improved land at some distance from the town. He was I think a constable also, and officer for executing the Rum Act. He now resides mostly at his new plantation abt. 10 miles from Savannah. On 21 Oct. 1738 Mr. Oglethorp removed him from being surveyor and first Constable, but afterwards gave him the command of the Narrows. In the Colony the end of the year 1746.

Not only “in the Colony” in 1746, but in the year of his death in 1775 he was the only ‘first forty’ head to still reside in Georgia. In 1736 he leased a 500 acre estate, ten miles south of the city, which he called Wormslow, and which would remain in his family to the present day. He was, in fact, the only passenger on the *Anne* whose descendants still reside in Savannah. Noble Jones was invested with the title of surveyor and first constable, and even when removed from both offices during the great purge of 1738, remained generally untouched or unmoved by the scandals around him.

Surveyor Jones; whose Character is of so mixed a nature, that ‘tis not easy to hit it right in all its parts.... To speak my thoughts freely of him; I take him to be an indolent man, as well in relation to publick work, as to private economy; wch is sufficiently visible from the manner his Family lives in, & the very mean appearance he makes in his Garb.

- William Stephens, January 19, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 79)

Percival described him in the following terms: “Mr. Jones made himself many Enemies by his hot and passionate temper, but they who personally know him, affirm that he is a sober able and just Man, and so the Trustees have found him.” (Percival notes within *Tailfer*, p. 115)

Intermarriages within the *Anne* community included Anne Symes’ (#93), daughter of George (#91), union to Thomas Christie’s short-lived servant Robert Johnston (#19), (though the marriage proved just as short-lived, as Johnston died in 1734); and Penelope Wright (#111) to Joseph Fitzwalter (#39), who, having made history as the Georgia colony’s first marriage between an Native American and an Englishman resulted in her running away, decided to set his sights instead on the widow of John Wright (#110).

John West (#106) would hold the record by the time of his death in 1739, having been wed to three different women who had come on the *Anne*, all by the name of Elizabeth. (#107, #62, #54)

Interestingly, the Thomas’ “Charity List” does not account for *all* the Georgia-bound settlers on the *Anne*. The list is accurate but incomplete—one must recognize the fact that Thomas’ “Charity List” is just that, and only records “Persons Sent... on the *Charity*....” The list does not include passengers on the *Anne* who had paid their own passage, such as Oglethorpe, or William Kilberry, a man who did not come on the *Charity* but paid his own passage. Nor does it include Rev. Henry Herbert, the minister who in the words of Percival “goes voluntary chaplain to the colony for a time, till we can procure or be able to give a salary to some other clergyman.” (*Diary*, vol. 1, p. 295) All three men are documented on the *Anne* in both Peter Gordon’s *Journal* and Thomas Christie’s “Daily Record.”

[November 24] No Candle to be burnt but in Lanthorn & Ordrd. Mr. Kilbury to go round Every Bodys Cradle & see all the lights put out by Eight. Mist and Lost a Black lurching Bitch belong to Mr. Oglethorpe. Supposed to be flung Over board by some of the Sailors.

- Thomas Christie's "Daily Record of the *Anne*"

[November 28] And to prevent the danger of fire, by having candles between decks in the night, Mr. Kilbery was appoynted Corporall, and to see that all the candles between decks were putt out ever'y night at eight oclock.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 30

William Kilberry was referred to by Percival as "the most active man we had." (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 55) Like so many of the other passengers on the *Anne*, he died before the first year was out, either on December 8 (Isaac Chardon correspondence) or December 9 (*List of Early Settlers*), 1733. Only five weeks later South Carolina merchant Isaac Chardon wrote affectionately of Kilberry:

The Colony has lost a very brisk man for he was constantly stirring & making some Discoveries of the Coast and Channel, and diligent in whatever he was employed in. I don't know what they will do for want of this Fellow.... He is very much regretted by Mr. Oglethorpe for I saw that he was very much concerned.

- Isaac Chardon, January 17, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 43-4)

He had a wife and daughter, who evidently remained in England. Even two years later Kilberry remained within the attention span of the Trustees:

2 July [1735]...

Will. Kilberry Commander of our Sloops in Georgia being dead, 50£ was order'd to his wife for his 10 months service.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 96

Percival's *List of Early Settlers* invariably refers to the arrival dates of each of the passengers of the *Anne* as "Arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3," or in more contemporary vernacular, Feb. 1, 1733 (the Julian calendar year began March 25, so the period between January 1 and March 24 was recorded as a transitional period to the next year—February, 1733 was in the Old Style, February, 1732-3). Using this as a clue to identify other potential *Anne* passengers it is possible to peruse the complete *List* and find a handful not listed on Thomas' "Charity List," peppering the second half of the book, containing only those colonists who paid their own passage. These people, falling between the cracks, paying for their own passage and documented as "Arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3" on Percival's *List of Early Settlers* but not found on Thomas' "Charity List" are what we will refer to as the *Anne*'s 'undocumentededs'. The *Anne*'s 'undocumentededs' range from three (concrete) to as many as eleven.

The January 20, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette* reports the *Anne* as a "ship with about 120 People," while one of the colonists wrote a column printed in the March 31, 1733 *Gazette* that the *Anne* had departed "being about 130 Persons." Any investigation into the number of passengers of the *Anne* must start with the assumption that the disparity could not be great. The following represents a pooling of Thomas' "Charity List," the *List of Early Settlers*, and the records of Peter Gordon and Thomas Christie, to suggest a fuller list of settlers from the *Anne*.

Anne passengers referenced in both Peter Gordon's *Journal* and Thomas Christie's "Daily Record" but not found on the Thomas' List

1. James Oglethorpe

2. Henry Herbert

3. William Kilberry

Documented as "Arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3" in the *List of Early Settlers* not on Thomas' List

1. James Cornock

5. Henry Herbert *

9. William Mackay

2. John Dearn

6. William Horn

10. Henry Molton

3. Sarah Dearn

7. William Kilberry *

4. Peter Germain

8. John Mackay, Esq.

* - confirmed also in *Gordon and Christie*

James Cornock (#1 above) is erroneous, as he is clearly documented on the third voyage of the *Two Brothers*, arriving on August 24, 1736. But Peter Germain (#4 above) almost certainly came on the *Anne*; his family departed London in September 1733 in order to join him (by which time he was dead). Further, a compelling case could be made for John and Sarah Dearn (#2 and 3) and William Horn (#6) on the *Anne* as well, given that they were assigned lots in Derby Ward, a ward reserved almost exclusively for the *Anne* passengers.

In short, taking into account both Charity and non-Charity passengers, the *Anne* left Gravesend on November 17, 1732 with no fewer than 117—and possibly as many as 123—Georgia-bound passengers aboard. With two deaths during its passage the *Anne* arrived at Port Royal with 112 Charity colonists, but no fewer than 115 passengers.

The Debtors Debate

Remarking that the normal rate “is £5 a head for Passage,” the Trustees’ Accountant Harman Verelst, later explained the breakdown of the rates of passage in a 1735 correspondence:

Each Person of twelve years old & upwards is Acco.ted a head.

Every Person of the Age of seven & under twelve is accompted two for a head.

Every Person of the Age of Two & under seven is accompted three for a head.

And every Person under the Age of Two is not Acco.ted but is freight free & maintained out of the Parents Allowance.

Other Passengers is £5 a head for Passage (allowing 2 Tons head Tonnage by shipping 100d. upon a 200d. Tons Ship) and maintained as above.

- Harman Verelst, May 13, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 52)

Going over to Georgia on the charitable account was referred to as going “over on the low foot,” (*Percival Diary*, vol. 1, p. 392) or as Percival once remarked, “the charitable list... was the meanest foot that could be.” (p. 384) In considering the contemporary state of England’s commonwealth colonies, Peter Gordon was candid in his evaluation early in his *Journal*: “The

people generally used in settling our moderne Colony's [colonies] are a people who have either by misfortunes, or ill conduct, been reduced from plenty to a state of indigency and want. Or," as he continued, even more blunt, "they are the idle and abandoned part of mankind, who were ever strangers to labour and industry, and who are always ready to enter upon any undertaking where they can be supplied with a year's provisions." (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 24)

When approached by a gentleman of significant means in the spring of 1733, the Trustees turned down the unnamed gentleman's application for Georgia, citing that their aim in their colony was not to make the wealthy more prosperous.

Monday, 30 [April, 1733]...

A substantial builder offered himself to go with six servants at his own charges, desiring as great encouragement as had been given to others. I was ordered by the Board to acquaint him that the design of our charter was in settling our Colony to provide for the necessitous poor of our country, and not to make men of substance richer.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 370

"Wherefore we could not agree to his proposal," Percival concluded. The merits of the philanthropy aside, such a position in hindsight seems problematic, in that it deprived the colony of an economic base that could sustain it long after Parliament tired of funding Georgia. Nonetheless, the Trustees had taken a stand. Georgia was for the poor.

But exactly how poor were these colonists who came on the Charity?

As already seen, the Georgia colony arose, in part, out of the Prison Reform Committee; a fact which led to later broad misperceptions that Georgia was founded as a kind of a penal colony. But the Georgia of 1732 was already very different from its "West Indies/prison reform" origin of 1730. In the 20th century, conventional wisdom came to embrace the findings of Albert Berry Saye, whose definitive study published in 1940 claimed that "not more than a dozen" imprisoned debtors were sent to Georgia. Fifty years later Rodney Baine's "New Perspectives on Debtors in Colonial Georgia," in the Spring 1993 *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (vol. LXXVII), suggested that as many as "a third" of the colonists (approx. 900) sent to Georgia were debtors. In the opinion of this author, both are right, in that neither claim contradicts the other. The distinction boils down to that slippery slope of semantics—which is to distinguish those colonists who were *in debt*, vs. those who had actually been at some point *in prison for debt* (...or were potentially bound for it). In brief, it is worth taking a moment to run a "credit check" on the early colonists.

July 11, 1733 -

One Reyley, who had been a merchant in London, and afterwards a bookkeeper, and three weeks ago released out of prison for debt, applied to us to go over. He has a wife and two small children. He appeared a great object of charity, and we ordered him to bring certificates of his honesty and good behaviour from the last two persons he was bookkeeper to.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 389

The "Reyley" above, recently released from jail, was Will Ryley, a merchant who came to Georgia on the *Savannah* in late 1733. Whatever promise he might have exhibited or better life he might have found was cut short by his death just five weeks after arrival. His wife, too, died in November, 1734, and their "two small children," both boys, ended orphans under the direction of John Vanderplank.

The Trustees' attempts to narrow the pool of applicants—well documented in Percival's *Diary*—rested on a variety of factors, including, but not limited to, degree of poverty. In the words of Percival, the Trustees tried to send “persons to go over, who appeared useful, in want and well recommended,” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 392) many of whom were poor, some of whom were destitute... and as we'll soon see, at least a few of whom *had* just been released from prison.

November 23, 1732 -

We noted down some poor persons who attended [the Trustees meeting] and desired very urgently to go over, but we dismissed several who were able to earn their bread in England....

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 298

November 30, 1732 -

We examined several poor people who appeared, and some of them were noted down, others who could get their bread at home we rejected.

- p. 299

December 28, 1732 -

Then we examined divers poor people who appeared, some of whom we noted down, and the greater part we rejected.

- p. 305

December 7, 1732 -

After this we examined about thirty poor persons, who applied to go over, which held us till nine at night. Most of them we rejected as able to live though poorly in England, but we noted down about four of them who cannot subsist at all, for future consideration.

- p. 301

“The rest rejected,” he concluded of the thirty in the *Egmont Journal*, “because [they were] able to earn their bread in England.” (p. 10) “Earning their bread,” the figurative expression for eking out a living, seems to have been the benchmark by which Percival voted yea or nay. He seemed almost giddy to note of some who made up the *James'* manifest: “One had by Sickness been obliged to Sell his bed, and another was to Sell his tools to pay his Creditors.” (p. 11) Their unabashed misery earned them a ticket to ride. Talents or skills, too, played an important role.

July 18, 1733 -

We wrote down the names of several poor persons desirous to go to Georgia; as one who is skillful in fencing banks and in making tiles; another who knows something of mechanical engines, and two or three who are reduced to the last extremity.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 391

But creditors remained a sticking point. “We... are careful not to send any who do not satisfy us that they have their creditors' leave to go, and that they do not run away from their wives and families to leave them a burthen on the parish,” Percival noted. (p. 298) Though not necessarily imprisoned, many of the Georgia colonists were indeed debtors, struggling to find a mutual understanding with their creditors.

November 4, 1732 -

We... agreed with a noted carpenter, once worth 10,000 £, but who broke and honestly compounded with his creditors, that he should go with four servants and have 500 acres.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 296

October 9, 1734 -

A Scotsman who had been nine years a linendraper in London, but failed, a fair behaved man, offered himself to go to Georgia on his own account, with a servant, and promised to satisfy Alderman Kendal that he not go away in debt. He said he had 30*l.* to take with him. We agreed he should go if he gives the Board that satisfaction.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 128-9

As Percival wrote in November, 1732, "I proposed that for the future when we send any person over, we should publish their names in some public paper a fortnight before, that their creditors might not be defeated of their debts." (p. 299) *Egmont Journal*: "Agreed that for the future, the names of Such persons as are Sent on the poor Acct. be publickly advertised, that their Creditors be not defrauded." (p. 9)

"None certainly will go over, but with a design to be industrious," read the resulting statement released to London's various news press in the spring of 1733. "None who can live here, will think of going thither." The statement began as follows:

In compliance with several Importunate Sollicitations, we insert here a short Extract of the Method observed by the Trustees, in peopling the Colony of Georgia.

THAT the Mother Country should not be robbed of any Hands useful to it, the Trustees strictly examine those who desire to go over, and make other Enquiries, to find out whether they can get a Subsistence here; therefore they will admit no Sailors, no Husbandmen of Labourers from the Country, none who would leave their Wives and Families without a Support, none who have the Character of lazy, immoral Men, or any in Debt, without consent of their Creditors.

- notice within the *Gentleman's Magazine for the Year 1733*, vol. III, p. 259

But it quickly became clear that even those paying their own way to Georgia were not necessarily above defrauding creditors. As Percival noted in a July 25, 1733 *Diary* entry: "It will be right for the future, when we make grants to persons going over on their accounts, to make some cautious reserves in such grants, as a clause vacating the same... if they have not satisfied their creditors." (vol. 1, p. 392)

John Coates, who came on the *Savannah* in late 1733, almost had his Georgia career cut short by small trifling debts owed to other individuals, one to an unnamed widow and another to a man by the name of Michael Elstone.

Wednesday, 25 [July, 1733]....

Coates appeared, and with him a widow, who charged him with a design to defraud her of 12*l.* We made up the difference between them, she taking his bond to pay her when in Georgia that sum, or if he discharges it before he goes, she will forgive him the six pounds of it.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 392

A larger outstanding debt, in the meantime, torpedoed the trip of Robert Smith, Coates' would-be business partner. Coates would become a constable in Savannah, though his behavior failed to improve much; as William Stephens noted in December of 1737, he was "indebted to many People" in Savannah. (*CRG IV*, p. 41) Just as he had nearly left London in 1733 under a cloud of debt, in 1737 he skipped out of Savannah in debt as he fled one night to Charlestown.

Unresolved debts may have also been at the root of the Trustees' displeasure with the Jewish migration of the *William and Sarah*... though it is true that the Trustees were uncomfortable with that embarkation for a number of reasons. In his December 15, 1733 *Diary* entry, Percival made comment that "a great affront and injury was done us, for many of them ran from their Christian creditors," in England. (vol. 1, p. 464)

It is clear that at least one passenger on the *Anne* (and possibly two) had previously been an imprisoned debtor. John West, identified on Capt. Thomas' list as "a Smith aged 33," came a Charity colonist on the *Anne*, went through two wives in three months during the sickness of 1733, married his third wife in April, 1734 and died in 1739. Percival wrote of West: "He was a broken blacksmith by trade, and relieved out of jail by the Debtors' Act, swearing himself not worth 10 *l*. We found him an honest, sensible man, and sending him over with the first embarkation with Mr. Oglethorpe made him one of the bailiffs or chief magistrates of Savannah town." (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 195) West actually had a *dormant* commission, to split hairs, but he appears in the *List of Early Settlers* as follows:

1610. West, John - Aged 33; Smith; embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 31 in Savannah. Appointed 3d Bailif 13 Oct. 1733, which he some years later resign'd. On 7 Oct. 1735 he had a grant of 500 acres, and 11 May 1737 was permitted to alienate this lot. He marry'd Eliz. Little his 2. wife 28 Aug. 1733 and Eliz. Hughes his 3d wife 24 April 1734. In June 1739 he had leave to sell his Interest and quit the Colony by reason of ill health, but died of the consumption before he could set out. His wife remarry'd to Willm. Kelleway. Dead 1739.

West remained an impressive find to Percival over the years, the latter a man who spoke plainly of many people but gave praise to few. West was one of the few magistrates who was allowed to step down when he made the request of the Trustees. He returned to England for a visit and a chance to sort out affairs in 1735 and gave an interview to the Trustees on all aspects of the colony that seemed to impress them. And despite three marriages and the death of two children over six years, he remained a hard worker; John Scott remarking in January, 1735 "that Esqr Oglethorp had fixed a Sallery on Mr West ye Black Smith to do ye Indian Guns." (CRG XX, p. 158) As Percival explained: "He followed his trade of blacksmith there, and took 10 *l*. a week by his work." (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 195) "As he went on the poor list, his lot was a house in town and 50 acres of land." But with his visit to England in 1735 the Trustees conferred upon him a 500 acre "gentlemen's grant," a truly impressive feat less than three years after coming over on the Poor Account. As he traveled to Bristol to hire servants for himself, he was given the responsibility by Oglethorpe of picking out additional servants for the use of the colony. John West was the hardworking Everyman the Trustees had hoped would shine in the Georgia environment, and he did not disappoint them. West was the model colonist of Trustee Georgia.

Another former debtor on the *Anne* could have been William Kilberry. The evidence for this is meager, but there is a record of one William Kilberry confined to Fleet Prison on July 20, 1726, offering testimony to the Prison Reform Committee in 1729. Found in one charge buried amongst many against Thomas Bambridge, warden of Fleet Prison, within the Prison Reform Committee's 1729 report: "That William Kilberry was allowed by Bambridge to go out of the prison, and the rules thereof, though charged at the suit of the crown with the sum of 5,820*l.*" (*A Report from the Committee Appointed to enquire into the State of the Goals of this Kingdom, 1729*, p. 7) It is possible, then, that Kilberry's association with Percival and Oglethorpe carried over to his Georgia experience.

Any distinction separating English debtors from imprisoned English debtors does become rather moot when confronted with the simple fact that Rodney Baine addressed: the majority of colonists who came to the shores of Georgia after 1733 were not even English. By 1742 Benjamin Martyn listed some 45% of the total number of the Charitable Account as "foreign Protestants." Germans, Austrians, Irish, Scottish, French and Swiss disproportionately filled the muster rolls for many of the ships that came after 1733. Let's take a moment to meet Scotsman Patrick Mackay.

On the 10 Oct. 1735 Patrick Mackay Capt. of a party of Rangers, and employd to Settle a Fort in the Indian Nation was turn'd out of our Service for notorious ill behaviour.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 114

Patrick Mackay, a man who had both captained his own company of men and served as an ambassador to the Indians in the colony's first two years, a man who was well regarded both locally and by the Trustees before he gradually turned malcontent, had come to Georgia only because he had run away from his own homeland a wanted man. Patrick Mackay had evidently "fled Scotland for felony," according to Percival in an April 12, 1738 *Diary* entry, though what this felony was is never revealed. (vol. 2, p. 479) Perhaps even more shocking than the felony was the fact that it took two years, evidently, for the Trustees to learn of it. But this was the reality of sending non-English colonists. Not unlike Philip von Reck, who occasionally added non-Salzburgers to the Salzburger transports—or as Bolzius coined them, "those whom Mr. von Reck picked up along the way"—the Trustees were left liable for those who told any white lie, skipped their town and jumped on board their transport.

Another example of the foreign destitute was the Irish vessel that arrived in January, 1734. Not only was it *not sent* by the Trustees, its existence even to Georgia was unknown until the moment it limped into port. It held a cargo of forty "transport servants," people so destitute and desperate they had been effectively sold into servitude.

But even the indentured servants—the "Trust Servants" sent for specific durations of service and traditionally in the lowest of straights—weren't always destitute. At the age of 15 Thomas Oakes was sent as a Trust Servant on the second voyage of the *Georgia Pink*, in 1735. As William Stephens noted, his "Father was one of the King's Coachmen." (*CRG IV*, p. 231) Contracted for six years' service, his term was marked by frequent attempts to run away and general bad behavior. As Percival observed, he was "orderd home to his father in England" after five years, proving that the bad behavior of servants was not necessarily related to class.

Trust Servants were contracted for varying terms of service, commonly as few as two years or as many as ten. They numbered only six in 1733 but were *voluminous* five years later. By the late 1730s, following an influx of servants in 1735 and two large boatloads arriving in late 1737 the public Trust Servants in Savannah were principally of two groups: the Scots and the Germans.

Anne Macgruder was on one of those two ships to come to Georgia in late 1737, and she may hold the record as youngest Trust Servant. Arriving with the Scottish servants on the *Two Brothers* in November of 1737, she was described in the *LES* as “Age 4; serv. for 20 yrs.” Though servants were permitted to buy out their time few were able to take advantage of this opportunity, especially in the lackluster early Georgia economy. One exception was the family of John Kreamp, arriving in October, 1738. As Percival noted in the *LES*: “about Michs. [Michaelmas] 1739 he petitioned Col Oglethorpe to buy out his time, and maintain his family by his own Labour, wch. was granted: he makes canoes, nets, etc. and in 1741 paid to the Trust 17.0.0 for the passage of himself and family, being 3 heads and half. Bought his & his family’s freedom Michs. 1739.”

Clearly, Baine’s 1993 article and a varied read of the primary sources raises enough questions that no single number, whether a dozen or 900, can be offered with any degree of certainty... though, as in the instance of the Irish vessel that limped into the Savannah River January 1734 and the Trust Servants who came in increasing numbers in 1734-35 and even more in ’37-38; it is clear that debt—in *varying degrees*—had compelled many to the shores of Georgia who otherwise never would have come. As Samuel Pensyre later pleaded his case to Oglethorpe (his plea more in regards to an abusive wife than any outstanding debt), “No Body would Leave his native Country if they had not some crosses or Misfortune.” (*CRG XX*, p. 144)

From Charlestown to Savannah

DEATHS....

19 [June, 1732]. The Relict of the late Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, and Mother to *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Haslemere* in *Surrey*, &c.

- *Gentleman’s Magazine for the Year 1732*, vol. II, p. 827

The same month that saw the passing of the Georgia Charter also witnessed the passing of Eleanor Wall Oglethorpe. Sometimes history pivots on such small hinges; it was only with the passing of Lady Oglethorpe, that last family link to England, that the 35-year-old Oglethorpe was presented with the opportunity to lead the expedition. Now as 1732 began its long Julian-calendar transition into 1733—and Oglethorpe turned 36—he and his colonists arrived at the shores of the New World.

[January 10, 1733] Saw abundance of Garnets & small Birds. Supposd. to be near Land.

- Thomas Christie’s “Daily Record of the *Anne*”

The colony of Georgia arrived first in South Carolina.

After an eight-week passage, the *Anne* came into sight of the New World. Captain John Thomas had deliberately piloted the vessel farther south than necessary during the voyage for more favorable conditions. As Oglethorpe explained in his January 13 correspondence to the Trustees: “We have had a very favourable Passage considering that we passed the Tropick of Cancer and Stood to the Southward till we came into 20 Degrees and then Stood back again to 32 where we now are. By this means we lengthened our Navigation from England above a third which was done to avoid the fury of the North west Winds that generally rage in the Winter season on the Coast of America.” (CRG XX, p. 5) In his March 12 letter to his wife, Thomas Causton remarked as well of the circuitous route, “We made our Passage in eight weeks and Weather good enough to have made it in five weeks had we not gone so far to the Southward, which we did for the Safety of us all.” (CRG XX, p. 17-8) Even considering that, it is worth noting that no other Georgia-bound vessel of the first year would make the passage in so short a time as eight weeks & one day; the only other ship to rival so quick a passage would be the *Purrysburg* one year later, completing its crossing to Charlestown in eight weeks and two days. An examination of the eleven Charity-sponsored voyages of 1733 places the average crossing time at 13 weeks. The longest crossing of 1733 would be the *Susannah*, at 18 weeks.

In addition to the deaths of the two young infants, the only other concern of significance was the *Anne*'s water supply, corrupted with wine throughout the voyage, and after the beer went “Sower” [sour] by mid December—that very same beer described within the *Gentleman's Magazine* as “10 Tons of Alderman Parson's best Beer”—little else was available.

Novr. 30. [1732]...

Observd. that almost all the Water on board had been put into Red Wine Casks wch. made it foul & Black & gave it a very disagreeable Tast. (They not having been Sufficiently Purged) wch. proved a very disagreeable thing and caused a great Murmurg. agst. the Capt. during the whole voyage.

- Thomas Christie's "Daily Record of the *Anne*"

“We just now discover the Coast of America and it proves to be the Land which lyes off Charles town,” Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees on January 13, 1733. “We are now within nine Miles distant and can from the Deck with the naked Eye discover the Trees just above the Horrizon, No disagreeable sight to those who for seven weeks have seen nothing but Sea and Sky.” (CRG XX, p. 5) Peter Gordon, too, noted their arrival in the New World.

Jan: ye 13th about nine in the morning we see two sails of shipp, and soon after we made land and stood for it, which we discovered in a short time to be Charles Town. Mr. Oglethorp sent for me, and desired to know if my cloaths were on board, and if I could conveniently come at them, for that he intended to send me ashore with his complements to the Governour.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 31

In other words, put your clothes on Peter Gordon, you're going to meet the governor. The *Anne* anchored off the coast of Charlestown on the 13th, it was a Saturday and evidently quiet in the harbor. Oglethorpe took the opportunity to begin a short letter to the Trustees (which, according to the *Egmont Journal*, they would read February 28), announcing their safe arrival in the New World. But as they waited, no one came to greet them.

But being advised to fire guns, which is the usuall signall for pilotes to come off... it was accordingly done, but no pilote coming Mr Oglethorp resolved to goe himself, and sett off

mediately from the shipp in the pinnace with six rowers, Mr. [Paul] Amatiss, Mr. [William] Kilbery, and two servants--about six he arrived at Charlestown.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 31

Why the plans to send Peter Gordon ashore changed is unclear, but he remained aboard while the party of Oglethorpe, Amatis and Kilbery went to town. Upon reaching the shore Oglethorpe found Governor Robert Johnson and other South Carolina representatives coming to meet him.

I have seen the Governour who came to meet me on my Landing and the Speaker of the Assembly [Paul Jenys] also came to pay his Compliments to the Trustees. They have promised all assistance. I am just going to return on board 2 of the Clock in the Morning.

- James Oglethorpe, January 13, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 5)

As Peter Gordon noted, Oglethorpe “returned on board the next day at noon,” so he evidently spent the night in town. A correspondent within the March 31, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette* remarked, “Mr. *Og--pe* went on shore to wait upon the Governor, was received with great Marks of Civility and Satisfaction; obtained an Order for Mr. *Middleton*, the King’s Pilot, to carry the Ship into *Port Royal*, and for small Craft to carry the Colony from thence to the River *Savannah*, with a Promise of further Assistance from the Province. He returned on board the 14th Day.” Robert Johnson wrote to the Trustees a few weeks later, “I ordered him a Pilot, and in ten hours he proceeded to Port Royal.” (*CRG XX*, p. 11) As little time was spent at Charlestown Harbor as was politically expedient; Oglethorpe and the Trustees had determined not to allow the colonists the opportunity to change their minds and settle in Charlestown. Robert Johnson had pointed out this potential problem in his September 28, 1732 correspondence to the Trustees: “You must by all means order your Ships and People directly there, and not to come a Shore here; a hundred Inconveniencys will ensue.” (*CRG XX*, p. 2) Benjamin Martyn, the Trust’s Secretary, replied: “As you have advised, None of them will go ashore at Charles Town; the Ship will go to, and lye... near the Place.” (*CRG XXIX*, p. 3) The *Anne* would be gone before the next day was out. As Peter Gordon noted, Sunday “at night about eleven oclock, we weighed anchor for Port Royal.” (*Journal*, p. 31)

CHARLESTOWN, Jan. 20 - On Saturday Night last a Sailor, belonging to one of the Merchant-men, by Accident fell between 2 Ships & was squeeze’d to Death.

The same Night came to an Anchor off our bar, a Ship with about 120 People for Settling the new Colony of Georgia, in which was James Oglethorpe, Esq, who came ashore that Night, and was extreably well received by his Excellency our Governor; the next Morning he went on board, and the Ship sail’d for Port Royal: And we hear, there are two more Ships with People (which will make the Number 500) expected daily.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, January 20, 1733

Despite the last line, the only other ship that could be “expected daily” at the time of press was the *Volante*, which would appear in Charlestown harbor one month later. Listed as having “entered in” in the customs of the February 24 *South Carolina Gazette*, as Thomas Causton would later observe, “having been 11 weeks in her Passage.” (*CRG XX*, p. 17) But with only four Charity passengers aboard; it would take a little longer to reach 500.

In the meantime, the passengers of the *Anne* were enjoying the bounty of what they had discovered in the Charlestown harbor. “We caught plenty of dog fish, black fish, angell fish, and severall other sorts, suffitient for all the people for severall dayes, which was a welcome

refreshment,” as Gordon remarked of the passengers, “they having lived chiefly upon salt provisions the whole voyage.” (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 31)

But on the sail to Port Royal, it became evident that someone was fishing for *them*. “The 17th about two in the afternoon, we were alarmed by a sloop who as soon as he perceived us standing along shore, emediately changed his course and bore down upon us,” Gordon wrote in his *Journal*. Languishing in difficult weather between Charlestown to Port Royal, the *Anne* had just been targeted by a pirate vessel. “Looking very suspitious [it] made us conclude that he must either be a pirate or Spanish Guard de Costa,” Gordon concluded. Oglethorpe went into action, drawing all men to the deck, while Captain Thomas fired volleys upon the vessel.

His intention was to plunder us, upon which Mr. Oglethorp order’d all ovr men upon deck, and the small arms to be brought up, and all the women and children to keep below.... Captain Thomas who commanded the shipp order’d his great guns to be charged.... And the sloop bearing still down upon us.... As soon as he came within gun shott of us, the Captain order’d a gun to be fired across his stern, and we could perceive the ball to fall about a hundred yards a head of him; but that not bringing him to... he [Thomas] ordered another to be fired, still nearer to him, which fell within a very small distance of him, upon which... viewing us and finding we were so well provided for him both sides of the shipp being compleatly lined with armed men, he thought proper to gett upon a wind..

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 32

The vessel turned back to “the same courss he was in when we perceived him first,” Gordon remarked. Solomon Middleton was the channel pilot who had come aboard the *Anne* at Charlestown. As Gordon noted: “The pilote whome we hade on board said he hade some knowledge of him[the vessel,] that he hade been a pirate, and that he certainly would have plundered us hade he not found we were too strong for him.” (p. 32-3)

I cannot here omitt taking notice of the bravery of some of our women who when we expected every moment to come to an ingagemt. Beg’d they might be assisting in handing us up arms and amunitions... and that if it would be permitted they would come upon deck and fight as long as they could stand, while some of our men who hade been noted the whole voyage for noisy bullying fellows, were not to be found upon this occassion but sculked either in the hold or between decks.

- p. 33

In short, though Peter Gordon did not name names, apparently not all the men had answered Oglethorpe’s call to man the deck.

“The 18th [we] came to an anchor in Port Royall river.” On the next morning, the morning of the 19th, “Mr. Oglethorpe and Doctor Herbert went up the [Port Royal] river in the pinace to Beaufort Town to provide periagaes to be assisting to us in debarking.” (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 33) The cost of hiring these “periagaes,” or “pettiaugas”—the spelling was always arbitrary, and even in his *Journal* Peter Gordon rarely spelled them the same twice—was to be defrayed by an act of the South Carolina Legislature. Just two days before, on January 17, the South Carolina General Assembly had decreed that “Pettiaugas be provided at the Change of the Publick to attend Mr. Oglethorpe at Port Royal in order to carry the new Settlers.” (*CRG XX*, p. 8) Captain Francis Scott, too, went to retrieve periaugas, specifically, those used just weeks before in the settling of Purrysburg. “Captain Scott went with a party of six armed men in the

canoe,” their mission was twofold: retrieve the periaugas which had “been employed in carrying the Swiss... to their new settlement of Purisbourgh up Savannah River; and likewise to gett hutts built for owr accomodation in owr passage to Georgia.” (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 33) Scott and his party of six men were going ahead, the advance guard of Georgia.

Oglethorpe returned to the *Anne*, now harbored in Port Royal Sound, late on Saturday January 20, with a 70-ton transport intended for the goods.

About eleven oclock at night he arrived, and brought with him a large periaogoe, ordered several more to attend us the next morning, when we begane early to pack up our goods, in order for a general debarkation. About noon, we were all safely landed at the new fort where we found by Mr. Oglethorps direction the barracks belonging to Captain [Philip Massey] Massys Independant Company, clean'd out on purpuss for owr reception, fires lighted, and provissions provided for owr refreshment.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 34

And so the passengers disembarked from the *Anne* on the morning of January 21. The *Anne*, its mission fulfilled, eventually returned to Charlestown where it was recorded "entered in" in the customs of the February 10, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette*. It re-embarked for London one month later, cleared for departure in the March 10 *Gazette*. The colonists, in the meantime, settled in for a spell at the new barracks, where they were entertained by the Carolinians. As Gordon remarked: “During owr stay here which was ten days, we were constantly visited by planters of the country.” (p. 34) As they were entertained, Oglethorpe traveled to the Savannah River in search of a prospective site for the Savannah settlement. Named by the Trustees three months before, the town of Savannah had no physical location... yet.

While the Colony refreshed themselves there [Port Royal], Mr. *Og---pe* went up the River, and chose a Situation for a Town, and entered into a Treaty with *Tomo chi chi*, the *Mico*, or Chief of the only Nation of *Indians* living near it. He returned on the 24th Day, and they celebrated the Sunday following as a Day of Thanksgiving.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733

Departing, evidently, on January 21st, he is noted returning on the 24th, so it was a brief trip. Curiously—a great loss to history—there is no written record describing this scouting journey. Arriving at Yamacraw Bluff on either January 22nd or 23rd, Oglethorpe did not come alone, yet any companions that might have accompanied him or led him to the site are not recorded. It is hard to imagine he was not accompanied by South Carolinian Jonathan Bryan. It is also probable he was accompanied by Captain Francis Scott, who was already in the midst of retrieving the periaugas from Purrysburg and readying temporary shelters off the mouth of the Savannah River. Despite his many efforts over this ten-day span that found the rest of the colonists entertained at Port Royal, Scott somehow found time to erect stairs up Yamacraw bluff by the time of the colonists' arrival the following week.

Secondary sources disagree in the opinion of whether or not Colonel William Bull accompanied Oglethorpe to found the site. Charles C. Jones, for example, in his *History of Georgia*, claims that Bull was with him... but this seems unlikely. Though Bull was appointed to assist in the founding of Georgia by South Carolina's General Assembly on January 17, the letter that he carried and delivered as his introduction was written by Robert Johnson on January 26, two days

after Oglethorpe returned to Port Royal from his scouting trip for the Savannah settlement, so it seems improbable that there was any contact between the two men before February 5, at which time Peter Gordon's *Journal* records Bull's arrival in Savannah, bringing with him his letter of introduction. Oglethorpe's notation of his scouting trip is reduced to only a vague passage in his February 10 letter to the Trustees, glossing over any outside assistance and reducing for the moment, any significant Native American presence on the desired site to a simple remark of a "little Indian nation." If indeed this survived as the only source, one might infer that Oglethorpe, a man conservative in crediting subordinates, had swam the Savannah and singlehandedly created the town with the wave of a hand. His letter:

Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January where I lodged them in Some new Barrachs built for the Soldiers whilst I went my self to view the Savannah River. I fixed upon a healthy situation about ten miles from the Sea... the Banks are about 40 foot high and upon the top a flat which they call a Bluff.... Upon the River side in the Center of this plain, I have laid out the Town....

A little Indian nation, the only one within fifty miles, is not only in amity, but desirous to be subjects to his Majesty.

- James Oglethorpe, February 10, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 9)

The Trustees read the above letter on April 18. Benjamin Martyn replied to Oglethorpe on May 11: "Your Letter from Savannah dated Febry the 10th was receiv'd by the Trustees with great Joy." (*CRG XXIX*, p. 14) Further impressed with the location of the settlement, the Trustees remarked by June:

As Savannah Town is so pleasantly and conveniently situated, the Trustees Sir believe You will think it right to enlarge that and make it the Metropolis of the Country.

- Benjamin Martyn, June 13, 1733 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 16-7)

On the morning of January 30, the Georgia colonists departed the barracks in six vessels and set out from Port Royal. Facing contrary winds and poor weather they were forced to camp out at point "Look out."

On the 30th, the Colony embarked on board a Sloop of 70 Tons, and 5 Periauger's, and made sail, but were forced by a Storm to put in at a place called the Look-out, and there to lye all Night.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733

The next day, facing more agreeable weather, as Gordon explained, they came to rest on "Jones Island about six in the evening where we found hutts provided for us by Captain Scott's party." Jones Island, at the north mouth of the Savannah River, was the site planned as a layover for the colonists, where Scott had prepared hutts the week before. *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733: "On the 18th, [Oglethorpe] went on shore upon *Trench's* Island [Hilton Head], and left a Guard of 8 Men upon *John's* [Jones], being a Point of that Island which commands the Channel, and is about half Way between *Beaufort* and the River *Savannah*; they had Orders to prepare Hutts for the Reception of the Colony." There, on the night of Wednesday, January 31, the colonists dined on "a plentiful Supper of Venison," or as Peter Gordon explained, "the Indian hunters brought us in thirteen quarters of venison which was divided amongst us and dress'd for supper." (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 34)

Next morning being the first of February, we sailed from Jones's Island, with a fair wind and arrived the same day at Yamacra Bluff in Georgia, the place which Mr. Oglethorp had pitched upon for our intended settlement. As soon as we came near the Bluff, we were saluted by Captain Scott and his party, with their small arms, which we returned. As soon as we landed, we set immediately about getting our tents fixed, and our goods brought ashore, and carried up the Bluff, which is forty feet perpendicular height above the water mark. This by reason of the loose sand, and great height, would have been extremely troublesome had not Captain Scott and his party built stairs for us before our arrival, which we found of very great use to us in bringing up our goods.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 35

The Yamacraws of Yamacraw

The five periaguas came to rest at the base of Yamacraw Bluff on the morning of Thursday, February 1, while William Kilberry escorted the 70-ton "big ship" at a more deliberate pace; it would not arrive until February 3. Not long after landing of the colonists at Yamacraw Bluff they were treated to the sight of a Native American welcoming committee approaching from the west.

Thomas Causton (*Anne* #17) wrote of what he saw to his wife, who was still in England.

At our first landing, they came to bid us welcome and before them came a man dancing in Antick Postures, with a spread fan of [white] feathers in each hand... whilst the King and others followed, making a very uncouth Hollowing... Then the man with his feathers came forward dancing and talking, which I am informed was repeating a Speech, the Acts of their Chief Warriours, and at times came close [to Oglethorpe] and moved his Fans over him & Strok'd him on every Side with them; this continued more than a Quarter of an Hour.

- Thomas Causton, March 12, 1733 (*CRG* XX, p. 16)

Peter Gordon also recorded the event in his *Journal*:

About an hour after our landing, the Indians came with their king, Queen, and Mr. Musgrove, the Indian trader and interpreter, along with him to pay his complements to Mr Oglethorp, and to welcome us to Yamacraw. The manner of their approach was thus, at a little distance they saluted us with a volley of their small arms, which was returned by our guard and thence the King, Queen, and Chiefs and other Indians advanced before them, walked one of their generalls, with his head adorned with white feathers, with rattles in his hands (something like our casternutts) to which he danced, observing just time, singing and throwing his body into a thousand different and antike postures. In this manner they advanced to pay their obedience to Mr. Oglethorp, who stood at a small distance from his tent, to receive them. And [he] thence conducted them into his tent, seating Tomo Chachi upon his right hand [and] Mr. Musgrove, the interpreter, standing between them. They continued on conference about a quarter of an hour, and thence, returned to their town, which was about a quarter of a mile distant from the place where we pitched our camp, in the same order as they came.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 35

Both Causton and Gordon referred to Tomochichi as "king," but this was a distinctly European appellation that wasn't entirely apt. As minister to the Salzburgers, John Martin Bolzius' reference to "the Indian King Tomo-chi-chi" in a November 26, 1735 journal entry (within *Urlspurger*, vol. 2, p. 211) would later give way to "the so-called king Tomo-Chachi" by 1737

(vol. 4, p. 208). And more than 50 years after the Yamacraw chief's death John Wesley recalled him in reference to "Prince Lee Boo," of the Pelew Islands, who had died of small pox in 1784, writing in a December 1, 1789 entry: "I think he was a good-natured, sensible young man, who came to England with Captain Wilson... but was just as much a prince as Tomo Chachi was a king." (John Wesley *Journal*, vol. 8, p. 29)

Interestingly, the Yamacraws had only come to Yamacraw bluff months before the arrival of the Georgia colonists, though it apparently marked an ancestral spot. Philip von Reck, leader of the first Salzburger emigration in 1734 remarked of an Indian burial mound. "Mr. Oglethorpe has had an avenue cut through the forest which leads to a large garden near the city.... In the middle of the garden is an artificial hill which the Indians say was built over the body of one of their earliest emperors." (*Urtlsperger*, vol. 1, p. 140) Still intact forty years later, the mound was depicted as an "Indian Hill" at the corner of William DeBrahm's "Plan of the City Savannah and Fortification" illustration, and would seem to correspond to the intersection today of Bay & Habersham Streets. According to DeBrahm, in his manuscript *History of the three provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida*, this "ancient Indian Burying Ground" was the site...

... on which (as Thamachaychee the last of the Jamacraw Kings related to General Oglethorpe at his Arrival) one of the Jamacraw Kings had entertained a great White Man with a red beard who had entered the port of Savannah Stream with a very large vessel.... The White Man... wrote a Note... at which their King was greatly surprised... that the White Man could send his thoughts to so great a Distance upon a white leaf.... [Oglethorpe] by the nearest computation, and comparing History with Chronology concluded the person to have been Admiral Sir Walter Raleigh [circa] 1584.

- J.G.W. DeBrahm, *History of the three provinces South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida*, p. 124

The true identity of this "bearded man" who had visited the site generations before remains a mystery; Oglethorpe's conclusion of Raleigh could have been subject to bias—he held Raleigh in high esteem and actually brought a copy of Raleigh's journal with him in the founding of Georgia. Samuel Eveleigh, who made his first visit to Savannah on March 16, six weeks after the colony's beginnings, was similarly regaled by Oglethorpe with this tale, the former including it in his *South Carolina Gazette* article published in the week after his visit:

Mr. Oglethorpe has with him, Sir Walter Raleigh's written Journal, and by the Latitude of the Place, the Marks and Tradition of the *Indians*, it's the very Place where he [Raleigh] first went ashore and talk'd with the *Indians*, and was the first *English Man* that ever they saw; and about half a Mile from *Savannah* is a high Mount of Earth, under which lies their chief King; and the *Indians* inform'd Mr. Oglethorpe, that the King desired before he died, that he might be buried on the Spot where he talked with that *great good Man*.

- Samuel Eveleigh, *South Carolina Gazette*, March 24, 1733

The June 2, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette* printed an article documenting the visit of the Creek delegation to Savannah during May, a meeting in which Tomochichi described in plain terms the plight of the Yamacraws upon the arrival of Oglethorpe three months before:

Tomo-chi-chi, Mico, then came in with the Indians of Yamacraw, to Mr. Oglethorpe, & bowing very low, He said, I was a banished Man. I came here poor, and helpless, to look for good Land near the Tombs of my Ancestors, and the Trustees sent People here; I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak & wanted Corn, but you confirmed our Land to us, gave us Food, and

instructed our Children: We have already thank'd you in the strongest Words we could find; but Words are no return for such Favours....

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733

That the Yamacraws were “weak & wanted Corn,” may be contrasted with Percival’s note the following year that the tribe had been hit by recent outbreaks of smallpox as well: “This nation consists not of above 50 fighting men, but are a branch of the Creek nation,” Percival noted in his *Egmont Journal* (p. 57). “They have lately been much reduced by the small pox.”

Tomochichi described himself above as “a banished Man,” but for what reason is unclear. Tomochichi had formerly belonged to the Pallachucolas, one of the eight tribes of the Lower Creek Nation, as his name is found in a July 8, 1721 treaty. Reconstructing when and how the Yamacraws came to be over the next decade relies on fragments in the record, but they seem to have been composed of Creek and Yemassee. In a 1737 deposition, Samuel Eveleigh left the following record:

Samuel Eveleigh of Charlestown, in the province of the aforesaid, maketh oath, that the tribe of Indians (which this deponent have been credibly informed are composed partly of Creeks and Yamasees), settled themselves at a Bluff called Yamacrah, some years since [before 1737], and that about the beginning of the year 1732, some of them came to Charlestown aforesaid, and desired his excellency Robert Johnson, Esq., then governor, that they might have leave to settle there and have a trader amongst them; which his excellency granted.

Sworn before me January 3rd, 1736 [37]

Thomas Lamboll

Justice of the Peace for Berkley County

Another gentleman, George Ducat, giving testimony in his January 11, 1737 deposition, shed further light on the Yamacraws:

George Ducat, of Charlestown, maketh oath that... this deponent hath been informed by a trader that was acquainted among the Creek Indians, that [the] tribe had done some mischief in their own country, and dared not return home.

“There were no Indians near the Georgians, before the arrival of Oglethorpe, except Tomo Chichi, and a small tribe of about thirty or forty men who accompanied him,” so claimed the *1736 Report of the Committee of the South Carolina Assembly, on the Indian Trade*.

They were partly Lower Creeks, and partly Yamasees, who had disoblged their countrymen, and, for fear of falling sacrifices to their resentment, had wandered in the woods till about the year 1731, when they begged leave of the Government of Carolina to sit down at Yamacraw, on the south side of Savannah river.

- p. 11

In 1741 Patrick Tailfer and his fellow rogues remarked in their satirical *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America*, that “the first thing he [Oglethorpe] did after he arrived in Georgia, was to make a kind of solemn treaty with a parcel of fugitive Indians, who had formerly been banished [from] their own nation for some crimes and misdemeanours they committed.” (p. 44) In replying to Tailfer’s comments, Percival wrote:

These Indians (whom they please to call fugitives) are very brave and prudent people, and the crime for which they were expelled, was cutting down a Popish Chappel, which the french were endeavoring to erect, with designs to convert it into a Fort. They were proprietors of the land whereon Mr. Oglethorpe proposed to settle, and might have hindered his landing if they had pleased. They yielded to him a great tract of land, and have ever since been usefull in preserving the friendship of divers other nations to Great Britain.

- Percival notes within *A True and Historical Narrative*, p. 44

If Percival's assertion is to be taken at face value, the Yamacraws had defaced or damaged a Catholic chapel claimed by the French, but where this may have occurred is unclear. The story, probably gleaned from Tomochichi's time in England, seems to be the only explanation surviving.

Tomochichi and eight other Native Americans journeyed to London with Oglethorpe, arriving in the summer of 1734. "The Chief is ninety years old and a sensible, cunning man," Percival wrote in his *Diary* (vol. 2, p. 112) Upon first meeting Tomochichi and his court of family and advisors in a July 3, Trustees meeting at the Georgia Offices in Westminster, Percival made the following notes in his *Diary* (vol. 2, p. 113-4):

Of Tomochichi - "He is a very old man but of good natural sense, and well behaved."

Of Senauki - "His wife, an old ugly creature, who dresses their meat."

And of the third member of the family - "His grand nephew who will succeed him when he dies, as chief of the nation, a handsome brisk boy of fifteen years old. The uncle designs he shall learn the English tongue, to write and read and be a Christian."

Tooanahowi, Tomochichi's "nephew" and heir, was well instructed in English and could read well. Tomochichi himself did not speak English to any significant degree; as Percival observed at his first meeting of the chief, "He began by excusing himself if he did not speak well and to right purpose, seeing when he was young he neglected the advice of the wise men (so they call their old men), and therefore was ignorant." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p.114) It was a shortcoming Tomochichi was determined his heir would not share. As Percival noted of Tooanahowi, he "reads already very well, and with a good accent, and comprehends a great deal of English." (p. 122) Speaking in September of "Little Tonoway," Percival further stated:

I was much pleased with him. He took a book that accidentally lay on the table and read tolerably out of it, and afterwards of his own accord repeated to me the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

- p. 126

The *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* also commented on the youth's promise: "The young Indian prince (not his Nephew, as was said) aged about 13... is finely shap'd, well featur'd and a very promising genius." (August 8, 1734)

The exact relationship of Tooanahowi to Tomochichi was often confused among correspondents as "nephew" or "grand-nephew". In fact, Percival explained it as it was told to him by Tomochichi following a dinner at Percival's manor on August 19, 1734: "His nephew, as he calls him, but who is grandson to his wife." So this may be the most accurate description. As to

what became of Tooanahowi's father, Percival remarked: "His father was taken by the Spaniards and burnt because he would not be a Christian." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 122) If this was indeed the case, it certainly helps to explain why the Yamacraws might have defaced a "Popish Chappel."

Also among the Native Peoples of Yamacraw was a trader. A month after arriving, Thomas Causton would write to his wife: "We have about 100 Indians just by us, and a Trader with them that speaks English and sells almost every thing to them at what Rates he pleases." (*CRG XX*, p. 16) John Musgrove, the trader in question, seems to have been the trader given special permission to operate by Governor Johnson in 1732. According to a standing English treaty with the Indians no English trader was permitted to operate south of the Savannah River. Some, like Samuel Eveleigh, had established bases of operations on the north side of the river, but had been careful to follow the letter of the law. Musgrove's presence south of the river was due only to the Yamacraws' request, and indeed, the two maintained a symbiotic relationship.

The Trustees, too, came to rely heavily on the Musgroves, especially as John Musgrove acted as interpreter for the Creek/Yamacraw contingent while they visited England. However—as proven in the London trip—Musgrove had some issues....

9 Octo. [1734]...

The Indians attending [the Trustees meeting], to settle with us the prices of Goods that our Traders may not impose on them, we enter'd on that difficult affair, but the Interpreter Musgrove was so drunk we could neither Side understand our meanings. So we left it to Mr. Oglethorp to conclude with them the next day when Musgrove should be sober.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 66

Remarking on the subject of those "who can be tempted to drink too freely," Percival observed that the Indians "complained to us that their interpreter is too much given to it." (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 122) The Trustees seem not to have held this against him, though. "The Want of a good Interpreter prevented our Setting a tariff or trade with the Indians," Percival remarked in his October 16 entry. "But 100 £ was order'd to Musgrove for his trouble in coming over [to England] with them." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 67)

Following a disastrous Musgrove partnership with Indian trader Joseph Watson in 1734—who may or may not have been insane, as we'll see shortly—and a gradual proliferation of Indian traders by 1735, in the spring of 1735 the Trustees confirmed John and Mary Musgrove's exclusive rights to deal with Savannah's neighbors, declaring plainly and without equivocation:

John Musgrove and his Wife are to have the sole Licence for Trade with the Indians of Yamacraw.

- Harman Verelst, May 15, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 60)

But it was Mary who clearly possessed the greater ability, as noted by John Martin Bolzius shortly after John Musgrove's death in the summer of 1735: "She had a special talent for expressing Indian terms in English, a talent not even possessed by her recently dead husband." (*Uralsperger*, vol. 2, p. 107)

Addressing the peculiar language of the Creeks, which the Yamacraws also spoke, Bolzius remarked:

one can learn from them only the names of objects.... But verbs, adjectives, etc., cannot be learned from them because they know little or nothing about the English language.... Most of the words they pronounce so low and so far back in their throats that it is often impossible to distinguish the vowels or consonants or express them with our letters.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 30)

And, Bolzius continued, "If one asks too often for the same word, they either become bashful and silent or they start to laugh so long and loud that nothing can be done afterwards."

"They do not have any letters at all," Philip von Reck noted in 1734. "But their language is said to have only about one thousand primitive words. Supposedly, these can be written most conveniently in Greek letters because... some of the sounds cannot be expressed with any letters other than Greek." (*Urlsperger*, vol. 1, p. 147)

An unidentified correspondent wrote to Percival in April, 1734: "Many of their Speeches are equal to those we admire in Greek and Roman Writings; They generally in Set Speeches use Similies and Metaphors." Clearly impressed with the natives, the correspondent continued: "They seem to be Masters of true Eloquence making allowance for what they suffer through the badness of Interpreters." (*CRG XX*, p. 54)

Following an evening with Tomochichi in the summer of 1734, Percival recorded what he had learned of the Creek/Yamacraw living habits.

They live in villages, and their houses are built of young trees and wattles, which they shingle over with split ends of board, and plaster on the inside with mud, over which they lay a white washing of powdered oystershells. They are about thirty foot long, and twenty deep, but their public building is four houses put together in form of a square, with a court in the middle, and in this house they transact their affairs, each person according to his dignity having a place assigned to him. They have a chief man over whom is the King, and next to the chief man is the chief warrior, who has likewise another warrior under him.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 122

Philip von Reck made similar observations, first hand:

Their living quarters consist of small huts covered with bark or skins, in which they sleep around a good fire. They change locations frequently and consider human life much too short to be wasted with the building of houses which would be of more use to the decendants than to the builders. At the same time they don't want to be robbed of the freedom to leave a place which they do not like any more.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 144)

"The nation of the Creeks is ruled by several kings who must gain their position or title through particularly brave deeds. Except for that[,] the king is no different from his subjects; he eats, drinks, sleeps, and lives with them," he concluded.

This egalitarian lifestyle was noted by John Martin Bolzius, who visited New Yamacraw, the site to which the Yamacraws relocated in the spring of 1735:

The 26th, Nov. [1735]

... In his little house put together of long shingles this king [Tomochichi] keeps a better order than the other Indians; but his clothes and manner of living are not much better.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 211)

"Mr Oglethorp, Vernon and I dined together at the Cider house," Percival noted in his May 11, 1737 *Diary* entry. "One Mr. Tanner dined also with us." Tanner, a neighbor of Oglethorpe's in Surrey, had journeyed with him to Georgia in 1736 and made the following observations regarding Tomochichi's dwelling:

Concerning Tomachachi, he said he had a house of three rooms, built like the rest of clay, and covered with plank; that he keeps his parlour locked, wherein is the picture of the lion we gave him, as also Mr. Oglethorp's picture, in whose arms, he said (when he was ill last year) he wished he might die. That when he sees company, and calls councils, they sit in that room.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 406

Tanner also recounted a hearty meal: "He said further that when he visited him he gave him a very good dinner of roast and boiled pork, buffalo, fowl and pancake." Tomochichi's generosity, in particular, drew note of von Reck:

They are very compassionate, which can be seen from this example: The Indian king Tomochachi had learned that in one of the English colonies [settlements] many people were sick and also suffered from lack of fresh provisions. So he went on a hunt with 10 Indians, shot a great deal of game and sent it there. When he heard shortly thereafter that the poor had benefitted very little from it, he went hunting again; and this time he distributed his game in person to the sick and the poor. When he was asked about this, he replied that the first gift had not been put to proper use and that this time he wanted to make the distribution himself.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 145)

"They live by hunting when the Season is in," Percival observed, "and in the other Season Sow corn. They are So charitable that they cant bear to See another want, & not give him what he desires, and their houses are always open to Strangers." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 57)

"The people of each tribe have a different way of cutting their hair," Philip von Reck noted of their customs. "They paint their faces with various colors, especially black shaded with red."

Most men and women have stripes painted on their necks, faces, and bodies. Around their necks they wear coral, and on their ears they have rings.... They have no beards, and if any should grow they pull it out. Instead of trousers, which they consider indecent, they cover themselves with a short cloth. Occasionally they cover their body with a deerskin or a woolen blanket.... Their shoes are cut from deerskin and are laced on the foot.

- p. 142-3

"They frequently wage wars solely to win glory and not because they want to extend their boundaries or gain additional land," von Reck continued. "They like to be praised although they will divert praise from themselves to others.... Anyone insulting their honor is subject to their undying hatred."

They are easily satisfied. No one has more than one blanket, one pot, one hut, and one gun. If one of them has more he gladly gives to one who needs it more.

- p. 146

But one aspect was to be respected over all other qualities of character in the world of the Native Georgians:

Old people are held in high esteem by them; one must always address them first and make them presents before turning to the young people.

- p. 144

This respect for the aged, not necessarily practiced or observed by the English, threatened a clash of cultures in the Georgia colony's very first day.

"Not being able to complete the pitching of our tents this night, and I being but lately recover'd from my illness, went to ly at the Indian town, at Mr. Musgrove, the interpreters house, with Doctor Cox and his family," Peter Gordon wrote in his *Journal* the evening following the arrival of the colonists to Yamacraw bluff.

As soon as the Indians were informed that we were come to Musgroves house, they begane to entertaine us with dancing round a large fire which they made upon the ground, opposite to the King's house.... One of the oldest of our People, Doctor Lyons, having slept away from our camp and gott a litle in drink, found his way up to the Indian town and joyned with the Indians in their dance indeavouring to mimick and ape them in their antick gestures, which I being informed of, sent for him.

Gordon, fearful of the impact of such undignified behavior by an older gentleman before their new allies, ordered Lyons to return to the Savannah camp.

But being so much in liquor he returned again to the Indians and danced with them before... I ordered severall white men who were there to carry him home by force, it being of very bad consequence that the Indians should see any follies or indiscretions in ovr old men, by which they judge that our young men must be still guilty of greater, for they measure mens understanding and judgement according to their years.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 36

Considering the character and the notion of "lost identity" shared by many of the colony's native populations, John Wesley would remark in 1737:

Of the Georgian Indians in general it may be observed that they are not so properly nations as tribes or clans, who have wandered thither at different times--perhaps expelled [from] their native countries by stronger tribes--but how or when they cannot tell, being none of them able to give any rational account of themselves. They are inured to hardships of all kinds, and surprisingly patient of pain. But as they have no letters, so they have no religion, no laws, no civil government. Nor have they any kings or princes, properly speaking; their meikos, or headmen, having no power either to command or punish, no man obeying them any further than he pleases. So that every one doeth what is right in his own eyes; and if it appears wrong to his neighbour, the person aggrieved usually steals on the other unawares, and shoots him, scalps him, or cuts off his ears, having only two short rules of proceeding--to do what he will, and what he can.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 407

Saddled by ministerial duties he had not wished for, confronted by indifference among the indigenous population to whom he attempted to administer and forced to flee from the colony with his ministry in shambles, John Wesley's 21-month stint in Savannah brought him in contact with numerous Indigenous Persons from the surrounding communities. Though even less generous than the above, his next remarks should be viewed in the context of a frustrated man whose efforts to preach to the Natives had been utterly thwarted by the end of 1737.

They are likewise all, except perhaps the Choctaws, gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars. They are implacable, unmerciful; murderers of fathers, murderers of mothers, murderers of their own children--it being a common thing for a son to shoot his father or mother because they are old and past labour.... Whoredom they account no crime.... Nor have they any fixed punishment for adultery; only, if the husband take his wife with another man, he will do what he can to both, unless speedily pacified by the present of a gun or a blanket.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 407

Call it a clash of cultures, but throughout the 1730s, visits by Natives were cited as a frequent hardship to the English settlers, who were unaccustomed to uninvited guests and were polite enough to not turn them away, yet uncomfortable enough to write their benefactors in London. In early 1735, Andrew Grant, Hugh Sterling, Patrick Tailfer and Patrick Houstoun wrote to the Trustees of their discomfort with their new settlement at Sterling Bluff playing host to Native travelers. It was, they wrote, "a great incumbrance upon those who are settled at Okeechy, that the Indians in passing backwards & forwards commonly demand provisions, & frequently stay there Eight or Ten Days, & being always allowed them at Thunderbolt & Fort-Argyle, they imagine it to be ye same here & would take it very ill if they were refused." (*CRG XX*, p. 266)

Ebenezer, too, played host to unexpected Native guests every now and then, as recorded by John Martin Bolzius.

Sunday, the 3rd of October [1736].... Yesterday a double family of Indians arrived here by water, who observed our divine service for a short time. These people are very crude and daring, and we are as careful as possible not to come too near them. One can offend some of these heathens through a very slight oversight.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 220)

Tuesday, the 26th of October [1736]....

Three robust young Indians called on me, who gave the appearance of being true marksmen and warriors. They said they... were journeying to Mr. Oglethorpe at Savannah. If they come into our hut, it is not in vain; for they are hungry and thirsty and well pleased if we take care of them as we do to the best of our ability.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 233-4)

As Bolzius continued: "In Savannah Mr. Causton is much burdened by these guests, as I myself have recently seen. One flatters these savage people greatly to keep them well disposed and friendly; but because of it they become more and more daring and think that we must treat them as they wish and give them what they demand." Bolzius recounted what he had witnessed in Savannah. "A while ago some Indians came to Savannah from the French region and wished to settle among the local Indians because they were persecuted there. These are also being supplied from the store-house; and when I was there, several of them had their lodgings in Mr. Causton's

house. They speak a different language that none of the Indians here understand; yet they are entirely similar to our Indians in clothing and way of life.” (p. 234)

By 1739 an even more foreign tribe unexpectedly arrived in Savannah.

Tuesday [February 13, 1739]....

In the Afternoon we were alarmed every Body, on the sudden and unexpected Landing of betwixt thirty and forty strange Indians, who advanced up into the Heart of Town before we could get any Men under Arms to receive them.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 279)

“They proved to be of the Choctaws, a numerous Nation, which bordered on the French,” Stephens concluded. Bolzius remarked of them: “Their faces looked so terrible that one would have wished to run away upon seeing them: black, red, and white paint was painted on in a wild mixture, and with gun powder they had etched long thin stripes on their skin, both on their faces and on their bodies.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 6, p. 37)

Oglethorpe met with the Choctaws in March of 1739, but that followed three weeks of waiting for Oglethorpe’s arrival from the south. “They began to grow impatient,” as Stephens wrote. “They would come boldly into” other people’s “Huts, laying their Hands on any Thing they liked, and appearing displeased at their being refused to take it; which struck some Terror into those who made their Abode in those Places.” (CRG IV, p. 284)

Bolzius, too, was a little bit intimidated by these Choctaws. “It is said that their customs are even worse than those of the Indians in our parts.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 6, p. 37-8)

To be sure, the tribes and nations populating the nearby regions of the Southeast were diverse, including Lower Creeks, Upper Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chicasaws, Uchees... and the Savannah Indians.

Occupying the Savannah River basin and described in the 1715 Herman/Hammond Moll map as consisting of “150 men” (not including women and children), the Savannah were a once powerful tribe whose precipitous decline by the time Oglethorpe arrived rivaled the Yamacraws, and to such an extent that by 1735 the two tribes would merge at New Yamacraw. John Wesley arrived in Georgia in February of 1736 and recorded the details of his first meeting with Tomochichi and the king of the Savannah nation in his *Journal*:

Feb. 14 [1736]..

About one Tomo-chachi, his nephew Thleeanouhee, his wife Sinauky, and the Meiko or King of the Savannah nation, with two of their chief women, and three of their children, came on board. Tomo-chachi, Sinauky, and Toanoh were in English dress. The other women had on calico petticoats and coarse wollen mantles. The Savannah king, whose face was stained red in several places, his hair dressed with beads, and his ear with a scarlet feather, had only a large blanket which covered him from his shoulders to his feet. Sinauky brought us a jar of milk, and another of honey, and said she hoped when we spoke to them we would feed them with milk, for they were but children, and be as sweet as honey towards them.

...Tomo-chachi spake by his interpreter, one Mrs. Musgrove, to this effect:

'I am glad you are come. When I was in England [in 1734], I desired that some would speak the Great Word to me; and my nation then desired to hear it. But since that time we have been all put into confusion.... The English traders, too, put us into confusion, and have set our people against hearing the Great Word.... Yet I am glad you are come. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation; and hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians: we would be taught before we are baptized.'

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 159-60

Though this relationship between Wesley and Tomochichi did not realize this early promise, the relationship between Tomochichi and Oglethorpe never faltered.

Sunday the fourth [February, 1733] we had Divine Service performed in Mr. Oglethorpe's tent, by Reverend: Doctor Herbert with thanksgiving for our safe arrivall. Mr. Musgrove, the Indian trader, and his wife were present, and Tomo Chachi, the Indian King, desired to be admitted, which Oglethorpe readily consented to and he with his Queen were seated in the tent. During the time of the Divine Service, severall of the Indian warriors... sate at a small distance from the tent, upon trees, and behaved very decently.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 37

As von Reck observed, "If they are treated well they don't forget that either but continue to love their benefactor. Thus they look upon Mr. Oglethorpe as their father and turn to him when the need arises." (*Uralsperger*, vol. 1, p. 146)

It's no secret that with Native American relations Oglethorpe proved to have a natural talent that somehow eluded him completely in personal talents, like financial management and delegating authority. His callous and/or confused handling of finances was bad enough that the Trustees actually withdrew his ability to handle their funds by 1740, and after his marriage in 1744 his wife remained the one to control the finances. And for weaknesses in delegating authority—one need look no further than Thomas Causton, a man whose own confusion over money and ability to make and keep enemies will fill subsequent chapters. But with no prior experience in Native relations and no ability to speak their languages, Oglethorpe, in those crucial first six years, signed treaties with every major Native American faction in the area; some of them actually sought him out... Yamacraws, Uchees, Upper Creeks, Lower Creeks, Cherokees, Chicasaws and Choctaws; by September of 1739 (and just one month before Tomochichi's death) he had secured alliances with every one. As John Martin Bolzius remarked in 1739, "Mr. Oglethorpe... stands in great esteem among the Indians both near and far." (*GHQ*, vol. 47, p. 218) One need look no further than Tomochichi's parting words to Oglethorpe as the former prepared to board the *Prince of Wales* from England back for Georgia on October 31, 1734:

Monday, 4 [November, 1734]

... Mr. Verelst, our accountant, told me that when the Indians went on board, Mr. Oglethorpe asked the Micho or King, Tomachiki, whether he was not rejoiced to return to his own country? to which he replied that *he was very glad to go home, but to part with him was like the day of death*. An answer thought very elegant (being offhand) by all to whom I have told it.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 132

The First Week of Georgia... Bull & Cattle

“Mr. *Oglethorpe* is indefatigable; takes a vast deal of Pains; his Fare is but indifferent, having little else, at present, but salt Provisions; he’s extremely well beloved by all his People.” In other words... *he’s loved by everyone but he’s not eating right*. So boasted Samuel Eveleigh, a man who would become one of the colony’s closest friends and allies. In March of 1733, the *South Carolina Gazette* carried a glowing full-page report carried to them by Eveleigh.

The general Title they give him, is FATHER: If any of them is sick, he immediately visits them, and takes a great deal of Care of them: If any Difference arises, he’s the Person that decides it: Two happen’d while I was there, and in my Presence, and all the Parties went away to outward Appearance, satisfied and contented with his Determination: He keeps a strict Discipline; I neither saw one of his People drunk, or heard one swear, all the Time I was there: He does not allow them Rum, but in lieu gives them *English Beer*.

- Samuel Eveleigh, *South Carolina Gazette*, March 24, 1733

Hector de Beaufain would visit the town at the beginning of 1734 and take up a residence in Purrysburg, but his evaluation of Oglethorpe dovetails with Eveleigh’s praise from months before. Remarking that the colony “has the happiness to be Settled by a Gentleman who tho’ Proprietor... claim[s] no other Share in it than that of procuring the Welfare of its Inhabitants,” de Beaufain wrote further:

The settling of Georgia is what Mr. Oglethorpe has so entirely at heart that every Thought and Action of his is directed to that favourite Object. He is taken up when in Town with the Political and Civil part of the Administration, the business of Grants, the Settling and providing new Inhabitants, keeping a good order among the People, he enters into every particular and hears with the greatest Patience and good nature any one who applies to him.

- Hector de Beaufain, January 23, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 45-6)

The first five days as recorded by Oglethorpe, Peter Gordon and the *South Carolina Gazette*:

February 1 -

The whole people arrived of the first of Februy. At Night their Tents were got up.

James Oglethorpe, February 10, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 10)

... we sett emediately about getting our tents fixed, and our goods brought ashore....

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 35

Being arrived, on the 1st of *February*, at the intended Town, before Night they erected 4 large Tents, sufficient to hold all the People, being one for each Tything, they landed their Bedding, and other little Necessaries.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733

February 2 -

Friday the 2d we finished our tents, and gott some of our stores on shore.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 37

February 3 -

The 3d we gott the petiagores unloaded, and all the goods brought up the Bluff.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 37

February 4 -

Sunday the fourth we hade Divine Service....

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 37

February 5 -

Col. *Bull* brought with him 4 of his Negroes, who were Sawyers, to assist the Colony, and also brought Provision for them, being resolved to put the Trust to no Expencc, and by this Means to bestow his Benefaction in the most noble and useful Manner

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733

Munday the 5th Coll. Bull, being a gentleman of great experience in making of settlements, was appoynted by the Governour and Councill of Carolina to come to us to be assisting with his advise, arrived in his own periagore from Charles Town and brought severall letters for Mr. Oglethorp from the Governour and Councill.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 37

Referring to Bull as “a gentleman of great experience in making of settlements” was not necessarily hyperbole; he assisted in the layout of Purrysburg, for which he was to be paid £500. And apparently, laying out settlements ran in the Bull family—William Bull helped lay out Savannah just as his father, Stephen Bull, had helped to choose the permanent site for Charlestown 50 years before. Bull carried with him his own letter of recommendation from Governor Johnson and the South Carolina Assembly, which read in part:

Colonel Bull a Gentleman of this Board and who we esteem most capable to assist You in the Settling your new Colony is desired to deliver You this and to accompany You, and render You the best Services he is capable of, and is one whose Integrity You may very much depend on.

- Robert Johnson, January 26, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 7)

The March 31 *South Carolina Gazette*, too, recorded Bull’s arrival:

Col. *Bull* arrived here with a Message from the *General Assembly* to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and a Letter from his Excellency Governor *Johnson* and the *Council*, acquainting him, that the *two Houses*, upon a Conference, had agreed to give 20 Barrels of Rice, and 100 Head of Cattle, besides Hogs, to the *Trustees*.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733

Robert Johnson’s efforts on behalf of Georgia were extensive. In mid-February he wrote to the Trustees, apologetic that he could not have secured more, financially, for the colony of Georgia in the wake of the Purrysburg settlement. That town, 22 miles upriver from Savannah had predated the Savannah settlement by only a month, but its support had already proved a significant drain on South Carolina’s resources.

I did propose [to the South Carolina General Assembly] the Subsisting them [the colonists] with Provisions for a twelve month, but the Charge has been so great already with the Purisburgers, who have also begun their Settlements, that the Assembly thought the Expencc too large, & hope what they have done will be favourably accepted....

I have likewise prevailed upon Colonel Bull... to attend Mr. Oglethorpe at Georgia with our Compliments, and to offer him his Advice and Assistance; and had not our Assembly been sitting, I would have gone my self.

- Robert Johnson, February 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 11-12)

Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees on February 10, 1733, enclosing the resolutions. "I send you a Copy of the Resolutions of the [South Carolina] Assembly and the Governour & Councils Letter to me." (*CRG XX*, p. 10) Robert Johnson would pay a visit to Savannah at the beginning of November, but for the moment South Carolina was represented by Colonel Bull and those landholders who would filter over the next few days with aid.

February 7 -

Till the 7th wee were taken up in unloading and making a Crane which I even then could not Get finished so took off the hands and set some to the Fortification and begun to fell ye Woods.

- James Oglethorpe, February 10, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 10)

Wednesday the 7th we begane to digg trenches for fixing palisadoes round the place of our intended settlement as a fence in case we should be attacked by the Indians, while others of us were employed in clearing of the lines, and cutting trees to the proper lengths, which was the 14 foot for the palisadoes.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 42

Until the 7th was spent in making a Crane and unloading the Goods, which done, Mr. *Oglethorpe* divided the People, employing part in clearing Land for Seed, part in beginning the Palissade, and the Remainder in falling of Trees where the Town is to stand.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733

With the second week, the building of Savannah was about to commence. The South Carolina contingent of Messrs. St. Julian, Whitaker, Barnwell and Woodward arrived the next evening.

February 8 -

Thursday the 8th each family [was] given out of the stores, an iron pott, frying pan, and three wooden bowls, a Bible, Common Prayer Book, and Whole Duty of Man. This day we were taken [off] from the palisadoes and set about sawing and splitting boards eight foot long in order to build clapp board houses.... This evening Mr. St. Julien, Mr. Whitaker, Major Barnwell, and Mr. Woodward arrived from Charlestown.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 42

William Kilberry, described by Percival as "Commander of our Sloops in Georgia," (*Egmont Journal*, p. 96) had arrived with the dry goods on the third. A few days later Kilberry wrote to the Trustees, describing the colony and making reference to their Carolina benefactors:

The People arrived here the 1st of this Instant, and I landed here (from a Sloop of 70 Tuns which was hired to bring the dry Goods) the 3d of this Instant. As to giving You a particular Account of the Water, it is out of my Power as yet not having a Man on board that knows the River nor how the Channel is.... The Country promises to be very good and the Indians are very kind & the People of Carolina are very generous and have presented the Colony with upwards of 200 head of Cattle besides Hogs and Rice and every thing looks with an extraordinary good face.

- William Kilberry, February 6, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 8)

Regarding the issue of cattle, Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees by February 10: "Mr. Whitaker has given us one Hundred head of Cattle." (*CRG XX*, p. 10) Robert Johnson explained the gifts of the Legislature in a letter to the Trustees:

Our General Assembly meeting 3 days after his Departure [from Charlestown], I moved to them their assisting Mr. Oglethorpe in this generous Undertaking; both Houses immediately came to the

following Resolution, that he should be furnished at the Publick Expence with one hundred and four heads of breeding Cattle, 25 Hogs and 20 Barrels of good Rice.

- Robert Johnson, February 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 11)

On February 12 the colonists drew up a petition of thanks to Mr. Whitaker and the other gentlemen and delivered it to them on the eve before their return to South Carolina.

Mr. Oglethorp desired us to draw up a letter of thanks to Mr. Whitaker and the other gentlemen, who had generously made us a present of 100 head of catle to be equally divided amongst us. We drew the letter up, and had it signed by severall of our people, and went in a body and delivered it to Mr. Whitaker and the other gentlemen.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 39-40

Fetchted, evidently, by Joseph Fitzwalter (*Anne #39*), the cattle were brought to town within the first weeks of the settlement.

[Feb.] The 22d. Mr. Fitzwalter, one of our people, arrived with fifty head of catle and other stores from Carolina. This catle was part of the hundred, which Mr. Whitaker and his friends hade made a present to us.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 42

During a visit to Charlestown by June Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees, explaining the distribution of the cows in greater detail, while admitting that some had already “run away.”

Before I came away [from Savannah] there were fifty head of Cattle the gift of Jno. Whitaker and his friend and fifty head more the Gift of Mr. Odingsell and the people of Distow landed [Edisto Island]. Several of them [the cows] being wild run away into the Woods, the remainder were decided by lot amongsts the people.

- James Oglethorpe, June 9, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 23)

He was methodical in the distribution: “Every family in which there was a woman had a Milch Cow [milk cow] and every single man a Heifer or Steer.” But by December, 1734, Thomas Christie remarked of a cattle population decimated and run wild, claiming:

... the People’s Cattell... are by this time Almost turn’d wild and instead thereof Mr Causton now buys Beef of the Indians or Mrs Musgrove; so that we have little hopes of Seeing them [the cows] any more.

Its true we have now Compleated a very Large Cowpen Contg near 45 Acres about a Mile from the Town on a Pine Barren but little or no Cattell to put in it.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 123-4)

“In this country, partly because of lack of feed, partly for the sake of convenience and from lack of knowledge, livestock is permitted to run loose in the forests day and night,” John Martin Bolzius, the lead minister to the Salzburgers, wrote on May 4, 1734. “This is explained thus.... If you want the animals for milking, they are chased home by dogs.” (*Urlsperger*, vol. 1, p. 81) While possible, it seems more likely that someone was trying to sell Bolzius the seven bridges to Ebenezer.

Georgia's First Square, First House and First Lieutenant

On February 9, just one day after the colonists “sett about sawing and splitting boards eight feet long in order to build clapp board houses,” as Peter Gordon observed, (p. 38) the first house in Savannah was begun.

February 9 -

I marked out the Town and Common. Half of the former is allready cleared and the first House was begun Yesterday in the afternoon. Not being able to get Negroes I have taken Ten of the independant Company to work for us for which I make them allowance.

- James Oglethorpe, February 10, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 10)

On the 9th Day Mr. *Oglethorpe* and Col. *Bull* mark'd out the Square, the Streets, and 40 Lotts for Houses for the Town; and the first House (which was ordered to be made of Clapboards) was begun that Day.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 31, 1733

This would indicate the exact day—February 9 (on the Old Style Julian Calendar), or February 20 (New Style Gregorian), 1733—that Johnson Square and the first ward physically came into being. Not surprisingly, Derby Ward, the first, was to be inhabited almost entirely by the passengers from the *Anne*. That first migration, typically referred to as time went along as the ‘first forty’ due to the number of families, was probably the determining factor explaining why Oglethorpe designed the template of a ward to contain 40 lots. Of the 40 lots in Derby Ward, 36 ended up granted to documented heads of family from the *Anne*, and two others to the *Anne*’s ‘undocumented’. In short, 95% of the ward’s population consisted of *Anne* passengers by the end of the year. There were only two lots in Derby Ward to be occupied by non-*Anne* passengers—John Vanderplank (the *Volante*) and Thomas Tibbit (the *James*).

Civil authority throughout the first year rested in the capable hands of Captain Francis Scott. Trite but true, Georgia’s first lieutenant was a captain. Described on Thomas’ “Charity List” as “a reduced Military Officer aged 40,” he had come over on the *Anne* and proven to be one of the most industrious and able the colony had. While other *Anne* colonists like Noble Jones and Thomas Causton would distinguish themselves later, it was only in the wake—and with the passing—of figures like Francis Scott, William Kilberry and Joseph Hughes (all dead by January, 1734).

Perusing the *List of Early Settlers* for information on Francis Scott provides no more information than Thomas’ “Charity List:”

1342. Scot, Fra. - Age 40; reduced officer;
embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb.
1732-3; dead 2 Jan. 1733-4

In truth, Captain Scott had been amazingly busy in the two-week span between January 18 and the arrival of the colonists at Yamacraw Bluff on February 1. Not only had he overseen the construction of the temporary hutts on Jones Island...

South Carolina Gazette, March 31, 1733 -

On the 18th... [Oglethorpe] left a Guard of 8 Men upon [Jones]... they had Orders to prepare Hutts.

Gordon Journal, p. 34 -

[We] arrived at Jones's Island about six in the evening where we found hutts provided for us by Captain Scotts party.

... but he had also evidently accompanied Oglethorpe on his scouting trip to Yamacraw Bluff, and found time to build or oversee the building of the stairs leading up the bluff by the time the colonists arrived...

Gordon Journal, p. 35 -

[The Bluff] by reason of the loos sand, and great height, would have been extreamly troublesome had not Captain Scott and his party built stairs for us before our arrivall, which we found of very great use to us in bringing up our goods.

... and met the colonists as they arrived:

Gordon Journal, p. 35 -

As soon as we came near the Bluff, we were saluted by Captain Scott and his party, with their small arms, which we returned.

And by October, 1733, "Francis Scott Gentleman in Georgia" shared with James St. Julian (of South Carolina) the responsibility of granting lands in Oglethorpe's absence. By November, 1733 he was further imbued by the Trustees with the additional power of granting colonists license to vacate the colony. Given that the colonists had been required to sign an agreement "not to quit the Colony in less thane three years without leave first obtain'd of the Chief Person in Power," (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 28) Scott was now by definition, the "Chief Person in Power."

We learn by Letters from Savannah in Georgia, That good Order and Regularity is observed in the Camp there, Mr. Oglethorpe having appointed one Mr. Scot a Justice of the Peace, with Power to judge and punish Offences as he thinks fit; as to imprisonment, Banishment &c (Life and Limb excepted) Mr. Oglethorpe meddling with nothing of that Kind himself, except to mitigate Punishments.

- *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*, July 2, 1733

Able-minded and able-bodied, Scott was the undisputed figure of authority during Oglethorpe's periodic absences and even dealt capably with a minor mutiny before the spring was out. On February 18 an early example of civil unrest broke out in the guise of a lewd young woman.

The 18th a servant maid belonging to Mr. Hughes was ordered to be brought before Captain Scott, Conservator of the Peace, where she was accused of a loose disorderly behaviour, and endeavouring to seduce severall other young women in the Colony, upon which she was ordered to be whipt at the carts taile, and returned to England to her friends.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 40

The identity of this "servant maid" remains unknown; Joseph Hughes has no servant listed on Thomas' "Charity List." The sentence was reduced, however, as Gordon noted: "As soon as she was brought to the cart severall of our people interceded with Mr. Oglethorpe in her behalf,

who remitted that part of her sentence and sent her the same day out of the Collony onboard a petiagore bound for Charles Town.” (p. 41) In the days and months before the official creation of the Court, punishments could be arbitrary and were doled out in most instances by either Oglethorpe or Francis Scott. There were two incidents of civil unrest recorded during the eight-week passage aboard the *Anne*. In the first instance, on December 15, Thomas Christie noted that “[James] Wilson the Sawyer Tryed & Brot. [brought] to ye Gang way for giving a Sheeps head to the Dogs. But pardoned by Mr. Oglethorpe by Dr. Herberts Intercession.” One week later, in the second incident, Oglethorpe exercised some executive discipline, when on December 22 he “came behind [an unnamed troublemaker] & gave him a good kick on ye arse.” And in June of 1733, Oglethorpe would give a classic ultimatum to Samuel Grey, telling him he had twelve hours to get out of town. Oglethorpe was the sheriff of this town. Oglethorpe’s never-explained five-month delay in creating a Court and civil system that had already been approved by the Trustees in November remains puzzling, and at its worst could seem an indictment of his micro-management. As Samuel Eveleigh remarked, “If any Difference arises, he’s the Person that decides it.” Salzburger minister John Martin Bolzcius observed: “Mr. Oglethorpe is strict in regard to law and justice,” (*Diary*, March 22, 1734) and further remarked just three days later: “People here are very serious about punishing infractions.” (*Diary*, March 25, 1734)

But leave it to Patrick Tailfer and the “Scotch Club” to put it in even harsher terms. In his wickedly savage 1741 tome on Colonial Georgia, *A True and Historical Narrative*, Patrick Tailfer and fellow malcontents found a moment (and a paragraph) to chime in on what they viewed as Oglethorpe’s totalitarian approach in the colony’s earliest days.

Logg-houses and prisons of various sorts were built and erased successively, and most part of them were fitter for dungeons in the Spanish inquisition than British gaols. Irons, whipping-posts, gibbets (It was a very usual thing with General Oglethorpe, when any persons had incurred his displeasure, to threaten to hang them), &c. were provided, to keep the inhabitants in perpetual terror; for innocence was no protection: and for some time there were more imprisonments, whippings, &c. of white people, in that *colony of liberty*, than in all British America besides.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 59

Tailfer’s sensationalist, thrust-and-perry observations must be viewed with tongue firmly planted in cheek, as much of the book was a scathing satire. He himself did not arrive in the Georgia colony until the summer of 1734; it should be noted, during Oglethorpe’s absence. Nor did he have a good personal relationship with Oglethorpe; it seems the two were first acquainted during Oglethorpe’s second visit in 1736 amidst a dispute over whether Tailfer sold the mother of his children to an Indian trader or had simply made a *gift* of her....

And then there was the minister. If someone blinked they might have missed him.

The 21st about two in the morning Doctor Herbert sett out for Charles Town, in the scoutt boat, accompanied by Coll. Pury and some of his people.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 41

He had lasted all of three weeks; the first man to vacate the colony of Georgia was its minister. The Reverend Henry Herbert set out for Charlestown in the early morning hours of February 21; never again to return to Savannah. He wrote to the Trustees on March 27 of his intention to return to England when well enough to do so, but would die en route for England on board the

Baltic Merchant in June. Temporary though he had intended to be, Georgia's first minister was only in Georgia for 21 days.

More troubling, the building of the settlement was slow and disorganized. Peter Gordon remarked that "March ye 1st the first house in the square was framed, and raised, Mr. Oglethorp driving the first pinn." (Peter Gordon *Journal*, p. 42)

Assessing the sluggish state of the building progress, Oglethorpe commented by March 12, "our People still lye in Tents there being only two Clapboard Houses built and three Saw'd Houses framed, our Crane, our Battery of Cannon and Magazine finished." As he remarked, almost apologetically to the Trustees, progress was slow. "This is all we have been able to do by reason of the Smallness of our Number of which many have been sick and others unused to Labour." (CRG XX, p.13-14) True, not only was the small number of workers an issue, but so too was the simple fact that the *Anne* had been shoved out the door without the manpower or the infrastructure to create the settlement. Instead of the *Anne*, or even the *Volante*, which followed the former by weeks, the bulk of Savannah's sawyers were not sent until the third vessel, the *James*, which was yet to arrive. Just as inexplicably, the Trustees—who would deluge the colony with Trust Servants in the latter half of the decade, when arguably they weren't needed—sent a total of six over the course of 1733, when they *were* needed in significant numbers. The sawyers arrived in May, the servants in July. In the meantime the colony was reliant upon the sweat and toil of African-American laborers as Bull offered his sawyers... and the colonists offered little direction.

In order to overcome the various handicaps, the workforce was restructured into more efficient teams in March, in the hopes of making better progress. As Gordon explained:

Before this we hade proceeded in a very unsettled manner, having been imployed in severall different things such as cutting down trees, and cross cutting them to proper lengths, for clapp boards. And afterwards splitting them into clapp boards, in order to build us clapp board houses, which was the first design, but that not answearing the expectation, we were now divided into different gangs, and each gang had their proper labour assign'd to them and to be under the direction of one persone of each gang so that we proceeded... much more regular thane before.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 42

In truth, the concerted building effort would not begin before summer, and even then would be stymied by the Summer Sickness. Indeed, the settlement was founded in February; the forty lots of Derby ward were still all that existed as late as mid-summer.

Not withstanding that our guard duty was ever'y fourth night, yet we went directly from the guard to work in the woods, after ovr names were called over, which was done ever'y morning at six oclock before Mr. Oglethorps tent, and if any persone did not at that time answear to his name, except hindered by sickness, was cut of [off] from his dayes allowance of a pint of Madeira wine, which was allowed to every working man. About this time wee hade excessive hard rains and almost continued thunder and lightening to a most astonishing degree. The rains were so violent, and came with such force, that it beat thro our tents to the degree that we have been wett to the skinn in them severall times in a day.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 38-39

Heavy rains evidently deluged the colonists' earliest days. Peter Gordon further remarked: "As the country all round us was a continued forrest, and nothing to be seen but wood and water, the rains were very frequent and very severe."

Thomas Causton, too, wrote to his wife of the torrential rains: "We have very heavy Rains sometimes but tho' it rains a whole Day and Night it makes no Dirt." Remarking further of other environmental hazards unique to the Georgia coast, he wrote: "We are much pestered with a little Fly they call a Sand Fly." (CRG XX, p. 18) Causton, however, was not the only one to comment on the troubling nature of mysterious pest now known as the sand gnat. On the first day of the Salzburger's stopover in the Savannah settlement in 1734, one of their ministers wrote of the peculiar nuisance... and noted as well the solution the colonists had eventually discovered:

The 13th of March [1734]. At times there are many large and small vermin here, among others some very small black flies which fly in swarms around people's heads and hands and sting them. So that they won't interfere with the work of the laborers, large fires are made upwind so that the smoke is blown over them and drives the vermin away.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 1, p. 60)

As Causton confirmed: "I find the Camphire [camp fire] very good against the Stings of the Flies. I now begin to be something hardened against them." Two years later, Robert Parker complained of the "Noctious Insects that sufficiently plague us in the Summer," listing among the culprits "Muskatoes... English Fen Knatts, and a small Fly almost imperceptable called mercy Wings, the Bite of wch in proportion to the Bulke contains as much Poison as the Ratle Snake." (March 12, 1735, CRG XX, p. 262-3)

Even John Wesley found space to comment on them. On his April 4, 1736 Diary entry he scribbled: "Thunder and lightning," and: "flies!"

Philip von Reck, in his *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians*, also addressed the issue of the pesky sand gnat:

A small kind of fly discomforts strangers very much by biting them so painfully that they swell up quite a bit at first. However, you get used to it with time and they don't do you any more harm, or at least you don't feel it any more.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 1, p. 139)

"I have seen it [the sandfly] in England about the Horse Dung," Thomas Causton continued to his wife. "But every Insect here is stronger than in England."

The Ants are half an inch long and they say will bite desperately. As for Alligators I have seen several but they are by the Sides of Rivers, Out Town is too high Ground for them to Clamber up. We have killed one.

- Thomas Causton, March 12, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 18)

If a later source is accurate, the alligator in question seems to have been stoned to death by children. Writing in 1736, Francis Moore recounted the colonists' first close encounter as it was evidently told him:

When Mr. Oglethorpe was first at Savannah, to take off the terror which the people had for the crocodiles, having wounded and caught one about twelve feet long, he had him brought up to the town, and set the boys to bait him with sticks, the creature gaping and blowing hard, but had no heart to move, only turned about his tail, and snapt at the sticks, till such time as the children pelted and beat him to death.

- Francis Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia*, p. 47

Referring to Georgia's alligators as crocodiles, the commentators may be excused for never having seen either in Europe:

No crocodile has ever been reported to have hurt a man, yet it must be admitted that they are fearful to behold and that they often make frightful noises. The shield or armor on their backs is so thick that a bullet cannot penetrate it. But the Indians know very well how to handle them. They shoot them under or in the head.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 139)

Early March of 1733 probably saw the arrival of the colonists from the *Volante*, Georgia's second transport, however modest. Arriving in Charlestown by February 24, the four Charity colonists trickled to Savannah sometime thereafter, though no one recorded the date. "We have reced the stores and men that came with Vanderplank," Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees by May. (*CRG XX*, p. 20) Aboard the *Volante* was Samuel Grey, described in the *LES* as a 30 year-old "silk throwster," and two apprentices, Cornelius Jones and Chetwynd Furcerd. The "Vanderplank" mentioned above by Oglethorpe was John Vanderplank, a man very useful to the colony over the next four years. His wife would arrive a year and a half later, on the third arrival of the *James*. John Vanderplank's name would pop up numerous times in the letters of others, though he appears to have never written the Trustees himself. Described in the *LES* as a 48 year-old seaman, in 1735 he was the one who would ring the alarm bell in Savannah, first alerting the town to the Red String Plot; he was made a constable and even a naval officer of Georgia before he passed away in early December of 1737. In the wake of his passing, William Stephens observed the man's character.

Sunday [December 11, 1737]. Mr. Vanderplank died early this Morning, and was buried in a Soldier-like Manner in the Evening, about Forty Men (the Number of a Ward) under Arms, attending him to the Grave, firing three VOLLIES, and several Minute Guns from the Fort discharged, during the Time of his Interment. An Honour due to him, for he was unquestionably the best Officer of his Rank, and truly zealous in promoting the publick Good.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 48)

As Stephens noted of this funeral one week after the sudden departure of John Wesley, "the Town wholly destitute of a Minister, Mr. Causton read the Funeral Service."

Samuel Grey, in contrast, would become the first man kicked out of Georgia, just a few months after arriving. Thrown out personally by Oglethorpe, in the words of the *LES*, he was "Expell'd the Province 17 June 1733," for some bizarre mutinous action which will be addressed in following pages.

With the *Anne*'s colonists in place, and the *Volante*'s just arrived, Thomas Causton was optimistic about the prospects for the colony. "There is no Room to doubt but that we shall be a

flourishing People and hope to be a Thousand men before the Year is ended,” he wrote to his wife. “We have five or six familys amongst us that are deserving a Gentleman’s Conversation,” he noted of the group. Discussing the Savannah settlement on the whole, and preparing his wife for the journey, he assured her, “You may bring any furniture with You,” and remarked politely, “I shall want Thread or Cotton Stockings.”

I wrote to You on the 12th of Jany last from Charlestown Bar which I hope came safe to hand. I had then the favor of Mr. Oglethorpe’s Packet, And promised to write again when we should arrive at our Place of Settlement....

We are plentifully provided with Victuals, and the Men have a Pint of strong Beer every night after work besides other frequent refreshments, as Mr. Oglethorpe sees Occasion. Indeed, he is both great & Good, and I am certain our Success is owing to his good Conduct only.... We have had very great Assistance from the Gentlemen of Charlestown, have always some of them with us who bring us Workmen to help forward with our Works; they have assisted Mr. Oglethorpe in laying out most of the Lands already. We are according to a Plan directed to be drawn by Mr. Oglethorpe as I mentioned in my last[,] building the town, have got up three Houses, and Planting and Sowing....

- Thomas Causton, March 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 17)

The same day that saw Causton’s letter to his wife saw Oglethorpe posting a letter to the Trustees, writing of the commercial prospects of the Savannah River. “This River has a very long Course and a great Trade is carried on by it to the Indians, there having above 12 Trading Boats passed by since I have been here.” (p. 13-14) Indeed, trading was the only local institution already in place before Savannah existed.

Four days after Oglethorpe’s letter, on Friday, March 16, another trader’s vessel passed by as Samuel Eveleigh came to town. Eveleigh was a prominent Charlestown merchant and Indian trader who had long since established a name for himself in Carolina and hoped to advance Georgia’s prospects. This would be the first of many visits and would result in the previously mentioned full-page article within the *South Carolina Gazette* the following week. As he wrote to the Trustees from Charlestown in April: “About three weekes since did my self the honour to go down and Visit Mr. Oglethorpe. What I here remarked I caused to be published in the Carolina Gazette.” (*CRG XX*, p. 19)

The article in the March 24, 1733 *Gazette* began: “We arrived on Friday Morning an Hour before Day at *Yamacraw*, a Place so called by the *Indians*, but now *Savannah*, in the Colony of *Georgia*. Some Time before we came to the Landing, the Centinel challeng’d us, and understanding who we were, admitted us ashore.”

There are four Houses already up, but none finished, and he [Oglethorpe] hopes, when he has got more Sawyers, which I suppose he will have in a short Time, to finish two Houses a Week: He has plowed up some Land, part of which he sowed with Wheat, which is come up, and looks promising.

- Samuel Eveleigh, *South Carolina Gazette*, March 24, 1733

Eveleigh noted as well that Oglethorpe was acquainting the men of the colony with target practice, breaking in a mostly untrained civilian force to the use of firearms. He wrote to the Trustees: “Mr. Oglethorpe once a week puts up a Turkey or Some other thing of Value to be Shot for by his men which has allready had good effect bringing them acquainted with armes

which some of them before were Ignorant of.” (CRG XX, p. 20) Peter Gordon remarked of the custom as well, held on Sundays, he noted... “That being the only day we could be possibly spared from labour.”

Sunday [March] the fourth, after Divine Service, we were ordered under arms, and... marched regularly into the wood, a small distance from the town, where Mr. Oglethorp ordered a mark to be fixed up, at a hundred yards distance to be shott at by all the men, and who ever shott nearest the mark, to have a small prise of seven or eight shillings value. This custome which was intended to train the people up to firing, and to make them good marksmen, was generally observed, for many Sundays afterwards.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 43

The colonists had received their firearms on the ninth day of the Savannah settlement. As Gordon noted simply: “Friday [February 9] our arms were delivered to us from the store viz. a musket and bayonett, cartrige box and belt to each persone able to cary arms.” (p. 38)

Familiarizing the colonists with firearms seemed only a short-term fix that was never intended as permanent. The fact was that ultimately neither Oglethorpe nor the Trustees placed much importance on the colonists having anything more than marginal proficiency, especially in the wake of the decision to establish a military presence on the southern frontier, as the cautionary tale of John Scott proves.

John Scott was a gunsmith who was sent by the Trustees on the *Purrysburg*, arriving in March, 1734, just as Oglethorpe was departing to England. Scott found himself confused and annoyed that he had no materials or instructions as to how to proceed. Remarking that he had “Nither Anvell iron Steel Coals Oyle Nor emery,” and by 1735 was “almost Naked & for want of your work... denied any Thing out of the Store,” he wrote in desperation to the Trustees:

It being my Second Letter Not having any Answer to ye first i humbly beg Leve to acquaint you of ye Great Sorrow i ly under being a Gun Maker & Coming from Yr Hons to act as Such in this Colonie. To my great Sorrow Esqr Oglethorp was on his departure from hence & i had not ye happiness to have any in Struictions [instructions] from Yr Hons to him to Settle me Gun Maker.

- John Scott, January 15, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 158)

He wrote of a weapons' cache in Savannah that by 1735 was antiquated and unsafe. John West, the blacksmith who had come on the *Anne* was salaried to make guns but had no ability to fix them. As Scott noted, “And the black Smith cannot Mend them, So that our Arms are in very bad order.... which if we should be attacked by any Enimie will be but a poor defence.”

This worthy Gentle men is ye True case, which I am desirous you Should Know before any Misfortuines do fall. I hope you will Consider that as Mr West hath as Much Black Smiths work as he... can... Lett me have yor Gun Work.... Worthy Gentle Men i beg for Christ Jesusis Sake That you will be pleased to Consider This my distress and ye bad State of ye Colonies arms Which Might be the Loss of all our Lives & your Great Labours.

- John Scott, January 15, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 158)

“I applied my Self to Mr. Causton for Sume tools & work of my Trade but to my great Sorrow he had no Orders to let me have any,” he complained. Harman Verelst penned the Trustees’

response to Causton on May 15, instructing him that “You must let Scott the Gunsmith have the use of his Tools in the Colony, which the Trustees bought of him.” (CRG XXIX, p. 55)

But the support may have come too late. Deprived of the livelihood of his career he evidently ran a foray into the rum trade. He was referred to by William Stephens in 1737 as “a notorious Dealer in Spirits.” (CRG IV, p. 58) As Conservator of the Peace, William Gough, Jr., brought him in for possession in the first of his legal scrapes in late 1736:

October 6. Brought John Scott before the Bayliffs on an Information of his selling Rum, I search'd the House [by] Warrant & found an Anchor Cask with about 2 Gall. in it which I now have in Custody[.] he gave security to answer the said Complaint.

- William Gough, November 13, 1736 (CRG XXI, p. 250)

Here is John Scott's encapsulated entry in the *LES*:

1343. Scot, John. - Gunsmith; embark'd 17 Dec. 1733; arrived 12 Mar. 1733/4; Lot 144 in Savannah. Convicted of selling rum agst. law 27 Nov. 1736; and again 24 Feb. 1737/8. He ran away to Carolina for debt. Run away Mar. 1738.

In fact, the issue of defense in the colony arose as an issue as early as the second week of Georgia, as it was discovered that the colonists were not alone in the wilderness. There were fugitives as well, hiding in the interior of the Georgia forests.

February 12 -

Munday Mr. Oglethorp being informed that two fellows who hade broke out of Charlestown jayle, were in our neighborhood, and hade killed severall catle, at Musgrave, the Indian traders cow penn, ordered two men with a large swivell gunn to watch near the side of the river all night to stopp their canoe in case they should attempt to pass....

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 39

The next day, Gordon recorded in his *Journal*: “we see at a distance up the river, something like a canoe, which we supposed to be the two fellows.”

Upon which Mr. Oglethorp ordered me to take two men along with me, in a canoe, and goe in quest of them. I chose Mr. [Thomas] Cristie and Mr. [Richard] Cameron to goe along with me, and when we came to the place where we expected to find the fellows, we found that what appeared to us in town like a boate was a large tree floating down the river. Upon which we returned.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 40

On February 21 the escaped convicts were apprehended.

CHARLESTOWN, March 10 - We already begin to find the good Effects of the Colony of *Georgia*; *Abraham de Buc*, a French *Roman Catholick*, and *Edward Gilbert*, two Prisoners, who was committed to our Gaol for Felony, and broke out from thence sometime ago, took Shelter in the vast Woods to the Southward, where they continued committing Disorders....

Mr. Oglethorpe, who is now incamped near where the new Town is to be, being informed that they had killed a Horse belonging to *Mr. John Musgrave*, and hovered about that Neighbourhood, sent out a Detachment in Search of them; one of which, after some Days persuit, overtook them at the *Ojeeke* River, in their way to *St. Augustin*, having surprized them, they surrendered without Resistance, and were brought by them to *Mr. Oglethorpe*, who sent them to *Beaufort*; who are since brought to Town, and were safely taken into the Custody of the Provost Marshall on Monday last.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 10, 1733

With the two escapees already located by the Indians, William Kilberry and a small party had set out with an Indian guide to apprehend them. As Gordon recorded:

About eleven at night he [Kilberry] returned with the prisoners, who were emediately examined before Mr. Oglethorp. One of them was English and the other a French man. The Frenchman denied all he was charged with.... The English man confess'd most of what he was charged with, alleging that what cattle they killed was only for their own subsistance, they having been in a most miserable way destitute of any manner of food in the woods.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 41

On February 25 the two prisoners were placed on a vessel for Beaufort. Truthfully, the Indians, so instrumental in the capture, were already proving to be invaluable allies to the colony. In April Samuel Eveleigh wrote from Charlestown to the Trustees, remarking, "While I was there [in Savannah] Mr. Oglethorpe gave Captains Commissions to two of the Chief Indian Warriors together with some presents at which they Seemed well Satisfy'd and promised to do him what service they could." (*CRG XX*, p.19) Oglethorpe had overseen the creation of two Indian regiments to assist in the affairs of Georgia.

Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees, explaining his commissions, eager to seek what security he could for his frontiers. "With respect to the Indian affairs, I had also two Company of Tomo-chichis men and gave at their desire a Commission to Tuskenca Istinnoccebeby the name of the Captain of the first Militia Company of the Indian allies... also appointed Skee captain of the Second Militia Company of the Indian allies. The two Companies consisted of Forty very Clever Men." Their pay, he boasted, was "one Bushell of corn per month for each man." (*CRG XX*, p.23)

One other important topic came up in Samuel Eveleigh's letter to the Trustees on April 6, 1733. In this very first one he wrote—and it was read by them July 25—he took the opportunity to cautiously voice a concern over what he viewed as an oversight by the Trustees.

Excuse me Gentlemen if I take the Liberty to make one remark. Mr. Oglethorpe told me that by their Constitution they were able to have no Negroes Amongst them which I think will be a great prejudice if not a means to Overset your Noble design.

- Samuel Eveleigh, April 6, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 19)

This cautious criticism marked the first time that the issue of slavery would rear its head in Trustee Georgia.

The Slavery Question

While in Charlestown during May, 1733 Oglethorpe wrote optimistically to the Trustees:

I have brought all our people to desire the prohibition of Negroes and Rum which goes much against the Grain of the traders in these Comodityes in this Town [Charlestown]. But if either of them are allowed our whole design will be ruined.

- James Oglethorpe, May 14, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 21)

Though his assertion that he had brought all his people “to desire” these prohibitions seems a bit optimistic, the line does stand out as it suggests some resentment of Georgia among South Carolina traders.

Put simply, from within and without, the colony of Georgia spent the 1730s under siege by the specter of slavery.

Though slavery was ostensibly prohibited from Georgia, in reality slaves followed the arrival of the Georgia colonists by only five days. On February 5 Colonel William Bull brought not only four of his own enslaved workers to act as sawyers but brought provisions for them as well, so as not to inconvenience the Trustees for the expense of feeding them. And the Savannah settlement continued to take advantage of slave labor through the spring and into the summer of 1733. Finally, by August 12, Oglethorpe wrote: “I sent away the Negroes who Sawed for us, for so long as they continued here our men were encouraged in Idleness by their working for them.” (p. 28) But by this point, Georgia’s reliance on the honest work of freeholders may have already rung hollow.

Samuel Eveleigh was a proponent of allowing limited slavery into Georgia, just as he equally advocated reducing the tide of slavery already dominating South Carolina. Believing there was some stable medium somewhere in between the absolutes represented by both colonies, he wrote to Oglethorpe in August of 1734 (by now in England), urging his help in instituting a ban on South Carolina’s trade:

I have prevailed with most of the Merchants of this place [Charlestown] except those concerned in the Negroe Trade to write home to their Correspondents in London to joyn together in a Petition to the King in Council and to pray that Orders may be sent over to his Excellency to pass a Law to prohibit the Importation of Negroes for three Years which I think is highly, nay absolutely, necessary....

I lately moved this Affair to the Governor [Johnson] who seemed mightily pleased therewith & thought it was the best thing that could be done for the Good of this Province. I have talk’d with some of the Council on the same Head and they are of the same Opinion and do earnestly entreat You that You would use your best endeavours that an Instruction to that purpose may be immediately sent over from the King to His Governour [to institute a ban], and I doubt not but it would here pass notwithstanding the Opposition that may be made against it by the Negroe Factors and their Friends.

- Samuel Eveleigh, August 5, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 67-68)

On March 7, 1734, as John Martin Bolzius stepped off the *Purrysburg*—leaving behind the familiar faces of his fellow Salzburg emigrants and onto the bustling streets of Charlestown—he entered a world completely foreign to him.

there are here many more black than white people, all of whom are very much urged to work but never urged to become Christians. Very few, perhaps not any, have been baptized.... Whole boatloads are brought here from Africa and offered for sale.

... That it is a great convenience to have many slaves to do the work; but this convenience is coupled with great danger, for the blacks... are said to number thirty thousand in Carolina alone.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 57)

The fact that South Carolina was the only British colony on the North American mainland to actually have a slave majority exercised a strong pull on Georgia. But it is worth noting that the Georgia project, in its embryonic stages in early 1730 as a potential colony in the West Indies, had actually piggybacked on Percival's involvement in the Dalone Legacy... an existing trusteeship to oversee the "conversion of negroes" in the New World. The Dalone Legacy, Oglethorpe's King Legacy and the Georgia project all intersected, and it is worth taking a moment to examine these threads. Let's revisit Percival's February 13, 1730 *Diary* entry:

Friday, 13 February [1730].

... I met Mr. Oglethorp, who informed me that he had found out a very considerable charity, even fifteen thousand pounds, which... was like to have been lost, because the heir of the testator being one of the trustees, refused to concur with other two, in any methods of disposing the money... there had been a lawsuit thereupon, which Oglethorp had carried [won] against the heir....

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 44-5

The intestate win had permitted Oglethorpe and the two surviving trustees the ability to will the Joseph King money to any cause to which all three agreed, and the Dalone Legacy fit that bill. As Percival noted, the two remaining trustees, older gentlemen who were "very honest and desirous to be discharged of their burthen," had consented to any idea Oglethorpe saw fit.

[But only] on condition that the trust should be annexed to some trusteeship already in being, and that being informed that I [Percival] was a trustee for Mr. Dalone's legacy, who left about a thousand pounds to convert negroes, he [Oglethorpe] had proposed me and my associates as proper persons to be made trustees of this new affair....

"The old gentlemen approved of us," Percival remarked, admitting: "I had indeed been thinking to quit the trusteeship of Dalone's legacy, because we were but four, and two of them were rendered incapable of serving and the third was a person I never saw." With this new development, the Dalone Legacy, heretofore mired in indifference, took on a new importance.

[Oglethorpe] hoped that I would accept it [the new project] in conjunction with himself, and several of our Committee of Goals [jails], as Mr. Towers, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Holland, Major Selwyn, and some other gentlemen of worth, as Mr. Sloper and Mr. Vernon....

[Oglethorpe] said that though annexed to this [benefaction] of Dalone's legacy might be a matter remaining distinct from the scheme he proposed.... that the scheme is to procure a quantity of acres... in the West Indies, and to plant thereon a hundred miserable wretches who being let out of

gaol by the last year's Act, are now starving about the town [London] for want of employment; that they should be settled all together by way of a colony.

This February 13, 1730 meeting marked the earliest record of what would eventually become the Georgia colony. By April 1, Percival wrote that "Those executors have agreed that five thousand pounds of the money shall be employed to such a purpose" as creating a colony.

[A]s those executors desired the persons entrusted with that sum might be annexed to some Trust already in being, I am desired to consent to admit such as are to manage that money into my trust for disposing of the legacy left by Mr. Dalone for converting negroes to Christianity, to which I have readily consented.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 90

The Dalone Legacy remained linked with the Georgia project for the next three years, until it became clear that the Georgia project had overshadowed the former. Remarking that though the Dalone Legacy "had been blended with" the Georgia project, Percival conceded it "is of a distinct nature" from the latter. (*Egmont Journal*, p. 23-4) The split came in the spring of 1733.

Wednesday, 23 [May, 1733].

... We ordered a distinct meeting of the trustees of Dr. Bray's legacy to-morrow sennit at four a'clock, to consider of making that part of our trust a separate care from the Georgia affair....

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 378

Saturday, 31 [May, 1733].

... After dinner I went to the Georgia Society, on a particular meeting of that part of the trustees who are concerned in the trust of Monsr. Dalone's legacy for instructing negroes in the Christian religion, and in executing the purposes of Dr. Bray's will for settling parochial libraries.... We agreed that since these trusts are to be separated from the care and management of the Georgia Trustees in general... our accounts are no longer to be blended together.

- p. 382

But the Dalone Legacy would cross paths with Georgia again, as the Trustees instituted a program of religious education to the Black populace across the river from Savannah. With persons of African heritage not encouraged in Savannah, the Trustees sought to benefit those living in Purrysburg.

Wednesday, 3 [September, 1735]... It appearing we had now 40*l.* per annum clear proceeding from the interest of 1,000*l.*, the legacy of Mons. Dalone for converting negroes, we resolved that 30*l.* per annum should be appointed for a negro Catechist at Purysburg and desired Mr. Oglethorpe would inform himself when in Georgia of a proper person to be the Catechist.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 192

But despite their order, by December of 1736 Charles Wesley reported back that he did not "know that Mr. Oglethorpe has taken any care of finding out proper catechists of negroes at Purysburg." (p. 316) So the Trustee offered the opportunity to the Georgia Moravians.

Wednesday, 9 [February, 1737].

... We sent desire Count Zinzendorf's company to know whether among his Moravians there were any who could speak and would undertake to instruct the negroes at Purysburg in Christianity. He came, and we proposed to him that if such could be found, there should be two appointed and 15*l.* apiece allowed them. He replied, he had such as we wanted, but for the better perfection he

should be glad they dwelt a year at Puryzburg before they set about the work, that they might know the people, take proper measures and make themselves still better masters of our tongue.

- p. 345

“We were all of us extremely pleased with getting two Moravian Catechists,” he concluded, “for they are a most signal pious people, live hard, have no views and are zealous to promote Christianity.” With their available Legacy funds of just “40*l.* a year, we could not expect to have found one English clergyman who would have undertaken this work, whereas for the value of 30*l.* we here have found two men who will pursue the affair.”

Oglethorpe lived 88 years, but to history’s loss never left any journal or written record of his life—even his correspondence were sporadic and rarely offered any personal insight into his psyche. But Oglethorpe’s most impassioned comments on the issue of slavery would arise out of a 1739 correspondence to the Trustees. Faced with a December 9, 1738 petition signed by 121 of the colonists urging the repeal of the Trustees’ anti-slavery policy, which by 1739 was falling under its harshest fire yet, Oglethorpe argued:

I have wrote already a letter upon the head of Negroes and shall only add that if we allow slaves we act against the very principles by which we associated together, which was to relieve the distressed. Whereas, now we should occasion the misery of thousands in Africa, by setting men upon using arts to buy and bring into perpetual slavery the poor people who now live free there.

Instead of strengthening we should weaken the frontiers of America.... I am persuaded therefore you will speedily reject the petition.

- James Oglethorpe, January 19, 1739

It is important to remember that the above was written by a man who, at the time he boarded the *Anne*, was a deputy director of the Royal Africa Company of England. Percival, too, was a board member of the *RAC*, despite the fact that he was one of only four trustees—and the only active one—in the Dalone Legacy for Converting Negroes in 1730. These seeming contradictions cannot help but make the modern day reader wince. Begun in 1672, the Royal Africa Company of England had maintained a monopoly on the English slave trade until 1698, and even after the opening of competition remained what one might liberally term the “gentlemen’s high road” of the enterprise. Though by 1731 it had retired from human trafficking of African men and women, the Royal African Company still very much engaged in ivory, gold dust, and a systematic commercial exploitation of resources on the West African coast.

Within Georgia, the fact both Savannah and Ebenezer had continued to take advantage of slave labor offered by Carolinians William Bull, Paul Jenys and others in 1733 and early 1734 certainly sent a mixed signal to the colonists. Oglethorpe may have sent away the “Negro sawyers” in the wake of the belated arrival of the English sawyers on the *James*, but no sooner were the Carolina slaves gone than others returned the following year, this time in the construction of Ebenezer and the Western mail post road. Thomas Causton remarked of the slave labor active in the spring of 1734: “I found that most of the Negro’s time had been Spent in making a Road to Abercorn, having, laid Seven Bridges.” But these enslaved men, loaned by Charlestown merchant and slave broker Paul Jenys, turned on one another following the death of their Jenys-appointed overseer. *Anne* passenger Francis Mugridge was appointed to direct the men thereafter, but he being remiss, the duty was shifted to others. In the end this confusion,

coupled with the lack of the Georgia settlers' experience with slaves, probably contributed to the murder that resulted when the dissension and violence within the work gang escalated.

The Overseer to Mr [Paul] Jeny's Negro's died here on the 13th of May.... Mr Mugridg had Orders from Mr Jenys to take care of his Negros, and he went to Eben-Ezer. But having other business to mind, soon returned. And in this Case, I Strenuously urged the Care of them to Mr [Robert] Bunyan and Mr Clark.... The Negros soon grew disatisfyed and one of them, Murdered one of his Fellow Negros, And Mr Jenys soon after sent for them away.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 169)

On loan for six months, they were recalled after three. Interestingly, while there was no in-depth record discussing the time of the "Negro Sawyers" in Savannah in the first half of 1733, there *is* a record documenting the particulars relating to the Ebenezer slaves in 1734. In their *Diary* Bolzius and Gronau documented the daily life of the Salzburgers in Georgia; interspersed amongst the other happenings were episodes related to these enslaved men. With relevant entries edited together this saga of the "Ebenezer Negroes" presents a picture of occasional harmony—but more often acrimony—with the new emigrants, and provides a picture of growing internal discontent among the work gang... one that ended ultimately in murder and suicide.

By the first of April, 1734, Bolzius and the bulk of the Salzburgers were still encamped in Savannah, while Gronau and eight others built a rudimentary shelter at the Ebenezer site. With the first house completed, and a transport vessel prepared, Bolzius instead found himself bumped from the ride as priority was given to this new slave-gang.

[April] The 2nd [1734]. As a house has been completed at our place [Ebenezer] for the women and children, all of our belongings were loaded on a boat today in order to be shipped there. But there were so many things that the boatman could not take another except the Negroes, who had been given us as helpers for six months by a benefactor. Thus I (Bolzius), and the medico [Zwiffler], and the Salzburgers have to remain here [in Savannah] for several more days.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 69)

Two days later the boat returned, and Bolzius observed on April 5th: "The boat which had taken our belongings and the Negroes returned last night so that now we can leave with the rest of our things." (p. 71) The boat offloaded its passengers in Abercorn, approximately 12 miles from Ebenezer, "until an overland route to our Ebenezer has been prepared through several swamps."

[April] The 17th.... Some benefactor has lent us a number of Negro slaves for a while. They are to cut boards for six houses, and they have made a good beginning at it. But since four of them have escaped already and it is feared that the others will do likewise, the Commissioner [leader of the Salzburgers Philip von Reck] and their overseer have agreed to send them here [to Abercorn] so that they can help the Salzburgers with the building of the road. And since they are supervised during the day and guarded by night, they will be prevented from running away and stealing, which they are apt to do because of the bad treatment they receive.

- p. 76

With the road essentially completed by the 19th, priority again shifted towards construction of the Ebenezer houses.

[April] The 19th.... The escaped Negroes have been caught and delivered here in Abercorn. After they received their regular punishment (they are tied to a tree half-naked and are badly beaten with long switches while having to suffer from hunger and thirst most of the day), they must continue to help our Salzburgers build their houses.

- p. 77

The 23rd of April. The Negroes who have to cut boards for our houses have shown several Salzburgers some honey and some bees in the forest. They have given them [the Salzburgers] a large quantity of the honey, which is said to taste as sweet and delicious as that which is raised in Germany.

- p. 79

By May 7 Bolzius traveled for the first time to Ebenezer, and subsequent entries continue from that location. "The 14th [of May]. Today the Commissioner [von Reck] departed from us.... Since Mr. Bolzius has decided to accompany him to Charlestown, I, Gronau, will continue with the diary." (p. 85) Gronau remained the author of the diary through mid-June.

The 18th of May [the week following the overseer's death].... Today the Negroes did not work well and claimed that we had ordered them not to work anymore. For this the carpenter took them to task, and one of them threatened him, the carpenter, with an axe. Hereupon Mr. Zwiffler [Andreas Zwiffler, the Salzburgers' doctor] was sent for immediately so he could bring the Negroes in with a musket. This was done, but they were brought to me. I did not know what to do with the poor people.... I called the carpenter and asked him what was to be done so that the people would not get too much or too little punishment.... he immediately told the people to go back to work, and he whipped the one that had threatened him.

[Gronau] - p. 87

Admitting insecurities regarding leaving the house without another present, he remarked on May 21: "The house cannot be locked and the Negroes are very bad, always happy when they can steal this or that in the way of meat or other things." (p. 89)

The 25th of May.... Some time ago the Negroes found a beehive which the Salzburgers placed close to their shelter so that they could better tend the bees. But so malicious are the Negroes that, late at night after the Salzburgers had gone to sleep, they struck some burning lightwood into the tree. Fortunately our dear God made someone get up and see the fire; and he immediately called another person who removed the lightwood.

[Gronau] - p. 91

[June] The 5th.... This evening the best four Negroes were taken away from us although our benefactors had promised the Commissioner and Mr. Bolzius in Charlestown to leave all of them with us as long as we needed them. These four could work as much as the other ten who are still here, and the latter have said that they will run away at the first opportunity because the four of them have been taken away.

[Gronau] - p. 95

[June] The 9th.... Last night we heard a terrible screaming when one Negro cut another one's leg seven times with a knife. These poor people lead a miserable life.... May God have mercy on them.

[Gronau] - p. 96

The 29th of June. Until now we have retained twelve Negroes who had cut boards and timbers for the public buildings. But today they were recalled. Mr. Causton sent word that he hated to do this and that he would do everything in his power to prevent an interruption... of our construction.

[Bolzius] - p. 102

The 5th of July. One of the two Negroes that had been left behind died today, and he was himself responsible for his death. Many of them have the foolish idea that they will return to their own land after death, something for which they have no hope during their lifetime. Therefore many of them kill themselves by hanging, stabbing, drowning, etc. For this reason their owners must treat them very carefully, especially during the first year.... Some of our people have helped to bury the Negro.

[Bolzius] - p. 104

[July] The 12th. One of the Negroes who cut the boards for us had been badly wounded and cut, by the Negro that died recently. Mr. Zwifler had been treating him, but today he was taken by a surgeon from Abercorn.

[Bolzius] - p. 106

The Abercorn surgeon in question was William Watkins; the slave was entrusted to his care because the Salzburger's doctor, Andreas Zwifler, had become lost in the woods days before in an unrelated episode we'll explore in a subsequent chapter. Nevertheless, the whole slave-gang episode was an embarrassing public-relations disaster for Charlestown merchants Jenys & Baker, who surely wanted slavery in Georgia to succeed. Arguably, in terms of Carolina merchants, only Isaac Chardon carried on more mercantile business with Georgia than Paul Jenys... and that includes Eveleigh.

After a visit to Savannah, Eveleigh noted to the Trustees in October, 1734: "The people there [in Georgia] seem to be dissatisfied that they have not liberty of getting Negroes. I could wish the Trustees would oblige them... to limit it to two a family." (*CRG XX*, p. 90) Percival recorded the receipt of these observations on January 7, 1735, noting simply: "That the people are in good health, but unneasie they are not allow'd the use of Negroes." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 71) Two weeks after the receipt of this letter, Eveleigh wrote: "I think worthy of the Consideration of the Trustees.... they admit of Negroes comeing into that Province So it be but A Limited Number." (*CRG XX*, p. 177) This was a recurring theme in Samuel Eveleigh's letters for more than two years, a plea that though phrased or structured subtly different, seemed to reappear again and again until late 1735. While protesting against the volume of slaves in South Carolina he nudged the Trustees (albeit in the most polite terms) to consider a limited slave doctrine. As he explained (yet again):

I am very much against too great A Number of Negroes, and am of Opinion we have too many in this Province [South Carolina] (as you may observe if you have read one of my letters to Mr Oglethorpe on that Head). But then on the other hand there may be too few. The Golden Mein ought to be observed.

- Samuel Eveleigh, January 20, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 177)

His remarks regarding rumors of a slave insurrection in August of 1734 contrast strangely against his offer by December to actually make a gift of some slaves to Georgia:

I take notice both from the English Prints & those from the Northward that the Negroes at the Jersays have attempted an Insurrection and we [South Carolina] have abundant more reason to fear on that Accot. when we have ten Negroes to their one.

- August 5, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 67)

I am now Sending some Effects to Bermuda, and would have ordered for Some Negroe Carpenters from thence in return [for Georgia], If So I thought the Trustees would Admit thereof.

- December 30, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 137)

Eveleigh's offer fell on deaf ears. In response, Benjamin Martyn even tried to convince Eveleigh of the superiority of German laborers, which they were sending in great numbers by 1735.

...if you consider it well, you will find it much to your advantage to have German Servants rather than Negro Slaves. The Germans are a sober, strong, laborious People.... A new arrived Negro is more ignorant than a new arrived white man, therefore for the first Year the ignorance of the One may be set against the Danger of Sickness of the Other.

- Benjamin Martyn, May 1, 1735 (CRG XXIX, p. 66)

This was the example of men who despite their mutual admiration and respectful terms for one another, were separated by more than just one ocean.

England, in 1733, presided over a world-wide empire that everywhere recognized slavery... everywhere but Georgia. Many of the freeholders, witnessing the borrowed slave labor in both Savannah and Ebenezer over the course of 1733 and '34 had every reason to believe that it was only a matter of time before the Trustees allowed slavery outright. Elisha Dobree innocently wrote to the Trustees in early 1735:

I have been Desired by the most Noted Freeholders here to Draw a Petition to Your Honl Board to be Signd by them. Tis with an Intent to Obtain Leave to have Negroes here Under Some Restrictions, but I dont know whether I might not Incurr your Displeasure in a Work of that Nature.

- Elisha Dobree, February 6, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 217-8)

“The Trustees are very well pleas'd that You did not draw up a Petition to them for Negroes,” Martyn replied to Dobree in the spring of 1735. “But for many Reasons they are determin'd never to tolerate Negroes in Georgia.”

In the first Place, it would be more expensive to procure and carry them into the Colony than White servants, who will yet be always more usefull than Slaves, Besides, as the Trustees were incorporated with a design to relieve the Necessities of our poor People and Protestants who are persecuted in Foreign Countries, they think it more proper to lay out their Money in sending over and subsisting poor white Men, than in buying of Negroes.

- Benjamin Martyn, May 12, 1735 (CRG XXIX, p. 72)

Martyn's clear language finally had a backbone; the Trustees had finally chosen a side of the fence the month before; on April 3rd they inaugurated legislation to outlaw slavery in Georgia. The Trustees were fully committed to the idea of a workforce of European indentured servants.

By the late 1730s, however, the act was being flaunted by various means. In instances we'll visit in the third volume of this narrative, in 1738 Patrick Mackay—the Scotsman rogue whom we met previously and had defrauded the Trustees—owned slaves in open defiance of the Act. He carefully circumvented the law by keeping all of his slaves on land he owned in South Carolina while he himself lived in town; in so doing he was splitting that hair mighty thin, but he frustrated the attempts of the Trustees to stop him. And upon the 1739 death of the Independent Company's resident chaplain (and resident drunkard) Edward Dyson, it was discovered that he had secretly owned a slave. Instead of setting him free, Oglethorpe and the civil magistracy

decided to sell off the slave in question at a hastily-arranged auction, to which Captain Thompson of the *Two Brothers* was the highest bidder.

And this brings about a clear point that must be made... while African slavery was prohibited in Georgia, it did not necessarily mean Georgia was intended as any haven for Free Blacks....

I have seen Negroe's Selling goods on the Strand in the presence both of Mr. Vanderplank and Mr Fallowfield and have been forced to drive 'em away myself, tho' they are the persons appointed as constables for that purpose.

- Thomas Causton, April 25, 1737 (*CRG XXI*, p. 402)

Causton was more upset with his subordinates than the purveyors of goods mentioned, but the point remains, even Free Blacks were not necessarily welcome on the domain of Georgia soil. In 1738, in a shrewd political move, St. Augustine began a refuge for escaped slaves. In truth, it was a policy established more in the interest of destabilizing English power in Carolina than any philanthropic concerns, but Captain Caleb Davis, a commercial trader and privateer who commonly operated between Savannah and St. Augustine, quickly learned he was out of luck as his slaves jumped ship... knowing evidently more than he did. As Percival received news from Savannah in March of 1739 he noted the misfortune of Davis in the execution of this new policy, a man whom he regarded in an aside "of suspected character."

That Captain Davis... was with his ship arrived [in Savannah] from Augustine, where he went to reclaim 19 negroes who had run away from him and refuged themselves there, but that the Spaniards had declared them free and laughed at him; and the Governor told him it was the King of Spain's orders.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 39

The St. Augustine experiment was the first of its kind in the New World, and no matter its political intentions, it marked the first Free Black community within America.

Within the English colonies, whatever Free Black population existed in 1730s Colonial America was fractional and unrecorded. The forty-year period between the end of the American Revolution and 1820 would see enormous strides taken by the Free Black communities all throughout the South, but in the colonial wilderness of the 1730s the population of Free Blacks is today reduced to a guess. In fact, the issue of whether or not to allow Free Persons of Color in Georgia appears to have come up only once in the Georgia Office in Westminster, in 1740, and then just as a curious debate.

Monday 16 [June 1740]. - I went to the Georgia office....

Lieut. Horton made some objections to the present constitution of the Province, with respect to not allowing the union of grants, marriage or succession.... That he also gladly know whether free negroes may not be admitted in Georgia though by the act slaves may not.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 148

Seven and-a-half years into the colony, the question seemed a curious oversight. Ten days later, the issue was debated among the Trustees. James Vernon was open to the idea of allowing Free Blacks, "alleging as to negroes, that our law concerning them does not forbid free negroes from settling among us, but only the using them as slaves." Percival did not disagree with the sentiment, but admitted "I said I was as yet against allowing free negroes... because they working

cheaper would thereby discourage and drive away white servants.” (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 152) On July 1, 1740 the Trustees revisited the issue.

We then discoursed of the admission of free negroes, and it seemed to us on reading the Negro Act that the negro slaves are forbid, yet free negroes are not; for though it is forbid to *use* negroes, yet it is said, contrary to the intent of the Act, and by the preamble at appears the Act was only made against the use of negro slaves.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 154

The issue confounded the Board, which could find nothing in their own 1735 legislation to address it. “I desired him [Horton] to get the Attorney General’s opinion thereon,” Percival concluded, “for if the use of free negroes were allowed in our Province, they might perhaps hire themselves to the inhabitants at lower wages than the white servants.” They had spent two meetings addressing the issue, only to return with the conclusion that they didn’t know.

The issue never reappears in the Percival *Diary*.

The James

Janry the 24th 1733....

Captain Coram attended the Muster taken on Board the James Captain Yoakley off Rotherhith, when ten Head of Passengers were muster’d Freight, and were in Number Eleven Persons.

- *Journal of the Trustees (CRG I, p. 97-8)*

In all, 1733 would see eleven ships chartered by the Trustees to bring Georgia settlers, accounting for 491 colonists sent on the Charity of the Trust:
(*All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022*)

<u>Vessel</u>	<u>Departed</u>	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Charity passengers</u>	<u>Weeks at sea</u>
<i>Anne</i>	November 17, 1732	Port Royal, January 21, 1733	114	8
<i>Volante</i>	December, 1732	Charlestown, by February 24, 1733	4	11
<i>James</i>	January 25, 1733	Savannah, May 14, 1733	11	16
<i>Peter and James</i>	April 4, 1733	Port Royal, July 15 or 16, 1733	17	15
<i>Georgia Pink</i>	June 15, 1733	Savannah, August 29, 1733	84	11
<i>Susannah</i>	May, 1733	Savannah, September 23, 1733	6	18
<i>Savannah</i>	September 12, 1733	Savannah, December 15, 1733	128	13
<i>London Merchant</i>	September 21, 1733	Savannah, January 12, 1734	5	16
<i>James [2]</i>	September 28, 1733	Savannah, January 14, 1734	48	15
<i>Hopewell</i>	December 28, 1733	Charlestown, by March 30, 1734	1	13
<i>Purrysburg</i>	January 8, 1734	Savannah, March 12, 1734	73	8

The arrivals of the *Volante* and the *Hopewell* were recorded in the Customs of the weekly *South Carolina Gazette*, so their "by --" dates are accurate to the seven day period before.

In addition to the eleven vessels above, three other ships came of their own accord, independent of the Trust, two of these without the foreknowledge of the Trustees:

<i>Vessel</i>	<i>Arrived</i>	<i>Arriving Passengers</i>
<i>Pearl</i>	Charlestown, June 12, 1733	approx. 30
<i>William and Sarah</i>	Savannah, July 10, 11 or 12, 1733	41 - 74
unnamed Irish transport vessel	Savannah, late December/early January, 1733/4	40

Bringing as many as 128 (*Savannah*) and as few as one (Mr. Thomas Trip, a carpenter arriving on the *Hopewell*), these ships brought a combined total of more than 600 persons to Georgia over the first year. Some of the vessels claimed prizes offered by the Trustees (*James* and the *Georgia Pink*) for navigating the Savannah River and offloading their passengers/cargo directly, while others (*Anne* and *Peter and James*) never came closer than Port Royal; the *Volante*, *Pearl* and *Hopewell* never came closer than Charlestown. Peter Tondee and his two sons, Peter and Charles (soon to be orphaned following the elder's death during the Summer Sickness), came over on the *James*' first trip, while the colony's second minister, Samuel Quincy arrived on the *Peter and James*. The *Susannah*, consisting primarily of secondary family members to passengers on the *Anne*, was at sea a nauseating 18 weeks, and some of its passengers would arrive only to find their other family members dead or dying. The *Georgia Pink* helped to create the ill-fated Tybee settlement, while the *Savannah* contributed populaces to the equally-ill-fated villages at Highgate and Abercorn. The *Purrysburg* brought over the long suffering and much-delayed Salzburgers, while the *James* claimed the distinction of returning to England Georgia's first harvested export: acknowledged by the Trustees on August 29, 1733 were 48 deerskins and "Two Barrels of Rice," among "other Curiosities."

Just as the majority of the colonists to come to Georgia were Charity colonists, the majority of the ships to bring those colonists to Georgia were vessels of the merchant and shipping company belonging to Peter and James Cleopas ("J.C.") Simmond. The Simmond brothers quickly established a long-term commercial investment in Savannah that soon extended to Georgia's first privately-owned store, the Montaigut Store, and a store later overseen Charles Purry, the son of Purrysburg founder Jean Pierre. The names of the ships that would come to Georgia over the next ten years reflected the Simmond brothers' interests, whether it be personal—the *Simmond*, the *Peter and James*, the *Two Brothers*—or professional, in this overseas venture to which they were fully invested—the *Georgia*, the *Savannah*, and the *Purrysburg*.

Similarly, the names of the captains of the Simmonds' fleet appear in the Georgia record with greater frequency than many of the colonists. Captain James Yoakley would pilot the *James* to Yamacraw Bluff four times over the next two years. Other captains of the Simmonds' fleet routinely appearing at Savannah's harbor were Henry Daubuz of the *Georgia Pink* and George Dunbar of the *Prince of Wales*; John Thomas graduated from the *Anne* to the *London Merchant* much as William Thompson piloted the *Pearl* before getting a bigger vessel with the *Two*

Brothers. These captains were also frequent and welcome guests to the Georgia Offices at Westminster, where the Trustees were always eager for any eyewitness account of their colony.

In addition to the 14 documented ships above, there is evidence to suggest a 15th as well. William Gough, his wife Martha and three children came on their own account on June 19, 1733 according to the *List of Early Settlers*, a date which does not correspond to any of the ship arrivals listed above. While William Gough and his son attended the same February 21, 1733 meeting of the Trustees' Common Council desiring leave to "settle in Georgia, paying their own Expences" (CRG II, p. 19) as Joseph Hetherington, who is documented on the *Pearl*, it is suggested by a Benjamin Martyn correspondence that the Goughs had a month-and-a-half head start on the *Pearl* (departing just after that Feb. 21 meeting). The *List of Early Settlers* has the Goughs arriving two and-a-half weeks earlier than the *Pearl* colonists (June 19 vs. July 7), so it seems that they came on another ship, but one whose name was not documented in the record. Any ship arriving at Savannah so shortly after the *James* would have attracted some comment in the record, so this is a ship that probably arrived at Charlestown; and the one and only ship from London to arrive in Charlestown in the one-month period between the arrivals of the *James* in mid-May and the *Pearl* in mid-June was the *Weldon Galley*, William Davis, Captain; listed as "entered in" in the May 26, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette*, three weeks removed from Percival's June 19 arrival date, just as the *Pearl*'s colonists' arrival date in Savannah followed their Charlestown arrival by three weeks, so it is possible the *Weldon* comprises a 15th ship.

In contrast to 1733, the next year would see far fewer departures bound for Georgia; fewer than 100 Charity colonists on four ships. Two would arrive on the *Friendship*, in August of 1734, while five more would hitch a ride on two ships comprising Purrysburg's second embarkation in late 1734—four on the *James* and one on the *Peter and James*—while the majority, comprising more than 80, would arrive on the second emigration of Salzburger on the *Prince of Wales* on December 28, 1734.

The six-week period between May 1 and June 10 would find Oglethorpe in Savannah for only three days, with most of that time spent in Charlestown. On May 1 he began the first of two back-to-back trips to Charlestown, bringing Tomochichi with him.

CHARLESTOWN, May 12 - On the first of this Instant, *James Oglethorpe, Esq;* left the Town of *Savannah* in *Georgia*, having put that Place in a Posture of Defence, supplied it with Provision, & taken Hostages of the Indians. In his way from *Port Royal*, he met the *James*, a Ship from *London*, with Ammunition, Stores, and Recruits for *Georgia*: He stay'd one Day at *Port Royal*, to give Orders concerning them, and set out from thence the Third, at 8 o'Clock in the Morning, and arrived here the Fourth, at two in the Afternoon: His Excellency the Governor and Council met him at the Water side, and conducted him to his Excellency's House, where the Speaker, and House of Assembly came to Congratulate him on his safe Arrival here. He hath brought with him *Tomochichee, Mico*, the chief Man of *Yamacraw* (whom they here commonly call King) and two of his Nephews, the eldest of them, is adopted Son, to the *Mico*, and called *Tooanouhee*; he is a sprightly Youth, of a very apt Genius, and hath made a good Progress in the English Language; having not only learnt to read the Letters, but Figures also.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, May 12, 1733

The above mentions the first arrival of the *James*, which came to the New World following a 15 and-a-half-week voyage, almost twice the time that had seen the *Anne* adrift on the Atlantic. This third ship to bring colonists to Georgia had departed England on the morning of January 25,

1733. As Percival wrote in his *Diary* on January 24, the *James* “goes to-morrow with Captain Yoakly, who sails for Georgia with ten persons on the charitable account, eight of whom are sawyers.” (vol. 1, p.310) Referring the passengers “miserable objects,” Percival described their destitute condition two weeks before in his January 10 *Diary* entry:

[We] admitted eight sawyers to go over, who signed their hands, and are to embark on board a ship of Mr. Simmons’ this day fortnight. These are miserable objects, one of them had for sickness been forced to sell his tools to pay his debts.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 306

With six of its seven Charity males identified as sawyers or carpenters—and eight of the total number of 19 aboard—the Trustees were now providing for a colony in its building stage, correcting their former oversight: the *Anne* had come with only three men listed as “carpenters,” (James Goddard [*Anne* #41], Noble Jones [#55], Thomas Millidge [#65]) and only two men “sawyers” (Francis Mugridge [#72] and James Wilson [#109]). The *Volante*, arriving several weeks later, appears to have had no one with building experience. Despite their protestations to the contrary, the Trustees had not heeded Governor Robert Johnson’s earliest advice “to send none but People used to Labour.”

An inventory of effects carried on the *Anne* included 49 Bibles, “One hundred Primers, Seventy two Spelling Books,” and one hundred and twelve Lewis’ Catechisms—1192 books, all told. (*CRG* III, p. 21) In contrast, an inventory of effects on the *James* included:

Two Casks of Small Nails, 9t. 6 Cwt.
One Cask of large Nails 9t. 2 1/2 Cwt.
One Cask of Small Nails 9t. 3 Cwt.
Three Casks of large Nails 9t. 5 Cwt.
....
One Cask of Bayonets
One Cask of large Spikes 9t. 2 Cwt.

- Trustees’ Account Book (*CRG* III, p. 22)

In short, the *Anne* had more than a thousand books, but not a single nail in its inventory. In their over-enthusiasm to establish a colony—or more likely, inexperience in establishing a colony—the Trustees had neglected to send carpenters or building materials.

Captained by James Yoakley, a man who was rewarded for making landfall in Savannah by having the bar of sand beneath the bluff named for him. As Samuel Montaigut wrote of Savannah in 1734: “Off its bar in this place there is only Yoakley bank,” (*CRG* XX, p. 131) a stretch of land only visible evidently at low tide. Six years before earliest constructions beneath the bluff, James Yoakley was the first man to be represented at Savannah’s water line. Yoakley would himself be granted a Savannah lot in 1734 and would make four voyages to Georgia by the end of 1735. The *James* carried with it an introductory letter to Oglethorpe by Benjamin Martyn, the Trust’s Secretary.

The Trustees thought an additional Strength would be very necessary to the Colony, and agreeable to you. They have therefore by this Ship sent Paul Cheeswright a Sawyer, and Rebecca his Wife, Robert Hows a Sawyer, Ann his Wife, and Mary his Daughter, Henry Hows a Sawyer, Edward

Johnson, a Carpenter and Sawyer, Thomas Tebbut a Sawyer, and Ann his Wife, Jacob Watts a Turner and Sawyer, and William Savery a Blacksmith. Ten heads of Freight at £4 each
- Benjamin Martyn, January 24, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 5)

A reconstruction of the *James muster*

arrived in Savannah May 14, 1733

James Yoakley, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers* and CRG XXIX]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant
(*carpenter*) - described as a sawyer/carpenter in the *LES*

Charity colonists:

- | | | | |
|------------------------|--|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Paul Cheeswright | (<i>carpenter</i>) | 7. Edward Johnson | (<i>carpenter</i>) |
| 2. Rebecca Cheeswright | (<i>w</i>) | 8. William Savory | |
| 3. Robert Hows | (<i>carpenter</i>) | 9. Thomas Tibbit | (<i>carpenter</i>) |
| 4. Anne Hows | (<i>w</i>) | 10. Ann Tibbit | (<i>w</i>) |
| 5. Mary | (<i>d</i>) | 11. Jacob Watts | (<i>carpenter</i>) |
| 6. Henry Hows | (<i>bro. to Rob.</i>) (<i>carpenter</i>) | | |

Additional James passengers arriving on their own account:

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 12. Thomas Cornwall | (<i>carpenter</i>) | 16. Botham Squires | |
| 13. Robert Gilbert | (<i>father of Anne Hows</i>) | 17. Peter Tondee | (<i>carpenter</i>) |
| 14. Margaret Gilbert | (<i>w</i>) | 18. Charles | (<i>s</i>) |
| 15. Elizabeth | (<i>d</i>) | 19. Peter | (<i>s</i>) |

With the forty lots in Derby ward dedicated to the ‘first forty’ of the *Anne*, the *James* passengers would be placed in a new ward to the west known as Decker. The families of Paul Cheeswright, Robert and Henry Hows, Edward Johnson, Will Savory (#1-8 above) and Robert Gilbert (#13-15) were all granted lots in Decker Ward, while Thomas Tibbit (#9) was granted a lot in Derby and Jacob Watts (#11), in the words of Percival, “settled first at Fort Arguile.” Percival wrote in his *Diary*: “There also goes Mr. Botham Squire [#16], who has been master of a ship. He intends to settle there and be one of the hundred that has right of township. He pays his own passage, but is to be maintained as the rest of the hundred, in provision for the year.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 310) But according to the *List of Early Settlers*, Botham Squires left almost immediately: “Quitted 14 Aug. 1733.”

As carpenters who had come on their own account, Thomas Cornwall (#12) and the elder Peter Tondee (#17) both died in July, and with that Tondee’s two young sons achieved the dubious distinction of becoming the Georgia colony’s first orphans. Eventually placed under the care of Paul Amatis, by 1735 Edward Jenkins and John Dearn shared their concerns with Oglethorpe. “By his ill Conduct of taking a scandilous wench to himself instead of a wife I very much fear

how they will be taken Care of.” (CRG XX, p. 302) Percival, in the *List of Early Settlers*, later records both as servants to Henry Parker. The Decker Ward lot granted to the estate of Peter Tondee at the corner of Whitaker and Broughton Streets would become the site of the celebrated Tondee’s Tavern in the next generation.

The Cheeswrights (#1-2) seem to have been the *James*’ bad eggs, trouble from the start.

231. Cheeswright, Rebecka, w. - Embark’d 24 Jan. 1732-3. Sentenc’d 60 lashes for barbarously cutting an infant down the back with a knyfe 28 July 1735 and afterwards ran away to England December 1736. Ran away Dec. 1736.

Her husband, Paul Cheeswright (#1), died in 1736, and in February of 1740 she appeared before the Trustees in London, seeking to cash out the house she had left three years behind. “The widow Cheesright presented a petition for some allowance from the Trustees,” Percival wrote in his *Diary* (vol. 3, p. 115). Not yet aware of her circumstances or misdeeds the Trustees took pity on her, some actually offering her money from their own pockets.

She had been for three years past in England, having left Georgia on her husband’s death. She complained of great hardships from Mr. Causton, who took away from her a servant that cost six guineas, and never made her reparation. We told her we would write by the first opportunity to enquire into her house and lot, and to order the selling or setting it for her advantage, and that the money should be returned her. In the meantime, she being under great necessity, Mr. Vernon and I gave her a guinea each.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 115

“We did not then know that she was sentenced 60 lashes for cutting a child,” he wrote on the margin by this entry.

Paul Cheeswright was granted house lot 42 in Decker Ward, facing what is today Bay Street, a property that was by 1735 (in the words of Edward Jenkins and John Dearn) a “very bad Debauched house.” (CRG XX, p. 303) He was a man who clearly distributed alcohol out of his home; and that may not have been the most illicit of activities on the lot. In the spring of 1735, as the Court considered “Tipling Houses without Lycence they presented Cheeswright, on a Suspition of Carrying on Such practices.” Thomas Causton, representing the face of civil authority by 1735, took what action he could, though hindered by a constable who by 1735 openly opposed him at every turn.

...about 12 of the Clock at night, and coming home, I heard a noise at Cheeswrights. I went to [John] Coats who was then on Duty [as constable] to tell him to Enquire the meaning of it; He brot me word, That five or Six men were drinking and were going. But I found that he [Coates] had told Cheeswright that I had been Listening under the Window and had sent him. So that the next day Mrs Cheeswright came to my house to insult me.

- Thomas Causton, March 24, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 284)

And as to the issue of the “servant girl” whom Rebecca Cheeswright had complained about losing? The same week of Causton’s correspondence saw an even more alarmed missive from

Edward Jenkins to Oglethorpe, regarding the affair of Mary Simeon, a servant girl that “you Gave to Mr. Egcome [Arthur Edgcomb].”

As soon as you went from hence he sold her to James Moore [Muir]. Moore sold her to [James] Wilson, Wilson sold her to Chesright, which is a very bad Debauched house, so that amongst them all I fear ye Girl is undoon [undone]. Its thought by ye Midwife [the colony’s public midwife Elizabeth Stanley] she is with child.

- Edward Jenkins, undated late March, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 302-3)

According to the *List of Early Settlers*, originally a servant to Magdalene Papot, Mary Simeon arrived on the vessel *Savannah* in December of 1733. As to the other actors in this drama, Edgcomb also arrived on the *Savannah*, while James Muir and James Wilson were of the ‘first forty’ on the *Anne*. As Causton noted:

Mary Simeon, who had come with Mrs Papott and was bound by Yor Honours Orders to Arthur Ogle Edgcomb, has been transferr’d without Leave, for money to James Muir....

Muir in a Short time dislik’t the Girl and Sold her again to Willson.... Wilson found means to hire her to Cheeswright....

I had reced frequent Accounts of ill Practices, and of the Girls misusage but not willing to Credit every Storey had recomended it to the Guard without any Success.

One Night going myself into an Open Hut of Cheeswrights in Search of a Fellow who had been ill behaved and could not be taken; I found the Fellow, this Girl and three other men on Severall beds in one Room.

I examined Cheeswright the next day about this matter taking Mr [Thomas] Christie and [John] Coats with me to Cheeswright’s house, when twas with much Difficulty, that I got Coats to take the Girl and Convey her to the Trustees of the Orphans. However, the Girl is Removed and is at Service with Mr [John] Fallowfield who is now a Married man.

- Thomas Causton, March 24, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 285)

Remarking that Fallowfield was “Marryed to a Carefull woman,” Jenkins concluded, “If any in ye Town can Breck her from her ill habbitt they will.” (p. 303)

The Hows/Gilbert clan (#3-6 & 13-15) appears to have been the first extended family to come to the colony. Robert Hows (#3) was accompanied not only by his wife and daughter but by his brother Henry (#6) and Anne’s parents and sister (#13-15). Robert Gilbert, a tailor by trade, “came [to Georgia] in a very poor State,” William Stephens noted. But “howsoever hard Thoughts some Folks may have conceived of Georgia, it is plain he has found a Place where he could live and make Money.” (CRG IV, p. 645) Appointed third magistrate by the Trustees in 1738, Gilbert was the only passenger from the *James* to hold an office in Savannah’s magistracy, and while flattered by the Trustees’ honor in bestowing the position upon him, he sought permission to step down immediately, complaining to anyone who would listen over the next year that he had no desire for the position was not qualified for it. No sooner had the commission arrived than Gilbert, terrified at the prospect, appealed to William Stephens for release, who passed along his discontent to the Trustees.

Mr. Gilbert, upon hearing of Your Honours promoting him to the Magistracy... declared that he thought himself by no means capable of discharging the Duty of such an Officer; for as much as

he could neither read, nor write his own Name; and was not willing therefore to bring himself into contempt among his Neighbors, with whom he now livd in peace and quiet.

- William Stephens, September 27, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 263)

“And indeed,” Stephens concluded. “I take him to be an inoffensive man, without any ill designs.”

As Percival later noted of him in the *List of Early Settlers*, he was made “3d. Bailif of Savannah 30 May 1738 but at his own request removed 30 May 1739.” Officially sworn in in October of 1738, he actually spent most of his tenure as 2nd magistrate, but spent the entire term trying not to be any magistrate at all.

Even after he had been removed the Trustees were *still* receiving his letters asking to step down, as Percival noted in his August 17, 1739 *Diary* entry: “Several letters immediately arrived from Georgia were read: one from Mr. Stephens to me dated 19 May, another from him to the Trustees, another from Gilbert the late bailiff, to be discharged from that office.” (vol. 3, p. 80)

Robert and Henry Hows proved to be capable sawyers, as Robert boasted two years later: “I and my Brother did work 10 Weeks for the first People when I was in my best Health and without receiving any Satisfaction.” But as in the case of fellow *James* passengers Cornwall and Tondee, Henry Hows did not live to see 1734; Percival records his death on September 16. Joined by younger brother George Hows, who would arrive on the *Prince of Wales* at the end of 1734 and the birth of second daughter Anne (not to mention the support of the in-laws), by 1735 Robert Hows alone shouldered the burden of a considerable brood.

Claiming “I having a large Family and none to help me,” Robert Hows wrote to the Trustees in 1735 asking for financial assistance. He noted that he had taken on many duties in the previous two years, including ministerial, while minister Samuel Quincy spent the spring and summer of 1734 in New England.

I have tended as Parish Church Clerk and performed all the parts of the said Office from April 1734, and for Six months we had no Minister, which in his Absence I have read Prayers on a Sabbath Day, visited the Sick, buryed the Dead and tended on several Persons which lay under Sentence of Death, which has took me up some time.

- Robert Hows, May 30, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 357)

Further remarking of his religious commitment—he commonly held prayer meetings and classes at his house—he pledged to Trustee Thomas Coram: “Sir i am in good Hopes of Having a Sirciety Settled a Mung us of propergating the Crestan Nolidg [christian knowledge].” (May 16, 1735, *CRG XXI*, p. 165)

While pleased with the industriousness and zeal of Hows, the Trustees were less impressed with Quincy; the latter’s abandonment of his post to Hows was even cited by the Trustees in their dismissal of Quincy (after he quit), deciding “that his abandoning of the Colony for Six months together, and leaving a Wheelright to read Publick prayers, comfort the Sick and bury the dead, was a behaviour the Trustees could not excuse.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 208)

On March 24, 1737 a fire destroyed Robert Hows' Decker Ward property. "About nine in the morning a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Robert Hows, which in less than an hour consumed it," John Wesley wrote in his *Journal* (vol. 1, p. 340). No further harm was done in that "the wind carried the flame from the neighboring houses, so that it spread no farther," but as Wesley noted, "the next day a collection was made for him in the town."

"His House was burnt to the ground, & all that was in it (except Two Saws) consumed," Wesley continued his narrative in a letter to the Trustees. Noting that "Sickness in his Family has reduced him to streightness of Circumstances," Wesley appealed to the Trustees for their "Favour and Assistance... by Way of Salary, or otherwise." (March 31, 1737, *CRG XXI*, p. 392)

In his June 15 reply, Benjamin Martyn promised that "The Trustees will take into Consideration Your Application to them in favour of Robert Hows and have a Regard to it." (*CRG XXIX*, p. 199) They responded by moving around funds to pay for the rebuilding of his house in their July 6, 1737 Common Council meeting.

Resolved

That Mr Robert Howe's House be rebuilt as it was before it was burnt down out of the Fund for Religious Uses.

- *Minutes of the Common Council* (*CRG II*, p. 203)

But Hows never rebuilt his house; he abandoned any former aspirations he might have had as carpenter and instead became a disciple of Wesley, and then—once Wesley left—Whitefield. As William Stephens noted two years after the fire:

Wednesday [August 22, 1739]...

One Robert How, a Freeholder here, the same who had his House burnt, and was so kindly holpen by the Trustees to rebuild it again, though he never did, being a Favourite of Mr. Wesley's, had considerable charitable Collections made for him; by both which Means, his Gains abundantly overpaid his Loss.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 393-4)

As Stephens further noted: "From that Time he laid aside all Thoughts of Improvement of Land, but seemed rather desirous of appearing an Adept in the Improvement of Grace," and was "looked on by many weak Folks, as a person of extraordinary Piety." His religious devotion led to one of the more bizarre episodes of his time in Georgia—the abandonment of his daughters to the devout Moravian community following the death of his wife.

"An heavy Complaint [was] exhibited against the Moravian Brethren, by Mr. Gilbert (one of the Magistrates)," Stephens noted on August 22, 1739. (*CRG IV*, p. 393) The Moravians had begun arriving in the Georgia colony in 1735, and were held as high in the Trustees' regard as one of the most industrious of Georgia's early foreign pioneers. "Forasmuch as the honorable Trustees had several Times advised, that these People should be dealt tenderly with," Stephens was careful to bring in other witnesses when the affair came to light.

"This How married a Daughter of Mr. Gilbert, that died, leaving two Children (Girls) behind her," Stephens wrote. (*CRG IV*, p. 394) Now, when, exactly, Anne Hows died is unclear—the *LES* records her death on October 3, 1733, the same day as second daughter Anne's birth, but

neighbor William Gough noted in a November 13, 1736 correspondence that “Oct. 28. Mrs Hows of my Tything died.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 254) John Wesley, too, makes reference in his Diary to burying “Mrs. How,” but one month before, on September 22 (*John Wesley Journal*, vol. 1, p. 278). Given three different possible dates, one of the latter two might be given more credence if only for the fact that they are sandwiched between Hows’ claim of a “large Family” in 1735 and Wesley’s early 1737 observation of “Sickness in his Family” reducing him.

Stephens noted that although “their Grandmother shewed a kind Affection for” the two girls left now without their mother...

their Father purposing to go for England... he disposed of his two Children (most unnaturally, as I conceive) and against the Will of their Grand Parents, to the family of Moravian Brethren, under a Shew of their being brought up in a stricter Course of Religion, than the established Church afforded.

- *CRG IV*, p. 394

“Though what Kind of Religion these Moravians profess, nobody here knows, except themselves,” Stephens observed dryly. To compensate the Moravians for their trouble Hows essentially contracted the girls to indentured servitude.

And to make Payment for the breeding up these two Children, of the Age of about seven or eight Years, their Father contracts for their Servitude in all Kinds of Work, implicitly, till their attaining the Age of Twenty-four, and so leaves them.

“It pleased God to take away one of them a while since, by Sickness.” Indeed, in a July 10, 1737 journal entry, Thomas Causton noted: “a young Girl of Robert Howe, died.” The daughter in question seems to have been the older one, Mary, whom Percival records as “dead 1738.” As Stephens observed in 1739, “no great Notice was taken of” the girl’s death at the time; “every Body supposing that due Care was taken of her in her Illness; tho’ now, from what has happened to the other, many suspect otherwise.” (*CRG IV*, p. 394) The treatment of both girls came into question in the summer of 1739 as five year-old Anne fell ill and a difference of customs exposed a startling clash of cultures in early Georgia.

For upon the Grandmother’s hearing accidentally of this Child’s being not well, she went to see her; but was denied that Satisfaction, which made her more importunate; and taking one of her Neighbours with her, by some Means or other they got Admittance; when they found the poor Child in a most miserable Condition, with cruel Usage, and uncommon Severity; which occasioned this Complaint [by Gilbert], and present Enquiry into the Matter. The Child was produced, and upon taking off her Cloaths, she appeared to be scourged in a most terrible Manner, from her Neck down to her Heels, with Stripes laid on her by a masculine Hand, most piteous to look at, and her Flesh torn, after the Manner of what a Criminal uses to have, at the Hands of a common Executioner.

- p. 394-5

The reason for the young girl’s whipping was that she had “fouled her Bed,” a punishment that in the eyes of some of the English colonists was not just excessive, but criminal. “The Child appeared very weak, with her Arms much emaciated,” Stephens remarked further. “Three of the Moravians owned it to be of the Brotherhood’s doing... that they held a Consultation among themselves (which is their ordinary Way in most Cases) and that this was the Result of it.”

“I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour,” Hows’ mentor, John Wesley, remarked in 1736. (*Journal*, vol. 1, p.142) “If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth.” Their discipline had fascinated Wesley almost from his first experience with the group, “six-and-twenty of whom we have on board,” he noted during the voyage to Georgia. (p. 110) In a January 25, 1736 entry on board the *Simmond*, he recorded one prayer and hymnal session that continued despite a storm which nearly destroyed the vessel.

In the midst of a psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sang on. I asked one of them afterwards, ‘Was you not afraid?’ He answered, ‘I thank God, no.’ I asked, ‘But were not your women and children afraid?’ He replied mildly, ‘No; our women and children are not afraid to die.’

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 142-3

This initial awe of the Moravians had cooled a bit by a July 31, 1737 entry, by which time Wesley confessed of “having been long in doubt concerning the principles of the Moravian Brethren.” (p. 372) And though Wesley remained a soul ultimately drawn to the Moravian discipline, the Georgia Court decided it was not impressed, ordering the three men involved to appear again before the bench for “inflicting such Cruelty” on Anne Hows. As Stephens wrote, “In the mean while, the Child was delivered to the Grandmother, to take Care of it.” (*CRG IV*, p. 395) Margaret Gilbert and her granddaughter were reunited.

Robert Hows, in the meantime, was in London, settling accounts and following George Whitefield (Percival *Diary*, “Friday 8 [June, 1739]– The Reverend Mr. Whitfeild, who has for some days been preaching in this neighbourhood, sent my wife word... that he could not dine with us as he was desired.” [vol. 3, p. 67]), Percival had to settle instead for a visit by the “methodist” pupil/groupie Hows on June 7:

Thursday 7 [June, 1739]. Robert Hows, late clerk of Savannah church, came this morning... he goes with Mr. Whitfeild to Pensilvania and Virginia, and from thence to Georgia (though not to stay there, having surrendered his lot), he might not be troubled at his arrival on the score of any debt he may be found to owe the Trustees’ store, with which he cleared accounts a year ago [and] knows of nothing he owes.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 65

While observing from this interview with Hows that the Georgia inhabitants were generally “industrious,” but rum prevalent, Thomas Christie “an easy sort of man” and John Fallowfield “honest,” Percival noted (perhaps by now with exhaustion) one final observation:

“That his father-in-law Gilbert would very gladly be discharged of office of bailiff, which he believed would kill him if continued in it.” (p. 66)

Treaty of the Eight Nations

Strangely, the *James* almost didn't make it to Savannah at all. In the six-day interim between its departure from Port Royal and its entry into Savannah the *James*, the first ship to successfully navigate the Savannah River, was threatened by mutiny and almost taken over by a former pirate.

PORT ROYAL, May 21. - The *James*, -- Yoakley Master, 110 Tons Burthen, and six Guns, who arrived there from *London*, with Passengers and Stores for *Georgia*, sailed from thence on Tuesday the 8th of this Instant. Capt Yoakley upon the 14th arrived at *Savannah*, the Town lately built by the new Colony, on the River of that Name. In her Passage thither, the Foremast-Men threatened to run away with the Ship, and mutined against the Captain, Mate, and Passengers, who gave Notice to *Port Royal*, on which Lieutenant *Watts*, with the Garrison Boat, went immediately on board, and reduced the Mutineers to Reason, putting the Ringleader of them, who had formerly been a Pirate, and had taken the Benefit of the Act of Grace, into Irons. The Ship rode in 2 Fathom and a half Water, at Low-Water Mark, close to the Town, and unloaded there. Captain Yoakley received the Prize, which the Trustees ordered to be given to the first Ship that should unload at the said Town. The Bar, and the Channel up the River is good, and there is Water enough for much larger Shipping.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733

The same day that the *James* arrived in Savannah Oglethorpe departed from Charlestown. He spent the night of May 15 at Colonel Bull's plantation, on the 17th he was in Beaufort, dining with Lieutenant Watts, who no doubt would have taken the opportunity to relate the incident of intrigue aboard the *James*. Returning to Savannah on the morning of the 18th "at ten in the Morning," Oglethorpe discovered that "Mr. Whiggan, the Interpreter, with the Chief Men of all the Lower Creek Nation, were come down to treat of an Alliance with the new Colony." (*South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733) Peter Gordon described the arrival of the Native American delegation, as well as the cannon fire that gave them a start.

A house was ordered to be fitted up to receive them in, and the next morning they arrived in a petiagore, having travell'd five hundred miles thro the woods to enter in to a Treaty of Friendship with Mr. Oglethorp... And Mr. Oglethorp being willing to show them ovr strength, the great guns were fired as soon as they landed, which they seem'd much surprised at, many of them having never heard a cannon before, and all ovr people... lined the way on each side they were to pass thro from the Bluff to the house where Mr. Oglethorp was.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 48

As Oglethorpe boasted in his June 9 correspondence: "We have concluded a peace with the lower Creeks who were the most Dangerous Enemy's to South Carolina and formerly friend to the French and Spaniards." (*CRG XX*, p. 23) From the *South Carolina Gazette*'s account of the meeting:

The Lower Creeks are a Nation of Indians, who formerly consisted of ten, but now are reduced to eight Tribes or Towns, who have each their different Government, but are allied together, and speak the same Language. They claim from the Savannah River, as far as St. Augustine, and up to the Flint River, which falls into the Bay of Mexico: All the Indians inhabiting this Tract, speak their Language. Tomo-chi-chi, Mico, and the Indians of Yamacraw, are of their Nation and Language. Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians in one of the new Houses that Afternoon.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733

More than 50 in number, the delegation represented all 8 Lower Creek Tribes: Coweeta, Cussetas, Oweecheys, Cheehaws, Echetas, Oconas, Eufuale and the Pallachucolas... the last of which the tribe to which Tomochichi had formerly belonged. This marked the first meeting between Oglethorpe and a constituency representing the entire Creek Nation. What would emerge from this May, 1733 conference was nothing less than the official recognition of English settlement in Georgia, as the Lower Creek Nation, with endorsement from Tomochichi, ceded their lands to the English. At this meeting Tomochichi inexorably tied his fate to that of Oglethorpe's, proclaiming before the other Creeks the intention to live and die with the British. Before the delegation, he spoke to Oglethorpe:

["]The chief Men of all our Nation are here to thank you for us; and before them, I declare your Goodness; and that here I design to die; for we all love your People so well, that with them we will live and die. We don't know Good from Evil, but desire to be instructed and guided by you, that we may do well with, and be numbered amongst the Children of the Trustees.["]

- Tomochichi's remarks as printed in the *South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733

One by one, representatives of the tribes spoke. Oueekachumpa, from the tribe of the Oconas, spoke first:

The Indians being all seated, Oueekachumpa, a very tall old man, stood out, and with a graceful Action, and a good Voice, made a long Speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and Mr. John Musgrove, and was to the following Purpose. He first claim'd all the Land to the southward of the River Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. Next, he said, that tho' they were poor and ignorant, HE, who had given the English Breath, had given them Breath also. That HE, who had made both, had given more Wisdom to the White Men. That they were firmly persuaded, that the GREAT POWER, which dwelt in Heaven and all around (and then he spread out his Hands, and lengthened the Sound of his Words) and which hath given Breath to all Men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their Wives and Children. That therefore they gave them up freely, their Right to all the Land which they did not use themselves.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733

Oueekachumpa then thanked Oglethorpe "for his Kindness to *Tomo-chi-chi*, Mico, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related, and said, that tho' *Tomo-chi-chi* was banished from his Nation, that he was a good Man, & had been a great Warrior; and it was for his Wisdom & Courage, that the banished Men chose him King." Yahu-Lakee, king of the Coweetas, and a man of significant age, spoke as well, concluding his speech with a reconciliation with the banished Tomochichi.

Yahu-Lakee, Mico of *Coweeta*, stood up and said, ["]We are come 25 Days Journey to see you. I have been often desired to go down to *Charlestown*, but would not go down, because I thought I might die in the Way; but when I heard you were come, and that you were good Men, I knew you were sent by *Him* who lives in Heaven, to teach us *Indians* Wisdom; I therefore came down, that I might hear good things, for I knew, that if I died in the way, I should die in doing good.... I rejoyce that I have lived to see this Day, & to see our Friends, that have long been gone from among us. Our Nation was once strong, & had 10 Towns, but now we are weak, and have but 8 Towns....["]

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733

He remarked poetically to Oglethorpe: "You have comforted the banished, and have gathered them that were scattered like little Birds before the Eagle." Importantly, Yahu-Lakee now

issued an invitation to Tomochichi and other exiled warriors to consolidate, and call out like-minded warriors from the other eight towns and by so doing, reconstitute a ninth.

["]We desire therefore to be reconciled to our Brethren, who are here amongst you, and we give leave to *Tomochichi, Stimoiche, & Illispelle* [Estimolichi & Hillispilli], to call the Kindred that love them, out of each of the *Creek* Towns, that they may come together and make one Town.["]

The articles of a Treaty were agreed to, after which time Tomochichi invited them to Yamacraw for the evening, "where they passed the Night in feasting and dancing." The Articles of Friendship and Commerce treaty was signed on the 21st, officially giving sanction to the English settlement. Reserved for Indian use was a swath of land between Savannah and Pipemakers Creek, and hunting grounds on Ossabaw, St. Catherine's and Sapelo islands. The remainder was granted to the English.

Noble Jones, who would later act under the Trustees' instructions to serve "as Attorney and Agent to Tomochachi & his People," (*CRG XX*, p. 428) described by 1735 a red cross, which denoted the boundary of the Savannah town and the those grounds belonging to the native peoples. In an attempt to stop colonists from cutting down trees belonging to Tomochichi and his people, Jones issued orders clearly delineating the English property from the Indians. As he described, the Indian "Lands are bounded by a blaz'd line (Distinguish'd by a Red Cross) on ye Easternmost Side thereof Abutting to the Common of the Town of Savannah." (p. 430)

The Treaty signed on May 21, 1733, "a laced Coat, a laced Hat and a Shirt, was given to each of the Indian Chiefs, and to each of the Warriors a Gun... & to all their Attendants coarse Cloth for cloathing." (*South Carolina Gazette*) Five months later, Percival was intrigued by the colorful treaty that had just arrived at the Georgia Offices.

Wednesday, 24 [October, 1733].-I went to the Georgia Board. We were only Mr. Vernon and Mr. Smith. They showed me the treaty of peace and alliance made with the Indians. Our part is finely wrote upon vellum and ornamented with festoons, birds, etc. in water colours to take the eye.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 402

No sooner was the treaty concluded than Oglethorpe headed back for Charlestown the same day. Arriving on May 23rd he hosted an elegant ball for the Governor and Assembly the following week (Thursday, May 31), all the while courting their favor and their pocketbooks. Governor Johnson wrote afterwards to the Trustees that Oglethorpe's visit had procured a grant from the Assembly of £ 2000 to assist in Georgia's second year. In addition to the South Carolina Assembly's generous contribution several other private donations had been secured as well, so that by the end of the year, Oglethorpe claimed that the visit had produced £ 8000 toward supplementing Georgia..

CHARLESTOWN, June 16 - Saturday last, *James Oglethorpe, Esq;* made a very handsome Speech to the Hon. the Commons House of Assembly (which will be printed, when it comes to Hand) returning them Thanks for the Encouragement they gave to the settling of *Georgia*... Sunday Evening last Mr. *Oglethorpe* set out for *Georgia*.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 16, 1733

Oglethorpe's "handsome Speech" thanking the South Carolina Assembly for their efforts was printed in the July 14, 1733 issue of the *Gazette*:

I Should think myself very much wanting in Justice and Gratitude, if I should neglect thanking your Excellency, you Gentlemen of the Council, and you Gentlemen of the Assembly, for the Assistance you have given to the Colony of *Georgia*....

I am, therefore, *Gentlemen*, to Thank you for the handsome Assistance given by private People, as well as by the Publick. I am to thank you, not only in the Name of the Trustees, and the little Colony now in *Georgia*, but in behalf of all the distressed People of *Britain*, and persecuted Protestants of *Europe*, to whom a Place of Refuge will be secured by the Success of this first Attempt.

- Oglethorpe's speech printed in the *South Carolina Gazette*, July 14, 1733

Explaining that the lands "to the Southward" in South Carolina "already sell for above double what they did when the new Colony first arrived," Oglethorpe contended that the existence of the Georgia colony provided not only a military buffer but an economic security to all of the Carolina province.

You, *Gentlemen*, know there was a Time, when every Day brought fresh Advices of Murders, Ravages and Burnings; when no Profession or Calling was exempted from Arms, when every Inhabitant of the Province was obliged to... undergo all the Fatigues of War, for the necessary Defence of the Country....

It would be needless for me to tell you, who are much better Judges how the increasing Settlements of the new Colony upon the Southern Frontiers, will prevent the like Danger for the future. Nor need I tell you, how much every Plantation will increase in value, by the Safety of the Province's being increased....

"Nor need I mention the great lessening of the Burthen of the People, by the increasing of the Income of the Tax," Oglethorpe concluded. The donations of the Assembly "shews you to be kind Benefactors to your new come Country-Men."

Oglethorpe returned to Savannah on June 12, after an absence of three weeks, only to find that the very dangers he saw now receding from South Carolina still plagued Georgia. Invariably, in Oglethorpe's absence the Savannah settlement grew insecure; and perhaps never was this anxiety more on display than in May and June of 1733. Savannah, already in a posture of defense, found itself reeling from threats not only from without but from within during the late spring. As Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees:

I found and siezed an Irish Roman Chatholick who was the man mentioned by Herbin. Our Indians Stopt and the Scout boat took two others of the same nation and Religion who were sent by him with Intelligence from our Town to St. Augustine.

- James Oglethorpe, May 14, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 21)

Four months before, on January 24, Benjamin Martyn had written to Oglethorpe, warning of intelligence received of an Englishman working for the Spanish as a spy. Described as "an admirable pilot and desperately brave," Bacon had set out to scope the coast of Georgia.

Mr. Harbin has attended the Trustees and inform'd them, that one Thomas Bacon, a square well set man, about forty Years of Age, Thick lips, pale face and dark brown hair, sailed from hence some months ago for Carolina, with a Design to inform the Spaniards of the Intention of the Trustees and the State of the Colony.

- Benjamin Martyn, January 24, 1733 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 5)

Bacon “was particularly well acquainted with the coast of Georgia,” Percival noted in his *Diary*. Harbin’s informant mentioned that this Bacon had recently “changed his religion and was well acquainted with the Spanish Governor of Fort Augustine.” According to reports, he “hoped to be made a considerable man by the King of Spain,” if successful, but as Percival noted, if not, “he could then turn a good Englishman again.” (vol. 1, p. 301)

Martyn’s warning was acted upon at once. Oglethorpe took the opportunity to dress up the town and engage in a bit of a ruse to make a show of force. As he noted:

I retained [Bacon] their principal till the others were taken. In the meantime [I] fortified our town then shewed them our workes, our Cannon, and our Men under arms who being Strengthened by several Carolina people were pretty numerous. I then sent them to Charles Town and told them they might give an Account to the Governour of Augustine of what they then Saw

- James Oglethorpe, May 14, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 21-2)

The Spanish threat to Georgia was a constant one. As Percival observed in his *Diary* as early as November 18, 1733: “My newspaper alarmed me with a paragraph that the Spaniards were designing to dislodge our new settlements in Georgia.” (vol. 1, p. 439) For much of the next half decade one Spanish threat would give way to another, until war finally broke out in 1739.

More disconcerting to the Savannah settlement in 1733 were the internal threats, and this is where Samuel Grey’s bizarre mutiny comes into play. As Oglethorpe wrote the following year: “When I was obliged to go to Charles Town to meet the Assembly who generously gave £ 8000 Currency toward maintaining our People a second year, some of the People begun to be intemperate and then disobedient so that at my Return I hardly knew them.” (*CRG XX*, p.41)

Georgia, June 18. Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived here, and was received with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy. During his Absence, there have been some small Divisions and Differences here, to prevent any future Inconveniences, Mr. *Samuel Grey*, one of the new Comers, has had License to quit the Colony, and to go into Carolina.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 30, 1733

Samuel Grey was a manufacturer of silk thread who had come over on the *Volante*; with two apprentices, they comprised three of the four Georgia-bound passengers aboard. The *List of Early Settlers* sums up Grey as

546. Grey, Saml. - Age 30; silk throwster;
embark’d Nov. 1732; arrived Feb.
1732-3; Expell’d the Province 17
June 1733

Oglethorpe explained the incident in his August 12, 1733 correspondence to the Trustees.

I have not been able to write at length since I left Charles Town. When I returned hither from thence I found the People were grown very mutinous and impatient of Labour and Discipline....

I found that Gray who pretended to understand the Silk, had been one of the busiest in preaching up Mutiny, and whilst I was at Charles Town had in a bare faced manner insulted all Order and threatened the Chief People here.

- James Oglethorpe, August 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 28)

Ordered to be “Set in the Stocks,” he begged Oglethorpe for leave to vacate the colony. Oglethorpe gave him twelve hours to get out of town, and he did accordingly. Evidently, though, he caused additional trouble after moving on, as Oglethorpe remarked: “at Charles Town [he] raised several Lyes against this Colony and the People of it. Mr. [Isaac] Chardon for this ordered him to be prosecuted, on which he went out of the way [left].” (*CRG XX*, p. 28) Peter Gordon left the most detailed version of events.

Captain Scott to whome the command of the place was left... ordered a servant belonging to one Gray to attend him and the rest of the gentlemen that came to visit the Collony, Gray refused to send him, alledging that it was a very great hardship to have his property taken from him... Captain Scott sent to me at night... and desired that I should... goe and demand the servant, and bring him away. I accordingly chose two of the people I could best trust so, and came to the house where the servant was.... I went in with my men and demanded the servant, which the master refused, and the women who were in the house declared that there were twenty arm'd men without, ready to defend him in case any attempt was made to take him away by force.... I was determined not to goe without the servant, yet I was very unwilling to carry things to extreimity, and assured them that there was no intention of taking the servant from them, only to be assisting for a few days till Mr. Oglethorps returne, when I told them they might depend upon having any grievance redress'd as soon as he arrived.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 46-7

But even once Gordon managed to get upstairs “with some small opposition,” he found his exit with the servant blocked when he returned downstairs. “And I... once more begg'd they would consider the consequence of opposing authority, that it would be deem'd mutiny and that they certainly would be punished as such.” Though the servant was eventually taken, Grey's steadfast refusal to permit it and his attempt to incite the other colonists to do the same, were grounds for insubordination.

Two young apprentices are listed as having come over with Samuel Grey on the *Volante*: Chetwynd Furcerd, 16; and Cornelius Jones, 15. Whether the servant in question was either of them or someone different is unclear. The record on both is light; according to the *LES*, Jones was “discharged by his master.” As to Furcerd: “After discharge from his service he... went to serve in the Scout boat.” Indeed, Furcerd appears in good standing in a January 23, 1735 correspondence. George Dunbar, captain of the *Prince of Wales* makes reference to a “Chetwin Fisard one of the pilots” to the Savannah River. (*CRG XX*, p. 191)

Another peculiar disturbance during Oglethorpe's absence involved a small group of Indians bent on revenge for what they took was murder. It was Tomochichi who stepped up and quelled the issue before it could get out of hand, preserving the fragile peace which had only been made weeks before.

Savannah, June 25. While Mr. Oglethorpe was at Charlestown, an Indian shot himself near our Town; his Uncle, who is the War King of the Forks, and his Friends finding him dead, and fancying that he had been murdered by the English, swore that they would be revenged on them: King Tomo Chi Chi being informed of the Uproar, came to the Place, and strove to quiet the

Indians, saying he was persuaded, it could not be the English that killed him, therefore desired they wou'd enquire better into the Matter; but the Uncle continuing in great Rage, Tomo Chi Chi bared his Breast, and said to him, If you will kill any Body, kill me, for I am an Englishman; he pacified them, and upon thorough Examination of the Matter, it was found, that for some Days, he had been in Despair, and desired several different Indians to shoot him, and an Indian Boy saw him kill himself in the following Manner, he put the Muzzle of the Gun under his Chin, and with his great Toe pushed the Tricker.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, July 7, 1733

In the wake of these instances Oglethorpe took this opportunity to better address the issue of security and defense of the province, including the beginning of construction on Fort Argyle.

Savannah, (in GEORGIA), June 25. On the 12th Mr. Oglethorpe went to the Horse Quarter, which lies up the River six Miles above this Place; he there took with him Capt. Macpherson, with a Detachment of his Rangers....

Capt. Macpherson has undertaken, pursuant to Mr. Oglethorpe's Plan, to erect a Fortification, to be called Fort Argyle.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, July 7, 1733

McPherson and his Rangers had arrived in February, as the South Carolina General Assembly in its January 17, 1733 meeting had deigned "that Capt. McPherson together with 15 of the Rangers do forthwith repair to the new Settlement of Georgia to cover & protect Mr. Oglethorpe and those under his Care from any Insults that may be offered them by the Indians." (*CRG XX*, p. 7)

"We have taken a Man that had Stole an Horse in Virginia," Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees in September, 1733 of a man sentenced to public works. "He was tried before the Court, pleaded guilty [and] sentenced to hard Labour during the Space of three Years at Argyll Fort on Ogeeche River." (p. 34-5) He added that "the Horse is ordered to be sent to the Owner in Virginia."

But the construction effort of Fort Argyle quickly hit a literal log jam, as the initial site was found unapproachable by water; downed trees blocked the passage. Already half-completed by August, Oglethorpe ordered McPherson to abandon the first site and simply begin again "10 miles lower." This second Fort Argyle was presumably completed by the time of Oglethorpe's September 17, 1733 correspondence to the Trustees explaining the situation. The Trustees were surprised to learn they had somehow gotten one Fort Argyle for nearly the price of two.

Four years later, by December, 1737, John Wesley would remark of Fort Argyle: "It is a small, square, wooden fort, musket-proof. Ten free-holders were settled near it [in 1733]; but eight of them are gone, and the land they had cleared, lying waste, will, in a few years, be as it was before." (*John Wesley Journal*, vol. 1, p. 406)

As Patrick Tailfer remarked in the hindsight of 1741:

Corn-mills, saw-mills, publick roads, Trustees plantations (as they were called) wells and forts, in different places, were all set about, but as is evident from the event, with no design to serve the publick, but only to amuse the world and maintain some creatures who assisted in keeping their neighbours in subjection; for few or none of these things were ever brought to perfection; some of them were left off half finished, and of those that were finished, some were erased (being found of no service) and others fell of themselves for want of proper care.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 59

Already though, as spring led to summer of 1733, there was evidence of pervasive anxiety that would be confirmed during the summer, a summer of great confusion.

“Georgia will soon become a Jewish Colony”

In 1734 Philip von Reck, conductor of the first Salzburger emigration, wrote:

It is remarkable that the Jews in Savannah enjoy all the freedoms enjoyed by the other inhabitants. They get land free, they work hard. When their turn comes they do guard duty with shoulder and side arms, and they do their military exercises as well as the English.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 140)

And a June 1, 1737 *Journal* entry found Thomas Causton casually noting another small Jewish migration to Savannah: “Thirteen Jews, men & women, arrived here from Charles Town. They came from England by Captain Caruthers.” (*Egmont Papers*) The ship in question was the *Molly Galley*, Captain John Caruthers, listed as “entered in” in the May 14, 1737 *South Carolina Gazette*, and was out again by its July 23 edition. A Jewish migration to Savannah by 1737 barely even attracted attention. It was routine. But that had not always been the case.

The month of July, 1733 saw the arrival of Georgia colonists from three ships, two not even commissioned by the Trustees... and one an complete surprise.

According to Percival's *List of Early Settlers*, July 7 marked the day that the colonists from the *Pearl* arrived in Savannah. The *Pearl* had departed England on April 12 with the blessings and support of the Trustees, and after a brisk voyage of just under nine weeks, offloaded its Georgia passengers at Charlestown.

CHARLESTOWN, June 16....

On Tuesday arrived Captain Thompson, in about nine Weeks from London, having 30 odd Passengers on board for *Georgia*.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, June 16, 1733

The *Pearl* arrived into Charlestown harbour on Tuesday, June 12, 1733, and there it remained until early August. From Charlestown the *Pearl* would be cleared to depart for Jamaica by the August 11 issue of the *Gazette*, by which time its passengers had already hired their own way to Savannah.

The *Pearl* colonists would create the new settlement of Thunderbolt.

A reconstruction of the *Pearl* muster

arrived in Charlestown, June 12, 1733

William Thompson, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers*, CRG I and CRG XXIX]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

Arriving on their own account:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Philip Bishop | 9. Will Carter (ser) |
| 2. Elizabeth Bishop (w) | 10. John Godleay (ser) |
| 3. John Chapman (ser) | 11. Erno Martino (ser) |
| 4. Francis Elgar (ser) | 12. John Mathewson (ser) |
| 5. Charles Pluviant (ser) | 13. Samuel Holmes |
| 6. Philip Smith (ser) | 14. ? (ser) |
| 7. Joseph Hetherington | 15. ? (ser) |
| 8. ? (wife) | |
-

Philip Bishop (#1) was granted a 500 acre estate December 21, 1732; he was accompanied by his wife Elizabeth (#2) and servants John Chapman, Francis Elgar, Charles Pluviant and Philip Smith (#3-6); Joseph Hetherington (#7) was also granted a 500 acre estate December 21, 1732. As Percival noted within his December 28, 1732 *Diary* entry: “We delivered the two Elringtons [Hetheringtons] and two Lacys their grants, who propose in January to go over with four servants each, if not more, and make silk yarn, wherein if they succeed we shall have done a notable service to this kingdom.” (vol. 1, p. 305)

The January departure intended above became an April departure of the *Pearl*; and whether or not any other Hetheringtons or Lacys came on the same ship is unclear. Joseph Hetherington’s wife accompanied her husband, presented in the *List of Early Settlers* without a name, and died shortly after in the Summer Sickness. Hetherington also came with at least four servants; one of those servants was John Godleay (#10), listed in the *LES* as shortly thereafter discharged. Hetherington wrote to Oglethorpe in March of 1735: “[I] have According to my instructions Sent John Godly home by capt [George] Dunbar.” As Hetherington noted, Godleay had “proved an Excellent good Servant till the News Came he was to go for England.” Then he misbehaved, leaving the Hetherington’s estate at Thunderbolt for Savannah. “Although Mr Causton and Mr Gordon perswaded him all that lay in there power, and at last threatned him with punishment if he did not returne,” it was all in vain, “he minded them not.” Godleay considered his servitude complete, and spent the two months between the news of his discharge and the actual disembarkation working for Elizabeth Penrose, who was selling liquor at the time. “She kept him in her Employ the whole time.” (*CRG XX*, p. 275)

In the same letter, Hetherington also remarked that Thunderbolt’s first child was on its way, with his second wife (like the first, also unnamed to history) “very big with Child and within two months of her time,” and “being in a fair way of haveing the pleasure of the first Child at Thunderbolt.” (p. 276) The *LES* records a daughter born to the couple in July of 1735, but like her mother, is without name.

According to the April 11, 1733 entry in the *Journal of the Trustees*, “Captn [Trustee Thomas] Coram reported the Muster of twelve Servants on Board the *Pearl*,” (CRG I, p. 110) A study of the *List of Early Settlers* can only provide names for eight. The June 16, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette* makes reference to a total of “30 odd Passengers” arriving on the *Pearl*; the reconstruction above using the *List of Early Settlers* can only account for a total of 15 persons. The others in question may have been Charlestown based passengers, but it’s also possible that there are other Georgia-bound passengers hidden in the *LES* whose arrival dates were confused or unknown, viz: Benjamin Martyn provided *via* the *Pearl* a letter of introduction for one Samuel Holmes (#13): “The Bearer of this, Samuel Holmes a Bricklayer... [who] go’s on Board this Ship this afternoon, which is to sail to morrow Morning.... he is to carry over two Servants with him.” (CRG XXIX, p. 13) Holmes is a man who *is* recorded the *List of Early Settlers*, but is given no arrival date, so if not for Martyn’s letter there would be nothing to associate him with the *Pearl*. Holmes fell into debt in 1738, and ran away to Carolina, where the *LES* notes: “He died in Charlestown Sept. 1739.” Charlestown was hit with a crippling sick season in the summer of 1739, which claimed the lives of many of these 1733 Georgia ex-patriots, including Holmes, James Muir (*Anne* #73), Francis Delgrass (*Georgia Pink* #22), John Desborough and sons (*Georgia Pink* #23, 24-26) and John Coates (*Savannah* #67).

The *LES* does not record arrival dates for Joseph Hetherington’s brothers, but it is possible that Theophilus Hetherington may also have come over on the *Pearl*. Robert, evidently, never came to Georgia at all, despite his grant.... A May 16, 1733 entry in the Trustees Entry Book of Powers and Leases states: “Robert Hetherington in case Your Honrs. Shall give leave for him to Assign his five Hundred Acres to Mr. Thomas Fawsatt... in order that... Robert Hetherington may remain in England.” (CRG XXXII, p. 53) Fawsett arrived in January, 1734, but was not active long. “Thomas Fausset is Dangerously Ill,” Elisha Dobree wrote on July 9, 1735. Indeed, Fawcett was dead within the month.

It’s possible that brothers Roger and James Lacy came on the *Pearl* as well, though the *LES* does not place them in Georgia until February 1, 1734. Together, the Lacy brothers, the two Hetherington brothers and Philip Bishop (and for a short time, Thomas Fawcett) would create the hamlet of Thunderbolt. As Oglethorpe wrote on August 12, 1733: “Hetherington and Bishop with their Servants have undertook to build a Fort upon a Creek called Thunderbolt, upon which they are to begin to work on Tuesday next.” (CRG XX, p. 30)

Some 15 months after the arrival of the *Pearl* colonists, Samuel Eveleigh would remark of the Thunderbolt development:

I went down to Thunderbolt wch I found to be a place very pleasantly Scituated, and Where Mr Ethrington and Lacey had made very considerable Improvements, considering the Time they had been there.

- Samuel Eveleigh, October 19, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 88)

“They have built their Houses; Erected a good Fort and Guns mounted thereon that commanded the Crik, also cleared fenced and planted a good quantity of Land with Corn, pease [and] Rice,” Eveleigh remarked further. As Joseph Hetherington wrote to the Trustees in his March, 1735 letter: “Wee finished our Hexicon Ever since the 23d of Septemr last... and so Strong and Commodius it is, that wee Value not all the force of Augustine.” He himself was pleased with

his site. "Our settlement is Certainly a beautifull place and the pleasantest in all Georgia.... I really did work beyond what I thought I could, but no person Can tell what they may do, till they are put to the triall." (*CRG XX*, p. 276)

But by 1738 Thunderbolt was a mess. William Stephens wrote to Harman Verelst on July 25, 1738: "I am sorry to write yt. that Village, once the Great Exemplar of all Improvements in these parts, is now in a manner become desolate." (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 195) Worse, Joseph Hetherington and Philip Bishop had become criminals, culprits behind a series of cattle mutilations and disappearances of hogs that had persisted for months before they were discovered. Thunderbolt was siphoning Savannah's meat supply. By the summer of 1738 the men were convicted of killing and eating "twelve Hogs, the Property of Henry Parker," (*CRG IV*, p. 170) and "killing a Steer, being the Property of a Person unknown." (p. 168)

Wednesday [June 7, 1738]. Some Information being made before the Magistrates about killing of Cattle; Mr. Causton being present at the Examination of the Informers; who were a Man and Woman Servants lately of Mr. Etherington's of Thunderbolt.... They set forth several Instances of Cattle and Hogs they had been assisting in bringing out of the Woods, at their Master Etherington's command, and were killed and cut up and salted for the Use of their said Master, and Mr. Bishop of the same Place.... These things were alleged to be done about December or January last.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 151)

They were found guilty and confined to jail, but within days the two "broke out of Goal." As Stephens noted, "This occasioned much Hurlyburly." (p. 175) They ran away to Carolina, their Georgia career finished after five years. Within weeks of their escape, fellow Thunderbolt pioneer Roger Lacy died on August 3, 1738.

Captain Roger Lacey dyed here the 3d. instant; being return'd from Augusta two days before; He had been a long time ill, and Subject to frequent fainting fitts suppos'd to be Nervous, occasion'd by drinking too liberally.

- Thomas Causton,, August 26, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 231)

This left Theophilus Hetherington and Roger Lacy's widow (*William Stephens*: "a most vile Woman," - p. 195) as the only occupants at Thunderbolt. Not surprisingly, they married soon thereafter.

No sooner had the *Pearl* colonists arrived in July of 1733 than a greater shock arrived with the passengers of the *William and Sarah*. These colonists, too, came independent of the Trust. However, in this case, the sponsors of the embarkation had actually cut off communication with the Trustees and gone renegade with the transport, with or (more likely) without their subscribers' knowledge, bringing to Georgia a vessel the Trustees knew nothing about and whose sponsors' overtures had been rebuffed by the Trustees back in January.

This complicated saga had begun in September of 1732, during Percival's absence in Bath. In the summer and fall of 1732 the Trustees had granted commissions to numerous individuals to collect subscriptions for embarkations to Georgia; the *Journal of the Trustees* is filled with these such deputations:

[August 31, 1732]

Mr Oglethorpe acquainted the Trustees that he desired Commissions for taking Subscriptions & Collecting Money for the Purposes of the Charter to be made out for Thomas Watts Esqr Sr William Chapman Bart and Thomas Penn Esqr.

- *Journal of the Trustees (CRG I, p. 73)*

[Sept 14, 1732]

Commissions were Desired by Peter Burrel Esqr & Col Hugh Raymond to take Subscriptions & Collect Money for the Purposes of the Charter.

- p. 75

[September 21, 1732]

Commissions were desired by Thomas Frederick Esqr Mr Anthony da Costa, Mr. Francis Salvador Junr and Mr Alvaro Lopes Suasso; to take Subscriptions and Collect Money for the Purposes of the Charter.

Ordered accordingly.

- p. 75-6

[October 12, 1732]

Commissions were desired by Penniston Lamb, and Matthew Lamb Esqr to take Subscriptions and Collect Money for the Purposes of the Charter.

- p. 77

[October 26, 1732]

Receiv'd a Letter from Henry Muelman Esqr desiring to promote the Undertaking, and to have a Commission for taking Subscriptions, and collecting Money for the use of the Charter.

Order'd Accordingly.

- p. 80-1

In their zeal for moving the Georgia colony forward the Trustees at this early juncture seemed enthusiastic to confer deputations for collecting subscriptions quite liberally, unaware or unconcerned that any of the agents might have in mind any specific embarkation of their own initiative. If the third entry of September 21 above does not stand out from the other entries, one may imagine five Trustees having the same impression, but it was this tenth meeting of the Trustees, presided over by Oglethorpe himself, where the body had just approved deputations to three members of London's Jewish community to collect subscriptions for Georgia.

The meeting in question was a lightly-attended Board, with only Tower, Coram, Smith and Heathcote in attendance. All hawks for colonization, there is no evidence in the record that the commissions raised any eyebrow with Oglethorpe, Smith or Coram; Tower and Heathcote represented elements of the secular faction of the Trustees, and as later seen, would not have been averse to the idea of any Jewish embarkation anyway. To be clear, the Trustees were already on the record as friendly to neglected and persecuted groups of faith. The Salzburgers, for example, show up in the record of Georgia as early as the Trustees' second meeting:

[July 27, 1732]

The Trustees drew up a Proposal for transporting a number of the Saltzburgh Exiles & desired Mr. Vernon to lay the same before the Gentlemen now concerned in collecting Benefactions for their Relief.

- p. 67

[August 3, 1732]

Mr Vernon reported that he had laid the Proposal of the Trustees before the Gentlemen concerned in collecting Benefactions for relief of the Saltzburgh Exiles and that they approved of the same.

- p. 69

The Trustees had committed to an emigration of Salzburger two months before planning the migration of the ‘first forty’. This religious outreach to such persecuted groups as the Salzburger, Moravians and Palatines in that first year seemed indeed a confirmation of Georgia offering “Free Exercise of... Religion” as promised in the Charter. The full text relating to religious freedom in the Georgia Charter:

And for the greater Ease and Encouragement of our Loving Subjects and such others as shall come to Inhabit in our said Colony wee do by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors Grant Establish and Ordain that for ever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the Worship of God to all persons Inhabiting or which shall Inhabit or be Resident within our said Province And that all such persons Except Papists shall have a Free Exercise of their Religion so they be contented with the quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of the Same not giving Offence or Scandal to the Government.

It was the promise of this religious freedom, presented so glowingly in the Charter, that had inspired Anthony da Costa, Francis Salvador, Jr. and Alvaro Lopes Suasso to collect subscriptions as well, in the interest of persecuted European Jews who had recently refuged to London. The fundamental misunderstanding seems to have come down to a question of *who* had the authority to piece together a transport. When, exactly, the Trustees became aware of the impending Jewish embarkation is unclear, but it is clear that the sponsors had at least a two and-a-half month head start by the time the Trustees became aware of the possibility of a Jewish emigration. On December 7, 1732, Percival wrote in his *Diary*: “We then had a debate...”

... whether we should send any Jews over if they went on their own expense; against which Mr. Vernon and I argued and gave our reasons, but Mr. Towers and Heathcot were for it, so the matter is referred to future consideration.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 301

The future consideration came eight weeks later, at which point Percival’s argument, siding with the “religious wing” of the Board, apparently won out. “We agreed,” he wrote, “to recall the three deputations given in September last to the Jews to collect money for our settlement. I was then at Bath, and should have opposed it had I been present.” (p. 313)

But by this point four months had passed; to what degree monies had already been collected and committed by da Costa, Salvador and Suasso is unknown, but it seems safe to suggest that there might have been no going back. On January 31, 1733, the same day that saw the ‘first forty’ boating toward Yamacraw Bluff, the Trustees made a belated attempt to revoke the deputations.

We do not think it proper to make a settlement of Jews, and therefore thought it proper to recall those deputations, having heard that they designed their collections for their own use.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 313

Resolving “to admit no Jews to go over to Settle in the colony,” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 12) the Trustees ordered a letter recalling the deputations to “Messrs Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Junr and Anthony Da Costa” to collect monies for their endeavor.

the Trustees being inform'd that certain Expectations have from thence been raised contrary to their Intentions, Which may be of ill consequence to their said Designs... They desire the said Mr Alvaro Lopes Suasso, Mr Francis Salvador Junr, and Mr Anothony Da Costa will redeliver to Mr Martyn their Secretary the said Commissions.

- *Journal of the Trustees* (CRG I, p. 98)

“Besides,” as Percival concluded, “the report of our sending Jews has prevented several from subscribing to us.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 313)

Quite simply, the Trustees were afraid any Jewish embarkation might impact religious-based contributions to Georgia. The Trustees relied not only on Parliament funding to support their fledgling colony but also financial gifts from London’s wealthy citizens... and various religious societies. As Percival explained, for example, of Georgia’s 1734 financial situation: “Parliament had given us last year ten thousand pounds, and we had received six thousand more by gatherings in churches and private gifts.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 111) In other words, nearly 40% of their 1734 funding had come from churches and individuals.

In fact, one of the most significant contributors to the Georgia effort was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, *aka*, the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel. The Trustees may have mandated religious freedom in the Charter, but they had intended by this persecuted European Protestants... and not necessarily persecuted European Jews. It was a fine line dictated in many respects by economics.

Martyn explained the episode, embarrassing to both sides, in a letter to Oglethorpe, sent probably *via* the *Weldon*:

The Trustees Sir appointed me about a fortnight ago to Wait on Mr. Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Mr. Anthony Da Costa, and Mr. Francis Salvador Junr... for the Redelivery of their Commissions, because they [the Trustees] apprehended an Opinion of sending Jews would prejudice several People against contributing to the [Georgia] Design.

- Benjamin Martyn, February 21, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 7)

Martyn concluded the issue to Oglethorpe: “The Gentlemen were unwilling to give up the Commissions, and desired at least they might keep them till Your Return.” (CRG XXIX, p. 7) There, as far as the Trustees were concerned, the matter had come to a rest... until a curious reference in a third-party correspondence from Robert Johnson in Charlestown reached them at Westminster on or about October 10:

We cannot fathom the Design of sending forty Jews to Georgia. They will never I believe make Planters, and if not Supported by their Friends in England must Starve, for I am told they are not Subsisted by the Trustees.

- Robert Johnson, July 28, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 27)

Robert Johnson’s estimate of the passengers may have been low, given a list that will be addressed shortly. But with *no fewer* than 41 persons on board, and possibly as many as 74, the *William and Sarah* represented the largest single Jewish migration to the New World at the time, and the only faith on board the ship. The second-oldest faith in Georgia would be the Jewish faith.

The Trustees, after so many months of silence on the issue, were, mildly, surprised; and some viewed this latest development as a potentially fatal blow to their Protestant utopia.

Georgia will soon become a Jewish Colony, for that all the Christians there, will . . . fall off and desert it, as Leaves from a tree in Autumn, until there will not be a valuable Christian remaining, except some few Carpenters, Sawyers, Smiths, etc. whom the Jews will find most necessary and useful...

- Thomas Coram, March 27, 1734

Allowing Jews into the colony, Captain Coram prophesied, would be “the Ruin of the Colony of Georgia.” Informed of these events, the Trustees fired off instructions to Oglethorpe, though their October, 1733 letter would not reach Oglethorpe before January, 1734... a full six months after the vessel’s arrival.

The Trustees have heard with concern of the Arrival of Forty Jews with a Design to settle in Georgia. They hope they will meet with no sort of Encouragement, and desire Sir You will use Your Endeavours that said Jews may be allowed no kind of Settlement with any of the Grantees, The Trustees being apprehensive they will be of prejudice to the Trade and Welfare of the Colony.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 18, 1733 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 22)

And yet, even had Oglethorpe received these instructions in a timely fashion; what “Endeavours” could be undertaken? In the end, any opposition came down to a legal issue. Lawyerless and only six months old, Georgia was faced with, of all things, a legal crisis. According to Percival:

Mr. Oglethorp was much displeas’d at their arrival, and took advice of Lawyers in Carolina whether he could not Send them away, but they gave their opinion he could not.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p.12

The above anecdote that Oglethorpe had consulted lawyers came from the account of the captain of the *William and Sarah*, who appears (probably correctly) as Captain William "Hanton" in Oglethorpe’s correspondence and his own advertisements in the *South Carolina Gazette* and (probably erroneously) as "Hanson" in Percival’s writings. Appearing before the Trustees in December, 1733 Hanton claimed that “besides eating his provision... that they cheated the said Captain.” Hanton’s comments, certainly, could be viewed as someone with an axe to grind, or as someone trying to cover his own behind in the heat of the Trustees’ indignation. As will be seen in the examination of Captain Fry of the *Purrysburg*, the conduct of ships’ captains was not always above reproach.

Saturday, 15 [December, 1733]...

We also had with us Captain Hanson, who carried over 43 Jews without our knowledge to Georgia in January last. This much displeased us, for it was not our design to suffer any Jews to establish themselves there, for which end we recalled the commissions which imprudently had been given some of their chiefs to collect money for us, which money they did not collect, or else employed it to send away these Jews to ease their synagogue of them, whereby a great affront and injury was done us, for many of them ran from their Christian creditors, and none of them would work when they came there. The Captain added that Mr. Oglethorp was displeased at their arrival, and took advice of the lawyers at Charlestown whether he could not send them back, which they advised him he could not.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 464

It's hard to know where to begin with the above comments; much of it is colored by Percival's disapproval (did they really run from creditors?), and leaves it hard to consider the character of Captain Hanton. Given that Hanton was a captain and ship hired through a third-party, he is not one of the regularly revolving cast of captains who would so frequently come to Savannah in the employ of the Simmond brothers. But the above marks Percival's second reference to Carolina lawyers; firstly, even if Oglethorpe consulted lawyers, it could not have been more than a formality to placate the Trustees. Secondly, the timetable is problematic—he did not actually visit Charlestown in the period between June, 1733 and February, 1734. And while it is possible he could have sent letters to Carolina law firms by the *William and Sarah* or other couriers, Hanton—not returning to Savannah—would not have been privy to their response. Hanton's story, at least as recounted by Percival, doesn't hold water. What's more, Oglethorpe was unaware—officially, at least—of the Trustees' displeasure over the affair until January of 1734; by that point the Jewish presence in Savannah was a *fait accompli*. Despite what Percival claimed Hanton said, as far as firsthand documentation suggests, Oglethorpe never evidenced any “displeasure” at their arrival—it is worth recalling that Oglethorpe himself presided as Chair over the Common Council that approved the deputations of Messrs. da Costa, Salvador and Suasso in the first place. Having read Martyn's comments only the month before regarding the inconclusive meeting with da Costa, and Co., and given the sluggish nature of eighteenth-century mail delivery Oglethorpe would have had no reason to believe that the Trustees' position had not changed. Indeed, the only indication that the *William and Sarah* was not officially sanctioned was the lack of any introductory letter from the Trustees on board; but Oglethorpe, still desperate for bodies to fill in his Savannah plan, proved far less particular than the Trustees in London. As Percival noted among the captain's comments, “Mr. Oglethorp gave them plots in the town of Savannah.” (*Diary*, vol. 1, p. 464)

With its disembarkation complete, the *William and Sarah* went to Charlestown, and is listed as entered in “from Georgia” in the August 4, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette*, and by the following month was advertising available cargo space for passage.

For LONDON Directly
T H E *William and Sarah* Galley,
Will.

Hanton, Master, and will depart with all convenient Speed, she hath extraordinary good Conveniences for all sorts of Passengers. The Master is to be spoke with every Day on board the said Ship.

- advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, August 25, 1733
reprinted in the September 1 issue

Percival, in the meantime, remained troubled by the situation well into the next year.

5 Jany. [1734]... A letter from Some eminent jews was read, excusing their Sending jews to Georgia without our Knowledge. Order'd a letter to them to return their Commissions for collecting, and make us Satisfaction by using their endeavors to recall those jews, or remove them to Some other place.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p.39

But Georgia's newest Freeholders had brought with them a boon to the suffering colony; a trump card that would blunt any opposition and made the fears in London seem even more remote and distant than the span across an ocean....

They had brought a doctor at the peak of the Summer Sickness.

"The sickness that swept off many"

"Wee hade hither too continued very healthy," Peter Gordon remarked of the state of the colony in the spring of 1733...

... and proceeded in the publick labour with as much success and dispatch as could be possibly be expected. But the weather beginning to be extreemly hott, and ovr people haveing as yet no other water to drink but that of the river, which at high water was brackish, we did not long enjoy that happiness, for soon afterwards we begane to be very sickly....

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 45

As Causton boasted to his wife in his early and optimistic March 12 correspondence: "We have had very little Illness amongst us, having buried none." (*CRG XX*, p. 17)

That was about to change. April 6, 1733 had seen the first casualty among the colonists. In an ironic twist, the dead man was William Cox. As Oglethorpe remarked plainly in his May 14 correspondence: "Doctor Cox is dead." (*CRG XX*, p. 21)

The first man to die in the colony was its sole physician.

Aprile the 6th Doctor Cox died very much lamented, being a generall loss to the Collony. He was a very useful and well experienced gentleman. As the first persone that died, and we being thane, under a sort of a military government Mr. Oglethorp ordered that he should be buried in a military manner. All our Tythings were accordingly ordered to be under arms, and to march regularly to the grave, with the corps, and as soon as he was interr'd and the funerall service performed we gave three generall discharges of ovr small arms and during the time that we marched with the corps, and while the funerall office was performing, minute guns were fired from the guard house and the bell constantly tolling.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 45

Curiously, the exact resting place for Dr. Cox is not as straightforward as it might at first seem. Savannah's first cemetery was located in Percival Ward, but in April, 1733 Percival Ward—the third ward to be developed—did not exist yet... the town at that point still consisted only of the passengers from the *Anne* and *Volante*, and the only ward to have a physical presence in April was Derby, so where Cox may have been laid to rest is unknown.

Dr. Cox left behind a son, a daughter and a wife three-months pregnant with a second daughter. Cox remained the only death in the colony for the first four months of the Georgia colony.

But in July the health of the colony declined. In the six-week span between June 28 and August 11, at least 23 people died; roughly ten percent of the entire population of Georgia. With one

line in his *Journal* Peter Gordon segued from the solemnity of William Cox's funeral in April to the agitation and unrest that attended those that followed in the summer.

This [above] military manner of burying was afterwards observed not only to all our men that died, but likewise to our women, till the people began to die so fast that the frequent firing of the canon, and our small arms, struck such terror, in our sick people (who knowing the cause, concluded they should be the next) that we have had three or four die in one day which being represented to Mr. Oglethorpe he ordered that it should be discontinued.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 45

1733 Summer Mortality (July to mid-August)

[compiled from the pages of the CRG and Percival's List of Early Settlers]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

<i>June 28</i> - Joshua Overend	<i>July 13</i> - Peter Germain	<i>July 25</i> - John Mackay
<i>July 1</i> - Elizabeth West	<i>July 19</i> - Peter Tondee	<i>July 27</i> - Mrs. J. Hetherington
James Goddard	<i>July 20</i> - Richard Hodges	<i>July 28</i> - Elizabeth Goddard
<i>July 4</i> - Mary Calvert	Samuel Parker	<i>July 29</i> - Thomas Millidge
<i>July 6</i> - Sarah Dearn	<i>July 21</i> - Thomas Cornwall	<i>July 31</i> - Richard West
<i>July 10</i> - Ellen Muir	Sarah Symes	<i>Aug 7</i> - Anne Cannon
<i>July 12</i> - William Littel	<i>July 22</i> - Mary Cannon	<i>Aug 11</i> - John Warren
Mary Littel	<i>July 23</i> - Martha Gough	

Peter Gordon alludes to as many as “three or four” dying in one day, but a careful study of the above does not reveal more than two on any one day. While this “three or four” could have been an exaggeration, it could also have represented victims unrecorded to us—the compiled list above does not pretend to be the entire list, just the most complete that surviving documentation allows. Because the death dates above are taken mostly from the *List of Early Settlers* (written a full decade later), the accuracy of the dates is not necessarily one hundred per cent. An example: the *LES* places Joshua Overend's death on June 23, whereas the more contemporary sources of the August 25, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette* and *CRG XX* record it on June 28. An early Georgia court case was the distribution of the estate of Joshua Overend, so the date of June 28 was well documented; further, given Percival's handwriting, the 28th is not a difficult second guess. James Goddard's July 1 date is also extremely suspect, given the *South Carolina Gazette* features him alive and well on July 7, offering to build more houses, which dead men aren't known for doing: “Mr. Millidge and Mr. Goddard, the two chief Carpenters, offered... to take the unbuilt Lotts, and give the built ones to those who were less able to help themselves.” (*SCG*, August 25, 1733) At any rate, his July 1 death above seems at least one week premature, though he clearly was dead by Oglethorpe's August 12 correspondence, at which time he noted: “Goddard [and] his Wife are both dead.” (*CRG XX*, p. 30)

Sixteen of the victims had come over on the *Anne*, while at least two (Tondee and Cornwall) had come on the *James*, one (Mrs. Hetherington) on the *Pearl*, and one (Anne Cannon) was born in Georgia, the other three are less clear; Peter Germain almost certainly was one of the ‘undocumented’ on the *Anne*, Sarah Dearn is also likely to have been one, given that she apparently arrived “1 Feb. 1732-3,” according to the *List of Early Settlers*. Martha Gough

arrived June 19, 1733, probably *via* the *Weldon Galley*. In yet another setback to the construction effort of Savannah, the sickness took out no fewer than four carpenters: James Goddard, Thomas Millidge, Thomas Cornwall and Peter Tondee, all dead before August. Essentially forty percent of the carpenters were wiped out.

The affliction we'll refer to here as the Summer Sickness; it's unlikely it was given any particular name at the time. In the only surviving description of the symptoms of this malady of 1733, Oglethorpe wrote: "the Illness being once frequent became contagious. It appeared chiefly in burning Feavers or else in bloody Fluxes attended by Convulsions and other terrible Symptoms." (*CRG XX*, p. 29) What, exactly, this illness might have been remains unclear; it could have been malaria, cholera or sunstroke, or maybe just poor acclimation to a climate to which most if not all were unaccustomed. Tailfer and his fellow authors, though penning some years after the fact, nonetheless attributed a number of factors, not the least of which was the heat of the Georgia summer climate, which "in us created inflammatory fevers of various kinds, both continued and intermittent."

Wasting and tormenting fluxes, most excruciating cholicks, and dry belly-aches; tremors, vertigoes, palsies, and a long tra[i]n of painful lingering nervous distempers, which brought on to many a cessation both from work and life; especially as water without any qualification was the chief drink, and salt meat the only provisions that could be had or afforded.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 50

Further clues could be gleaned by the Salzburgers of Ebenezer, whose first summer in 1734 saw a sickly period that mirrored Savannah's the year before, though to a lesser extent:

The 24th, July [1734].

... some of our Salzburgers are suffering from scurvy....

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 3)

The 25th, July [1734].

... two children have contracted dysentery....

- p. 3

In 8 of the 23 Savannah cases between June 28 and August 11, 1733, the deaths were within the same household...

Mary and Anne Cannon
William and Mary Littel
James and Elizabeth Goddard
Elizabeth and Richard West

... but in 4 of these 8 cases the deaths seem to have been separated by four weeks or more, so any suggestion of a contagious element seems a difficult argument. The sickness waned in August, but may have flared up again in September, with another 14 deaths in September alone (though in full disclosure, many of these were the arrivals on the *Georgia Pink*, who seemed to be a sickly lot to begin with). To illustrate the extent of the sickness (or perhaps one man's misfortune), John West, the blacksmith who had come over on the *Anne* with his wife and son

and lost both in the month of July, remarried on August 28 to the widow of William Littel, who herself perished four weeks later. Widowed twice within a three month time period, John West had seen his first wife Elizabeth die on July 1 and his second wife Elizabeth die on September 26 after a marriage of four weeks.

“This day we had a meeting at the Georgia Board,” Percival wrote in a 1734 entry. There was a special guest that day, as he noted: “A letter from Mr. Oglethorp... was read, recommending the widow Warren to the Board’s consideration, who went over with the first embarkation and had lost there her husband and two children.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 69)

Elizabeth Warren, whose seven-member family listed on the manifest of the *Anne* had dwindled to four by the time she returned to London on the *Georgia Pink* in 1734, appeared before the Trustees. “She came over to be cured of the flux,” as Percival explained; she was clearly still not well. As Oglethorpe wrote: “She was very desirous to stay but her Health being bad and thinking She can only Recover in England She insisted upon my giving Leave to go back.” (CRG XX, p. 36) That, and the fact “She has lost her Husband and two Children and had all her Goods burnt when the Guard House was fired,” she was now a widow to three children all under the age of six. Son John died on June 12, husband John on August 11 and oldest son William September 5, at which time she begged leave to go. When asked, she replied that she believed the early mortality in Savannah had been caused by drinking the river water, much as Gordon seemed to maintain in his *Journal* above. “Mrs. Warren acquainted us that they attributed their mortality to the river water, which gave them the flux,” Percival wrote upon personally speaking with her in London, “but they were wonderfully mended since the spring was discovered and a pump made.” As he concluded, “we clubbed most of us our guineas apiece, which rose to eleven or twelve pound, and ordered her to come from time to time.” (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 70)

In their 1741 commentary of Georgia, Tailfer and his fellow authors made reference to “The want of wells obliging the inhabitants to use the river water...” river water which they described in the following nauseating detail:

river water, which all the summer over is polluted with putrid marshes, and the numberless insects that deposit their ova there, together with putrefied carcasses of animals and corrupted vegetables; and this, no doubt, occasioned much of the sickness that swept off many.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 142

“Wells and pumps were made at a great charge,” the authors concluded, “but they were immediately choked up, and never rendered useful, though this grievance was frequently represented both to the General and magistrates.”

Oglethorpe, too, believed the factor behind the 1733 summer mortality to be drinking... but *rum*. Not unlike Trustee Stephen Hales, who would cheerlead London’s Gin Act in 1736, Oglethorpe was convinced of the detrimental health effects of liquor. As Percival observed, “Mr. Oglethorp writes that it is very difficult to keep the people from drinking strong waters.” (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 70) Oglethorpe blamed liquors for half the ills in his August, 1733 letter.

By Degrees I brought the People to Discipline, but could not revive the Spirit of Labour, Idleness and Drunkenness were Succeeded by Sickness. To remedy the first I sent away the Negroes who Sawed for us, for so long as they continued here our men were encouraged in Idleness by their

working for them. To remedy Drunkenness I gave a moderate Allowance of Wine, prohibited Rum and Staved such as I could find in the Town. But found that the Indian Trading house about 1/2 a mile from us in spite of all my Prohibitions, sold Rum to our People. I did not care to disoblige them because they are the only Interpreters we have to the Indians. However at present I must either Suppress them or our People must be destroyed, we having lost twenty People within a month since the Drinking of Rum was come into fashion; whereas we lost but one Person in five months whilst I was here and kept the People from excessive Drinking....

- James Oglethorpe, August 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 28-29)

Oglethorpe's assertion of "twenty People within a month,"—unlike Gordon's contention—is a claim that is indeed substantiated by the record; there were exactly 20 documented deaths in the month of July.

The Trustees read this sobering letter in November. Even though he had not been present at that particular meeting, Percival kept record of the minutes in his *Journal*, noting the deaths, as well as the alleged insurrection by Samuel Grey, and remarking soberly:

7 Nov. [1733]..

Letters recd. of numbers perishing in Georgia by drinking Rum, and of an intended rising of the meaner Sort of Inhabitants.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 36

Two weeks later, on November 21, the Trustees responded by what limited means they could, passing an order "for prohibiting the drinking Rum in Georgia, & to Stave all the Rum brought thither." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 37) Though from the start the Trustees had intended the prohibition of liquors, this marked just another step along the way to the April 3, 1735 legislation officially codifying the principle. Clearly sharing the opinion, or falling under the sphere of influence of Oglethorpe's opinion, a Savannah correspondence to the *South Carolina Gazette* noted:

Some of the People having privately drunk too freely of Rum are dead; and that Liquor which was always discountenanced here, is now absolutely prohibited.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, August 25, 1733

By the following year, the belief of rum as a lethal concoction remained a strong deterrent. After just three days in Savannah the Salzburgers, already puzzled by sand gnats and slaves, were informed of another peculiar facet of frontier life.

The 15th of March. Our Salzburgers have been cautioned very much from drinking a certain sweet-tasting brandy, called rum, which is made in Jamaica from a sugar base, because this drink has already brought death to many.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 61)

The Savannah settlement, in the meantime, had apparently moved away from a reliance of river water. Gordon had remarked shortly before of the "people haveing as yet no other water to drink but that of the river, which at high water was brackish;" this soon changed, and perhaps as a result of the illness. While dates disappear and chronology falls apart as Peter Gordon's *Journal* lapses into complete "retro-writing" by the summer of 1733, in the very lines that followed the notation of the arrival of Samuel Quincy (late July, 1733), Gordon noted:

We hade now found out a spring of water, about half a mile distant from the town, which was of great service to the people. Soon after we discovered severall more. But to prevent the trouble of going so farr to fetch it Mr. Oglethorp ordered a well to be sunk in the midle of the town, not expecting to find water in less thane 40 or 50 foot. However before they hade sunk 25 foot we found plenty of water, which still continues to supply the town.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 46

Oglethorpe himself boasted of a “Well 29 feet deep which affords excellent Water,” (CRG XX, p. 41) constructed in part by bricks provided by the Trustees. The colonists improved their drinkable water supply was noted the following year by John Martin Bolzius. Writing in his April 20, 1734 Journal entry, he described an “English half-beer” commonly drunk in Savannah by that time. Less a beer, perhaps, than a “mishmash” (as Bolzius referred to it), he noted: “They take a few pieces of sassafras, a little syrup, and, instead of hops, some green pine-tops, which are boiled in a kettle of water.”

The inhabitants of this land praise this beer as being very good for the health; conversely, they consider water harmful, implying that it is responsible for dysentery, from which many people here die.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Excerpts from the Original Diary*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 316)

“For ourselves,” Bolzius concluded, “we prefer water to this mishmash and feel quite well drinking it, although occasionally we mix in a little wine.”

Remarking that “In the woods there are many sassafras trees, the roots of which are very useful,” Philip von Reck, leader of the first Salzburg emigration, also addressed this peculiar beverage, referring to it as a “spruce-beer:”

People here make a beer, well liked by the Englishmen, which is called spruce-beer; they take the tops of young trees that look very much like firs, a little sassafras, and Indian corn and boil all of it together. Then they add a little sirup and everything is finished.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 138-9)

Another beverage appears in the record by 1735, fully endorsed, evidently, by the Indians. “I have sent my Lord Some tea which grows here in the Collony, and which the Indians call Casseny Tea,” Francis Piercy wrote in June, 1735. A beverage “very wholesom,” Piercy explained how the brew was passed on to his father-in-law, Francis Bathurst, a man who would arrive on the *Prince of Wales* at the end of 1734 and offer his daughter’s hand to the young Piercy not long after.

My Wife and Sr. Francis Bathurst and his Lady were walking, and Sr. Francis being lame, the King [Tomochichi] asked him what was the matter. Sr. Francis answerd that he and all his Forefathers had the gout. So then the King told him that this Casseny Tea was the only thing for it and the wholsomest That any body could drink for preserving their health, and Sr. Francis declares it is the only thing he ever tried.

- Francis Piercy, June 1, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 368)

“Now all the Gentry of the Town drink it frequently, and I find it does me more good than when I drank Rum,” he concluded. “For now I am marry’d, instead of drinking Rum in a morning, I drink tea with my Wife.” Rum in the morning. No comment.

In 1736, faced with an absence of molasses, Bolzius lamented that his Salzburgers were discouraged with its loss, “because they could brew beer with it, whereas now they always have to drink water that cannot be good for them.” But Bolzius was encouraged with the abundance of watermelons they had planted at Ebenezer. Watermelons, too, could act as thirst-quenchers. “Watermelons are to be counted among the best of all the fruits,” he concluded. (*Urlsperger*, vol. 3, p. 178)

In our watermelons we have a true refreshment in this heat, and they do no harm to the people with fever when they are eaten ripe and with moderation. They are so full of sun-distilled sweet water that they completely quench the thirst, and afterwards one cannot drink very much.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within *Urlsperger’s Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 183)

In what was his most frank correspondence, dated August 12, 1733, Oglethorpe spoke bluntly of the mortality of the first summer.

[James] Goddard who with his Wife are both dead, has left two Children, the eldest [ten] years old, whom I have put Apprentice to Fitzwalter the Gardiner. The youngest five years old whom I have put to Nurse to James Carwall and his Wife....

[William] Little has left a Wife and one Child.

Michael Jermain and John Mackay dyed without Wife or Children here.

- James Oglethorpe, August 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 30)

Oglethorpe’s correspondence above refers to the death of a “Michael Jermain;” this was Peter Germain, who died on July 13. There is no “Jermain” found anywhere in the *Early List of Settlers*, and secondly, though Peter Germain did indeed have a son named Michael found in the *List*, the above states that our man in question died “without Wife of Children here.” And the young Michael and his mother Anne, widow to Peter Germain, did not arrive until December, 1733 on board the *Savannah*, at which time they would have learned of the death of the head of their family.

Dr. Cox being dead Jones look’d after the Sick.... Almost every one that was taken ill at first dyed. Jones himself fell sick and some of the Women (most handy about the Sick) dyed, So that we had neither Doctor, Surgeon nor Nurse, and about the 15th of July we had above 60 People sick, many whose Lives we despaired of.

- James Oglethorpe, August 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 29)

“At which time,” Oglethorpe continued, almost certainly careful to place the emphasis in the right places, “Capt. Hanton arrived here with some Jews and amongst them a Doctor of Physick who immediately undertook our People and refused to take any Pay for it.” Resuming with the next line, Oglethorpe wrote glowingly of Dr. Samuel Ribiero Nunez:

He proceeded by Cold Baths, cooling Drinks and other cooling Applications. Since which the Sick have wonderfully recovered, and we have not lost one who would follow his prescriptions. [I

believe] the Blessing of God and this new Regimen [has been] the greatest Occasions of the People's Recovery....

“The Trustees are very much pleas'd with the Behaviour of the Jewish Physician,” Benjamin Martyn wrote in the Trustees' November 22, 1733 reply. Martyn expressed the Trustees' gratitude for the efforts of Dr. Nunez “and the Service he has been of the Sick,” but displayed a still-lingering agitation regarding the situation with the next line. “As they [the Trustees] have no doubt but you have given him some Gratuity for it, they hope you have taken any other Method of rewarding him than in granting of Lands.” (*CRG XXIX*, p. 23)

But lands they had. And as if to spite the Trustees and their early doubts, the Nunez family and their relation Abraham De Lyon proved incredibly industrious in cultivation of the land over the next several years, putting other landholders to shame. “The Jew Family named Nunes intend to plant Vineyards if they can obtain Leave from Yr Honrs to exchange their Swamp Lotts for such are dry,” John Brownfield wrote to the Trustees in June of 1738. (*CRG XXI*, p. 483)

I have in the References to Deckers Ward mentioned Isaac Nunes Henriques Improvements more particularly than the rest; because he has Expended more in attempting to drain a Swamp Lott than any one here besides. But all the Family are equally desirous with him to plant Vineyards & each has made Preparations for it, having Vines ready to transplant & some in great forwardness.

- p. 483-4

The Trustees were excited by this development—by 1738 there were very few things going right, after all—and had in fact already encouraged the family's effort. Percival wrote that in May of 1738, “We confirmed the resolution of the Committee that de Lyon, the Jew, may have 200*l.* lent him on the conditions expressed in his petition, for the improvement of vines.” (*Percival Diary*, vol. 2, p. 488)

By January of 1739 William Cooksey would report to the Trustees that De Lyon “had raised several vines that bore bunches of the Portugal grape weighing two pounds.” (*Percival Diary*, vol. 3, p. 4) As early as December, 1737, William Stephens excitedly wrote of what he found at Abraham De Lyon's.

After Dinner walked out to see what Improvements of Vines were made by one Mr. Lyon, a Portuguese Jew, which I had heard some Talk of; and indeed nothing had given me so much Pleasure since my Arrival, as what I found here; though it was yet (if I say it properly) only in Miniature, for he had cultivated only two or three Years past about half a Score of them which he received from Portugal for an Experiment; and by his Skill and Management in pruning, &c. they all bore this Year very plentifully, a most beautiful, large Grape, as big as a Man's Thumb.

- William Stephens *Journal*, December 6, 1737 (*CRG IV*, p. 43)

Walking home from De Lyon's garden, to Stephens the public garden suddenly seemed a mismanaged failure. “From hence,” he wrote, “I could not but reflect on the small Progress that had been made hitherto in propagating Vines in the publick Garden... it must be owing to the Unskillfulness or Negligence of those who had undertaken that Charge.” (p. 44) De Lyon's garden put the Trustees' Garden to shame. We'll better explore the Trustees' Garden in the second volume of this narrative.

De Lyon's undertaking actually drew the praise of Tailfer, Anderson and Grant in their *True and Historic Narrative*, one of the very few lines of praise to be found within the pages of the 1741 book: "Abraham De Leon, a Jew, who had been many years a vineron in Portugal, and a freeholder in Savannah, cultivated several kinds of grapes in his garden, and amongst others, the Porto and Malaga to great perfection; of this he sent home an attested account to the Board of Trustees." (*Tailfer*, p. 62)

But how much of the two hundred pounds sterling that Percival alluded to in May of 1738 actually found its way to de Lyon was called into question in the next lines of the Tailfer book.

The Trustees were satisfied... and accepted the proposal, and wrote him, that they had remitted the two hundred pounds by Mr. Oglethorpe for his use; which he [Oglethorpe] did not deny, when applied to by the said Leon for the same, but said, that he could not advance more than twenty or thirty pounds, in regard he had other uses for the money; and so that design dropped.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 62

Nunez and De Lyon were a part of the *William and Sarah's* large Sephardic contingent; Dr. Nunez had fled from the Portuguese Inquisition and hadn't stopped until the shores of Georgia. While he himself never described his escape within the Georgia record, his great-great grandson Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851) would later commit the family's story to print.

Dr. Samuel Nunez, whose name belonged to a distinguished family in Lisbon, was a physician of eminence and had an extensive practice, even in times when the Jews of that city were under surveillance of the Inquisition. Jealousy and rivalry, however, caused him to be denounced to that dreadful tribunal, and himself and his family were arrested as heretics and thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition....

Dr. Nunez, who was a most popular and skillful man, was physician to the Grand Inquisitor, who was anxious to save him. He did all in his power to alleviate the sufferings of his family; but one of them, Abby de Lyon, who died in Savannah, carried to her grave the marks of the ropes on her wrists when put to the question. They remained for some time in prison; but as the medical services of Dr. Nunez were very much in demand in Lisbon, the ecclesiastical council, under the advice of the Grand Inquisitor, agreed to set him and his family at liberty on condition that two officials of the Inquisition should reside constantly in the family to guard against their lapsing again into Judaism. The doctor had a large and elegant mansion on the banks of the Tagus, and being a man of large fortune, he was in the habit of entertaining the principal families of Lisbon.

On a pleasant summer day he invited a party to dinner; and among the guests was the captain of an English brigantine, anchored at some distance in the river. While the company was amusing themselves on the lawn, the captain invited the family and part of the company to accompany him on board the brigantine, and partake of the luncheon prepared for the occasion. All the family, together with the spies of the Inquisition, and a portion of the guests, repaired on board the vessel; and while they were below in the cabin, enjoying the hospitality of the captain, the anchor was weighed, the sails unfurled, and the winds being fair, the brigantine shot out of the Tagus, was soon at sea, and carried the whole party to England.

It had been previously arranged between the doctor and the captain, who had agreed, for a thousand moidores in gold, to convey the family to England, and who were under the painful necessity of adopting this plan of escape to avoid detection. The ladies had secreted all their diamonds and jewelry, which were quilted in their dresses, and the doctor having previously changed all his securities into gold, it was distributed among the gentlemen of the family, and carried around them in leathern belts. His house, plates, furniture, servants, equipage, and even

the dinner cooked for the occasion, were all left, and were subsequently seized by the Inquisition and confiscated to the State.

- "Zipra Nunez's Account of the Family's Escape," by Mordecai Manuel Noah

Daughter Sypera Nunez occasionally dots John Wesley's *Diary and Journal*, as does her father (Wesley instructed her in English while Dr. Nunez taught him Spanish); she was even admitted to Wesley's close-knit fellowship society. Another occasion found her father evidently besting Wesley in theology debate. "*Thurs. 7 [July, 1737]. - I was unawares engaged in a dispute with Dr. Nunes, a Jew, concerning the Messiah.*" Afterwards Wesley "was much grieved," providing no details of the conversation but confessing simply "my weak defence." (*Journal*, vol.1, p 367)

While two families (and one gentleman) from the *William and Sarah* were Ashkenazic; most of the Sephardic contingent had fled from the religious intolerance of Spain and Portugal, just as Georgia's Protestant groups were emigrating from other regions of Europe. And while the Sephardic community would all but vacate the colony in the Spanish threat and general gloom of 1740, it was the Minis and Sheftall families that would leave legacies that exist in Savannah to the present day.

By 1739 there was a tremendous diversity of religious backgrounds to be found in Savannah. Bolzius wrote to a correspondent in Germany:

Among the Germans indentured to the English there [in Savannah] there are also some of the Roman Catholic religion; for such people have slipped into the whole country even though, according to the fundamental laws of the land, they are not to be tolerated. We are very near the Spaniards and, because of these dangerous neighbors, people do not wish the presence of Negro slaves or of Roman Catholics.

- John Martin Bolzius, undated 1739 correspondence (*GHQ*, vol. 47, p. 217)

"Otherwise," he continued, "all sects and all types of people are tolerated, and all liberties are granted to them just as to other Englishmen. Even the Jews, of which there are already several families in the country, enjoy all privileges like the other colonists."

Making an interesting comment on the character of Savannah's Jewish community, John Wesley wrote in 1737: "*Mon. 4 [April, 1737] - I began learning Spanish, in order to converse with my Jewish parishioners; some of whom seem nearer the mind that was in Christ than many of those who call Him Lord.*" (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 345-6) The Reverend Samuel Quincy had similar praise, and in a summer, 1735 correspondence to the Rev. Henry Newman (1670-1743), secretary of the S.P.C.K., Quincy attempted to distinguish the different characteristics of the two disparate groups.

You desire in one of your Letters to know whether the Jews amongst us seem inclined to imbrace Christianity. We have two sorts of Jews, Portuguese and Germans. The first having professed Christianity in Portugal or the Brazils, are more lax in their way, and dispense with a great many of their Jewish Rites, and two young Men [Daniel and Moses Nunez], the Sons of a Jew Doctor, Sometimes come to Church, and for these reasons are thought by some people to be inclined to be Christians, but I cannot find that they really are So, only that their education in those Countries where they were oblig'd to appear Christians, makes them less rigid and Stiff in their way. The German Jews, Who are thought the better Sort of them, are a great deal more Strict in their way, and rigid observers of their Law. Their kindness shew'd to Mr Bolzius and the Salzburger, was owing to the Good temper and humanity of the people, and not to any inclination to Change their

Religion, as I can understand. They all in general behave themselves very well, and are very industrious in their business.

- Samuel Quincy, July 4, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 420)

Four years after Quincy's letters, the distinctions and differences between the Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities were still as pronounced; maybe even more so. As Bolzius remarked:

Some of them are called Spanish and Portuguese Jews, and others are German Jews, who speak High German and distinguish themselves from the others in divine service and to a certain degree in other ways, because the former [the Sephardic] are not so exact in regard to food and other Jewish ceremonies. They still have no synagogue, for which they are to blame, since one party prevents the other from building one. The German Jews feel justified in building a synagogue and want to let the Spanish Jews participate in its use; but the latter will not consent to this but wish to have precedence.

- John Martin Bolzius, undated 1739 correspondence (*GHQ*, vol. 47, p. 218)

In fact, the Jewish community *had* a synagogue; though, much like Christ Church, no physical and dedicated building yet. In his diary remarks, Benjamin Sheftall recorded the formation of Congregation *Mickva Israel* in 1735, noting simply:

1735 in the month of July
the Jews meet together, and agreed to open a Synagogue, which was done Immediately, named K.K "Mickva" Israel.

Neither was Bolzius entirely correct in his next lines, either:

To be sure, they have promised the Trustees... to cultivate the land: but such work does not suit them. Therefore some of them devote themselves to trade; but others, who lack the means for that, are really in a bad way.

- John Martin Bolzius, undated 1739 correspondence (*GHQ*, vol. 47, p. 218)

Clearly, Bolzius had not been to the garden of Abraham De Lyon, which by 1739 was a thriving enterprise. But Bolzius continued:

The trustees have engaged as doctor an old Jew who speaks Latin rather well and also Portuguese but may not understand his medical science well.

From ignoring De Lyon to impugning Nunez! His assessment may or may not have been true... what certainly is true is that Bolzius simply did not know the Sephardic community as he came to know the Ashkenazic. There was an interesting affinity between between the Salzburger and many of Savannah's Germanic Jews. Not only did they share the same language, but both groups were outsiders traveling far from their experience as they stepped onto Georgia soil. In the days following the arrival of the Salzburger in Savannah, Bolzius, surprised at the existence of so many Jewish freeholders in Savannah, was touched by the kindness of Benjamin Sheftall.

The 13th of March [1734].

... A Jew, who had also received some land here, took the Salzburger in and treated them to breakfast with good rice-soup.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 1, p. 60)

The 14th of March [1734]. Last night we held our first prayer hour on shore in the local church [in Savannah] where we have permission to continue as long as we are here. The inhabitants of the town join us and prove themselves very devout. Also Jews, of which there are said to be twelve families, attend and listen attentively. They understand some German.

- p. 60

The following week, while still encamped in Savannah, the Salzburger again found themselves the beneficiary of the Sheftalls' goodwill. As early as their arrival in Charlestown, Bolzius made the observation "that there is money made of paper on which the denomination is printed with letters. If you give the people a gold or silver coin they won't give anything back but paper." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 1, p. 56) Whether or not this language barrier was a factor in the following is unclear, but it is clear that English currency confused the newly-arrived Salzburgers.

The 20th of March [1734].

... The previously mentioned Jew and his wife are proving very eager to be of service to us and to the Salzburgers; and he shows an honesty and righteousness the like of which one might seek in vain in others of his race and even many Christians. This is illustrated by the following example, among others. By mistake, and while it was dark, the Jew's wife [Perla] had taken from a Salzburger woman a whole crown instead of a half crown because, in her ignorance, the Salzburger woman gave it to her for a half crown. When the Jew [Benjamin] saw the money the next day and learned that it had been taken for something worth only half as much, he came to the Salzburgers' tent and asked for the woman who had not received enough change and gave her back a half crown with the words that God should keep him from having unjust property in his house since it could not bring any blessing. His wife had not taken it knowingly, etc. This made a deep impression on the Salzburgers.

- p. 65

Noting that "these two Jews love us very much and promise to visit us often at our settlement," Bolzius seemed impressed. "They are both from Germany and speak good German."

(Re)Considering the Sheftall List

Considering the muster for the *William and Sarah* makes one appreciate the clear-cut list for the *James* or the *Georgia Pink*, which would follow. In reconstructing the passenger list for the *William and Sarah* one is faced with certainly as many inconsistencies as in the case of the *Anne* (if not more) but fewer sources to consult. Whereas there are four relevant sources documenting passengers on the *Anne*, in the case of the *William and Sarah* there are only two; namely, 1.) Percival's *List of Early Settlers*, and 2.) a list penned by Benjamin Sheftall, titled "The Names of the Jews that arrived in Savannah in Georgia on the 11th day of July 1733." The Sheftall List was published in the *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* in March, 1965. (Pamphlet 75, Jewish Archives, GHS) The full name found at the top of the list is "The Names of the Jews that arrived in Savannah in Georgia on the 11th day of July 1733--A book of what Jews came to the province of Georgia when first it was settled & then that was born there Ever since the[y] came on Shore July 11, 1733." This list is reproduced below. To the left are the names on the Sheftall List in the order in which they were penned, while to the right, in brackets, are their corresponding entries found in the *List of Early Settlers*, with names spelled—or misspelled—in the *List*, if found at all.

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

Doctor Nunis	[found in the <i>List</i> as "Nunes, Saml., M.D."]
Mrs. Nunis, his wife [crossed out] mother	["Nunes, Rachel" recorded as "wife" on the <i>List</i> ; no mother reference]
Daniel Nunis	["Nunes, Danl."]
Moses Nunis	["Nunes, Moses"]
Sipra Nunis	["Nunes, Sypera"]
Shem Noah, there [their] servant	["Noah, Shem"]
Isaac Nunis Henneriques	["Nunes, Hen. Isaac"]
Mrs. Henneriques, his wife	["Nunez, Abigail"]
Shem, there [their] son	[<i>not found</i>]
there [their] other child dyed on board the ship	[<i>not found</i>]
Raphael Bernal	["Bernal, Rafael"]
his wife, Mrs. Bernal	["Bernal, Rachel"]
David Olivera	[<i>not found</i>]
Jacob Olivera	["Olivera, Jacob"]
his wife, Mrs. Olivera	["Olivera, Judith"]
David, there [their] son	["Olivera, David"]
Isaac there [their] son	["Olivera, Isaac"]
Leah Olivera, there [their] daughter	["Olivera, Leah"]
Aaron Depiva	[<i>not found</i>]
Benjamin Gedian	["Gideon, Benjamin"]
Jacob Crosta	[duplicate entries: "303. De Crasto, Jacob," and "652. Lopes de Crasto, Jacob"]
David Lopez Depass and his wife	["Lopes de Pax, David"] [<i>wife</i> - duplicate entries, including two with names inverted after she remarried: "655. Lopes de Pax, Sipura" "304. De Crasto, Sipura," "653. Lopes de Crasto, Sipura"]
Venereal	["Villaroel, Isaac" noted in the <i>List</i> as a "Jew," but no arrival date recorded]
Molena	[probably "Molina, Abrm." but "Molina, Isaac" also "arrived 10 July, 1733"]
David Moranda	["De miranda, David"]
Jacob Moranda	["De miranda, Jacob"]
David Cohen & his wife	[duplicate entries: "235. Cohen, David," and "236. Cohen, David Delmont," remarks: "very idle"]
Isaac Cohen there [their] son	[<i>wife</i> - "Cohen, Rachel"]
Abigail there [their] daughter	["Cohen, Isaac"]
Hannah there [their] do.	["Cohen, Abigail"]
Grace there [their] do.	[<i>not found</i>]
Abraham Minis & his wife	["Cohen, Grace"]
	["Minas, Abrm"]

Leah there [their] daughter	[wife - "Minas, Abigail"]
Esther there [their] do.	["Minas, Leah"]
Simon Minis, brother to Mr. Minis	["Minas, Hester"]
Jacob Yowel	["Minas, Simon"]
	[duplicate entries: "1210. Vowel, Jacob." (Some confusion in this entry - no "Jew" nor arrival date) Also "1292. Youghal, Jacob" (and spelled a third way within the capsule entry for Isaac Marks: "Jacob Yowil")]
Benjamin Sheftall & his wife	["Sheftel, Benj."]
	[wife - "Sheftel, Eliz."]
Abraham Delyon	["Delyon, Abrm." ... "an industrious man"]

In the 1960s Dr. Malcolm Stern published the *William and Sarah* list still regarded as the definitive compilation today. Printed within his “New Lights on the Savannah Settlement,” (*Jewish Experience in America*, Vol. 1, 1969) tradition has embraced the Stern List as the authoritative list of the passengers on the *William and Sarah*. Based on the Sheftall List, it essentially records the same 42 persons, but with better spelling and more particulars. While there is no question that it is accurate, it might have overlooked others who were almost certainly aboard the *William and Sarah* but not found on the Sheftall List; Percival’s *List of Early Settlers* makes a case for additional passengers, and in some instances a strong case.

While it is true that the *List of Early Settlers* is often problematic and does include several redundancies—duplicated entries in which the names were often simply inverted (or in the case of “Sipura Lopes de Pax” vs. “Sipura Lopes de Crasto” and “Sipura De Crasto,” a woman who remarried *and* was subject to name inversion)—it also includes several names not appearing above on the Sheftall List. In total, the *List of Early Settlers* contains 35 entries with the crucial distinction of “Jew; arrived 10 July 1733.” Two of the 35 were recorded twice, leaving then, 33 relevant entries. Of these, nearly half—15 of the 33—do not appear at all on the Sheftall List. Abraham DeLyon, that great producer of vines in the late 1730s, was described by William Stephens “as a near relation to” the Nunez family. (*CRG IV*, supplement, p. 135) Confirmed by both sources to have come over on the *William and Sarah*, he had a wife listed in the *List of Early Settlers* but not found on the Sheftall List. The same is true of Abraham Molina’s family; while a general head-of-family “Molena” reference is acknowledged on the Sheftall List, the *LES* suggests a total of six members of the Molina family arrived on the ship.

And unlike the above cases, where at least a head of family was recorded, it is possible an even bigger family may have been overlooked entirely. Abraham Bennial is not on the Sheftall List, but is recorded arriving “10 July 1733” on the *List of Early Settlers*; if he did indeed come at that date his wife and *seven children* that follow him on the *List* presumably came at the same time, because no other arrival date was recorded.... In short, the *List of Early Settlers* leaves room to interpret additional passengers; potentially as many as 33, given the following 14 heads of family and their respective members:

Heads of Family Documented as "Arrived 10 July 1733" in the *List of Early Settlers*
NOT on Sheftall List

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Heyman Aberdaun | 6. Moses Ledesma | 11. Bernal Rafael Monsante |
| 2. Simon Aberdaun | 7. Hugh Marks | 12. Melino Monsante |
| 3. Abraham Bernal | 8. Isaac Marks | 13. Samuel Noa Costa |
| 4. David Deleneira | 9. Isaac Molina | 14. Salomon Salomon |
| 5. Judith Fernando | 10. Abraham Monsante | |

Admittedly, it would be folly to argue that all of these *William and Sarah* ‘undocumented’ were on board based alone on so spotty a source as Percival’s *LES*, but as in the case with the *Anne*’s ‘undocumented’, a strong argument can be made for a number of them (including the Molina family as referenced above):

* Samuel Noa Costa (#13 above), a “Jew... servant to Saml. Nuner [Nunez]; arrived 10 July 1733,” while Shem Noah, Nunez’s servant on the Sheftall List is said to belong instead to Abraham Minis. While Noah is on the Sheftall List, Noa Costa is not.

* Moses Ledesma (#6 above [recorded on the December 21, 1733 Christie/Calvert Deed as “Moses le Desma”]) is recorded arriving "10 July 1733" with his wife; their son Abraham is recorded on the *List* “born in Georgia 27 July 1733,” two weeks after the arrival of the *William and Sarah*... this would seem compelling evidence of the arrival of both mother and father on that vessel, though neither are not on the Sheftall List.

* Abraham Monsante (#10 above), Bernal Rafael Monsante (or more likely, “Rafael Bernal Monsante,” #11 above) and Melino Monsante (#12 above) are all listed as arriving “10 July 1733,” while Rafael Bernal Monsante’s wife arrived the following month, documented on the *Georgia Pink*; the fact that she followed so closely on the heels of the *William and Sarah*—and surely did not precede them—makes a very strong case for the Monsantes’ presence on the *William and Sarah*.

In sum, it is likely that the established Sheftall (or by extension, the Stern) List is incomplete, but to what extent is unclear. Lacking further documentation, and faced with only the two (somewhat imprecise) sources, the number on the *William and Sarah* is reduced to a good guess. In terms of the sources from the time, Sheftall accounts for 42, but with one already dead. Robert Johnson remarked in a vague sense of “forty” in his July 28, 1733 letter to the Trustees. Percival, in notes added to his *Egmont Journal*, noted “They were in all 43,” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 12) based evidently on Hanton’s report. Thomas Coram referenced “between forty and fifty.” Tailfer in his *True and Historic Narrative*, remarked of the arrival of “a vessel with about twenty families of Jews,” (p. 48) while the Sheftall List presents only twelve families. Pooling these two original sources—the Sheftall List and the *List of Early Settlers*—can lead one to as many as **75** persons, excluding even the duplicate entries.

The *William and Sarah* manifest--The Maxi Count

The complete *William and Sarah* according to Percival

William Hanton, Captain

(✓ - indicates secondary confirmation *via* the Sheftall List):

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

1. Heyman Aberdaun		36. Anne Marks (w)	
2. Abigail Aberdaun (w)		37. Isaac Marks	
3. Solomon (s)		38. Abraham Minis	✓
4. Simon Aberdaun		39. Abigail Minis (w)	✓
5. Grace Aberdaun (w)		40. Hester (d)	✓
6. Abraham Bennal		41. Leah (d)	✓
7. Sarah Bennal (w)		42. Simon Minis (b)	
8. Aaron (s)		43. Abraham Molina	✓
9. Benjamin (s)		44. Sarah Molina (w)	
10. David (s)		45. Hester (d)	
11. Jacob (s)		46. Judith Fernando (sis)	
12. Moses (s)		47. Isaac Molina	
13. Rachel (d)		48. Rachel Molina (w)	
14. Sarah (d)		49. Abraham Monsonte	
15. Rafael Bernal	✓	50. Rafael Bernal Monsonte	
16. Rachel Bernal (w)	✓	51. Melino Monsonte	
17. David Delmont Cohen	✓	52. Shem Noah	✓
18. Rachel Cohen (w)	✓	53. Samuel Noa Costa	
19. Abigail (d)	✓	54. Isaac Nunez Henriques	✓
20. Grace (d)	✓	55. Abigail Henriques (w)	✓
21. Isaac (s)	✓	56. Samuel Nunez	✓
22. Isaac De Costa		57. Rebecca/Rachel Nunez (w)	✓
23. Jacob Lopes deCraсто	✓	58. Daniel (s)	✓
24. David Deleneira		59. Moses (s)	✓
25. Abraham Delyon	✓	60. Sypera (d)	✓
26. Hester Delyon (w)		61. Jacob Olivera	✓
27. David De miranda	✓	62. Judith Olivera (w)	✓
28. Jacob De miranda	✓	63. David (s)	✓
29. Benjamin Gideon	✓	64. Isaac (s)	✓
30. Moses Ledesma		65. Leah (d)	✓
31. Hester Ledesma (w)		66. Salomon Salomon	
32. Samuel (s)		67. Benjamin Sheftall	
33. David Lopes dePass	✓	68. Perla Sheftall (w)	✓
34. Sipura (w)	✓	69. Isaac Villaroel	✓
35. Hugh Marks		70. Jacob Yowell	✓

Found on the Sheftall List, but not in the LES:

71. Shem Henriques (son to Isaac Nunez Henriques)
72. David Olivera (brother to Jacob)
73. Aaron Depiva (confirmed in *CRG XX* as “DePeiba the jew”)

- 74. Hannah Cohen (daughter to David Cohen)
- 75. Dead Henriques child

Transition to Community

Finally, a Court. July 7, 1733 was the day chosen to name the wards and assign lots, to create the Savannah Court and to mark a transition from settlement to an organized community. Oglethorpe affixed names to four wards, sixteen tythings and possibly as few as eight streets. The community of the 'first forty' was kept in tact, with as many as 38 of the forty lots in Derby Ward granted to family heads from the *Anne*, one going to John Vanderplank, who had come on the *Volante*, and as Oglethorpe wrote "The other is Tibbett who was sent by Capt. Coram." Thomas Tibbit came on the third ship, the *James*. Noble Jones was one of the few *Anne* heads of family to be assigned a lot elsewhere—lot 41, the first lot in Decker Ward. A correspondence sent to the *South Carolina Gazette* recorded the day's events:

Savannah, (in GEORGIA), Aug. 8

ON the 7th of July at Day-break, the Inhabitants were assembled, on the Strand Prayers were read, by way of Thanksgiving. The People proceeded to the Square. The Wards and Tythings were named; each Tything consisting of Ten Houses, and each Ward of four Tythings. An House Lot was given to each Freeholder. All the People had a very plentiful Dinner, and in the Afternoon, the Grant of a Court of Record was read, and the Officers for that Court were appointed. The Court was held, a Jury impanelled, and a Cause tried. There being in Derby Ward but 21 Houses built, and the other 19 Lotts having no Houses built on them, Mr. Millidge and Mr. Goddard, the two chief Carpenters, offered in the Name of themselves and 17 of their Helpers, to take the unbuilt Lotts, and give the built ones to those who were less able to help themselves.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, August 25, 1733

Oglethorpe recorded the events of July 7 in his August 12 letter to the Trustees, though he was not as specific in his narrative as the *Gazette*.

On the 7th of July I held the first Court and administered the Oaths of Allegiance Supremacy and Abjuration named the several Wards and Streets & put each family into Possession of an House Lot on twenty one of which framed Houses are built; the other nineteen the Carpenters undertook to build for themselves.

- James Oglethorpe, August 12, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 28-30)

As Oglethorpe lamented to the Trustees: "But alas! five of them [carpenters] dyed within one week," (*CRG XX*, p. 30) apparent victims of the Summer Sickness. Oglethorpe remarked: "Thomas Millidge our best Carpenter is dead." Both Goddard and Millidge were dead by the end of July, depriving the settlement of its two chief carpenters in the heat of summer. Percival records the two men sparingly:

1018. Millidge, Tho. - Age 42; carpenter;
embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb.
1732-3; lot 36 in Savannah; dead 29
July 1733.

514. Goddard, Ja. - Age 38; carpenter;

embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb.
1732-3; Lot 1 in Savannah; dead 1
July 1733.

It is worth repeating that Goddard's July 1 death date is almost certainly in error in the *List of Early Settlers*, but he and his wife clearly died in July, as Oglethorpe wrote of the resettling of their two children in his August 12 correspondence.

On July 7 Oglethorpe had named 4 wards before all existed; both the *South Carolina Gazette* and Oglethorpe's August 12 letter make the same telling reference to 40 lots, suggesting that Derby ward was still the only one that actually existed as late as July. All four wards would have some physical presence by January, by which time Oglethorpe boasted to the Trustees "three Wards and a half... taken up" by their populations. The lots Oglethorpe assigned to the colonists were meticulously recorded by Thomas Christie and William Calvert, the two surviving deed holders of the City Common.

Simplicity was best, especially considering that any lot's house had to be built within "Eighteen Kalendar Months" or the granted lot would be forfeit. Most of the cottages of the 'first forty' were identical "24 foot in length upon 16 foot in Breadth," not for any artistic or communal concept, but because that was the bare minimum allowed as specified in the text of the Christie/Calvert Deed. As Oglethorpe described the town's houses: "They have one Story eight foot high with Garrets over them. They are raised upon Logs two foot above the Ground and are floored with Inch and a half plank." (CRG XX, p. 23)

While noting that "Much of the greatest Number of Houses in Savannah are built of the common Dimensions 24 feet long & 16 feet wide," John Brownfield later noted the further classification of the town's constructions:

The words "Small Tenement" are meant to express a framed Building less than a House of 24 Feet in length and 16 Feet in breadth which are the Dimensions specified in the Deed of Conveyance signed by Thomas Christie and William Calvert. The term "large House" is use[d] where a Building exceeds that of the said Dimensions. "A Hut" is generally built of round Poles and split Boards without any Frame Work and is commonly much smaller than a House.

- John Brownfield, May 17, 1737 (CRG XXI, p. 466)

As early as March, 1733, Thomas Causton described the homes only then beginning to be raised:

The Houses are made of Timber of one Floor, only a Cock loft over it Sufficient to hold two Beds. The lower part will make one large Room and two small ones and stands in a piece of Ground which with the intended Garden is 20 Yards [60 ft] broad in front and 30 Yards [90 ft] long in depth.

- Thomas Causton, March 12, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 17)

"Also, instead of glass windows the houses have only paper, linen, or just the open window frame," John Martin Bolzius observed one year later, on March 14, 1734. (*Uralsperger*, vol. 1, p. 60) Bolzius, the senior of the Salzburgers' two ministers, remarked further on March 17, only days after having arrived in Savannah: "The houses and gardens are arranged in mathematical regularity, which will look very pretty after everything has been put in order." (p. 62) Three years later, speaking of his congregation's own houses in Ebenezer, Bolzius honestly addressed

the shortcomings of these small common dwellings of 1730s Georgia: “The houses built of boards are quite expensive and, at that, are too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer.”

It matters little whether one lives in a well-made hut or in one of these shingled houses. Those who know the building trade have said that walls of clay cannot be used here in this hot climate unless, as is done in Charlestown, such walls are covered on the outside with clapboards which would make the expense even greater.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 27)

“In addition, every word, even if it not spoken in a loud voice, can be heard in the street, which is quite inconvenient for a minister who wishes to speak privately and seriously with his parishioners.” (p. 12)

Remarking that “I found a great alteration Every way for the better, from what it was, when I was last there,” by October of 1734 Samuel Eveleigh wrote of houses in Savannah that were beginning to vary from the standard 16 x 24:

There are about fourscore Houses built and forty more goeing forward besides Severall Additions making to the former Ones. [James] Muir is building a two Storey house, joining to his former One and Mr [John] West (they say) designs to build a House.

- Samuel Eveleigh, October 19, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 87)

“When I first came ashore they told me,” Eveleigh continued, “that when ever I saw a Chimney to [a] House, I may depend, that it did or does belong to a Widdow.”

I went also down to See the Brickmakers, where I found made about One hundred thousand, and the Workmen tell me, that they doubt not, but by March [1735] they shall have three hundred thousand.

- p. 88

“And,” he concluded optimistically, “they expect their Chimneys up to all their Houses by Christmas.”

The earliest bricks for the Savannah settlement were sent over from England or produced out of Purrysburg; Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees in his January 22, 1734 letter that “The Bricks You sent were partly employed in building the Smith’s Forge,” an oven, the well, “and the rest in the Chimneys belonging to the Widows.” (*CRG XX*, p. 41) And as Isaac Chardon wrote in a January 17, 1734 correspondence: “Mr. Oglethorpe has agreed with Capt. Dejean of Purysburg for a pretty large Quantity of Bricks which they understand making very well. For those that I saw there were extraordinary good.” (*CRG XX*, p. 44) By December, 1734, Thomas Christie wrote proudly of Savannah’s own manufacture, “We make here very good Bricks in which Manufacture they Seem every day to Improve.” (*CRG XX*, p. 124)

We have likewise Paled all the Strand in and new built the Stairs down ye Bluff & paled it in, wch together wth the Chimneys being almost all Finished give a good Grace to the Place.

- p. 123

In the early spring of 1735 Peter Gordon sought to rent out his house in Derby ward. Following a tumultuous six-week stay that constituted his second and final experience in Savannah he wrote from Charlestown, asking Patrick Houstoun to rent out his house. Houstoun was not optimistic about its desirability, given the fact that it lacked even the conveniences expected by 1735 standards. "I do think if you had ordered the house to be partitioned & a floor above & a littell kitchene built it would have answered the expence," Houstoun replied. "For the house is well situate for any bussiness & having a Chimney if any houses lett it must if it had those conveniences." (CRG XX, p. 240) A few days later Houstoun reported that some minor improvements were underway, including the laying of a floor. "Jos Mure [John Muir] came to me this day & asked if I was to lett your house.... [Hugh] Ross has laid the floor & wants he says some more boards to compleat it." (p. 241)

By early 1736, Francis Moore, recently arrived in the Great Embarkation, would remark of the city's evolving architecture:

The Town of Savannah is built of wood; all the houses of the first forty freeholders [Derby Ward] are of the same size... but there are great numbers built since, I believe one hundred or one hundred and fifty, many of these are much larger; some of two or three stories high, the boards plained and painted. Their houses are built at a pretty large distance from one another, for fear of fire; the streets are very wide, and there are great squares left at proper distances, for markets and other conveniences.

- Francis Moore, Feb. 9, 1736

Reconstructing Oglethorpe's Town

On the Savannah River the English have laid out a large city which they named Savannah. Already sixty to seventy houses have been put up in good order, with pretty gardens around them. The city is situated on the river of the same name and is planned regularly and divided into 4 parts. In each of these a large square was left open to be used for market days or other community affairs. The region is pleasant, the streets are wide and laid in straight lines; all the houses follow the same plan, symmetrically and in proportion.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 140)

Five months after Oglethorpe's July 7, 1733 parceling, Thomas Christie and William Calvert completed the city's land grant Deed, consigning to paper for the first time the ward names and the tything names, and in addition the lots, both city and garden, which Oglethorpe had given to each colonist. Most of this document text has survived. What has not, however, is the map that accompanied it. From the Preface of the Deed: "And Whereas the said James Oglethorpe... hath drawn a plan of the Town... with proper Numbers, References, and Explanations for the more easy understanding thereof which Plan and Plot are herunto annexed and set forth in Folio One and Folio Nine of this Book." (Deed quoted at length in William Harden's *History of Savannah and South Georgia*, 1913, p 25-30) Folios 1 and 9 were Oglethorpe's complete "Plan and Plot" of Savannah.

Robert Parker, Sr., confirms the existence of such maps in his December 24, 1734 letter to the Trustees, remarking: “Mr Oglethorpe gave, if confirmed by the Trust, a Trust Lott marked K in the Draft of the Towne Plot in the Large Book....” (CRG XX, p. 132) So too does John Brownfield in his May 17, 1737 remarks to the Trustees of “the Old Register Book; which contains only the Deed of Conveyance from Christie and Calvert with a Plan of this Town & Table of References.” (CRG XXI, p. 469-70)

Sadly, this crucial first depiction of the city, or any copies of it, do not survive. This ‘Holy Grail,’ folios one and nine of the Christie/Calvert Deed are lost to history and were long gone even at the time that Charles C. Jones wrote his *History of Georgia* in 1883:

Unfortunately, the "Plan of Savannah" which accompanied it [the Christie/Calvert Deed], and to which reference is therein made, has been lost. All efforts for its recovery have thus far proved futile.

- Charles C. Jones, *History of Georgia*, v. 1, p. 156

Despite this centuries-old loss, it is still possible to reconstruct the grants of the first year using the surviving text of the Christie/Calvert Deed and comparing it against the lot numbers, where assigned, in *Percival’s List of Early Settlers*; essentially, using one source to decode the other.

James Oglethorpe, the architect of Savannah, never left any written record explaining his Savannah design, a layout which has fascinated historians and city planners for generations. Using this reconstruction and the 1753 Bryan Landgrant Map (which will be addressed shortly), however, several interesting aspects of Oglethorpe’s plan become evident. Quite simply, everything in Oglethorpe’s design of Savannah’s first four wards was divisible by 15. The entire layout of Savannah’s first four wards was constructed on base units of fifteen feet, or five yards.

<i>Width of Drayton Street...</i>	60 ft (15 x 4)
<i>Barnard, Bull, St Julian and Broughton Streets...</i>	75 ft (15 x 5)
<i>Tything Lot width...</i>	60 ft (15 x 4)
<i>Tything Lot depth...</i>	90 ft (15 x 6)
<i>Trust Lot width...</i>	60 ft (15 x 4)
<i>Trust Lot depth in Derby and Percival Wards...</i>	120 ft (15 x 8)
<i>Trust Lot depth in Decker and Heathcote Wards...</i>	180 ft (15 x 12)
<i>Lane width...</i>	21
]- 60 ft (15 x 4)
<i>Bryan and Eveleigh Streets...</i>	39
<i>Total ward width...</i>	675 ft (15 x 45)
<i>Total ward depth...</i>	675 ft (15 x 45)

At first glance the fact that the two lanes and Bryan and Eveleigh Streets were not divisible by 15 would appear to be anomalous, until one factors that 21 and 39 equals 60, and two of each would produce an even 120.

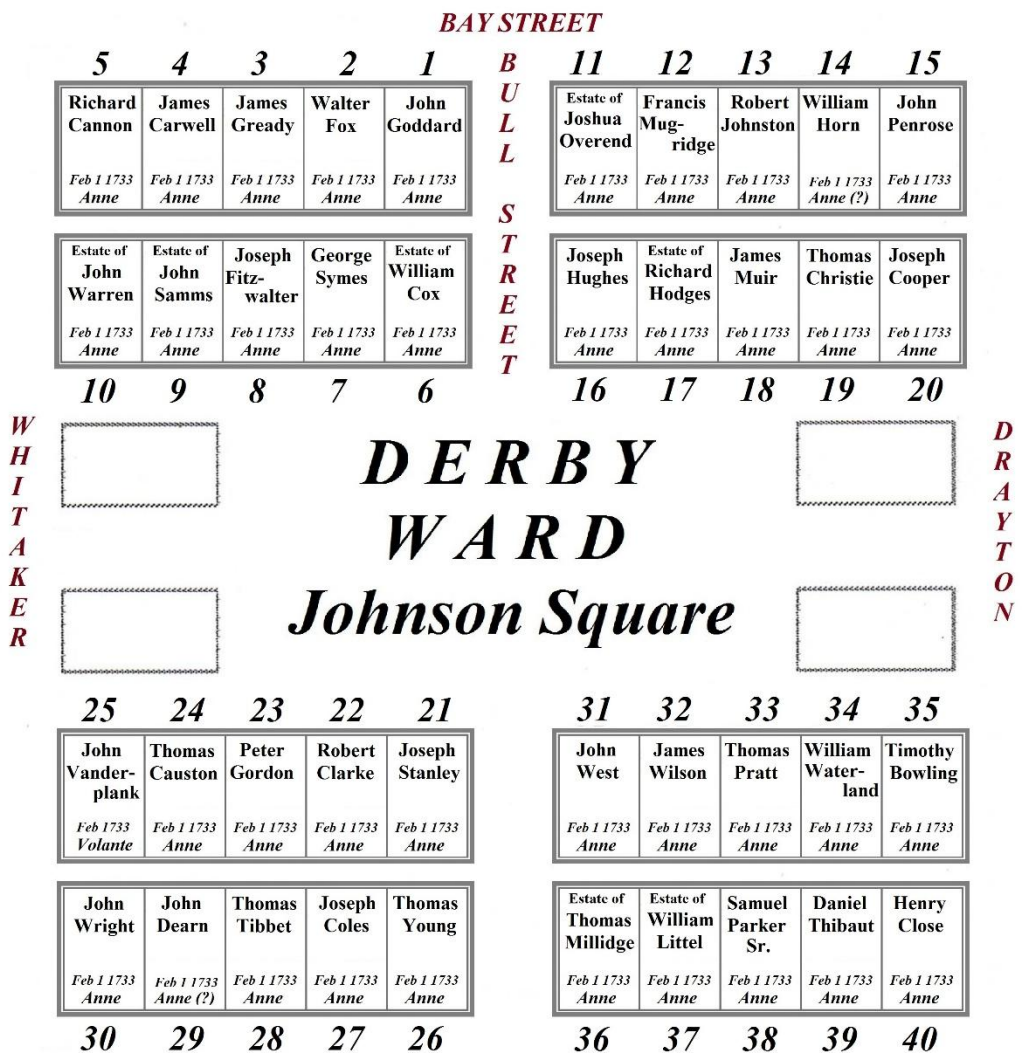
Also evident by a reconstruction is the order of the ward layout, an order established by the sequence of the arrival of the bulk of a given ward’s grantees.

**ORIGINAL DISPENSATION OF THE HOUSE
LOTS IN THE FIRST FOUR WARDS, 1733-34**

A Reconstruction, using the Christie/Calvert Deed and Lot information contained within Percival's *List of Early Settlers*

KEY: 57 - (tything lot number as assigned by Percival's List of Early Settlers)


	Lot Grantee	- (if known)
	Arrival date Vessel	- (where applicable)



Ward One. Derby Ward--the first to be laid out--saw its lots granted almost entirely to the population of the Anne, and the "first forty."

ORIGINAL DISPENSATION OF THE HOUSE LOTS IN THE FIRST FOUR WARDS, 1733-34

A Reconstruction, using the Christie/Calvert Deed and Lot
information contained within Percival's *List of Early Settlers*

KEY:	57 - (tything lot number as assigned by Percival's List of Early Settlers)						
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Lot Grantee	- (if known)						
Arrival date	- (where applicable)						
Vessel							

55	54	53	52	51
Thomas Ellis <small>Feb 1 1733 Anne</small>	William Gough <small>June 19 1733 (or) William Mackay</small>	John Clark	John Cundall	

60	59	58	57	56
Samuel Lacy <small>Feb 28 1734</small>	Moses LeDesma <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah (?)</small>	William Mears <small>June 15 1734</small>	Isaac Nunez Henriquez <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Edward Johnson <small>May 14 1733 James</small>

**B
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N
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D**

41	42	43	44	45
Noble Jones <small>Feb 1 1733 Anne</small>	Paul Cheeswright <small>May 14 1733 James</small>	Samuel Ribiero Nunez <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Thomas Jones <small>July 1 1734</small>	John Musgrove <small>(Indian Trader)</small>

46	47	48	49	50
Noble W. Jones <small>Feb 1 1733 Anne</small>	Daniel Nunez <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Charles Philip Rogers <small>"a minor" 1733</small>	Moses Nunez <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Robert Gilbert <small>May 14 1733 James</small>



(St. Julian St)



D E C K E R W A R D

(Now Ellis Square)



(St. Julian St)



**W
H
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T
A
K
E
R**

75	74	73	72	71
Charles Mell-champ <small>"a minor" March 1734</small>	Abraham DeLyon <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Jacob Lopez Olivera <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Edward Jenkins Jr. <small>"a minor" Sept 23 1733 Susannah</small>	Edward Jenkins Sr. <small>Sept 23 1733 Susannah</small>

80	79	78	77	76
Elisha Foster <small>Dec 15 1733 Savannah</small>	William Mell-champ Jr. <small>"a minor" March 1734</small>	Peter Germain (1) Isaac deVol (2)	William Calvert <small>Feb 1 1733 Anne</small>	William Savory <small>May 14 1733 James</small>

61	62	63	64	65
James Mac-pherson <small>"a minor"</small>	<small>granted in 1737 to William Ball</small>	David Cohen <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Benjamin Sheftall <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</small>	Bearsley & William Gough <small>June 19 1733</small>

66	67	68	69	70
Robert Hows <small>May 14 1733 James</small>	Henry Hows <small>May 14 1733 James</small>	Thomas Salter <small>Dec 15 1733 Savannah</small>	Abraham Mont-Sante <small>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah (?)</small>	Peter Tondee <small>May 14 1733 James</small>

Ward Two. Decker Ward's population was composed heavily of the settlers from the James and the Jewish settlers from the William & Sarah, populations arriving between May and July 1733.

**ORIGINAL DISPENSATION OF THE HOUSE
LOTS IN THE FIRST FOUR WARDS, 1733-34**

A Reconstruction, using the Christie/Calvert Deed and Lot information contained within Percival's *List of Early Settlers*

KEY: 57 - (tything lot number as assigned by Percival's List of Early Settlers)

N	Lot Grantee	- (if known)
W	Arrival date	- (where applicable)
E	Vessel	- (where applicable)
S		

BROUGHTON

85	84	83	82	81
Thomas Egerton <i>Dec 28 1734 Prince of Wales</i>	Robert Hanks <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Robert Potter <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Robert Moore <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	James Wiloughby <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>

91	92	93	94	95
John Millidge <i>Feb 1 1733 Anne</i>	Jacob Yowell <i>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</i>	Samuel Parker Jr. <i>Feb 1 1733 Anne</i>	Abraham Minis <i>July 11, 1733 William & Sarah</i>	James Turner <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>

Thomas Cheuter <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	John Lawrence <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	John Kelly <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Lewis Bowen <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	John Desborough <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>
---	--	---	--	--

Thomas Atwell <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Hugh Frazier <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	John Graham <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Samuel Mercer <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	William Brownjohn <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>
--	---	--	--	--

90	89	88	87	86
-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------

96	97	98	99	100
-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	------------

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**PERCIVAL
WARD**

(Now Wright Square)

D
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T
O
N



105	104	103	102	101
Estate of William Alfington <i>May 14 1733 James</i>	Henry Manly <i>April 1734</i>		(burying ground)	Josiah Lowl <i>Ranger, Indep. Co.</i>

111	112	113	114	115
Henry Parker <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	George Waterman <i>Dec 7 1733</i>	Charles Brittain <i>Oct 31 1733</i>	William Parker <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	

Lloyd Gibbons <i>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</i>	granted in 1736 to Capt. John Thompson	William Grickson <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	William Atwell <i>"a minor"</i>
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Thomas Gapen <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Francis Delgrass <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Jeremiah Papot <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	Peter Baillou <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>	James Papot <i>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</i>
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110	109	108	107	106
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116	117	118	119	120
------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

Ward Three. At least 5/8 of Percival Ward's lots were granted to passengers from the Georgia Pink (arriving August 29, 1733)

ORIGINAL DISPENSATION OF THE HOUSE LOTS IN THE FIRST FOUR WARDS, 1733-34

A Reconstruction, using the Christie/Calvert Deed and Lot
information contained within Percival's *List of Early Settlers*

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Lot Grantee	-	(if known)								
Arrival date	-	(where applicable)								
Vessel	-									

BROUGHTON

135	134	133	132	131	B A R N A R D	121	122	123	124	125		
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140	139	138	137	136	126	127	128	129	130			

HEATHCOTE WARD

(Now Telfair Square)

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155	154	153	152	151	141	142	143	144	145														
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">granted in 1736 to John Hughes <small>August 1734</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Tim Leary <small>August 1734</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">John Goldwyre <small>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Furcerd Chetwynd <small>Feb 1733 Volante</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">James Dormer <small>Oct 21 1733</small></td> </tr> </table>	granted in 1736 to John Hughes <small>August 1734</small>	Tim Leary <small>August 1734</small>	John Goldwyre <small>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</small>	Furcerd Chetwynd <small>Feb 1733 Volante</small>	James Dormer <small>Oct 21 1733</small>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">granted in 1736 to Jonas Barret <small>Jan 14 1734 James (2)</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Robert Brewin <small>Jan 14 1734 James (2)</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">granted in 1736 to Henry Green <small>Aug 29 1733</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Charles Bowler <small>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Thomas Trip <small>March 1734 Hopewell</small></td> </tr> </table>	granted in 1736 to Jonas Barret <small>Jan 14 1734 James (2)</small>	Robert Brewin <small>Jan 14 1734 James (2)</small>	granted in 1736 to Henry Green <small>Aug 29 1733</small>	Charles Bowler <small>Aug 29 1733 Georgia Pink</small>	Thomas Trip <small>March 1734 Hopewell</small>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Humfrey Bright <small>Aug 21 1734 Friendship</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">James Baillou <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Henry Molton <small>Feb 1 1733 Anne (?)</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">John Scott <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">George Roan <small>April 1734</small></td> </tr> </table>	Humfrey Bright <small>Aug 21 1734 Friendship</small>	James Baillou <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small>	Henry Molton <small>Feb 1 1733 Anne (?)</small>	John Scott <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small>	George Roan <small>April 1734</small>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">William Rigden <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Giles Becu <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">David Peters <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Adrian Loyer <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small></td> <td style="text-align: center;">Edward Bush <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small></td> </tr> </table>	William Rigden <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small>	Giles Becu <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small>	David Peters <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small>	Adrian Loyer <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small>	Edward Bush <small>Mar 12 1734 Purrysburgh</small>
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160	159	158	157	156	146	147	148	149	150														

Ward Four. Heathcote Ward played home to the colonists arriving late 1733/early 1734, with much of its population composed of passengers from the Savannah (Dec, 1733) and the Purrysburgh (March, 1734)

* Derby Ward (Lots 1-40)

named for James Stanley, the 10th Earl of Derby (1664-1736), financial benefactor to Georgia. "He having been a great forwarder of our colony's affairs," (Percival Diary, vol. 1, p. 340) Derby was elected as a Trustee in March, 1733. "Your Lordship's Name must add the greatest Weight to their Proceedings," Percival explained to Derby on April 5, 1733. (CRG XXIX, p. 11) The Trustees "hope therefore You will not disapprove of their having Elected Your Lordship One of the Corporation."

The first ward and the model for every ward that would follow, it was measured out on the ninth day of the settlement. Its lots were granted almost entirely to the families of the *Anne*. Each of Savannah's first six wards would consist of forty house lots because they were modeled after Derby, and Derby's was built around the 'first forty' of the *Anne*.

* Decker Ward (Lots 41-80)

named for Dutch-born merchant Mathew Decker (1679-1749), MP and Georgia benefactor, contributing £100 on September 15, 1732 (CRG III, p. 7); deputized to collect subscriptions.

The second ward developed; with its first lot granted to Noble Jones and four other lots granted to remaining *Anne* or *Anne* "undocumented" passengers; seven lots granted to colonists arriving on the *James* following its May 14, 1733 arrival and multiple lots to the passengers of the *William and Sarah*, arriving in July. As *Tailfer* observed in 1741: "Upon the west side of Savannah, lie the township lots of the Jews." (p. 150)

* Percival Ward (Lots 81-120)

named for John, Lord Percival, Earl of Egmont, president of the Georgia Board of Trustees.

The third ward, with some carryover from the *William and Sarah*, but the overwhelming majority of its population consisting of passengers from the *Georgia Pink*, a ship arriving August 29, 1733.

* Heathcote Ward (Lots 121-160)

named for George Heathcote (1700-1768), one of the most active of the Trustees.

The fourth and final ward of 1733, its lots were granted almost entirely to passengers from late 1733 and early 1734 vessels, ranging from the *Savannah* (December 15, 1733) to the *Purrysburg* (March 12, 1734).

* Two more wards were laid out and measured at some point during 1734. Regarded eventually as Lower New Ward and Upper New Ward, it is very possible that these fifth and sixth wards were intended from the beginning, though they were absent in the July 7 naming ceremony. The earliest notion of them comes down to us *via* Peter Gordon in Percival's *Journal*:

27 Feby. [1734].... Mr. [Peter] Gordon 1 Balif of Savannah lately come over to be cut for a fistula, attended, and presented a draft of Savannah wch. We ordered to be engraved. He gave us an acct. of the State of the Colony.... Mr. Gordons acct. of the Colony at the time he left it, November last, was.... That the town was intended to consist of 6 Wards....

Gordon, leaving Savannah on November 8, 1733, held that the city was “intended” to be constructed of six wards, but exactly when wards five and six were carved out is less clear. Philip von Reck, in Savannah in March, 1734 refers to a town still only “divided into 4 parts.” But enough lot assignments begin popping up in both wards five and six over 1734 to suggest their existence before the end of the year:

(source: *LES*)

<i>Grantee</i>	<i>date of arrival</i>	<i>granted lot</i>
Arthur Johnson	May 7, 1734	lot 172 (fifth ward)
John Lyndal	May 8, 1734	lot 173 "
John Roy	May 8, 1734	lot 176 "
John Burton	May 26, 1734	lot 203 (sixth ward)
Joseph Wardrope	August 21, 1734	lot 211 "
James Haselfoot	August 21, 1734	lot 215 "
Andrew Walker	August 21, 1734	lot 216 "

While the exact timetable of the above grants is unclear—i.e. - whether they were immediate grants or grants made months after arrival—by December, 1734 all six wards did exist, as five lots in the sixth ward were granted to the passengers of the *Prince of Wales*. William Calloway arrived on the *Prince of Wales* on December 28, 1734, and days later by January 4, 1735 described his house already underway. Remarking that “I find Carpenters Labor is Very Dear,” he wrote to the Trustees asking for an allotment of beer from the Storehouse for his workmen.

I Make bold to acquaint you of our safe arrival.... I hope the Country Will prove as healthfull and plentyfull as it is pleasant.... My Sarvant & Self are Bilding a Good hutt and Cutting Down Timber for My House.

- William Calloway, January 4, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 144)

The *List of Early Settlers* describes Calloway’s lot as 202 (sixth ward):

190. Calloway, Will - Wine cooper; embark'd 31 Oct. 1734; arrived 28 Dec. 1734; lot 202 in Savannah. His wife was in England when he died. [She] Quit-
ted if she be living. [He was] Dead 4 June 1735.

“I have Built me a Large Good hutt 21 futt by 14,” Calloway boasted by mid-January, “and 5 of us have agreed to build Our Houses to Gether. Sum to felling[,] Sum to Sawing Others to Framing & Shingle Making, and Wee hope to have all our houses up in 4 or 5 Mounths att Farthest.” (January 16, 1735 - *CRG XX*, p. 168) His *Prince of Wales* neighbors (and likely, the other four he alluded to above as the “5 of us”) included Thomas Bayley (lot 206), Francis Piercy (lot 208), Joseph Smith (lot 212) and Alexander Ross (lot 220). By January 16 Thomas Causton remarked that Barbara Rivett, formerly of Abercorn and recently widowed, had been placed in lot 209. In conclusion, just as the first four wards had physical existence by the end of 1733, wards five and six had to have been laid out and measured before the end of 1734.

Percival's *List of Early Settlers* records only three lot assignments in the fifth ward during 1734 and '35, and all three occurred in 1734. New arrivals during 1735 were commonly placed in the sixth ward (Lots 201-240); interestingly, there appears to have been no fifth ward (Lots 161-200) placements in 1735, so for all intents and purposes, the sixth ward was developed first.

There is no evidence to suggest Oglethorpe designed, intended or even *imagined* the need for more than six wards. In fact, by 1735 Savannah had already well exceeded the 'master plan' as described by the 1733 promotional publication by the Trust's secretary Benjamin Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia*:

As Experience has shown the Inconvenience of private Persons possessing too large Quantities of Land in our Colonies, by which means... they are thrown at such Distance, that they can neither assist, or defend one another; the Trustees settle the People in Towns, a hundred families in each.

Or, as von Reck paraphrased Martyn:

In order that the inhabitants of Georgia may be of greater assistance and use to each other, arrangements will be made that they will not have to live far apart but rather in towns. Each town will have one hundred families.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 140)

One hundred families. And Percival made a reference of one Botham Squires in January, 1733 to be settled in Savannah as one of 'the hundred' which would otherwise be rendered out of context: "He intends to settle there and be one of the hundred that has right of township. He pays his own passage, but is to be maintained as the rest of the hundred." (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 310)

With six wards in existence by 1735 the Savannah settlement already had the ability to accommodate as many as 240 families. As Francis Piercy, another passenger from the *Prince of Wales*, remarked in June of 1735:

the Town of Savannah is so large, that from forty houses there are now almost four hundred, besides hutts, for the town is a mile long and so much wide and it is almost built.

- Francis Piercy, June 1, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 368)

Savannah would remain a town of six wards/squares for the next 60 years. It is a testament to Oglethorpe's design that when population finally warranted expansion of the city in the 1790s, the recently created City Council made the fateful decision to continue Oglethorpe's concept of the ward (however slightly altered) in the creation of Washington, Warren and Franklin Wards, on January 12, 1791.

The Christie/Calvert Deed recording the July 7 formalities was completed and signed on December 21, 1733. Given the loss of folios one and nine from the Deed, today the earliest map of Savannah extant actually denoting streets is a 1753 survey, a Land grant showing Johnathan Bryan's property on Hutchinson Island.

Its note and final memorandum atop of the map dates it to July 27, 1753. As the oldest surviving record of early street names, the Bryan Landgrant Map identifies four east-west streets as follows, from north to south: Bryan Street, St. Julian Street, Eveleigh Street and Broughton Street; and five north-south streets from east to west: Abercorn Street, Drayton Street, Bull Street, Whitaker Street and Barnard Street. Two streets were named for prominent English benefactors, seven for South Carolinians. “On the 7th of July I... named the several Wards and Streets,” Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees, but given the fact that Oglethorpe did not offer any further details in his letter to the Trustees, his reasoning for choosing these particular benefactors over potential others is unclear. Also unclear is whether he intended to honor entire families or individuals in the case of some South Carolina benefactors—for instance, all three Bryan brothers contributed to Georgia.

* Abercorn Street -

Named for John James Hamilton, 6th Earl of Abercorn (c.1661 – 28 November 1734). A financial benefactor of the Georgia colony, having promised £100 to the colony every year of his life. Contributions recorded in the Trustees’ Account Book:

5 Sept. [1732] *The Right Honourable James Earl of Abercorn... £100...*

- CRG III, p. 7

21 April [1733] *The Right Honourable James Earl of Abercorn... £100...*

- p. 13

The second donation appears in the May 9, 1733 entry in Percival’s *Diary*: “We had also an account that the Earl of Abercorn had given us another 100 £, for which we ordered the thanks of the Board.” (vol. 1, p. 372) The Earl’s donations were generous, but his health was quickly failing. Percival *Diary*, November 5, 1733: “After this I went to see the Earl of Abercorn, who saw nobody, having kept his chamber two months, and being in a wearing condition.” (vol. 1, p. 412) He died in 1734, as Percival noted “Tuesday, 3. [December, 1734] - This day I had an account of the Earl of Abercorn’s death in London, which is a great loss to the Georgia Corporation, he having promised 100*l*. A year to it while he lived.”

He was a man of great honour and sincerity, courage and breeding, and of as much public spirit as I ever was acquainted with, but passionate and of no great depth of understanding, yet very passable with mankind by reason of his virtues.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 135

His legacy in Georgia included a 1.) Savannah street name and 2.) a village named in his honor.

* Barnard Street -

Named for Sir John Barnard, Lord Mayor of London in 1737 and 1740. In the attempt to secure Parliament funding for Georgia in 1733, Percival wrote: “I went this morning to the House to discourse the Speaker and Sir Joseph Jekyl upon our petition. I found them zealous for it, and so is Sir John Barnard.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 370) Barnard had contributed £ 21 to the Georgia endeavor at the earliest opportunity, on June 29, 1732. (CRG II, p. 7)

* Broughton Street -

Named for Thomas Broughton, brother-in-law (married to Anne Johnson) and lieutenant governor to Robert Johnson of South Carolina. He assumed the role of acting Royal Governor upon Johnson's death in 1735, and under his two and-a-half year tenure relations between Georgia and South Carolina took an ugly turn over issues of the regulation of Indian trade.

* Bryan Street -

Named for the Bryan family of South Carolina, consisting of three brothers at the time Oglethorpe named the street, all of whom—Joseph, Hugh and Jonathan—had provided assistance to the Georgia settlement. As the Trustees recorded in their Account Book: “Mr. Joseph [B]Ryan... Himself, with four of his Sawyers gave two months Work in the Colony.” (CRG III, p. 91) Youngest Jonathan Bryan may have accompanied Oglethorpe to found the Savannah site at Yamacraw Bluff and was accorded an important position in the English delegation during the Indian conference in May, 1733, sitting at Oglethorpe's left side. Either Hugh or Jonathan Bryan “came up again in the midst of the Sickness to assist us with 20 Slaves whose Labour they gave as a free Gift.” (Oglethorpe correspondence, Aug. 12, 1733, CRG XX, p. 40) Joseph died in 1735, and though Jonathan's Georgia role continued to grow as time progressed, he moved to Georgia only after slavery was permitted. His 1753 landgrant map of property on Hutchinson Island is the oldest surviving map denoting the city's street names.

* Bull Street -

Named for Colonel William Bull, son of Stephen Bull and “a gentleman of great experience in making of settlements,” according to the *Gordon Journal* (p. 37). He assisted in the layout of Savannah's first ward and was the first man to bring slaves to Georgia. From the Trustees' Account Book: “Came to Savannah with Four Labourers, and assisted the Colony for a month. He Himself measuring the Scantlings and setting out the work for the Sawyers, and giving the Proportion of the Houses, and also gave the work of his Four Servants for the said month.” (CRG III, p. 90) He served as acting Royal Governor of South Carolina from 1738 to 1743. His grave marker, in the midst of Sheldon Church, would boast amongst his many life achievements: “Assisted in the laying out of Savannah....”

* Drayton Street -

Named for the Drayton family of South Carolina, though no specific benefactions in the surviving record indicate why.

* Eveleigh Street -

Named for Samuel Eveleigh, frequent correspondent to the Trustees and great ‘free-thinker’ of Georgia industry. An early hope for creating a mercantile trading system in Georgia, he withdrew interests in Georgia following the Trustees' slavery prohibition in 1735. Though almost lost to history today, Oglethorpe's original name for the street is far more consistent with his tradition of naming streets for South Carolinians than ‘Duke Street’ as found by the time of the 1770 Shruder Map. It is Congress Street today.

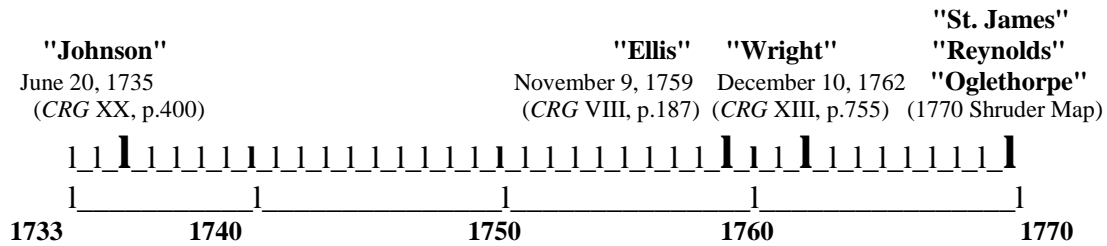
A further examination of the 1753 map indicates no east-west street names south of Broughton, though three more streets existed. These spaces, in fact, are very conspicuously blank, suggesting they may not have had any names at all even by the 1750s.

The key at the side of the illustration identifies all six wards, as follows (order, spelling [or misspelling] and capitalization reproduced from the map):

- A. Lower new Ward
- B. Johnson Square Darby Ward
- C. Deckers Ward
- D. Uper new Ward
- E. Percival Ward
- F. Heathcote Ward

It is significant, one will observe, that Johnson is the only square named, even as late as 1753. Though Johnson Square was referred to by name as early as 1735 in correspondence, it appears that no other square had a name independent of its ward name before the late 1750s.

A timeline construction of when the oldest surviving references to the first six squares' individual names appear in the surviving record.



PROGRESSION OF THE SQUARES

The following illustrates the progression of Savannah's squares over a 120 year period, from 1733 to April 1851.

The "Ward" is the neighborhood surrounding each square. In essence, the entire City Common of Savannah is made up of ringlets of little ward neighborhoods, all from different time periods. Oglethorpe designed the template of Savannah's ward, and "The Square" (Johnson) was marked out on the 9th day (source: *South Carolina Gazette*, 3/31/1733). Though 4 wards were named on July 7, 1733 Derby ward remained the only one fully in existence as late as August (Oglethorpe correspondence 8/12/1733), but by December all 4 wards had some physical presence (Oglethorpe correspondence: "three wards and a half taken up," 1/22/1734) House lot assignments in wards 5 and 6, in the mean time, began in 1734.

Though not illustrated here, the Yamacraw suburb was sold off into city lots in 1760; by 1771 William DeBrahm noted that both Yamacraw and Trustees Garden were "increasing since 1760 extremely fast."

Six decades after the first 6 wards, as population warranted further expansion of the city, the City Council made the fateful decision to continue Oglethorpe's design.

The creation dates for all wards between 1791 to 1851 are recorded in the Minutes of Savannah City Council.

Year created (new wards in red)

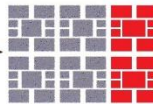
1733

- Derby (Johnson Sq)
- Percival (Wright)
- Decker (Ellis Sq)
- Heathcote (Telfair)



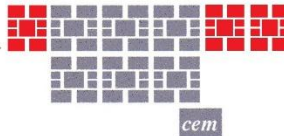
1734

- Reynolds
- Anson (Oglethorpe Sq)



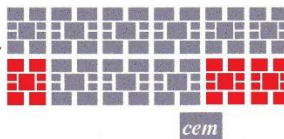
1791

- January 12
- Warren
- Washington
- Franklin



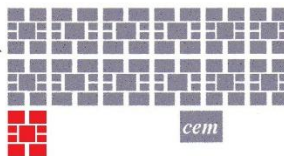
1799

- May 30
- Columbia
- Greene
- Liberty



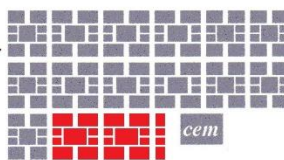
1801

- April 20
- Elbert



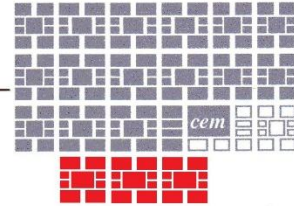
1815

- June 19
- Jackson wd. (Orleans Sq)
- Brown wd. (Chippewa Sq)



1839

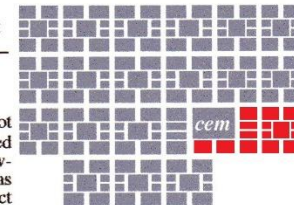
- March 14
- Pulaski
- Jasper (Madison Sq)
- Lafayette



1841*

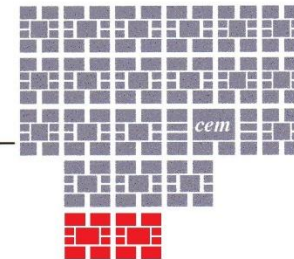
- February 11
- Crawford

* Though not officially named until 1841 Crawford Ward was illustrated in tact on maps as early as 1820



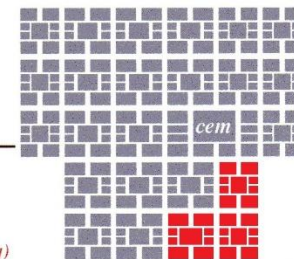
1847

- March 4
- Chatham
- Monterey



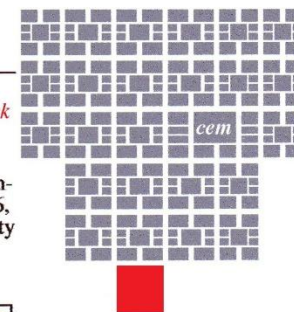
1851

- March 13
- Calhoun
- Troup
- Wesley (Whitefield Sq)



1851

- April 24
- Forsyth Park Proper (Note: Park Extension annexed Feb. 6, 1867 [not city common])



All images and research: Jefferson Hall, 2000-07

The Georgia Pink

In addition to the *Pearl* and the *William and Sarah*, the last half of 1733 would see the arrivals of the *Peter and James*, the *Susannah*, the *Georgia Pink* and the departure of the three ships of the September Embarkation; in all, six Charity sponsored ships over six months, accounting for more than 400 Georgia settlers... the first six months had seen only three ships on the Charity.

Last week arrived a ship at Port Royal, having on board 25 Salzburghers for Purrysburgh, 20 for Georgia, and 5 for another Place.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, July 21, 1733

The above referred to the arrival of the *Peter and James*, following a 15-week passage. Just as the *Pearl* had eschewed Port Royal for Charlestown one month before, the *Peter and James*, departing one week before the *Pearl* and arriving one month later, avoided Charlestown altogether and went only to Port Royal. Arriving on board the *Peter and James* was Georgia's second minister, the Reverend Samuel Quincy. As Gordon noted: "The Reverd. Mr. Quincy arrived from England, and succeeded the Reverd. Doctor Herbert, who some time before was returned but died in his passage." (Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 46) Samuel Quincy's appointment had been received by Oglethorpe two months before, in a letter arriving on the *James*:

The Trustees have in a manner fix'd on a Clergyman, (Mr. James [Samuel] Quincy) who is very well recommended; They have reason to believe, the Society for Propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts will give him as good a Salary, as they allow any of their other Missionaries; As he will be sent over very soon, they suppose Sir you will think it necessary to get what Conveniencies you can for him.

- Benjamin Martyn, January 24, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 4-5)

As Martyn's April 4 letter accompanying the *Peter and James* remarked, "Rev.d Mr. Quincy is embark'd. The Trustees have order'd, that he shall be a Passenger in the great Cabin; and have given five Pounds for Refreshments during the Voyage." (CRG XXIX, p. 11)

April 11, 1733....

The Muster and Certificates of Passengers on Board the *Peter and James* on Account of the Trustees amounted to Seventeen Persons, Which made Fourteen Heads and one half of Freight of Which One a Great Cabin Passenger.

- *Journal of the Trustees* (CRG I, p. 110)

A reconstruction of the *Peter and James* muster

Joseph Cornish, Captain
arrived at Port Royal, July 15 or 16, 1733
[compiled from Percival's *List of Early Settlers*]
(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

Charity colonists:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Nicolas Amatis | 10. Henry (<i>s</i>) |
| 2. Richard Camuse (<i>ser</i>) | 11. Mary (<i>d</i>) |
| 3. Jane Mary Camuse (<i>w</i>) | 12. John Allen (<i>ser</i>) |
| 4. Francis Anthony (<i>s</i>) | 13. Sabina Fuzler (<i>ser</i>) |
| 5. Jeffrey (<i>s</i>) | 14. James Hewet (<i>ser</i>) |
| 6. John Baptiste (<i>s</i>) | 15. Thomas Holemark (<i>ser</i>) |
| 7. Henry Fletcher | 16. Samuel Quincy |
| 8. Mary Fletcher (<i>w</i>) | 17. James Middleton (<i>ser</i>) |
| 9. Ellen (<i>d</i>) | |

Additional Peter and James passengers arriving on their own account:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 18. Thomas Fletcher | 21. Edward Carre (<i>ser</i>) |
| 19. ? (<i>wife</i>) | 22. John Pennyfeather |
| 20. ? (<i>daughter</i>) | 23. Thomas Wall (<i>ser. to Francis Scott</i> *1) |

*1 - Captain Francis Scott sailed on the *Anne*

As Benjamin Martyn wrote to Oglethorpe:

The Common Council of the Trustees have resolv'd to send over Henry Fletcher, Mary his wife, Henry his son, Ellen and Mary his two Daughters, a Man and a Maid Servant, and have resolv'd to give him two hundred acres of Land.

- Benjamin Martyn, March 31, 1733 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 9)

As may be seen above, Henry Fletcher (#7) came with more than just two servants... which was perhaps a good thing, in that he promptly lost two of his four servants before even arriving in Savannah. No sooner had they set foot in the New World before James Hewet and Thomas Holemark (listed above) took advantage of their situation to run from Port Royal. Fletcher's embarrassing loss was advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* the following month.

Run away from Henry Fletcher of *Savanah*, in the Province of Georgia, on the 17th Day of *July* Last, in a Canoe from the Barracks of *Port Royal*, one Man Servant named *James Hewitt*, aged about 35 Years, a thin Man about 5 Feet 4 Inches high, and was formerly a Schoolmaster in New England, and understands some thing of Sea Affairs, and had on when he went away a handsome chocolate colour'd Coat and pair of Breeches, a black Wastecoat, and is supposed to be in those Cloaths, or a Sailor's Habit: ALSO at the same time, and from the same Person, Run away one other Man Servant named *Tho Holemark*, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, aged 25 Years or thereabouts, is very much mark'd with the Small Pox, and is by trade a Clogg-maker, but has been employ'd in felling and sawing

Timber; And had on when he went away, a light colour'd Drab Coat, with flat metal Buttons, and a blue pair of Breeches, and is supposed to have on those Cloaths or a Sailors Habit. *Whoever* apprehends the said Servants, and delivers them to the Hon. *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; in *Georgia*, or to the Provost Marshal in *Charlestown*, shall have 50 l. Currency Reward, or the Sum of 30 l. for the apprehending and delivery of either of them as afore said, paid by
Charles Pinckney

- advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, August 4, 1733
reprinted in the August 11 and August 18 issues

In the interest of full disclosure, Thomas Fletcher (#18) might not have existed at all; nowhere does he appear in the Georgia record other than a confused entry in the *LES*, which itself might be simply a confused double entry of Henry.

385. Fletcher, Tho. - Embark'd 4 April
1733; arrived 21 July 1733; lot 98
in Savannah. Qy. if this be the same
wch. Hen. Fletcher to whom a grant
of 200 acres was past 28 March 1733?
Quitted with his family being sick &
went to Charlestown.

John Pennyfeather (#22) came on his own account, but fled almost as quickly as Fletcher's servants. "Capt. Pennyfeather of Ireld. apply'd for a Grant of land," Percival noted in his January 31, 1733 *Egmont Journal*. (p. 13) He went swiftly to Purrysburg, though whether before or after he had seen his land is unclear; by 1735, Samuel Eveleigh had seen the land and was not impressed. Offered the Pennyfeather grant, he demurred. "I have Seen Capt. Pennefeather's Grant... I Should not be willing to lay out any Sum of Money for improveing any Land there," Eveleigh wrote to Benjamin Martyn on September 10, 1735. (*CRG XX*, p. 472) Percival's comments of Pennyfeather in the *LES* are brief: "A grant was past to him of 300 acres 21 Feb. 1732-3, but quitted the Colony and died at Purysburg and took up no land."

Oglethorpe, remarking of the recent newcomers from the *Pearl* and the *Peter and James*, as well as the fragile condition of the colony by mid-summer, wrote in his August 12 letter, "[Joseph] Hetherington, [Philip] Bishop, [Henry] Fletcher, [John] Pennyfather and Mr. Quincy the Minister are arrived with their Servants; I have been forced to lend them Provisions out of the Store, otherwise they must have Suffered for want." (*CRG XX*, p. 29)

On September 23, the *Susannah* arrived after an 18-week passage. Marking the longest crossing of 1733, the *Susannah* represented a migration made up mostly of family members of the 'first forty'. As Martyn's letter of introduction read:

They [the Trustees] have sent by this Ship Mrs. Mary Overend who desired to go to her Husband, Mrs. Elizabeth Bowling and Mary Bowling her Daughter, Martha Causton, her Son Thomas Mancer Causton, and her niece Sophia Christiana Hopky.

- Benjamin Martyn, May 11, 1733 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 15)

In addition to these six Charity colonists, there were six other passengers on the *Susannah*, sailing on their own account, consisting of Edward Jenkins, his wife and four children. In a cruel twist, Elizabeth Bowling would find herself widowed only five weeks after arrival. In a crueler twist, Mary Overend, who, in the words of Martyn, “desired to go to her husband,” would find herself *already* widowed by the time she stepped off the *Susannah*.

“Poor Overend who was recommended by Mr. [Trustee John] Laroche is also dead with Rum,” Oglethorpe wrote in his August 12 letter to the Trustees. Overend’s death, on June 28, was essentially the first of the Summer Sickness. Even as early as March, Thomas Causton, apparently impressed, had written to his wife of a man with whom he had shared his tything tent, a “one Mr. Overend who came out of Aldersgate Street and did live in Cox’s Court. He is a married man, has lived well in the Mercery way [mercier], and has left his Wife in England.” (CRG XX, p. 17) Two months later, Martha Causton would be embarking alongside Mary Overend, a woman who was unknowingly widowed seven weeks into their voyage.

By August 12 Oglethorpe, unaware that Overend’s wife was still *en route*, sent an appraisal of his estate back to the Trustees, even remarking of his unwillingness to engage in speaking for his widow:

I send You inclosed the Proceedings of the Court on Overends Death, together with two Boxes of containing his things. I believe his Lands and House here, which is built, is worth £ 30 Sterling, or upwards, money having been offered for it but I would not dispose of it till I heard her intentions.

- James Oglethorpe, August 12, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 30-1)

Joshua Overend left behind a cow, a calf and steer; a dozen half brass buttons, a “black Waistecoat and Breeches,” a Bible, five “Ruffled shirts,” and a “Damask Night Gown,” among other items. Being a man of some note, he left behind a sizable estate to be parceled out by the nascent Savannah court.

... the said Joshua Overend dyed on the 28th day of June last past and was legally Intituled unto one built Dwelling House with a Garden thereto belonging Situate within Darby Ward in the said Township of Savannah. As also to one parcel of Land containing 5 Acres, and one other Parcel of Land containing 45 Acres making in the whole 50 Acres not yet cleared or in any ways cultivated.

And that he has a Wife named Mary Overend being in England.

And do not find that he hath any Children.

That the said Dwelling House and Garden together with one moiety of the said 50 Acres of Land Do legally descend to Mary Overend Relict of the said Joshua Overend for and during the Term of her natural Life and no longer.

- Records of the Court, July 28, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 32)

Published also in the August 25, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette*

It was sorry compensation for a woman who had crossed the Atlantic only to find her husband had died two months before. Not surprisingly, Mary Overend disappears from the Georgia record almost immediately. Percival recorded her without particulars:

1105. Overend, Mary, - Quitted not known where.

This house lot, number 11, at the corner of Bull and Bay Streets, became the first of the completed house lots to be vacated in 1733. It also became the property occupied by Oglethorpe, sometime between Mary Overend's abandonment and January of 1734. As the unnamed author of *A New Voyage to Georgia* remarked of his visit to Savannah by January of 1734, though Oglethorpe's old tent had been reduced to "Raggs... even now he lays in a House without a Chimney in it, and indeed much harder than any of the People that are settled there." (p. 5)

By late October of 1734 John Lyndall wrote to Oglethorpe of "the hous wherein you lodged," and that it had become the property of the Trustees' silk man, Paul Amatis.

I must beg leave to acquaint you that about the beginning of September Mr Amatis came up from Charles Town with his Servants and in your honours name, demanded the hous, for him Self and family.

- John Lyndall, October 29, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 93)

But the Overend cottage became almost immediately thereafter the site of the Montaigt Store. As Causton wrote to Oglethorpe:

Agreable to Your Honours Orders, I bargained for a Frame of a house completely fitt to be set up, any where for Mr Mountagut....

In Regard, that you was pleased to order the house you lived in for his Residence whilst here... I gaive leave for him to set it up at the Corner of that ground joyning to the house. In this Case, he made a new Bargain with the Carpenter.-

- Thomas Causton, July 7, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 437)

It was this expanded Overend Cottage/Montaigt Store that would be depicted—apparently still more or less in tact—in the 1837 Savannah painting by Fermin Cerveau. The Overend Cottage would claim a footnote in history as the last of the 1730s cottages to survive; it stood for one hundred and twelve years, until finally destroyed by fire in 1845. In short, the first of Savannah's cottages to be abandoned was actually the last one to survive.

Of Elizabeth Bowling, widowed by the death of her husband Timothy on November 5, 1733, and her daughter, Percival's *List of Early Settlers* simply remarked of Elizabeth: "She lives on her husband's lot." This lot, number 35 at the corner of Eveleigh (today Congress) and Drayton streets, would later be implicated by Thomas Causton in a March 24, 1735 correspondence regarding the Red String Plot. "The Red String Conspiracy, which I mentioned to the Trustees proves to have risen at the Widow Bowlings house...." (CRG XX, p. 286)

In the same May 11 letter that inventoried the muster for the *Susannah*, Benjamin Martyn added, "The Common Council have just come to a Resolution to send over fifty Men with the utmost Expedition for the greater Security of the Colony." (CRG XXIX, p. 15) This marked the beginning of the planning for the *Georgia Pink*. "Mr. Simons, the merchant, provides a good ship named the Georgia, which measures 138 tons," Percival wrote in his June 4, 1733 *Diary*. (vol. 1, p. 383) Ten days later Martyn wrote to Oglethorpe:

The Ship is large and airy for them, She draws but ten foot and a half Water, and proposes therefore if possible to sail up the River, and land the People at Savannah Town. Of this I thought

proper to give You an early information.... as some preparations may be necessary to conduct her up the River, and receive the People.

- Benjamin Martyn, June 13, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 16)

With this note sent *via* the *London Spy*, Martyn included an inventory of persons. “I have inclosed with this a Copy of their Names. They are to sail the latter end of this week in the Georgia Capt. Henry Daubuz.” Two days later the muster list had altered enough that Martyn felt compelled to include an updated list with the *Georgia Pink*. June 15: “I shall inclose with this [letter] the true List of them as they appear on the Muster, which the Trustees are going o’ Board this Afternoon to take.” (CRG XXIX, p. 17)

Departing England on June 15, the *Georgia Pink* arrived at the Bluff on August 29, after a voyage of 11 weeks. “We are all in general pleased with the Capt. and he is very carefull and tender of us,” (CRG XX, p. 26) some of the passengers wrote early in the passage, and there seems no reason to believe this impression ever changed. Captained by Henry Daubuz, the ship departed a month after Captain Baillie’s *Susannah* but beat its predecessor by almost a month; such was the arbitrary nature of eighteenth-century Atlantic travel. Its arrival was occasioned with a felony. Oglethorpe noted the ship’s arrival and the subsequent events in his September correspondence to the Trustees.

The People on board... are all arrived safe, Daniel Preston excepted who was washed overboard in a Storm. His widow [Mary] the Day after She landed was taken picking the Pockets of a Drunken man of Eight shillings Sterling. The Man was put into the Stocks for being drunk, and a Bill was found by the Grand Jury against her for Felony.

- James Oglethorpe, September 17, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 34)

In fact, most of the Preston family would be wiped out before year’s end; daughter Jane would be dead two days after Oglethorpe’s above correspondence (September 19), and son Daniel would be dead by early November. In October, Mary Preston remarried Richard Cannon (*Anne* #9), who himself had lost a wife and daughter in the Summer Sickness.

Though neither of the inventory lists alluded to by Martyn above survive, it is possible to recreate the muster of the *Georgia Pink* using the *List of Early Settlers*. Percival’s *Egmont Journal* records a total of 88 persons on the *Georgia Pink*, 84 of whom were on the Charity of the Trust. And Percival wrote in his *Diary* entry of June 5, 1733: “We admitted 43 men, 17 women, boys under age 18, girls 10, in all 88 heads.” (vol. 1, p. 383)

A reconstruction of the Georgia Pink muster

arrived in Savannah, August 29, 1733

Henry Daubuz, Captain

[compiled from Percival’s *List of Early Settlers*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

☠ - dead by the end of 1733

Charity colonists:

settled at Savannah

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Thomas Attwell | [lot 96, 3rd ward] | 35. Mary Graham (w) | |
| 2. Mary Attwell (w) | | 36. John (s) | ☠ |
| 3. Peter Baillou | [lot 119, 3rd ward] | 37. Mary (d) | |
| 4. William Blithman | [lot 89, 3rd ward*1] | 38. Will (s) | ☠ |
| 5. Martha Blithman (w) | | 39. Robert Hinks | [lot 84, 3rd ward] |
| 6. Will (s) | | 40. John Kelly | [lot 88, 3rd ward] |
| 7. Lewis Bowen | [lot 87, 3rd ward] | 41. John Lawrence | [lot 89, 3rd ward] |
| 8. Charles Bowler | [lot 157, 4th ward *2] | 42. Samuel Mercer | [lot 99, 3rd ward] |
| 9. Will Brownjohn | [lot 100, 3rd ward] | 43. Anne Mercer (w) | ☠ |
| 10. Anne Brownjohn (w) | | 44. Robert Moore | [lot 82, 3rd ward] |
| 11. Thomas Chewter | [lot 90, 3rd ward] ☠ | 45. Elizabeth Moore (w) | |
| 12. Will Smith (ser/appr) | | 46. Elizabeth (d) | |
| 13. Henry Clark | ☠ | 47. Mildred (d) | |
| 14. Anne Clark (w) | ☠ | 48. James Papot | [lot 120, 3rd ward] |
| 15. Anne (d) | | 49. Mary Papot (w) | ☠ |
| 16. Henry (s) | ☠ | 50. Jeremy Papot | [lot 118, 3rd ward] ☠ |
| 17. Thomas (s) | ☠ | 51. Henry Parker | [lot 111, 3rd ward] |
| 18. Sam Cunningham | | 52. Anne Parker (w) | |
| 19. Lewis Davant | ☠ | 53. Henry (s) | ☠ |
| 20. Elizabeth Davant (w) | | 54. John (s) | ☠ |
| 21. George DelaFons | | 55. Elizabeth Clement (n) | |
| 22. Francis Delgrass | [lot 117, 3rd ward] | 56. Will Parker | [lot 114, 3rd ward] |
| 23. John Desborough | [lot 86, 3rd ward] | 57. Elizabeth Smith (mother) | ☠ |
| 24. Elizabeth Desborough (w) | | 58. Robert Potter | [lot 83, 3rd ward] |
| 25. Dedson (s) | | 59. Catherine Potter (w) | |
| 26. Edward (s) | | 60. Deborah (d) | |
| 27. John (s) | | 61. Mary (d) | |
| 28. Samuel Dudley | ☠ | 62. Daniel Preston [dead in pass.] | ☠ |
| 29. Richard Ecles | ☠ | 63. Mary Preston (w) | |
| 30. Hugh Frazer | [lot 97, 3rd ward] | 64. Daniel (s) | ☠ |
| 31. Will Grickson (ser) | | 65. Jane (d) | ☠ |
| 32. Thomas Gapen | [lot 116, 3rd ward] | 66. James Slade | |
| 33. John Goldwyre | [lot 153, 4th ward *2] | 67. James Turner | [lot 95, 3rd ward] |
| 34. John Graham | [lot 98, 3rd ward] | 68. Elizabeth Turner (w) | |
| | | 69. James Willoughby | |

settled at Tybee

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------|--|
| 70. John Barnes | | 78. Alexander Johnson | |
| 71. John Cadman | | 79. Will Long | |
| 72. Hannah Cadman (w) | | 80. Mary Long (w) | |
| 73. John Davant | ☠ | 81. Samuel Pensyre | |
| 74. Hester Davant (w) | | 82. Tamar Pensyre (consort) | |
| 75. John (s) | | 83. John (s) | |
| 76. James Hewet | | 84. Alexander Wallace | |
| 77. James (s) | | | |

Additional Georgia Pink passengers arriving on their own account:

85. Francis Duren

87. Rachel Monsonte

86. Amelia Moore Wilson

88. James White

*1 - settled at Tybee the following year, but retained his Savannah lot

*2 - Bowler's and Goldwyre's 4th ward grants appear to have been made at a later date

William Brownjohn (#9) was appointed by the Trustees to be leader of the voyage. "Order'd... That William Brownjohn be appointed to act as Steward on Board the Ship Georgia during her Passage." Similarly, "Henry Parker [#51] James Turner [#67] John Barnes [#70] and Joshua Sacheverel be appointed to act as Constables on Board the Ship Georgia during her Passage." (CRG, I, p. 126) Sacheverel, however, did not make the voyage, as Martyn later explained to Oglethorpe, he "misbehaved himself," and "is struck off the list." (CRG XXIX, p. 20)

Francis Duren (#85) and James White (#88) were servants to Edward Jenkins, who had set sail on the *Susannah* the month before; as such, they arrived weeks before the Jenkins family and had to sit around and wait. Amelia Wilson (#86) was the wife of one of the *Anne*'s passengers, James Wilson (*Anne* #109). Rachel Monsonte (#87) was the wife of Rafael Bernal Monsonte, following her husband, one of the *William and Sarah*'s 'undocumented' arriving the month before.

The passengers of the *Georgia Pink* fall essentially into three camps: those who settled in Savannah, the eight families who would settle on Tybee, and those who simply died shortly after arrival. Those passengers' names marked by a "☠" represent those who would be dead by the end of the year, and unlike the case of the *Anne*, this "end of the year" represented a period of only four months. One will note that the passengers of the *Georgia Pink* displayed an alarmingly high mortality rate, with 20, or nearly one quarter of its Charity population dead within the first four months of reaching Georgia's shores, a dubious distinction it took the *Anne* eleven months to match. Seven of the *Georgia Pink* passengers died in the first four weeks alone.

Of the *Georgia Pink* settlers placed in Savannah, almost all were concentrated in Percival Ward (3rd ward), with no fewer than 22 of its 40 lots granted to passengers of the vessel.

Lewis Bowen (#7) was granted a lot in Percival ward and even erected part of his house before he died in Charlestown. Thomas Christie wrote the next year:

Mr Bowen upon having raised his Frame and given Security had Leave to go to Charles Town where it is Computed he Carryed above 500 Currancy in order to buy Goods for this Place but Unfortunately died there about Septembr Last at the House of David Allen who Administred to 300 Currancy little of wch I am afraid we shall be able to Recover.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (CRG XX, p.124-5)

Brownjohn proved a good man, and evidently worthy of the trust given him in appointing him leader of the voyage. "One of the valuable Freeholders in Town," was how William Stephens

summed him up in 1738. “This Brownjohn was one of... four... who had been at Carolina,” looking for land to buy in late 1737 (“whether or not they intended to settle there,” Stephens “could hardly believe” [CRG IV, p. 54]), “of whom [Samuel] Mercer [#42] was the chief Leader, and the most sour in his Temper of any of them; and this Man [Brownjohn] being his Brother-in-Law, naturally concerted with him. But as I knew him otherwise a good-natured Man.” (CRG IV, p. 84-5) When he died in August of 1738, Stephens was uncommonly generous.

This Day we lost William Brownjohn, one of our Freeholders, after a lingering Sickness; whose Death I particularly mention, as he was a Man generally well spoken of, and one whom I knew to be a Pains-taking, industrious Man, never idle, but addicted to improve his Land.

- William Stephens *Journal*, August 13, 1738 (CRG IV, p. 184)

Robert Potter (#58) wrote to the Trustees in 1734, complaining of bad servants and an ongoing battle with squirrels that had laid waste to his five-acre lot. “His Son has left him, & the rest of his Family are incapable of Assisting him,” Samuel Quincy wrote in an endorsement of his plea for assistance. Boasting that “tis evident I brought my five acre lott to yt perfection yt no man has yet don ye like,” Potter continued:

I have clear'd it & fence'd it & last march I planted three thousand hills of potatoes on wch, I Spent all my little Substance, & Strength.... But I was greatly disappointed; not accationed by ye badness of ye land; but by my neibours not clareing their lots, joyntly with me, ye Squerrills destroyed all.

- Robert Potter, December 16, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 127-8)

Four months later, Potter again wrote to the Trustees, complaining bitterly, “Ye Squerills destroy'd me,” asking for “charitable assistance for reliefe.” (CRG XX, p. 319)

Robert Potter was not the only one to find the squirrels a nuisance. “The many squirrels that are found in this new place have dug up and eaten so many of the corn seeds so that they had to be replanted today,” John Martin Bolzius remarked from New Ebenezer on May 24, 1736. (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 145) And: “In this country the fields must be quite carefully protected, for else... the squirrels... will cause much damage.” (vol. 4, p. 70) And again in 1739 Bolzius still observed warily: “The squirrels are a great danger to the sprouting corn.” (vol. 6, p. 75) On the other hand, as he noted in 1736,

There are a great many squirrels here of which the soups have a very good taste.

- vol. 3, p. 131

Though Potter came with a wife and two daughters, by the end of 1739 evidently “only one Daughter” remained, “a Girl of about ten Years of Age,” as William Stephens noted. (CRG IV, p. 472) That same year, Potter abandoned the colony for a life as a pirate. “A sly, old Knave,” was the way Stephens and Thomas Jones summed him up. “As to his Religion, he put on at Times a Shew of consistent Attendance for a Month, then would absent himself from it more than twice as long, professing himself a Dissenter... it is certain he was bred a Roman Catholick in Ireland.” (p. 472) Joining up with Captain Caleb Davis, the commercial trader who regularly operated between Savannah and St Augustine—but was newly commissioned by Oglethorpe to plunder the Spanish—Potter cast off on January 3, 1740. By the following month he was back.

Tuesday [February 12, 1740]. After little more than a Month past, since Capt. Davis went out a privateering with two Vessels they were both returned to Cockspur, and the two Commanders come to Town again, in order to get their Ships refitted, having been terribly buffeted in a long Continuance of bad Weather... their Sails and Rigging were utterly ruined.

- p. 511

Stephens concluded wryly: "It may be supposed our two brave Officers, Potter and [Elisha] Foster, who not content with the Station they were in, imagined they should soon become great Men, have taken a Surfeit of going to seek their Fortunes at Sea." Indeed, Potter's month of seasickness put an end to his quest as a privateer; a pirate's life was not for him. After accepting a position across the river, he unexpectedly died. Stephens eulogized him on March 12, 1740.

Robert Potter, late Constable, who so lightly esteemed the Promotion the General had given him to that Office, as to go privateering, and came lately sick ashore, died at the Widow Montaigut's Plantation, where he was designed by her for an Overseer of her Negroes; and his Corpse was brought down from thence, and buried here this Evening.

- p. 533

Thomas Attwell (#1) and John Desborough (#23) went to Carolina, but were documented by William Stephens as returning by early 1738. "One Desborough, a Carpenter, who went off from Savannah for Carolina some Months since with his Family, now thought fit to return again, and reported, that Atwell, and some others he believed would shortly do the same," he wrote on February 8, 1738. His conclusion: "This verified my conjecture which I had wrote to the Trustees, concerning to-and-fro People, who were handicraft Men, and always seeking how to improve their Wages." (*CRG IV*, p. 78) Stephens recorded Desborough's death in 1739: "Desborow the Carpenter, and his two Sons, both grown to a Man's Estate," were taken by the sickness that swept through Charlestown in the summer of 1739. (p. 423)

Samuel Pensyre (#81) was a surgeon, and the first doctor to arrive to the shores of Georgia following the arrival of Samuel Nunez on the *William and Sarah*. As William Brownjohn (#9) wrote to the Trustees while the ship was still anchored in the English Channel, "Robert Hainks (#39) was Seized with a violent fit of the Apoplex and fell down the Ladder but by speedy Application & Mr. Pensyre's Assistance by bleeding him he is Recovered." (*CRG XX*, p. 25-6) Settling with about ten families on Tybee Island, Pensyre soon removed to Savannah, remarking, "for to Live at Tybee it is almost impossible."

The *Georgia Pink* was intended to form the backbone for the Tybee Island settlement. A community on Tybee had been conceived from the start; as Peter Gordon noted in his *Journal*:

The 19th [February, 1733] Mr. Oglethorp went in the scoult boat to the Island Tybe in the mouth of our river to pitch upon a proper place for a smaal settlement for some people from Carolina who desired to be admitted under his protection, and to serve as look out for our settlement.

- p. 40

But as Pensyre argued in a letter to the Trustees two years later:

I have had my Health very well Especially in Savanah Town. But when I was at Tybee Last Summer, Likewise all the Rest of Tybee people was like to die, as indeed one part of them is Dead

upon that Account.... As to my Lott at Tybee is Nothing but a Salt Marsh, which Marsh is over flowed at every spring tides, therefore it is impossible to make any improvement of it.

- Samuel Pensyre, January 18, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 180)

Though married for ten years, his wife in England was an alcoholic. He had left her behind, coming to Georgia with another woman, Tamar (#82), pregnant with his child even as they disembarked from the *Georgia Pink*. It was a situation that earned disapproval from Oglethorpe; Pensyre found Oglethorpe “angry with me,” apologizing in a letter and explaining: “No Body would Leave his native Country if they had not some crosses or Misfortune.” (p. 144)

William Blithman (#4) was granted lot 89, either before or after the January 10, 1734 death of its previous resident, fellow *Georgia Pink* passenger John Lawrence (#41), but according to the *List of Early Settlers*, he “Settled at Tybee 2 April 1734. But held lot 89 in Savannah.” Blithman had been placed in charge of erecting the lighthouse at Tybee. “We go on with building the Beacon at Tybee,” Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees on January 22, 1734.

The People who work upon it have two shillings per Diem and Blythman the Master Workman has the same Wages as he could have in Carolina. The Timber is already cut and squared and the Upper & Lower Floor framed.

- CRG XX, p. 41

“They reckon it will be finished in March,” Oglethorpe boasted. But 20 months later, Thomas Causton noted a project still in its infancy:

As to Tibece, the first Settlers being mostly Dead, I have given an Encouragement, for such to work there, as Blithman has desired, from time to time.... But because I found, that by Blithman’s Managemt the Work grew very Expensive, I discharged all the Men, who did not intend to abide there [on Tybee].

- Thomas Causton, September 8, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 468)

Or, as ‘Anonymous’ wrote to the Trustees in June of that year, “The Tybee Affairr has Cost already near Fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling, & hardly any thing to be Seen for it.” (CRG XX, p. 376) Elisha Dobree tip-toed around the subject in his letter to the Trustees’ Accountant Harman Verelst:

One Article abt. Tybee Light house is a heavy one, some say £1500 sterling & hardly built above Ground; but this is no business of mine & therefore I stop short. I shall only add that a good Accomptant in the store would have been of use both to Masters & servant.

- Elisha Drobree, July 8, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 442)

Samuel Eveleigh, in the meantime, was more blunt: “I am Sorry that I have reason to Inform your Honble Board That the Workmen at Tybee are almost Continually Drunk & that the Light House is not like to be Quickly built.” (CRG XX, p. 199)

Blithman found himself the object of Oglethorpe’s fury upon the latter’s return to the province in 1736: “On Mr Oglethorpe’s arrival at Tiby he was mightily incensed at the Workmen that the Lighthouse was not finished, imprison’d the chief Man and threatened to hang him,” Eveleigh remarked in a March 17, 1736 correspondence. (CRG XXI, p. 116)

Francis Moore, a fellow passenger with Oglethorpe on the *Simmond*, also noted the tense affair:

Mr. Oglethorpe went ashore to see what progress was made in the light house: he found the foundation had been piled but the brickwork not raised. The materials which he had left sawed at Savannah were brought down, but nothing set up. He had left one Blytheman, a carpenter, a very ingenious workman, in charge to build it, allowing him ten men for his assistance.... I heard Mr. Oglethorpe, after he returned to the ship, say, that he was in doubt whether he should prosecute the man, who is the only one here able to finish the work.

- Francis Moore, *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 12

The light house was finally completed in 1736; as Causton wrote in a November 26, 1736 correspondence: "Att Tybee[,] the Lighthouse has been raised this eight months, but the Inhabitants have not hitherto Shewed any Prospect of Improving their own Lotts." (*CRG XXI*, p. 274)

But even after its completion the light house was daily expected to fall. On April 29, 1739, as Captain Thompson met with the Trustees, Percival noted his observation: "That the light house is going to decay, & it will fall, if not cover'd this Summer." (*CRG V*, p. 159) "I fear the Light House at Tybee will shortly fall Down for want of Repair," John Pye warned March 25, 1740. (*CRG XXII*, pt 2, p. 367) By June, 1740, Stephens warned the Trustees that the light house was a lost cause. "From the Time of my Arrival here in the Trust's Service, on November 1, 1737, I had divers Times notified the Danger I apprehended from the Decay of the Sea-Mark at Tybee, lest it should come to Ruin," he remarked soberly.

June 23, 1740 -

MONDAY.... taking sufficient Workmen with us, who were competent Judges of the State it was in; it was very grievous to me to hear every one of them declare, that it was not in the Power of Man now to repair it, it was so far gone to Ruin. And it would hardly have been thought credible by me, what I now say myself, how greatly the Destruction of it was increased, since the last Time I saw it, which was in October last, when I conceived it might have been somewhat holpen.

- *CRG IV*, p. 600-1

But with this visit the structure was so decrepit, that "it must now be expected, as soon as the strong North-West Winds come, which we usually look for in Autumn, it must tumble all together."

The September Embarkation

During the month of September, the Trustees sent not one or two, but three ships to Georgia.

the Trustees... have been busy several days this week, examining persons and families as to their fitness to be sent over to that colony; and there is to be a 3d embarkation in 3 weeks time, of not less, as we are told, than 300 families.

- *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*, August 27, 1733

Three hundred families proved to be a generous estimate. Nonetheless, as Benjamin Martyn explained in a letter to Oglethorpe:

As the Trustees know the great advantage of Your Presence in the first Settling of the People; They are desirous of sending over as many as they can before You leave the Place. This induced them to make the present Embarkation, which is a considerable One.

- Benjamin Martyn, September 12, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 18)

With copies of the above letter sent on both of the first two ships departing, the embarkation begun on September 12, 1733 consisted of three vessels over three weeks: the *Savannah* (September 12), under Captain Lionel Wood; the *London Merchant* (September 21), under John Thomas, who had captained the *Anne* several months before; and the *James* bringing up the rear (September 28), making its second voyage to Georgia. In all, the three ships of the September Embarkation contained 181 Charity colonists.

Mr. Vernon reported the Muster taken on Board the Savannah Captain Wood September the 11th 1733 to be thirty Seven Men, thirty Women, thirty four Boys, and twenty Seven Girls making Ninety four and a half Heads of Freight.

- *Journal of the Trustees* (CRG I, p. 143)

Of the three vessels, the *Savannah* encountered, evidently, the smoothest sailing and beat the other two by a full month. On December 15 the *Savannah* arrived at the Bluff, after a voyage of nine weeks and one day. It represented the largest single emigration to the colony yet, with 126 of its 128 Charity passengers disembarking. Causton remarked to the Trustees the following month that “Capt. Lionell Wood, Master of the good ship Savannah arrived here on the 15th day of December, having conducted the Passengers, according to his Invoice, very safely and in good Health except two Children who dyed in the Voyage.” (CRG XX, p. 44)

Many of the Savannah-based passengers from the *Savannah* would be settled in Heathcote Ward (or actually, northern Heathcote Ward and southern Decker Ward, in a tight concentration between today’s Broughton and State streets), but a sizable number, too, would be assigned to create the new towns of Abercorn and Highgate. With more than a hundred families already in Savannah, the ships of the September Embarkation mark a shift in emphasis away from Savannah. Just as the *Pearl*’s passengers were used to create Thunderbolt, and the *Georgia Pink*’s was used to create Tybee in 1733, in 1734 this September Embarkation would create the towns of Abercorn, Skidaway and Highgate.

A reconstruction of the Savannah muster

arrived in Savannah, December 15, 1733

Lionel Wood, Captain

[compiled from Percival’s *List of Early Settlers*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

☠2 - dead by the end of 1734

Combined Charity & Non-Charity:

settled at Abercorn

1. Thomas Antrobus

2. Margaret Antrobus (w)

☠2

3. Elizabeth (*d*)
4. Ellen (*d*)
5. Margaret (*d*)
6. Mary (*d*)
7. Will Box
8. Mary Box (*w*)
9. James (*s*)
10. Phil (*s*)
11. Robert Bunyon
12. Constant[ce?] Bunyon (*w*)
13. Anne (*d*)
14. Constant (*d*)
15. Will Curtis
16. John Davis
17. Frances Davis (*w*)
18. Elizabeth (*d*)
19. Richard Hughes

20. Elizabeth Hughes (*w*)
- ☠2 21. Edmond (*s*)
22. Humphrey (*s*)
23. James (*s*)
- ☠2 24. Job (*s*)
25. Joseph (*s*)
26. Daniel Rivett ☠2
27. Barbara Rivett (*w*)
28. Elizabeth (*d*)
29. Susannah (*d*)
30. Peter LeBlon (*apprentice*)
31. John Thompson
- ☠2 32. Rebecka Thompson (*w*)
33. John (*s*)
34. William Watkins
35. Richard Lambert (*ser*)

settled at Ft. Argyle

36. Arthur Edgcomb
37. Mary Edgcomb (*w*)
38. Will Finlay
39. John Teasdale

settled at Highate

40. John Chensack
41. Anne Chensack (*w*)
42. James (*s*) ☠2
43. Joseph DuFerron ☠2
44. Elizabeth DuFerron (*w*)
45. Elizabeth (*d*)
46. Joseph (*s*)
47. Stephen Mitchel (*ser*)
48. Peter Fage
49. Martha Fage (*w*)
50. Anthony (*s*) ☠2
51. Mary (*d*)
- ☠2 52. Jacob Goy ☠2
- ☠2 53. Paul Rouviere ☠2
54. Anne Rouviere (*w*)
55. Anne (*d*)
56. John (*s*)
57. Paulina (*d*)
58. Simon (*s*)

settled at Savannah

59. James Burnside [lot 191, 5th ward]
60. Jacob Charles [lot 138, 4th ward]
61. Anne Charles (*w*)
62. Gideon (*s*)
63. John (*s*)
64. Isaac King Clark [lot 123, 4th ward]
65. Elizabeth Clark (*w*)
66. Daniel Evans (*ser*)
67. John Coates [lot 121, 4th ward]
68. Sarah Coates (*w*) ☠2
69. Sarah (*d*)
70. Benjamin Cleamont (*ser*)
71. James Dean [lot 140, 4th ward]
72. Lydia Dean (*w*)
73. Henry (*s*)
74. James (*s*)
75. Lydia (*d*)
76. Sameul Dean (*apprentice*)
77. Nathl. Dobson ☠2
78. Hester Dobson (*w*) ☠2
79. Hannah (*d*)
80. James (*s*) ☠2

81. John (s)		106. John (s)	
82. Samuel (s)	☠2	107. Will (s)	
83. Thomas (s)	☠2	108. Thomas Salter	[lot 68, 2nd ward]
84. Elisha Foster	[lot 80, 2nd ward]	109. Patrick Cardiff (ser)	
85. Mary Foster (w)		110. George Jackson (ser)	
86. Peter deGarden	[lot 129, 4th ward]	111. David Snook	[lot 132, 4th ward]
87. Mary Anne deGarden (w)		112. Elizabeth Snook (w)	
88. James (s)		113. John (s)	
89. Anne Germain (wid. of Peter *1)		114. Frances Sykes (moth. of J. Clarke *3)	☠2
90. Michael (s)		115. Joseph Taylor	[lot 137, 4th ward] ☠2
91. Anne Hainks (wife of Robert *2)		116. Elizabeth Taylor (w)	
92. Anne (d)		117. Elizabeth (d)	☠2
93. Frances (d)		118. Mary (d)	☠2
94. Joshua (s)		119. Richard Turner	[lot 135, 4th ward]
95. Robert, Jr.(s) [dead in pass.]	☠2	120. Sarah Turner (w)	
96. Susannah (d)		121. Thomas (s)	☠2
97. Mary Woodman (ser)		122. Ambrose Vicary	[lot 130, 4th ward]
98. Magdalene Papot (wife of Jeremy *2)		123. Hanah Willoughby (wife of James *2)	
99. Jane (d)		124. Alice (d)	
100. Susan (d)		125. Hanah (d)	
101. Mary Simeon (ser)		126. James (s)	
102. Edward Parker		127. Richard (s)	☠2
103. Robert Parker, Jr.		128. Jennet Coulton (ser)	
104. Will Ryley	☠2	129. Will Wise	☠2
105. Dorothy Ryley (w)	☠2	130. ? ("woman of the town")	

*1 - Peter Germain was probably an "undocumented" *Anne* passenger

*2 - Robert Hainks, Jeremy Papot and James Willoughby arrived on the *Georgia Pink*

*3 - Judith Clarke arrived on the *Anne*

The village of Abercorn was created 15 miles upriver from Savannah, named for John James Hamilton, the Sixth Earl of Abercorn and financial benefactor to the colony before his 1734 death. Highgate, in the meantime, located to the south of the Savannah settlement, was composed primarily of French families, five families from the *Savannah* and another four from the *James* [2].

Abercorn resident Will Box (#7) died four months after stepping off the *Savannah*. John Martin Bolzius noted his death during his layover in Abercorn:

The 25th [April, 1734]

... Today an Englishman died in the very hut in which we are staying with the Commissioner [Philip von Reck] and Mr. Zwifler. He left a wife and two very small children in great poverty. Except for the one in Savannah, they have no minister [in Abercorn] able to give them instruction from the Gospel in the preparation for death.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 80)

“The people at this place have been here barely four months, and already death has claimed 4 men and 2 women,” he remarked of the Abercorn settlement. Widow Mary Box (#8) remarried in July to *Anne* veteran Thomas Young, and she and her sons moved from Abercorn to his Savannah lot in Derby ward. Richard Hughes (#19) and his family stuck it out at Abercorn for four years, but fled to Carolina in early 1738. William Stephens noted their absconding:

Wednesday [February 8, 1738]. Advice came this Day, that one Hughes, a Smith, settled at Abercorn, was newly gone off, without the least previous Notice of his Intention, for Carolina, with his Family; which shewed him to be an errant Rascal, Mr. Causton having very lately supplied him with good Stock of Provisions out of the Stores.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 78)

Joseph Taylor (#115) died two months after arriving, while both daughters perished in the summer of 1734. On December 1, 1734 his widow remarried fellow *Savannah* passenger Thomas Antrobus (#1), who himself had lost both a wife and daughter in April. Antrobus abandoned Abercorn and the merged families lived on the Taylor lot 137 in Heathcote ward of Savannah, but on June 28, 1737 Elizabeth died; Antrobus died shortly thereafter or before, for while the *List of Early Settlers* records no specific death date for him two of his surviving daughters were parceled out as servants in 1737.

Ambrose Vicary (#122), as Thomas Christie noted a year later, “died the 2d April Last [1734] without a Will but believe he Left a Wife at Topsham in ye West of England.” (CRG XX, p. 125) In one of the most stunning dissolutions of family in Savannah in the 1730s, the Dobson family (#77-83) was almost entirely wiped out in 1734, with four of its seven members perishing in a week (mother Hester on February 7, son Thomas February 8, son James February 10, father Nathaniel February 15), and a fifth just three weeks later, as son Samuel passed away on March 4. A sixth is recorded as “Dead” in the *LES*, but with no date. Daughter Hannah, apparently, was the sole survivor of the family, and what became of her is unclear.

In the case of Richard Turner (#119), his son Thomas died on February 13, 1734, less than two months after arriving. Richard himself proved one of the more active of the region’s troublemakers, found guilty of fraud and “unlawful imprisonment” in 1734, and by the next year he would move on to counterfeiting South Carolina’s currency, a case so large it ushered in the involvement of South Carolina’s Attorney General.

Daniel Evans (#66) arrived as a servant, probably on a five year indenture; by 1739 William Stephens noted he “was lately out of his Servitude.” But the “more promising Hopes of future Good to be expected from him” were cut short as he was killed by his own gun in a misfire on July 25, 1739, while escorting a prisoner back to Savannah. “His Gun by some Means unknown going off, killed him outright; which was more to be lamented, for that he was a sober, diligent young Man, well looked on by all that new him.” (CRG IV, p. 362)

Joseph DuFeron [#43] was a former officer, suffering from a handicap sustained evidently in service, but hoped that would not be an impediment in his new life in Georgia. He first appears in the Georgia record in Percival’s *Diary* in the summer of 1733.

Wednesday, 25 [July, 1733]...

I then went to the Georgia Society, where Lieutenant [Joseph Du]Ferron told me he had a warrant for 15 £ in the charitable list, for which he thanked me. I advised him to write to Mr. Sloper for the collection he had made in his favour to carry him to Georgia, but I doubted whether he would get sufficient [funds] to go over on the better sort of foot, and as to working among the other class, I did not see he was able, being lame of one hand. He replied, he must go over on the low foot, but hoped he should, however, be able to work in some degree.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 392

Settling at Highgate, DuFerron was dead ten weeks after arrival.

387. Du-Ferron, Joseph - Half pay Officer; embark'd 11 Sept. 1733; arrived 16 Dec. 1733. Settled at Highgate. Dead 27 Feb. 1733-4.

His wife and children “Quitted 20 April, 1734,” while Stephen Mitchel (#47), his servant, was assigned to Thomas Causton. As Percival noted of him in his *LES* entry: “He was assign'd to Mr. Tho. Causton, but ran from the Colony 1734.”

There were two practicing “physics” on board the *Savannah*; surgeon William Watkins (#34), who would be placed in Abercorn, and apothecary Isaac King Clark (#64), who would settle in Savannah. While the colony had suffered without a doctor in the spring/summer, by the end of the year there were now at least 4 practicing “physics” in Georgia.

Elisha Foster (#84) would eventually give up the colony, joining the *Georgia Pink*'s Robert Potter (#58) in his attempt at state-sponsored piracy. In January of 1738, William Stephens made note of Captain Caleb Davis, formerly “a Trader several Years at [St.] Augustin, and lived there a great Part of the Time.” (*CRG IV*, p. 64) By 1739, though, Davis and his growing fleet of vessels had become a regular sight between Tybee and Savannah.

Friday [December 15, 1738]. Captain Davis came to Town with his Sloop, last from St. Augustin: He was an old Trader thither of many Years, with such Cargoes from Carolina or elsewhere, as he knew was most vendible there; and is said to be grown wealthy. In this Way to and fro he was wont to commonly stop at this Port.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 247)

“He was known to be a shrewd, cunning Fellow,” remarked Stephens, who wasn't quite sure what to make of him. By early 1739 he had one of the new storehouse lots granted to him, “fronting the River... where he says he will immediately [build]... being reputed a wealthy Man, and makes Show of Fondness of the Place.” (p. 309) By September of 1739, however, war was declared between England and Spain. Davis (perhaps still bitter over being laughed at when all his slaves jumped ship at St. Augustine months before) approached Oglethorpe and attained from him a commission as a privateer, for the purposes of Spanish plunder.

Saturday [September 29, 1739]... Captain Davis... found Means of obtaining the General's Opinion of his Sincerity so far, that he undertook to turn his Sloop, which was intended for Augustin, into a Privateer, and the General would grant him a Commission for that Purpose: So that he now appeared as earnest to plunder the Spaniards, as before he was to succor them.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 422-3)

Even though Stephens was still wary of the man's character, he had to confess that with "the Knowledge of all their Coasts, he was capable of annoying them very much." The *Defiance*, refitted with "about twenty Guns mounted on Carriages, besides Swivels," (p. 467) departed on a mission of harassment and plunder on January 3, 1740, with both Robert Potter and Elisha Foster on board as eager recruits. But bad weather "drove them quite off the Coast," (p. 511) and by February 12 the vessel limped back to Savannah.

Apparently not so seasick as Potter, who bailed after that tumultuous month at sea, Elisha Foster remained in Davis' employ at least as late as June of that year—delivering a courier to Stephens—before he fades from the Georgia records.

As to the second vessel of the September Embarkation of 1733...

Mr. Vernon reported the Muster taken on Shore at Gravesend as [-] Certificate dated September 21st 1733 on Board the London Merchant Captain Thomas to be two Men, two Women, One Boy, making five Heads of Freight.

- *Journal of the Trustees* (CRG I, p. 143)

Four weeks after the arrival of the *Savannah*, the *London Merchant* arrived on January 12, following a 16-week passage. Its five-person Charity population consisted of John Ambrose, his wife Elizabeth and daughter of the same name, apprentice Thomas Foster and servant George Kirby; it was also evidently the vessel to bring over Thomas Fawsett, who was arriving to take up Robert Hetherington's grant in Thunderbolt. His daughter Elizabeth accompanied him, while the *List of Early Settlers* suggests their servants—James Collyer, Elizabeth Herbert, Thomas Morris and John Slowy—hitched a ride on the *James*.

Mr. Vernon reported the Muster taken on Board the James Captain Yoakley September 28th 1733 to be twenty One Men, Nine Women, Eight Boys and twelve Girls, making forty, One third Heads of Freight, of Which John Flutter and Witherell Smith missing at the Hope.

- *Journal of the Trustees* (CRG I, p. 143)

The arrival of the *James* followed the *London Merchant* just two days later, on January 14, 1734, almost overtaking the latter despite a start one week later. As Martyn explained in a letter penned on September 26 and sent with the *James'* Captain Yoakley: "The Rest of the People who were appointed for the Embarkation by the Savannah Capt. Wood are sent by this Ship, as likewise the Remainder of the Stores, Part of which were sent by the Savannah, and Part by the London Merchant." (CRG XXIX, p. 20) The *James* had 48 Charity colonists. Just as the *Savannah's* populace was parceled out to create Abercorn, the *James'* passengers rounded out the Highgate settlement and began Skidaway.

A reconstruction of the *James* (2) muster

arrived in Savannah, January 14, 1734

James Yoakley, Captain

[compiled from Percival's *List of Early Settlers*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Highate

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Simon Boynell | ☠2 | 10. Jeanne (<i>d</i>) | |
| 2. Simon P. (<i>s</i>) | ☠2 | 11. John (<i>s</i>) | |
| 3. Charles Gallier | | 12. Simon (<i>s</i>) (<i>w</i>) | |
| 4. Catherine Gallier (<i>w</i>) | ☠2 | 13. Peter Morell | |
| 5. Mary (<i>d</i>) | | 14. Martine Morell (<i>w</i>) | ☠2 |
| 6. James Landry | | 15. John Anthony (<i>s</i>) | |
| 7. Marian Landry (<i>w</i>) | | 16. Mariane (<i>d</i>) | |
| 8. Elizabeth (<i>d</i>) | | 17. Anne Maria Pater (<i>ser</i>) | |
| 9. James (<i>s</i>) | ☠2 | | |

settled at Skidaway

- | | | |
|---|----|--------------------------------|
| 18. Goodwin Cheney | | 29. Thomas Mouse |
| 19. Will Dalmas | | 30. Lucy Mouse (<i>w</i>) |
| 20. Will Elfingston [or Alfigston] | ☠2 | 31. Anne (<i>d</i>) |
| 21. Anne Elfingston (<i>w</i>) | | 32. Catherine (<i>d</i>) |
| 22. [Head of family] Gardiner | | 33. Elizabeth (<i>d</i>) |
| 23. Mary Gardiner (<i>w</i>) | | 34. Mary (<i>d</i>) |
| 24. Mary Anne (<i>d</i>) | | 35. Thomas Smith |
| 25. John Griffin | | 36. Frances Smith (<i>w</i>) |
| 26. Sarah Griffin (<i>w</i>) [<i>dead in pass.</i>] | ☠2 | 37. John Stonehewer |
| 27. Sarah (<i>d</i>) | | 38. Samuel Ward |
| 28. Paul Joyce | ☠2 | 39. Charles Wheeler |

settled at Savannah

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|------------------------|---------------------|
| 40. Will Andrews | ☠2 | 44. Will (<i>s</i>) | ☠2 |
| 41. Elizabeth Andrews (<i>w</i>) | | 45. Thomas Bailey | [lot 128, 4th ward] |
| 42. James (<i>s</i>) | | 46. Robert Brewin | [lot 159, 4th ward] |
| 43. John (<i>s</i>) | ☠2 | 47. Robert Parker, Sr. | [lot 133, 4th ward] |

Thomas Bailey (#45), as Percival noted in the *List of Early Settlers*, was “found guilty of assault 20 Feb. 1734-5.” He married former Tybee resident Hannah Cadman (*Georgia Pink* #72) three weeks after her husband’s death in the summer of 1735.

William Johnson Dalmas (#19) was the leader of the Skidaway settlement. A former soldier who wasted no time in the summer that followed, “erecting a Square redoubt upon our Point,” at Skidaway when rumors emerged of nearby Spanish activity. But, as he wrote to Oglethorpe: “I can’t help but take notice that we were but Six to carry on the aforesaid work, ye rest refusing to do any thing without being paid for it.” (*CRG XX*, p. 74) As Skidaway’s most active man, while writing to Trustee James Vernon asking for tools, he observed:

I am Situated upon one of ye Pleasantest Islands in America (as indeed all ye Country is Beautifull) and will with ye Smallest Industry answer all the ends proposed.

- William Johnson Dalmas, January 24, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 196)

Two weeks before Dalmas penned the above, Captain Dunbar, of the *Prince of Wales*, had seen the settlement and was impressed. “We left Skidway the 9th [of January, 1735] where they have made a much greater progress both in their houses and lands than I expected,” he remarked to the Trustees. “They are very regular in their watch so that by night or day no boat can pass undiscover’d, and have a battiry of three cariages guins and four Swivils in good ordir.” (CRG XX, p. 192)

But Dalmas, the tythingman and leader of the ten families, died in July of 1735. As Thomas Causton remarked to Oglethorpe, “Poor Dalmas is Dead, and I have been much troubled to keep those People [at Skidaway] in Order.” He described in particular the situation of Will Headly, who arrived at Skidaway in April, 1734 and “who is now in Gaol for his repeated Disobedience to his Officer.” (CRG XX, p. 440)

Thomas Mouse (#29) had enough run-ins with Dalmas by January, 1735 that he wrote to Oglethorpe, “If a Man is to be Governed by an Officer, who will Reign Arbitrary, it is very hard to Submitt to.” Tied “Neck and heels” as punishment for refusing watch duty one night (“It being very Hard for a Man... who has a Large Family... to watch continually every third or fourth night.”), he complained bitterly:

And if it is to [be] so, I most Humbly beg your Honr please to permitt me and my Family to proceed for England, alltho’ I like Skidoway better than any place I have seen in the Collony. I realy declare that I think it very hard to be used as a common Soldier as I like my Place of Settlement so well, and to leave the Same after I have taken so much pains for my Family’s sake is still more hard for me.

- Thomas Mouse, January 23, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 195)

Causton made special reference to Mouse the following year, noting:

Some of the People of Skidowa have improved Some Land particularly Thomas Mouse, Thomas Ward [#38, Samuel], John Stonehewer [#37], John Latter and Andrew Barber.

- Thomas Causton, November 26, 1736 (CRG XXI, p. 274)

“The Rest,” he concluded, “have done very little.”

In his January 22, 1734 letter Oglethorpe boasted of a Savannah population of 259 souls. Percival recorded the following population breakdowns of Georgia’s settlements in his *Egmont Journal*: Savannah - 259, Ogeechey - 22, Highgate - 3, Hampstead - 39, Abercorn - 33, Hutchinson Island - 5, Tybee - 21, Cape Bluff - 5, Westbrook - 4, Thunderbolt - 28. Total in Georgia - 437. (p. 39)

Each of the ‘satellite hamlets’ established by Oglethorpe seems to have been deliberately planned with ten families as its nucleus.

Excerpts from Oglethorpe’s January 22, 1734 correspondence -
... the Colony of Abercorn consisting of 10 families is settled....

... Within Land at 3 miles distant from the Town [Savannah] upon two Hills are situated Hempstead and Highgate two Villages of 10 familys each...
... on another Water Passage is settled a Colony of 10 families to keep open the Passage with Fort Argyle....

- CRG XX, p. 40

Excerpts from Peter Flower's January 7, 1734 correspondence -

... There are 10 Familys at Tybee, where they are going to build a Tower of Wood of a prodigious Height...
... There are likewise 10 Familys at Thunderbolt...
... They have 10 Familys at Augutchy [Ogeechee]...
... There are 10 Families at Corn House Creek...
... There are 10 Families at Highgate...

- CRG XX, p. 43

Whatever intuition or good fortune had led Oglethorpe to find so ideal a location for the Savannah settlement failed him completely in the founding of these other posts—this, combined with the general apathy of their respective residents. Well-positioned militarily, the sites often proved barren or the people less than industrious. In April of 1734, John Martin Bolzius remarked of Abercorn: “One must be amazed that, after being here only four months, the people of this place have made no attempt to either build houses or till the soil, but make shift to live and eat up their provisions with idleness.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 315) In a December 15, 1739 *Journal* entry, William Stephens remarked that Abercorn’s settlers “generally... happened to be loose, idle People, who after some short Abode, wandered elsewhere; and left it.” (*CRG IV*, p. 469) By September of 1735, given the absence of Dalmas, Causton feared the entire settlement at Skidaway was on the verge of desertion. “As to Skidowa, They have been in generall so idle, that I believe some of them, after all your Honours favours, and the constant Assistance... will endeavour to Desert,” Causton wrote to the Trustees.

The Magistrates have therefore given him [William Ferguson] Authority to pursue and Sieze any of them so deserting or Attempting to desert.

- Thomas Causton, September 8, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 468)

Some of the hamlets were so poorly located that in 1738 the remaining families at Highgate petitioned to have their settlement moved to a more fertile ground, but Oglethorpe, having made a similar concession to Ebenezer two years before, this time refused. Only months before, in December of 1737, John Wesley had made the following observation of Highgate and Hampstead:

Five miles south-west of Savannah, on a small rise, stands the village of Highgate. It has pine-land on three sides, and a swamp on the fourth. Twelve families were placed here in 1733, nine whereof remain there. A mile eastward of this is Hampstead, settled with twelve families also, a little before Highgate, five of which are still remaining.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 406

By December, 1739, Oglethorpe remarked of the Mouse family as the only presence left on Skidaway.

Mr. [Thomas] Mouse has a family of 5 Children, is a very industrious man and was the only Inhabitant that stayed upon the Island of Skidoway out of ten families.

By 1740, only two families would be left at Highgate; Hampstead would already be deserted; and Abercorn overgrown and abandoned. Of Abercorn, Wesley wrote: “Ten families settled here in 1733, but it is now without inhabitant. Four miles below the mouth of Abercorn Creek is Joseph’s Town, the settlement of two Scotch gentlemen.” (John Wesley’s *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 405) A month after this observation, on January 19, 1738, William Stephens eulogized Josephs Town in a letter to the Trustees: “Patr[ick] Mackay shews no Inclination at all (as I apprehend) to proceed on his Settlement at Joseph Town; wch after 2 or 3 years working on, he seems to have wholly given up.” (CRG XXII, pt. 1, p. 72)

The Mortality of 1733

The following tally does not include the names of those who died during the passage to Georgia—namely James Clark and James Cannon (*Anne*), Henriques Child (*William and Sarah*), Daniel Preston (*Georgia Pink*) or Robert Hainks, Jr. (*Savannah*)—but instead includes only those who died following their arrival to the shores of Georgia. Those persons whose ships are denoted with question marks are attributed to said ships but ‘undocumented.’

The Complete 1733 Mortality

[compiled from the pages of the CRG and Percival’s List of Early Settlers]
(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

February...
(total fatalities: 0)

March...
(total fatalities: 0)

April...
(total fatalities: 1)

6 - William Cox (*Anne*)

May...
(total fatalities: 0)

June...
(total fatalities: 3)

12 - John Warren Jr. (*Anne*)

28 - Joshua Overend (*Anne*)

15 - Henry Herbert (Anne)

July...

(documented fatalities: 20)

1 - James Goddard (Anne)
1 - Elizabeth West (Anne)
4 - Mary Calvert (Anne)
6 - Sarah Dearn (Anne?)
10 - Ellen Muir (Anne)
12 - William Littel (Anne)
12 - Mary Littel (Anne)
13 - Peter Germain (Anne?)
19 - Peter Tondee (James)
20 - Richard Hodges (Anne)

20 - Samuel Parker (Anne)
21 - Thomas Cornwall (James)
21 - Sarah Symes (Anne)
22 - Mary Cannon (Anne)
23 - Martha Gough (Weldon Galley?)
25 - John Mackay (Anne)
27 - Mrs. Hetherington (Pearl)
28 - Elizabeth Goddard (Anne)
29 - Thomas Millidge (Anne)
31 - Richard West (Anne)

August...

(documented fatalities: 3)

7 - Anne Cannon (Anne)
11 - John Warren (Anne)

21 - John Samms (Anne)

September...

(documented fatalities: 14)

4 - John S. Parker (Georgia Pink)
5 - Will Warren (Anne)
6 - William Gough (Weldon Galley?)
7 - Margaret Carwell (born in Ga)
9 - Henry Clark (Georgia Pink)
16 - Henry Hows (James)
19 - Lewis Davant (Georgia Pink)

19 - Jane Preston (Georgia Pink)
20 - Henry Parker, Jr. (Georgia Pink)
24 - Anne Clark (Georgia Pink)
26 - Elizabeth Littel (Anne)
29 - Anne Mercer (Georgia Pink)
30 - Joseph Hughes (Anne)
nd - John Davant (Georgia Pink)

October...

(documented fatalities: 7)

3 - Anne Hows (?*) (James)
3 - Aaron Millidge (born in Ga)
14 - Mary Papot (Georgia Pink)
17 - Mary Cox (born in Ga)

23 - James Middleton (Peter & James)
23 - Jeremy Papot (Georgia Pink)
24 - Daniel Thibaut (Anne)

November...

(documented fatalities: 5)

3 - Dan Preston (Georgia Pink)
5 - Timothy Bowling (Anne)

22 - John Graham, Jr. (Georgia Pink)
28 - William Graham (Georgia Pink)

7 - Tiberious Pensyre (born in Ga)

December...

(documented fatalities: 10)

3 - Samuel Dudley (Georgia Pink)	14 - Henry Close (Anne)
7- Elizabeth Smith (Georgia Pink)	15 - M. Oglethorpe Moore (born in Ga)
8 or 9 - William Kilberry (Anne)	28 - Georgia Close (born in Ga)
13 - Thomas Chewter (Georgia Pink)	28 - Richard Ecles (Georgia Pink)
14 - Bearsley Gough (Weldon Galley?)	30 - Henry Clark (Georgia Pink)

* - Anne Hows may or may not have perished in 1733; other sources place her death in 1736.

In all, 1733 saw a mortality of no fewer than 63 colonists, ten percent of the population that came to Georgia in that first year. July, by far, saw the highest number of deaths, especially sobering given the fact that July's Georgia population was half what it would be by December but suffered twice the mortality. The Summer Sickness clearly waned in August, but mortality increased again in September, the year's second deadliest month with 14 fatalities.

The *List of Early Settlers* contends that both the wife and daughter of James Carwell died on September 7; this would seem either an incredible stroke of bad luck or more likely—given the fact that both were named Margaret—a redundancy on the part of the *List*. Considering that Percival records James and Margaret having another daughter the following year one may assume the latter, so the mother is not represented above, but the daughter is.

mother...

220. Carwell, Margt., w. - Age 32; dead 7
Sept. 1733.

daughters...

195. Carwell, Margt. - D. of James &
Margt.; born in Georgia 12 June
1733; dead 7 Sept. 1733.

196. Carwell, Mary - D. of ditto; born in
Georgia 28 July 1734; dead 29 Aug.
1734.

Further, Edward Jenkins would write to the Trustees in March of 1735 mentioning the Carwells, referring to the "ill Conduct of the Master & Mistrise;" the fact that James Carwell is never associated with another woman in the *LES* suggests that his wife's demise above was clearly premature. To be clear, she was misbehaving, but not dead.

All of the deaths in 1733 were evidently of natural causes, unlike 1734, which would see the Mark of Cain enter Georgia as an equal opportunity employer: 1734 would witness the murders of the first white man, first black man and first Indian in Trustee Georgia. And while there was no instance so severe as the decimation of the Dobson family (*Savannah* #77-83) in February, 1734—which saw the deaths of at least five members of a household in four weeks—or the

Hueber family (*Purrysburg* #12-17)—reduced from six to one in a year—1733 still had its share of families wracked by death. At least five families lost three members of their family during the course of 1733: the Littels, the Warrens (both from the *Anne*), the Goughs (*Weldon?*), the Prestons and the Parkers (both from the *Georgia Pink*). Sixteen families lost at least two of their members, and no fewer than eight children were orphaned outright.

1733 orphans:

John Goddard (*Anne* #43)
Elizabeth Goddard (*Anne* #44)
Will Littel (*Anne* #63)
Charles Tondee (*James* #18)
Peter Tondee (*James* #19)
Anne Clark (*Georgia Pink* #15)
Henry Clark (*Georgia Pink* #16)
Thomas Clark (*Georgia Pink* #17)

Both parents of John and Elizabeth Goddard died in the Summer Sickness, Peter and Charles Tondee similarly found themselves orphaned by their father's death in July. William Littel's father died in July; his mother, remarrying John West, died in late September, and West had little use for the child after he took his third wife. As Edward Jenkins wrote by January 1735: "Mr West have agreed we shoud have Little Child." (*CRG XX*, p. 184) He was eventually adopted by Samuel Mercer, "who having a particular Friendship for the Father, and seeing the Child in bad Hands, by Leave of the Magistrates at that Time, took him into his Keeping," William Stephens noted by 1740. Mercer arrived on the *Georgia Pink* (#42), a month after father William Littel's death, so one may presume they had been acquainted in England. Mercer had carefully maintained the boy's holdings, which included "a Cow and Calf which the Child had at his Parents Death." Presumably, the "Increase" made by that cow and calf over seven years was significant, as William Stephens prophesied by 1740 that Littel "may be looked on as a Man of good Substance to begin the World." (*CRG IV*, p. 508)

Arriving with her family on the *Georgia Pink*, Anne Clarke was orphaned before the end of 1733, alongside two brothers who may or may not have outlasted their parents, but by the time Edward Jenkins wrote to their uncle on March 18, 1735 only Anne remained: "Your Brother Henery Clark & wife is dead, there is but one Girl living which is ye Eldest." (*CRG XX*, p. 269)

Other families, not yet orphaned, were hanging by a thread. Thomas Millidge died on July 29, missing his sixth child's birth by eleven days. As Oglethorpe remarked in his correspondence sent August 12: "Millidge, who has left a Widow and five Children here, the eldest but eleven years old, and the Widow just ready to lye in of another," (*CRG XX*, p. 30) "lye in" being a term for delivery. The sixth child, Aaron, born even as Oglethorpe penned, on August 9, died less than two months later. By the following year the five remaining children were orphaned as mother Elizabeth died. By the end of 1734 the number of orphans in Georgia was significant enough to warrant a board of trustees for the orphans, consisting of John Dearn, James Willoughby and Edward Jenkins.

“What Gives me the Greatest uneasiness Concerning the orphans is That they are not Taken as Good Care of as I woud wish,” Jenkins wrote to the Trustees on January 20, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 184). The lack of qualified guardians in the colony was a disturbing factor to Jenkins. Of Will Littel, placed with Samuel and Jane Mercer, he remarked “they are very kind to ye Child,” but regarding others he had less flattering praise.

The Children are Plased as follows:

The Daughter of Henery Clark [Anne] with Mr Hetherinton [widower Joseph]. I Cant speek much in praise of the Place.

Goddard son [John] with mr Fithwater [Joseph Fitzwalter], its to be Doubted will be ruined. We would be glad to have your order to remove him. The Daughter [Elizabeth] with Mr. Carwell & proves an unlucky child. I fear ye ill Conduct of the Master & Mistrise is two much ye Cause....

The two Sons of Peter Tondees with Mr. [Paul] Amatis. And By his ill Conduct of taking a scandilous wench to himself instead of a wife I very much fear how they will be taken Care of.

- Edward Jenkins and John Dearn, March, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 302)

As to the Millidge children, orphaned by Elizabeth’s death in June of 1734, another child died in November of 1734, leaving four: the eldest, John (*Anne* #67), followed by Sarah (#70), Richard (#68) and Frances (#71). John sailed for England in the wake of his mother’s death to petition for a servant and recognition by the Trustees as head of his family at the age of 12. Returning on the *Prince of Wales* at the end of the year with instructions to be treated as a freeholder, Millidge was granted the lot directly across Broughton Street from the original lot granted to his father. Jenkins wrote: “John Millidge have got him up a hut by ye help of Mr. [Thomas] Young & some of his Neighbours.” John Millidge was 11 at the time his family boarded the *Anne*, and could not have been more than 13 as Jenkins penned, hoping to flock his remaining family beneath his wet feathers. “He desired we woud let his Brother & sisters live with him as we have Consented to, But I fear its two young a family to do well, if they do not we will part ym.”

But parents weren’t the only demographic to display a sobering death rate in 1733. Consider for a moment the mortality of Georgia’s “1733 babies:”

Children born in 1733 Savannah:

[compiled from Percival’s List of Early Settlers]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

March...

(children born: 1)

17 - Georgia Close, daughter of Henry and Hannah

(Dead December 28, 1733)

April...

(children born: 0)

May...

(children born: 1)

4 - Percival Hughes, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth
(Dead April 10, 1734)

June...

(children born: 1)

12 - Margaret Carwell, daughter of James and Margaret
(Dead September 7, 1733)

July...

(children born: 3)

10 - Anne Cannon, daughter of Richard and Mary
(Dead August 7, 1733)

12 - Philip Minis, son of Abraham and Abigail

27 - Abraham Ledesma, son of Moses and Esther

August...

(children born: 2)

1 - James Tibbet, son of Thomas and Anne
(Dead August 6, 1735)

9 - Aaron Millidge, son of Thomas and Elizabeth
(Dead October 3, 1733)

September...

(children born: 2)

17 - John Davant, son of John and Elizabeth
(Dead February 19, 1734)

24 - M. Oglethorpe Moore, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth
(Dead December 15, 1733)

October...

(children born: 3)

3 - Anne Hows, daughter of Robert and Anne

7 - Mary Cox, daughter of William and Frances
(Dead October 17, 1733)

10 - Tiberious Pensyre, son of Samuel and Tamar
(Dead November 7, 1733)

November...

(children born: 0)

December...

(children born: 1)

21 - Daniel Chensack, son of James and Anne

(Dead June 17, 1734)

Seven boys and seven girls were born in 1733. Six children were born of parents who had arrived on the *Anne*, three from the *Georgia Pink*, two from the *James*, two from the *William and Sarah* and one from the *Savannah*. Of these 14 children born in 1733 Savannah, seven did not live to see 1734. Three more died in the first half of 1734. In brief, ten children died before reaching their 12th month, and James Tibbet died as a toddler in 1735, leaving Philip Minis, Abraham Ledesma and Anne Hows as the only surviving children of 1733.

James and Anne Chensack lost not only Georgia-born Daniel in the summer of 1734 but also their older son James as he followed Daniel into death two weeks later on July 6, 1734, leaving the couple suddenly childless. Anne Hows' birth date coincides in the *LES* with the listing of her mother's October 3 death, which could suggest that mother died in childbirth, but other sources establish her death in 1736; as mentioned previously, the elder Anne Hows has the dubious distinction of dying three times over a three-year span in the Georgia record. At any rate, the younger Anne lost her mother before the age of three, and her father gave her to the Moravians.

[March 27, 1734]

2. Letter also from Mr. Causton one of the Bailifs of Savannah, that Since the 1. [first] Embarkation 8 children were born and 33 persons dead.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 48

Causton's count of the children, penned in January, 1734 was accurate only that it included those children still living, which in January numbered seven, and eight considering addition of Hannah Cadman, the first child born in 1734, on January 8.... On the other hand, though, his assertion of 33 persons dead is clearly an undercount.

Elizabeth Stanley served as the midwife to these 1733 children. Stanley, who had come with her husband on the *Anne* served faithfully as the colony's midwife until she herself became pregnant and opted to deliver in England, given the absence of any other qualified midwife in Savannah. Percival noted her return to England in his March 16, 1737 *Diary* entry. "Mrs, Stanley, the public midwife of Savannah, to whom we allow a crown for every woman she lays, came to us. She lately came over to lie in herself, not caring to trust herself to the other midwives of Georgia." (vol. 2, p. 370) She does not appear to have ever returned to Georgia.

1430. Stanley, Eliz., w. - Age 35; Public midwife of Savannah. She return'd to England to ly in Octbr. 1736. Quitted Oct. 1736.

By a January 16, 1735 correspondence to Oglethorpe, Mrs. Stanley boasted of her successful deliveries to that point, "which ar fife nin in number." Despite a resume of 59 children over two years she was hindered by a lack of servants and the rise of competing midwives with little or no qualifications.

Ye Resion why I intmet [intimate] this to you is to intret ye faver of you to Crush ye noshion of all falls protandrs [false pretenders] in my way of practis. For I have Jaste Resion [just reason] to thinke thay will sun gro [soon grow] to a grate head.... We have naver had a Sarvent yett so if your [H]onor Is so Kind as to a Loue [allow] me aney I shall estime itt as a grate faver....

- Elizabeth Stanley, January 16, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 167)

Oglethorpe & Hector's Excellent Adventure

Isaac Chardon wrote in January, 1734 to Harman Verelst, remarking of the steady evolution of the town:

There was then [in December] forty odd Houses up, thirty of them all boarded and shingled and one whole Chimney, but that was fixed to the Revd. Mr. Quincy's Habitation. There is now [in January] three quite finished, and there is also a glorious large Oven which convinces all Travellers that there is no want of good Bread. They are also pretty forward with the Look out or Lighthouse which is to be 90 feet high....

Mr. Oglethorpe with Mr. Beaufain embarked at Georgia for Purrysburg last week. We are daily expecting Capt. Fry and wish to have good Sight of him.

- Isaac Chardon, January 17, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 44)

Captain Fry was the captain of the *Purrysburg*, the ship that had brought the first settlers for the Purrysburg settlement the year before and now carried the first emigration of the Salzburger. Given that the Salzburger emigration had been planned even earlier than the embarkation of the 'first forty' of the *Anne*, its arrival had been optimistically anticipated for months. As Benjamin Martyn wrote to Oglethorpe months before, in October, 1733:

Sir

In my last which I had the honour to send You by the James Capt. Yoakley, I inform'd You, there would soon be an Embarkation of Saltzburghers; You may expect very speedily Sixty of them.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 18, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 21)

But in reality, the *Purrysburg* had only departed England nine days before Chardon penned his note on January 17, expecting it "daily."

The 8th of Jan. [1734] After the north wind started blowing we experienced a hard freeze here, having had sunny weather and rain until now. With this wind we left Dover today in God's name, and we praised the Lord for all his kindness that was bestowed upon our bodies and souls in the English harbor.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 1, p. 39)

With the vessel's departure from England so long delayed, the Savannah settlement had no way of knowing and had been awaiting its arrival for weeks already. Those weeks would stretch into another two months. Shortly after his return from Purrysburg, Oglethorpe continued his most lengthy letter to the Trustees, summing up the events of 1733, boasting of the colony's progress and presenting breaking news with disturbing reports of Spanish incursion into Georgia.

The Creek Indians adhere firmly to Us, and those of them who guard the Southern Passages have informed me That a Spanish open Boat full of armed Men attempted to come through the narrow Passages between the Islands about 40 miles to the Southward of us. They would have spoke to them but the Spaniards refusing and firing upon them They by their Ambushes secured the narrow Passages so well that the Spaniards was forced to put out to Sea. They say farther they believe the Spaniards have begun to Settle on this side of the Alatomaha and that the Boat which fired upon them belonged to that new Settlement. I cannot believe the Spaniards would venture it but at the same time will not be too secure, so set out to morrow for the Alatomaha to see the Truth of it.

- James Oglethorpe, January 22, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 42)

Furthermore, in the same correspondence, expressing some degree of frustration in the wait for the tardy Salzburghers, he wrote:

I have staid till now expecting the Salzburghers but hope You will excuse me staying any longer, if they do not come within seven days after my return from the Alatomaha, I shall then set out for England where I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing You.

Oglethorpe took the rumors of Spanish activity seriously, and on January 23 hopped a boat to explore Georgia's southern coast. But all he found on his two-week excursion to Georgia's southern frontier were abandoned hunting grounds of the Savannah Indians, pockets of friendly Creeks, unpleasant weather and a cloud of smoke that turned out to be none other than Skee, one of the two captains of the Militia Company of the Indian Allies, simply burning "canes." But along the way he named an island and inspected the old Fort King George and the new Fort Argyle. A correspondence to the *South Carolina Gazette* detailed the highlights of the adventure. Though unsigned, the unidentified correspondent was almost certainly Hector Bellinger de Beaufain, who had accompanied Oglethorpe to Purrysburg shortly before. In September of 1733 Benjamin Martyn presented a letter of introduction for the gentleman:

A Gentleman of fortune, Hector De Beaufin Esqr... intends to visit Georgia. As he is very well known to several of the Gentlemen here, and his only Motive in going is the Service and Good of the Colonies, they have no doubt of his meeting with an agreeable Reception.

- Benjamin Martyn, September 26, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 20)

The Trustees need not have feared his reception, and even de Beaufain referred to his host's gracious treatment in his letter to the Simmond brothers in London, whose ships had brought most of Georgia's colonists over the first year.

... I arrived [at Charlestown]... I intended to make but a short Stay there for I was impatient to See Georgia and Purrysburgh but my Illness detained me.... I landed [in Savannah] on [January] the 7th at night, Mr. Oglethorpe received me in the most obliging manner and the next day did me the favor to shew me the Town, the Publick Garden and the Plantations, all which is Situated in the pleasantest part of the Country and laid out to the best advantage.... I was Surprized at the Progress made already, it is carried on with good order and Dispatch; there is no Doubt but this Colony will soon be very considerable.

- Hector de Beaufain, January 23, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 45)

"Hector Bellenger Beaufin, Esq," announced the author of *A New Voyage to Georgia*, was "a very worthy Gentleman, and one that was a fellow Passenger with me from England." (p. 33-4) The unnamed author of the pamphlet *A New Voyage to Georgia* might even be supposed to be de

Beaufain, except for the fact that the two men's explorations diverge—north and south—after their shared Savannah visit.

“I arrived in Charles Town in South-Carolina, after a long and tedious passage of three Months from London, on the 10th Day of December, 1733,” the author of *A New Voyage* began.

I stay'd there [in Charlestown] till the 10th of *January*, 1734, when I set out with an Intent to see the Town *Savanna*, accompany'd by several other Gentlemen, in a Scooner, belonging to Captain Colcock of Charles Town. On the fourth Morning we came within Sight of the Island of *Tybe*... where we landed about 10 the next Morning.

- *A New Voyage to Georgia*, p. 2

“There are still to be seen,” the correspondent continued, “the four beautiful Pines Mr. *Oglethorpe* first encamp'd under, with the first forty that went over with him, and where he lay himself [in a tent] for near a twelve-month, till in short it was nothing but Raggs.” (p. 4-5) The four pines alluded to, incidentally, coincide with the pines illustrated in the 1734 Peter Gordon Map.

Hector de Beaufain picks up the narrative: “After haveing been five days at Savannah with Mr. *Oglethorpe* I waited on him in his Scout Boat to *Purrysburgh*. Mr. *Oglethorpe* was received there with all the marks of Distinction and the Demonstrations of publick Joy the Town could afford.” But with the concern of Spanish activity to the south, priorities shifted. As de Beaufain remarked in the closing words of his letter: “He [*Oglethorpe*] is going to visit the *Alatamaha* River.”

One month later, on February 23, the following correspondence appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*:

SAVANNAH, Febr. 16 -

SIR

HAVING satisfied my Curiosity with seeing this Place and *Purrysburgh* my Design was to have return'd to *Charles Town* last Month; but towards the Middle of it, there was a strong report that the Spaniards were settling on the *Allatamaha*, and that one of their Lances full of Men, attempting to come from the Southward, was repuls'd and frighted to Sea by the Creek Indians, whom Mr. *Oglethorpe* had appointed to hunt upon the Southern Frontiers and to watch the Motion of the Spaniards. Mr. *Oglethorpe* returning from *Abercorn* the 21st Instant, and preparing to view the Southern Frontiers, I desir'd the Favour to accompany him in that Expedition. We sett out Wednesday *Jan.* the 23d in a Row-Boat, commanded by Capt. *Ferguson*, fourteen white Men and two Indians in Company, with a Yawl loaded with Provisions and Ammunition.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* left the Yawl at *Skedeway*, and by his order two of the Gentlemen with their boat well man'd from *Thunderbolt* were already gone to look for 2 Boats wrack'd on the outside of the Islands, and to search the Sea Bays to the Eastward, whilst we visited all the Inland Passages, and search'd the N.W. Coast of the Islands of *Ossabaw*, *St. Catherines*, and *Sappalaw*. We had sometimes such bad and blowing Weather, that our boat could hardly live, yet we proceeded forward, and having pass'd the Entrances of the *Vernon River* of the *Ogeechee* and of the Northern Branches of the *Allatamaha* the 26th of *January*, we landed on the first *Albany Bluff* on *St. Simons*, where we lay dry under the Shelter of a large live Oak Tree, tho' it rain'd pretty hard, till the Ebb. At one a Clock after midnight we fell down with the Tide to the Dividings over against the third *Albany Bluff*, where we lay till Day-break when we discover'd the Tops of two Houses on the *bluff*, we made up to them and found that they were only Hutts thatch'd with Palmetto, made by the *Savannah* Indians, who hunted there by order of Mr. *Oglethorpe*, but not speaking the Creek Language, had given Jealousey that they were *Spaniards*, or at least *Spanish*

Indians. From thence we proceeded to the Sea point of *St. Simons*, in order to take an Observation of the Latitude, but the Day proving cloudy prevented us, we saw an Island to the *S.E.* of us, of which Mr. *Oglethorpe* asking the Name, and finding it had none, call'd it *Jekyll*, from Sr. *Joseph Jekyll*, Master of the Rolls. To the Southward of it lies *Paulo-Jubane* and separated from that by broken Land is *Wessee Island*. The Channel between *St. Simons* and *Jekyll Island*, which is the Middle entrance of the *Allatamaha* is bold and setts down with a great Tide of Ebb; we began to found and found about three and a half Fathom at dead low Water, when we discover'd a great Smoak upon the Main to the Southward, toward which we made; but a Spirit of Sand running a pretty way into *Paulo Jubane Sound*, we were forc'd to round it and standing still to the Southward enter'd another Channel of the *Allatamaha*, hoping it would bring us up to the Smoak, but finding it turn'd to the *N.W.* we rounded two other Points of Land, and then we brought the smoak to bear West of us. Mr. *Oglethorpe* landed with some Men, and did me the favour to take me along with him: Having march'd two Hours into the Woods, towards the smoak, but finding no signs of People, and Night coming on, we return'd to the Boat. The next morning by Day break Mr. *Oglethorpe* sett out again, and after three hours march we found the smoak, which prov'd to be occasion'd by the Grafs and Canes burnt by *Skee Tuskeeneoy*, who by a Commission from the Trustees is a Captain of 20 Creek Indians, and by Mr. *Oglethorpe's* order hunted upon the Southern Frontiers. The Indians kill'd 2 *Buffaloes* for us, and Mr. *Oglethorpe* being assur'd that the Land on that Branch of the *Allatamaha* to the South of us was so low as not to admit of a Settlement, and that the *Spaniards* were so far from enlarging their Settlements that they did not dare to come over *St. Juno*, but had destroy'd their Ferry-boats upon that River for fear of Creek-Indians. We therefore return'd on the 28th, being then by Computation 220 Miles from the River *Savannah*. After two Days rowing up the *Allatamaha* to the Dividings, we fell down the Northern Branch, to a place where Fort *King George* stood, and the Independant Company was formerly quarter'd. In our return we coasted the Main and found nothing remarkable out and home, except meeting Camps of the friendly Creek Indians at every Landing place. We went up the *Ogechee* to *Fort Argyle*, where we lay in a House and Beds for the first time since we left *Thunderbolt*, the Fortifications there by the unwearied Diligence of Capt. *Mackphersen* are finish'd, and very defenceable, being well-flanked and having several pieces of Cannon mounted. As we pass'd by *Thunderbolt* we mett the Gentlemen who were return'd from viewing the Eastern Coast, where they found on *Ossabaw* the Wrack of Mr. *Eveleigh's* Perriawger, which had run away with his Goods, and of a *Spanish Lance*, the Kiel and some other Pieces of which they had brought home. We arrived at *Savannah* the 8th of February. I am yours &c.

- Correspondence to the *South Carolina Gazette*, February 23, 1734

Six months later, Skee, leader of one of two Indian militias to guard Georgia's frontiers, would come to an ignominious end... 'drunk to death' by local troublemaker Joseph Watson. De Beaufain, in the meantime, would settle a plantation just below Purrysburg. He would keep close ties with the Savannah settlement over the years, but like Samuel Montaignut and Charles Purry, who would create business enterprises in Savannah, he remained a Purrysburger by choice. De Beaufain's choice of life seemed to confuse William Stephens. "Hector Belinger de Beaufaine," Stephens wrote in a July 27, 1741 *Journal* entry, adding "(whether German, French, or Swiss by Birth, I know not)..."

... certainly had a liberal Education, and was well born, allied by Blood to no less a Family than that of our late gracious Queen Caroline... till a sudden and surprising Turn of Thought occasion'd him to lay aside that Polite Way of Life; and... he sought Solitude in America.

- (CRG IV, Supplement, p. 202)

Oglethorpe returned to Savannah on February 8, and true to his word, by February 23, with no sign of the *Purrysburg*, he was en route to Charlestown, preparing to leave for England. It was while he was in Charlestown that the *Purrysburg* would first make its appearance on March 7, almost two months to the day after its departure from England, but more than two months

since—due to poor communication—it had been “expected daily.” Its delegation was met by Oglethorpe there in Charlestown. Born on September 10, 1710, Philip von Reck—all of 23 years old—was the leader of the Salzburger emigration; their two ministers were not much more seasoned: John Martin Bolzius was 31 and Israel Gronau 27. As Oglethorpe wrote: “The Commissary [von Reck] is a good natured Man, the Ministers are very devout and the eldest is a very wise Man; the whole are a religious, industrious and cheerfull People.” (CRG XX, p. 52) Unaware of all the frustration or confusion that had attended the wait, John Martin Bolzius wrote in the March 7, 1734 entry in his *Diary*, “we were received by Mr. Oglethorpe with great Kindness, and... we had dinner with him at the governor’s [Governor Robert Johnson], who is a very affable and good gentleman.” Referring to the Indians, Bolzius remarked innocently in his next line: “Mr. Oglethorpe had many good things to say about the heathens who are to be our neighbors.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 1, p. 57)

But a year later, in his February 20, 1735 journal entry, Bolzius had far less generous things to say for the Indians, remarking: “So far we have failed to find in any of them the good traits they were said to have when we first arrived in America, although,” he noted, “they are much easier to deal with when they are sober.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 2, p. 47) Remarking of one particular Indian who had come to Ebenezer that day “in an insolent and surly manner,” he noted with disillusionment: “He spoke English fairly well and, like some impudent Christians in this country, knew how to swear so terribly and to misuse the name of God, whom he does not know otherwise, that I was amazed. May God have mercy upon these miserable people.”

From Charlestown Harbor the *Purrysburg* began its passage to Georgia on March 9; Oglethorpe placed on hold his travel plans a little longer and left Charlestown on the 11th to assist in the settlement of the Salzburgers.

The Ship with the Saltzburghers came in sight and Mr. Van Reck landed here just as I was going to imbarck for England. I found it necessary to go down to Georgia to place them there and make a Disposition for their Subsistence. I put on board them a Pilot and got Mr. Dunbar, a Gentleman of fashion, who is a very good Seaman and knows the Entrance of the Savannah River perfectly well, to go with them. I was, for haste, not able to write to You [the Trustees], because I sat out instantly and arrived at Savannah on the 14th of March.

- James Oglethorpe, April 2, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 52)

The Capricious Captain Fry & the Man-Eating Woods

Friday, the 22nd of March [1734]

... The helmsmen and most of the Englishmen came to Mr. Oglethorpe today to bring charges against the captain who treated the people like dogs.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Excerpts from the Original Diary*
(within *Urlspurger’s Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 314)

The four-month stop-and-go voyage from Rotterdam to Georgia had not been a smooth one for the Salzburgers, who found themselves patronized and sometimes terrorized by their ship’s captain. Tobias Fry showed little tolerance for his non-English-speaking passengers, and the voyage was peppered with his fits of rage and hecklings of the Salzburgers. These episodes,

recorded by Bolzius throughout the journey, were edited out of the *Travel Diary* when it was first published in the 1730s, due to their incendiary nature, and would not see publication until 1972 with the Wormsloe Foundation's unedited version within the appendix of the *Detailed Reports*, volume 3. In the original published version, the unfortunate dynamic between Captain Fry and his passengers exists only in subtle allusions, i.e. - "The 10th [February, 1734].... They [the Salzburgers] are glad that God has heard their prayer and has made a certain individual much kinder and more friendly toward them." (*Urlsperger*, vol. 1, p. 47) But a reconstruction of the material excised from the sanctioned version paints a voyage of discrimination and outright contempt, and a captain unable to manage finances any better than his temper. After three months of exposure to their capricious captain, Bolzius observed: "Just as one cannot rely much on his friendliness, his wrath does not last long either; however, it is often so great that one must be terrified." (*Urlsperger*, vol. 3, p. 308)

Monday, [November 19, 1733]

... Of the captain we have been told that he is an atheist... today with dreadful cursing and swearing he is supposed to have bespoken his villainous heart. He does not understand a word of German.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Excerpts from the Original Diary*
(within *Urlsperger's Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 279)

Wednesday, [November 21, 1733]

... A dispute had arisen between the captain and several crewmen so that the latter neither wanted to make ready nor sail the ship, because the captain did not want to give them the money they had earned. After they brought action against him, he had to satisfy them; however, he dismissed them at the same time and took others into his service.

- p. 280

Thursday, [November 22, 1733]

... We were supposed to continue on our way this afternoon; however, since the captain had not come to an agreement with the crew, we had to remain at anchor.

- p. 280

Saturday, [November 24, 1733]

... This evening the captain finally came on board the ship. He has not once slept in it as long as it has lain here. He has already previously used the harshest expressions in regards to us and the ministry; and, as soon as he came aboard, he gave orders in very harsh words that we should neither enter the great cabin nor eat in it, because he hates preachers as he hates the devil himself, and he breaks out in a cold sweat if only he sees them.

- p. 282

Wednesday, [November 29, 1733]

Again today we had to lie to at the same place.... All are quite content, because the captain is away. All wish that we could get rid of him in Dover and either get a new captain or keep our present helmsman, who is quite reasonable and friendly.

- p. 284

Thursday, [December 6, 1733]

The captain asked the commissary [von Reck] to lend him 40 Dutch florins. Because his request was denied, he traveled back to Rotterdam to raise the sum, which he has to pay a Dutch navigator, who has been entrusted with bringing our ship from the Meuse out to sea.

- p. 290

Yet while harbored in English waters and given the chance to make a complaint to the owner of the shipping line, von Reck instead played diplomat, much to the chagrin of Bolzius:

Monday, [December 17, 1733]

... Very late the day before yesterday the commissary received a letter from Mr. Simonds in London, in which he was asked whether there was something in what he had heard about our captain's behaving so badly toward the Salzburgers. But instead of writing the plain truth he praised the captain and reported that we were well pleased with him and could not ask for a better captain.... As excuse, he [von Reck] declared that, if he wrote the gospel truth, he would not be displaying Christian charity.

- p. 294

Bolzius didn't agree with the argument, remarking instead: "We pointed out to him... that it would not be Christian to further the benefit of another with hypocrisy and falsehood."

Saturday, the 19th of Jan. [1734]

... The commissary asked the captain to give the people cereal and soup along with a little butter or cheese instead of the tough and indigestible meat. He [Captain Fry] offered the same old excuse: The flour, butter, etc. were packed away so he couldn't get to them.

- p. 304

Friday, the 1st of Feb. [1734]

There are several sick persons and two nursing babies amongst the Salzburgers for whom a soup of water and flour has to be made from time to time because the indigestible fare does not agree with them. When they come close to the fire the captain not only rails at them but taunts them by saying that a simple Salzburger gulps down more than three Englishmen and there would not be enough victuals for them in Georgia. This is all a rude untruth.

- p. 306

Wednesday, the 13th of Feb. [1734]

Today, on account of a trivial matter, the captain fell into such a rage that he not only talked of beating and stabbing, but even struck a Salzburger with a cane, who till now has been one of the most cheerful ones and has comforted others. The reason was that five persons, who had received too little meat, desired some more meat. Someone else, to all appearances, seems to have put before the captain a wrong construction upon the words.... In his violent rage he threatened to give neither beer nor meat anymore....

- p. 308

Monday, the 11th of March [1734]

... In Charlestown a German carpenter, who wanted to go with us to Georgia, came aboard our ship. Having heard how badly the captain had treated the people during the voyage, he told several on board that he considered this an unreasonable and inexcusable action. His words were repeated to the captain, who, for this reason, fell into a terrible rage and hurled abuse at him and even wanted to fall upon him with blows, which seemed outlandish and frightful to all on board.

- p. 311

Tuesday, the 12th of March [1734]

The captain hectored the aforesaid carpenter with harsh words and threats for such a long time that he decided to go ahead of us in a small boat to Savannah.

- p. 312

An interesting contrast—the last two entries above, involving a German carpenter named Rheinlander, were decidedly 'cleaned up' for Urlsperger's original publication, *viz*:

The 12th [March, 1734].

... In Charlestown a German carpenter came aboard, who wanted to go to Georgia with us. The captain urged him to go ahead of us in a small boat to Savannah, which he reached yesterday evening, since it is only two hours from our ship.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 59)

The *Purrysburg* sailed into Savannah's harbor on March 12, having not lost a soul over its four-month journey from central Europe.

The 12th [1734].

... Nearly all of the inhabitants of the city of Savannah, which has been built up considerably in one year, had assembled at the place where our ship was to land. They fired several cannon and shouted with joy, and they were answered in the same manner by the sailors and the rest of the Englishmen on our ship.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 59)

Safely arrived in Savannah, von Reck and the Salzburgers did make complaint to the authorities at Savannah. Captain Fry was called to account for his behavior in a meeting before Thomas Causton and other members of Savannah's court on March 26, Oglethorpe having left for Charlestown three days before.

Tuesday, the 26th of March [1734]

A trial was conducted today and the captain was called to account for his harsh methods aboard ship. The commissary [von Reck], who himself presented several important points against him, related that the mayor [Causton] and assistant judges was astonished at the captain's iniquity and wretched treatment of the people.... The reports are supposed to be sent to the Trustees in London. The helmsman will bring action against him tomorrow.

- vol. 3, p. 314

By the end of the year, Bolzius would write of ill-tidings regarding Fry: "A ship's captain related that Captain Frey, the one who had brought us across the sea, had suffered a shipwreck. May God grant that this report will not be confirmed." (*Urlsperger*, vol. 2, p. 26)

As Bolzius noted, there were indeed Englishmen aboard the *Purrysburg* as it arrived at Savannah; as he wrote from Dover in December: "There are, to be sure, quite a few people who are sailing on our ship along with our Salzburgers to be colonists in America." (*Urlsperger*, vol. 1, p. 154) As Percival remarked in his *Diary*: "There goes in the same ship several English on their own account, and the ship will hold, cabin and all, seventy-five persons." (vol. 1, p. 405) Though the majority of the *Purrysburg* passengers were Salzburgers, more than 30 aboard—both Charity and non-Charity passengers—were Englishmen.

A reconstruction of the *Purrysburg* muster

(aka, "the first Salzburger transport")

arrived in Savannah, March 12, 1734

Tobias Fry, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers, CRG XXIX* and *Urlsperger's Detailed Reports*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(*salz*) - Salzburger
 (*salz* [*]) - Salzburger still alive on May 19, 1739 (*Uralsperger*, vol. 6, Appendix iii)
 (*salz* [d.--]) - Salzburger dead before 1739 (*Uralsperger*, vol. 6, Appendix iii)
 (*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Ebenezer

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. John Martin Bolzius (<i>minister</i>) | 23. Mathias Mietensteiner (<i>salz</i> d.34 *1) |
| 2. Math. Braumberger (<i>salz</i> d.34) | 24. Johannes Moshammer (<i>salz</i> d.35) |
| 3. Balthasar Fleiss (<i>salz</i> d.34) | 25. Maria Moshammer (<i>w</i>) *2 (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 4. Thomas Geschwandel (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 26. Christopher Ortman (<i>schoolmaster</i>) |
| 5. Margaretta (<i>w</i>) (<i>salz</i> d.35) | 27. Juliana Ortman (<i>w</i>) |
| 6. Margaretta (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 28. Leonard Rauner (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 7. Israel Gronau (<i>minister</i>) | 29. Simon Reiter (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 8. Hans Grueber (<i>salz</i> d.34) | 30. Maria Reuter (<i>salz</i> d.34) |
| 9. Peter Grueber (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 31. Simon Reuschgot (<i>salz</i> d.35) |
| 10. Martin Hertzog (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 32. Stephan Riedelsperger (<i>salz</i> *3) |
| 11. Anna Hofer (<i>salz</i> d.35) | 33. George Roth |
| 12. Lorenz Hueber (<i>salz</i> d.34) | 34. Mary Barbara Roth (<i>w</i>) |
| 13. Maria Hueber (<i>w</i>) (<i>salz</i> d.34) | 35. Paul Schwaighoffer (<i>salz</i> d.36) |
| 14. John (<i>s</i>) (<i>salz</i> d.35) | 36. Marg Schwaighoffer (<i>w</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 15. Magdalene (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> d.34) | 37. Maria (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 16. Margaret (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 38. Thomas (<i>s</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 17. Maria (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> d.35) | 39. Ursula (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 18. Barbara (Rohrmoser) Krauer (<i>salz</i> d.35) | 40. Georg/Jerg Schweiger (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 19. Catherine (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 41. Christian Steiner (<i>salz</i> d.35) |
| 20. Gertrude (<i>d</i>) (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 42. Philip von Reck (<i>embarkation leader</i>) |
| 21. Tobias Larkner (<i>salz</i> d.34) | 43. Chris Schweikert (<i>ser</i>) (<i>salz</i> d.35) |
| 22. Christopher Leimberger (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 44. Andreas Zwiffler (<i>salz</i> *3) |

settled at Highgate

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 45. James Carteriades | 46. Magdalene Carteriades (<i>w</i>) |
|-----------------------|--|

settled at Savannah

- | | |
|--|---|
| 47. James Baillou [<i>lot 142, 4th ward</i>] | 58. Peter (<i>s</i>) |
| 48. Mary Baillou (<i>w</i>) | 59. Francis Britain (<i>ser</i>) |
| 49. Isaac (<i>s</i>) | 60. David Peters [<i>lot 148, 4th ward</i>] |
| 50. Giles Becu *4 [<i>lot 147, 4th ward</i>] | 61. Eleanor Peters (<i>w</i>) |
| 51. Edward Bush [<i>lot 150, 4th ward</i>] | 62. David (<i>s</i>) |
| 52. Loyd Gibbons [<i>lot 109, 3rd ward</i>] | 63. Eleanor (<i>d</i>) |
| 53. Frances Gibbons (<i>w</i>) | 64. George (<i>s</i>) |
| 54. Christopher (<i>s</i>) | 65. Priscilla (<i>d</i>) |
| 55. Mary (<i>d</i>) | 66. Will Rigden [<i>lot 146, 4th ward</i>] |
| 56. Adrian Loyer [<i>lot 149, 4th ward</i>] | 67. Jane Rigden (<i>w</i>) |
| 57. Adrian (<i>s</i>) | 68. Joseph (<i>s</i>) |

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| 69. Mary (<i>d</i>) | | 72. Henrietta Scott (<i>w</i>) |
| 70. Will (<i>s</i>) | | 73. James (<i>s</i>) |
| 71. John Scott | [lot 144, 4th ward] | 74. Sarah (<i>d</i>) |

Additional Purrysburg passengers arriving on their own account including, but not necessarily limited to:

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 75. Will Sale | [lot 76, 2nd ward] | 78. Joseph Somers (<i>ser</i>) |
| 76. Elizabeth Sale (<i>w</i>) | | 79. George Stephens (<i>ser</i>) |
| 77. Thomas Newman (<i>ser</i>) | | 80. Joshua Stringer (<i>ser</i>) |

*1 - Presumed dead (*LES*: "Lost in the woods 1734.")

*2 - Redundant *LES* entry under "Mary Rhomorisine," Maria Moshammer was the sister of Barbara Krauer, a.k.a. Barbara Rohrmoser (#18)

*3 - Riedelsperger left Ebenezer in April, 1738; Zwiffler in March, 1737

*4 - Redundant *LES* entry under "Gilbert Beon"

The Savannah-based *Purrysburg* settlers were given lots in the southeast quadrant of Heathcoate ward, with seven of the ship's eight Charity families comprising a neighborhood in the Belitha Tything (lots 142, 144, 146-50).

James Baillou (#47), a Frenchman, was described in the *List of Early Settlers* as "An industrious man." Percival, a difficult man to impress, further lauded him as "The foremost in planting vines." Percival's praise appears to have come from William Stephens' comments, describing him as "without Competition" as a cultivator of vines. Stephens' remarks in a July 16, 1741 *Journal* entry:

James Balleu, by Trade a Hatter (and a good one) being a Native of France, in the Province of Xantoigne, near Bourdeaux, beginning about three Years since to plant a few Vines, which he carefully improved, and augmented his Stock yearly, now stood, without Competition, the foremost in our Rank of Propagators of that Plant.

- *CRG IV*, Supplement, p. 193

Gunsmith John Scott (#71) wrote to Trustee Robert Kendal by January, 1735, a disillusioned man. "I [am] not pretending to be a Carpenter Nor a Sawyer, I am not able to be." (*CRG XX*, p. 157) And to the Trustees, he wrote that Oglethorpe "advised me to go to work upon my Lot which i did wt all diligenc & having got it fenced in & built a house¹³ by 22 foot which is More then Some that was [here] 6 Months before Me." (p. 158) But with his gunsmith trade unable to take flight and accusations against John West and Thomas Causton in that regard, by now he was pleading for financial support: "I humbly begg Some Lines of Comfort wt Speed from Yr. Honrs."

Giles Becu (#50) boarded the *Purrysburg* in Rotterdam in late 1733 with his wife Hannah and two children, Benjamin and newborn Mariane. A French baker, Bolzius noted of him: "The man can speak very little German and is also a Calvinist; therefore, he does not fit in very well with our Salzburgers." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 289) When his wife and two children left (or were put off) the ship in Rotterdam, Bolzius observed: "The man wept on board the ship and said that he

had been forced into this decision” of coming to Georgia, (p. 282) evidently, by his Church parish. Percival’s record of him is light, noting only in the *LES*: “Fyn’d 40 shillings for receiving stolen goods 3 Oct. 1734 and again 40 sh. for the same crime 30 Oct. 1734.”

Almost a year and a half after the arrival of the *Purrysburg*, Trustee Thomas Coram received a letter from the French Deaconship in Rotterdam:

Sr

I must have recourse to your Charity (which is known to me) in favour of a French Baker, Called Becu. About two years agoe he went from hence to South Georgia, with the Saltzburgers, who embarked here at Rotterdam, and left out of the vessel, his wife and two Children finding them very troublesome.

- Monsier Dumont, August 5, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 456)

“He [Becu] wrote me from Savannah a long letter wherein he deplored his misery,” Monsieur Dumont noted, and wished to have leave to depart the Savannah settlement, in favor of Purrysburg or Charlestown. Remarking that Hannah and her children were still in Rotterdam “at the Charge of the French Deaconship[,] We could willingly wish Sir to discharge ourselves of this Burthen and procure Mr Becu the liberty he so much wishes for.” He concluded: “If (to purchase this liberty for him) he must have one or two Guineas I beg Sir you would advance them & I will order them to be paid you in London or wherever you please.”

But Becu did not leave. In fact, it appears his family was sent to join him, as they are listed in the *LES*, but without arrival dates. William Stephens remarked on October 19, 1738 of “an unhappy Accident of Fire, which in the Forenoon on Thursday burnt down two large Huts, where two French Families lived, viz. Becu a Baker, and [Peter] Bailleau a Hatter; and it was so sudden and violent, that great Part of their Household Goods &c. was lost.” (*CRG IV*, p. 214)

Becu had been granted lot 147, a lot in Heathcote ward which would remain in the family into the next century. The lot confirmed by the Crown in 1775, Becu built a house there between 1775 and 1801, a house which stood until the mid-20th century. Built by a settler who arrived early in the colony’s second year, the Becu-Montmollin house, at 120 West Oglethorpe, was demolished in 1955... the last tangible link to an original grantee’s home on his original granted lot.

It terms of the Ebenezer settlers, it is important to clarify that neither Christopher Ortman and spouse (#26 and 27), nor George Roth and his pregnant wife (#33 and 34) were Salzburgers, though all would eventually take up residence at Ebenezer, and were classified erroneously by Percival in the *LES* under the blanket of ‘Salzburgers.’ And even Mathias Braumberger (#2), “who is not a Salzburger,” (Bolzius in *Urlspurger*, vol. 1, p. 106) was actually Bavarian. Christopher Ortman was personally approved by the Trustees before he was sent to join the transport. Percival wrote of him:

Wednesday, 31 [October, 1733]...

We engaged Mr. Ortman, a German, to go over to teach the children to read and write. He will be useful to make the Saltsburgers, whom we expect at Rotterdam, learn English. He sets out on Friday next, when a ship of Mr. Simmons’ is to fall down the river to sail for Rotterdam on the Saltsburgers’ account, who are expected there about the same time the ship goes thither.

He would run a school in Ebenezer teaching English to the children; in a February, 1735 correspondence to Henry Newman, Bolzius remarked that the community's 12 children "are taught by Mr Orthmann, who follows our directions Concerning them; wherein he employs at present his best Skill, and we hope, he will Continue So to do hereafter." (CRG XX, p. 220) But two years later Bolzius discussed a crucial shortcoming in Ortman's ability to teach: "His pronunciation of English words is quite wrong, and what he does know he seems incapable of imparting to the children." (vol. 4, p. 39)

By 1739, Bolzius summed up Ortman's career thusly:

He could not be used in any measure to instruct our Children in the English Tongue, which was heretofore a great Disappointment to us. Notwithstanding he pretended strongly to be a English School Master, but his wrong Pronunciation & great many Mistakes in spelling, reading & writing occasioned General Oglethorpe to order me not to give him leave to teach any Child English.

- John Martin Bolzius, July 19, 1739 (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 183)

Writing elsewhere that Ortman possessed "no Method & skill at all to lead Children," they had to settle on encouraging him to simply "instruct the small Children in reading German." (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p.162) References to wife Juliana dot the *Urlspurger* volumes, never favorably. "She rules at home in all things," Bolzius wrote of her in 1736. "Because of his simplicity, [Ortman] lets himself be persuaded and used for anything by her cunning and rhetoric." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 255) In December, 1736 she fled to Charlestown, chasing after a 73 year-old carpenter who had lodged with them for a few weeks. By the 27 of January, 1737 she was back. "Today, the shoolmaster's wife returned by land, accompanied by a suspicious-looking guide. She had been gone since the 5th of December, that is, almost 8 weeks. This is hardly becoming for a schoolmaster's wife." (vol. 4, p. 11) Nor did the couple make any serious attempts to acclimate to the community around them. Citing the "scandal, affront, and serious consequences it had caused," in May of 1737 Bolzius confronted Ortman about entertaining English visitors in his house. Wary of the corrupting influence of the English, "I had taken the opportunity during our recent meeting to impress on Ortmann that he should not permit his wife to set up quarters again for passing Englishmen," adding: "I also added that our people were quite shocked by his constant reading of the English Bible during our sermons." (p. 82) Ortman countered that "they could not now turn the Englishmen away, for they had become accustomed to stay at their house." But Ortman's argument was artifice and eventually cracked. "He finally admitted that his wife could not do without the company of Englishmen, to which she was already too accustomed."

Finally, he could no longer hide his grief at this, and he spoke of either moving away or leaving his wife, if only to get his peace. He also admitted, when his heart had become quieter and his anger had abated, that she did not take any advice and intended shortly to travel to Charlestown again, and nothing could be done to dissuade her.

- p. 121

Even as Ortman confessed his frustration his wife was once again gone from New Ebenezer, attending to "an Englishman who brought the Honorable Trustees' cattle to Old Ebenezer [who] has fallen ill there." Bolzius was aghast at "the impropriety of such indecent behavior." (p. 120)

In the meantime, George Roth (#33)—or as Bolzius would refer to him, “this ill-bred Roth” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 312)—was a troublemaker who would remain a thorn in the side of the Ebenezer settlement until exiled in 1735. “Roth is the most vexatious man among the entire transport,” Bolzius wrote. (p. 291)

Fri. [December 14, 1733]

Roth and his wife are a detriment to the Salzburgers, whom they not only scandalize by their disorderly conduct but also put all sorts of vain and unfounded things in their heads.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Excerpts from the Original Diary*
(within *Urlspurger's Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 292)

The Trustees' order to remove him came with the second transport on the *Prince of Wales*.

The Trustees direct that Mr. Roth and his Family, and Mr. Bromberger be sent and settled at Fort Argile, on Account of many Disturbances they have raised among the Saltzburghers.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 28, 1734 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 39)

Bolzius remarked with relief:

It is a new Testimonie of the tender Care of our Benefactors for our best, that by their order Rott [Roth] and his Wife was obliged to quit Ebenezer.... This Order came just in time... as the said Rott was willing according to his open Threatenings to kill treacherously two persons at Ebenezer.... After the aforesaid good Order he is hindered to pursue his wicked Purpose.

- John Martin Bolzius, February 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 222-3)

Causton remarked of Roth overseeing crops, alongside the Savannah City Common owner William Calvert, in the spring of 1735: “The people of Fort Argile are in good health.... Calvert and Roth are the only people there, who mind planting.” (*CRG XX*, p. 306) He died shortly thereafter.

The 18th, May, Sunday [1735]. Today we received the news that Roth, who some time ago had to leave our place and move somewhere else, had died of a hot fever.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within *Urlspurger's Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 90)

1278. Roth, Geo. Bartol. - Scrivener; embark'd 14 Dec. 1733; arrived 12 Mar. 1733-4. Salsburger [sic] settled at Ebenezer. Misbehaved & sent with his family to Fort Arguile 22 Feb. 1734-5. Dead 15 Mar. 1735-6.

Tobias Lackner (or Larkner) (#21) was the first Salzburger to die, dying before the Salzburgers had even settled in Ebenezer. Falling ill in early April he was dead exactly one month after arrival in Georgia, passing away the evening before Easter, in Abercorn, where the bulk of the Salzburgers were encamped.

The 13th [April, 1734]. Last night Lackner, whose body had been sick and miserable, passed quietly and peacefully away to the Lord.... He was a man of good understanding, which he used to

good purpose. He busied himself with the Bible, which he could read himself; and he prayed unceasingly and set a good example for everyone with his Christian and charitable conduct.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 73)

“His sickness seemed to be a consuming fever,” Bolzius concluded. That Easter evening his funeral was prepared and he was buried at Abercorn. Bolzius described the Salzburger burial custom.

Because it is very hot, and since there are other circumstances which do not permit us to leave the body for any length of time, we made preparations for burial at today's sunset. It was proposed to nail some boards together for a coffin, but this was thought to be unnecessary and superfluous by the Salzburgers, whose custom it is to bury no one in coffins except lying-in [pregnant] women. Therefore, after washing the deceased, they dressed him in his own clothes and placed him on a board.

- p. 74

“After having been accompanied to the grave by an orderly procession of the entire congregation, the deceased was wrapped in a cloth and lowered into the ground.”

In contrast, the first Salzburger marriage in Georgia came about in June, 1734 between shipmates Anna Hofer (#11) and George (or Jerg) Schweiger (#40), as Bolzius noted, “not only because God had caused them to like each other, but also because living conditions made it highly necessary.” Just as Bolzius described the first funeral, so he described the community's first union:

The 14th [June, 1734]. Last week two single persons, Georg Schweiger and Anna Hofer, told us of their intention of entering the state of holy matrimony.... Today had been chosen to join them in Christian fashion. Before noon the bride and groom came to our house.... We sang the hymn: "O Holy Ghost, Come Visit Us," etc. and gave them a few points regarding the corrupt features of married life existing even among Christians, also some rules governing the Christian aspects of marriage. Finally we pronounced them man and wife.

- p. 97

Nine and-a-half months later the union produced a child which would see the death of both mother and child.

The 29th, Mar [1735]. This morning we again had an emergency baptism, for Mrs. Schweiger had brought into this world a weak and premature boy.... The little boy who came into the world today died about noon and was buried toward evening.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 56)

The 8th, April [1735]. Mrs. Schweiger died soon after lunch. Mr. Zwifler thinks that she had internal gangrene.... Besides always coming early and regularly to our public worship, she was an ardent reader of the Bible and a lover of Arnd's *True Christianity*.

- p. 63-4

Bolzius remarked with sorrow, “She led a quiet life, talked little, and was always content with the guidance of God.”

Two other marriages realized between former *Purrysburg* passengers included the ministers themselves, as Gronau (#7) married Catherine Krauer (#19) in 1734 and Bolzius (#1) her sister Gertrude (#20) in 1735. As Thomas Causton noted on September 8, 1735: “Mr Boltsius was lately married to One of his own Congregation. He... invited me to be present, But being allways Engaged in business, I excused myself.” (*CRG XX*, p. 470) In an August 26, 1735 correspondence to his family, Bolzius’ indentured servant Henry Bishop would remark: “As concerning my Master I thank God he is very well, he is newly Married in wch I am well pleased for my Mistress loves me very well.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 66) Upon his visit to Ebenezer in August of 1737, raving of “the hospitality, openness, and piety” of their husbands, John Wesley remarked of the ladies’ simple charm.

I was much pleased with the plainness of dress of Mrs. Boltzius and Mrs. Gronau, but more with what little I saw of their behaviour. It appeared to be their delight as well as their custom to be the servants of all.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 375

At 38, the mother to these two sisters, Barbara (#18) was only seven years older than Bolzius, but had not weathered the trip well. As Barbara’s brother-in-law Johannes Moshammer (#24) noted in a May 9, 1734 correspondence: “Barbara has become quite week.” (*Uralsperger*, vol. 1, p. 183) Bolzius recorded her death the following year, shortly after his marriage to her daughter.

The 16th, Nov [1735].

... After the noon service, it was God’s pleasure to take away from us, through temporal death, our mother-in-law, Mrs. Rohrmoser (or, as she is properly called after her husband, Mrs. Kroher).

- vol. 2, p. 205

The Hueber (or Huber) family (#12-17) arrived on the *Purrysburg*; a family of six at the time they disembarked, only one was left the following year. Parents Lorenz and Maria were dead within months of arrival, and their four orphaned children succumbed one by one. Thanks to Bolzius’ meticulous journal, we have a window into one family’s descent into illness and death. Unable to complete the journey to Ebenezer due to their illness, Lorent and Maria had spent the spring and summer twelve miles shy of their destination, in Abercorn. As Bolzius noted on June 20, 1734, “Huber and his wife are very weak and near death.” (*Uralsperger*, vol. 1, p. 99)

The 23rd [June, 1734]. This afternoon we received news from Abercorn that God had delivered the good Huber from his unrest and had given him eternal rest through temporal death. He had been longing for this with all his heart.... He was poor, and he left four uneducated children.

- vol. 1, p. 100

The 24th of June [1734]. This morning one of us and a few Salzburgers went to Abercorn to bury the late Huber. The sick widow and the orphaned children conducted themselves like good Christians during the burial. They are resolved to the will of God.

- p. 101

Lorenz Huber was dead at the age of 55. His “sick widow,” Maria Manleiter Huber was forty-four, but outlived her husband by only two weeks.

The 5th of July [1734].

... Mrs. Huber, who has been lying sick in Abercorn until now, all the while longing for early deliverance, passed away this morning very quietly and peacefully.... Mrs. Huber was buried tonight.

- p. 104

And before the month was out the oldest child of 15 began succumbing to epileptic fits.

The 18th, Sept [1734]. Last night the late Huber's oldest daughter [Magdalene] had epilepsy. She had had an attack of it once before [July 29] . Mr. Zwifler tried to help her with some medicine, but it continued all day and, when the convulsions finally stopped, she lay as though dead and completely out of her mind.

- vol. 2, p. 12

The 21st, Sept [1734]. This morning, the oldest daughter of the late Huber peacefully passed away....

- p. 12

Then, with half the family dead, the three remaining children began showing traits of a family illness:

The 13th, Oct [1734]. One of our orphans has become bedridden and we are worried because we lack good medicines. It appears that the children inherited epilepsy from their father.

- p. 15

By the beginning of 1735 the health of the remaining children began to fail.

The 10th, Jan [1735]. The two Huber orphans are miserably bedridden (with scurvy).... One cannot find the least fear of death in them. Instead, they show a complete willingness to die. And since [John] Moshammer and his wife [Maria] [#24 & 25 above] have been taking loving care of them during their sickness, they told me today with childlike simplicity what they wanted them to have after their death.

- p. 34

The following day brought the death of the ten year-old son, a boy Bolzius described with a bittersweet lament as "formerly the naughtiest among the school children."

The 11th, Jan [1735]. Against all expectation I learned this morning that of the two sick children the boy had died. His death came so softly and quietly that Moshammer's people, who had given him something to drink shortly before, did not notice it.

- p. 34

John Vat recorded the death of Maria Huber on February 13, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 361), and Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports* (vol. 6, Appendix iii) confirms Maria's death in 1735 at the age of eight.

The 13th, Feb[1735]. The Huber girl that had been sick died this afternoon. Even before her sickness she had been a pious child, but her long and difficult confinement has increased the good in her.

- p. 45

Margaret—at six—the youngest and only surviving member of the Huber family, seemed to Bolzius to be living on borrowed time. Percival's *List of Early Settlers* confuses her death with that of her sister on February 13, 1735, in the meantime ascribing Maria's death to April 5, 1735; but both are erroneous, because she survived for the next 17 years.

The 25th, Aug [1735].

... Our one orphan girl has been seriously ill for several days.... She has been an unhealthy girl since birth.

- p. 134

The 2nd, Oct [1735]. Our orphan girl is, to be sure, cured of her sickness; yet she seems to be in such a condition that she will probably not live long in this world.... She is well tended both night and day and provided with all necessary care.

- p. 167

By 1736 Margaret's primary caregiver Maria Moshammer, widowed by the death of husband John, remarried Peter Grueber (#9 above). But Margaret soldiered on. In a January 10, 1738 entry, Bolzius recorded the youngest Huber still alive, despite a two and-a-half year absence in the entries of the *Daily Record*. In summing up the condition of the orphan community in Ebenezer, Bolzius remarked, "Margareta Huber, ten years old, is the only surviving daughter of the entire Huber family, which consisted of six persons." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 5, p. 10) He explained that she remained "for cogent reasons under the supervision of Peter Gruber and his wife but receives her subsistence from the orphanage." (p. 9)

On May 19, 1739 Bolzius listed "Margaretha Huber, orphan girl," as one of only 18 persons still surviving from the first transport, apparently under the care of Simon Reiter (#29 above). (*Urlspurger*, vol. 6, p. 325) Gruber died within the year, marking the second stepfather she had outlived.

The last record of Margaret Huber is contained within Bolzius' *Daily Record* in at the age of 23, still making ready for the "journey to blessed eternity." In making out her will in early 1752, the young woman had been near death for almost two decades.

The 13th of February [1752]. Margaretha Huber, an orphan of twenty-three years, is visited by God with constant bodily weakness and is therefore quite incapable of work. She well recognizes that she is frivolous and dissolute by nature and that she would not have come to Christ her Savior if God had not afflicted her so sorely. She is content with God's disposition and is making herself ready for the journey to blessed eternity. Today she told me to what persons she is leaving her few cattle out of gratitude for kindnesses she has received.

- vol. 15, p. 164

"She has all her family in heaven," Bolzius concluded, "namely father, mother, two sisters, and a brother, all of whom died blessedly already in Old Ebenezer; and this moved her to tears." Whether or not she did die in 1752, she does disappear from the record.

One will note the curious observation that Mathias Mietensteiner (#23 above) was recorded by Percival as "lost in the woods." Mietensteiner, in fact, is conspicuously absent in the original published volume of Bolzius' *Diary*, within *Urlspurger's Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*s. The reason is that he was excised; much like the episodes with Captain Fry, his disturbing

disappearance proved a little too ‘real’ for Urlsperger’s intended readership. Existing as the frontier town in colonial Georgia came with a high price; the thick woods around Ebenezer could swallow a man whole, and did with disturbing frequency. The saga of Mathias Mittensteiner was well documented by Bolzius in his *Diary*, but would not see the light of day until 1972 and the Wormsloe Foundation’s publication of the excised material in the appendix of volume 3.

Wednesday, the 24th of April [1734]

... By order of the commissary a Salzburger by the name of Mittensteiner was supposed to ride after two cows that had wandered into the forest, and he has not returned yet. He is a very simple man; and because there are no paths in the forest, we have been seized with fear and apprehension as to whether he will find his way out. They have sent others after him.... They have also fired the cannon four times, but they still have not seen him again.... The worst is that he has eaten neither breakfast nor dinner and has left his hat and coat behind.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Excerpts from the Original Diary*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 318)

Friday, the 26th of April

The horse on which Mittensteiner had ridden into the forest came back this afternoon. He himself is not back yet. The horse itself would have brought him back to us again if only Mittensteiner had given it the reins.... Since the horse returned without the reins, we suppose that he fell from the horse and kept the reins in his hands, for he is too awkward and simple to ride horseback.

- p. 318

Sunday, the 28th of April

It had not pleased our dear Lord yet to grant our prayer for our lost Mittensteiner....

- p. 319

Sunday, the 5th of May

... On this day, while in the forest, a carpenter from Abercorn found the neckerchief that belongs to the Salzburger who is lost and gone astray. Till this day we have not been able to find out where he is gone. The neckerchief was found close to the swamp, which is full of reeds and brushwood. It is very likely then that he may have run into it after the horse, which, lacking a rope, he had perhaps previously hitched up with the neckerchief.

- p. 320

Mittensteiner never again emerged from the woods, nor was he the first to disappear into the dense Georgia wilderness. “In this country you must take great care not to lose your way in the forest,” Bolzius remarked in the week even preceding the Mittensteiner disappearance. “The paths are not yet well made, and you see nothing all around but forests, many swampy places, cane, etc.” From material partially edited out of the original published *Diary*:

Thursday, the 18th of April [1734]

... It one loses sight of the blazed trees by which one can recognize the way to some extent, one runs the risk of getting completely lost as happened recently to two German men in Purysburg, who went so far into the forest that nothing was ever seen of them again.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Excerpts from the Original Diary*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 316)

At first glance, there seems something almost comical about the recurring theme of Salzburgers becoming lost in the woods, but upon closer inspection and repeated instance it becomes decidedly more... ominous. One will recall that in the summer of 1734 the injured Ebenezer Slave was given over to William Watkins because the Salzburgers’ doctor, Andreas Zwiffler,

had become lost in the woods. Zwiffler (#44 above) disappeared for more than ten days in the heat of the summer, but unlike so many others, somehow lived to tell the tale. After experiencing two deaths in one July day Ebenezer braced for a third as Zwiffler turned up missing. Bolzius, giving up on him after the first day, wished him well in “blessed eternity.”

The 5th of July [1734].

... The third person whom we seem to have lost is our apothecary, Mr. Zwifler. He went into the forest early yesterday morning but has not been seen since, even though others went to look for him and shot muskets frequently. This loss hurts us all the more because he was a very useful and experienced man. May God have mercy upon him and cause him to use what little time he has (if he is still alive) to prepare himself for blessed eternity.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 1, p. 104-5)

The 11th [July, 1734]. The Indians who had been sent here to look for Mr. Zwifler have departed again because they could find no trace of him. It is assumed that he intended to shoot a tiger or some other evil beast, that he did not hit it well and was devoured by it. Those who were sent to look for him report that the region to which he went is such that a person with a little sense cannot get lost easily.

- p. 105

The 15th [July, 1734]. One of our Salzburger, [Jerg or George, #40] Schweiger by name, was moved to go into the nearby woods today in order to pray. There he came upon Mr. Zwifler, whom we had considered lost.... One of us went immediately and found him in a miserable state caused by lack of proper bodily care. Most of his clothes were torn to shreds or lost, and what he had to say was very confused. He insisted he had been close by for eight days but had not been able to get his bearings and come to our settlement. Meanwhile he had stilled his hunger and maintained his life with blueberries. He was so weak, emaciated, and miserable that he could hardly stand on his feet.

- p. 106-7

By the next day, Zwiffler, still weak and exhausted, was able to recount his harrowing and disorienting experience:

The 16th of July [1734]. Having rested and refreshed himself with decent food and drink, Mr. Zwifler is gradually regaining his strength of body and mind. Today he spoke quite coherently, saying he is sorry he spoke in such a confused way yesterday, as he well remembers having done. On the first day he had pursued a deer which he had shot and had become so completely lost that he could not find his way out of the wilderness even though he used the sun and other means of trying to find his directions. He said he had also met an Indian who offered to lead him out but that they had lost each other during the night. Early yesterday it seemed to him as though he could see Senior Urlsperger and two pastors well known to him, who showed him the way to some recently built houses. He followed this way and saw our houses; but the sight of them did not make him happy, for everything seemed like a dream to him and he was under the impression that he had always remained in Ebenezer and had only just left to go shooting.

- p. 107

“Thus,” Bolzius concluded, “it is another good deed of God that a Salzburger found him and told us about it, for he might have gone back in the woods again.”

Other instances of people lost in the Ebenezer woods:

The 11th, April [1735]. The man whom Mr. Causton had sent here to cut boards got lost in the woods, together with a helper; but a Salzburger who met him accidentally put him back on the right path.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 69)

The 24th, June [1735]. Last evening three men from Purrysburg arrived at our place after having been lost for two days while suffering indescribable thirst. During the dark night, after they had come close to our river, they still did not know where they were. But when they heard us sing during evening prayer, they were put on the right path by it.

- p. 104

The disappearances were so rampant that on July 7, 1734, Bolzius noted with exasperation, "A rumor was spread to Savannah that I, Bolzius, had been lost in the forest." (*Urlsperger*, vol. 1, p. 105)

The 2nd, Aug [1735].

... I received the sad news that two pious women of the congregation, Mrs. Schweighofer and Mrs. Eischberger, had been lost in the woods.... I learned that it was true but they had been found after they had to spend a night in the woods. But one of the men, Resch by name, who was sent after them must have become lost as well, for he has failed to return since yesterday.

- vol. 2, p. 114

The 3rd, Aug [1735]. The eight Salzburgers who went after the lost Resch last night returned this morning, but they were unable to find him, even though they made every effort to do so.

- p. 114

As to one of the woman whose disappearance had led Resch into the woods:

Mrs. Schweighofer is suffering no little grief and pangs of conscience over the fact that Resch has been lost and has not come back so far. She feels that she is responsible.... During my visit with her she shed many tears.

- p. 115

Andreas Resch had been a part of the second emigration of Salzburgers, arriving on the *Prince of Wales* at the end of December, 1734. He had married fellow passenger Sibylla Schwab only weeks before his disappearance. "The wife of this lost man is very depressed," Bolzius remarked in his August 3 entry. "She would not be satisfied and wished to look for her husband herself when he could not be found by the Salzburgers." (p. 114)

The [14th], Aug [1735]. Mrs. Resch is still very much grieved about her husband who was lost in the woods, and she requested today that some more people be sent into the forest to look for him.

- p. 121

"Although," Bolzius concluded, weighing the (by now) all-too-obvious downside to sending more into the woods, "this brings the constant worry that the search may increase our grief by causing someone else to get lost."

But Resch never reemerged from the woods around Ebenezer. The fact that his body was never discovered led to complications when the next year his widow hoped to remarry.

Thursday, the 8th of January [1736]. Some time ago it was reported in our diary that [Thomas] Geshwandel wanted to marry Mrs. Resch, whose husband was lost in the woods. They have promised to marry one another, but they do not expect the ceremony to be held until after we have received the verdict of our benefactors in London.... It is certainly more than likely Resch is dead, although we have been unable to find any trace or get the least report of him.

- vol. 3, p. 14

Geshwandel had come on the *Purrysburg* with his wife and daughter (#4-6), but had also found himself widowed in 1735. (*Bolzcius, April 1, 1735*: “Mrs. Geshwandel’s illness has become so much worse in the last few days that there is hardly any hope for her recovery.” - vol. 2, p. 58. *April 2, 1735*: “Mrs. Geshwandel died this afternoon. It was GOD’s pleasure to impose upon her a long and difficult death-struggle.” - p. 59) The widowed couple’s hopes for marriage were finally realized in late 1738, three years after their engagement and 39 months after her first husband’s disappearance.

Thursday, the 9th of November [1738]. This morning Thomas Geshwandel and Sibylla, the widow Resch, were married.... everyone who knew her husband and his circumstances and also knows how easily one can get lost and lose one’s life in the woods must realize that it is impossible for him to be alive, and that it is therefore advisable for this widow to marry again, especially since she has already been a widow for three years.

- vol. 5, p. 264

Settlement at Ebenezer

To be clear, the Georgia Salzburger emigration had been proposed by the Trustees in July, 1732, predating the emigration of the ‘first forty’ by months.

[July 27, 1732]

We... agreed that a letter should be written to Augsburg to acquaint a gentleman there that we would take Saltzburgers over, pay their passage from Frankfurt to Rotterdam, and freight them to Georgia; give them lands and maintain them for a year till they had settled themselves.

- John Percival, *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 288

“The matter if the Saltzburger Emigration attracted the attention of almost all Europe as soon as it began,” Samuel Urlsperger wrote (probably with Henry Newman) in the opening of the first volume of the *Detailed Reports on the Saltzburgers in America*. “Therefore, as a corresponding member of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I took the opportunity at the beginning of 1732 to report to London the particular circumstances of these happenings.... This news was printed in London,” and as the authors observed, “This had hardly occurred before a number of sizable checks were sent from England during a period of several months for... the benefit of the emigrant Saltzburgers.” (*Urlsperger*, vol. 1, p. 1)

The Saltzburgers, he wrote, “had been graciously called and invited to go to Georgia after having emigrated from their homeland in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia where they were no longer tolerated because of their religion. Their number was very small,” and “All their expenses were to be paid and they were to be received in Georgia as British colonists and free people.” (p. 4)

Now with the Salzburger arrived, all that remained was placement. As Bolzius remarked just two days after arriving in Georgia on March 14: “Mr. Oglethorpe arrived here today and received us and our Salzburger in very friendly fashion.” Bolzius resided at the house of the Reverend Samuel Quincy while the latter was visiting New England; he remained in Savannah with the Salzburger as Oglethorpe and a small group went to choose the location for the Salzburger settlement. The *South Carolina Gazette* provides more detail into the founding of Ebenezer:

Mr. *Oglethorpe* being arrived the 14th inst. at *Georgia*, he acquainted the *Salzburger* who were come with Capt. *Fry* in the Ship *Purrysburgh*, that they should have Liberty to choose such part of the Country as they thought most convenient for them to build a Town. They desired to be distant from the Sea in hilly Ground with Springs of Water; that being the Nature of the Land where they were born. Mr. *Oglethorpe* with *Paul Jenys* Esq; Speaker of the Honourable House of Assembly of South Carolina set out from Savannah on the 15th towards that Part of the Country which answered the Salzburger Descriptions; taking with him Mr. *Van Reck* their Commissary, Mr. *Gronau* one of their Ministers, Mr. *Zwilfier* their Doctor, and one of their Elders with some Indians. They went up the River by Water, as far as Mr. *Musgrove's* Cow-Pen; where Horses were being ready, after a March of about 15 Miles Westward thro' the Woods, they arrived at the banks of a River, about 80 feet wide, and 12 feet deep, of clear Water; the sides very high; the Country of the Neighborhood hilly, with Valleys of rich Cane Land, intermixed with little Brooks and Springs of Water. The *Salzburger* were extremely pleased with the Place, kneeled down by the River side, sung a Psalm and returned God thanks for bringing them out of their Persecutions... in remembrance of which they desired the River might be called *Ebenezer*.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 30, 1734

“I gladly report that, on departing from Georgia, I left Baron von Reck, the two pastors, and the entire community of Saltzburger in excellent health,” Oglethorpe wrote in a letter quoted by Urlsperger.

They are a very modest, industrious, cheerful and devout people. God Almighty was obviously pleased to protect them on their voyage, as has been reported in detail by Baron von Reck in his letters to Mr. Newman. It was their pleasure to settle on a river they called Ebenezer. There they intend to erect a stone monument to commemorate God's having delivered them and led them to the ends of the earth, where they may glorify and praise the name of the Lord in complete freedom.

- James Oglethorpe, June 27, 1734

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 1, p. 19)

As history well records, the site where Ebenezer was settled quickly proved not only dangerous, but infertile. On March 19, 1735, one year later almost to the day following the founding of the site, Thomas Christie observed in a letter to the Trustees: “The Land the Saltzburghers are upon turns out very Sandy & Barren. It is now too Late to remove them for this Season and Shall first Expect Your Honnours Directions therein.” (*CRG XX*, p. 273) As John Martin Bolzius complained in a letter to Oglethorpe in February, 1735: “They call our Land pine barren, where nothing else will grow but Indian peases & Potatoes. Hence it is.... Some Acres about the River seeme to be good, but there are few....” (*CRG XX*, p. 222) In a letter dated the same day, John Vat, leader of the second emigration of the Salzburger from the *Prince of Wales*, wrote to Henry Newman: “Upon a Rainy day, the black Mould being wash'd off, nothing but white Sand is Seen in large places like paths, in a walk.”

However were the Soil of this place tolerably good [all other] difficulties might be overlook'd; but as it is the opinion of every Body, even Some of the best planters in this Country and the Province adjoining, It's humbly hoped the Trustees for Georgia will take the low, dejected condition of these poor people into their Consideration, and grant them the favour of Removing hence....

- John Vat, February 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 226)

By late 1735 the difficulties of the soil, combined with bitter infighting between Vat and the ministers of the first emigration, had contributed to a settlement in danger of failing. Gronau remarked in an October 21, 1735 entry into the ministers' diary: "It greives us that in Mr. Vat we have a commissioner in whom we cannot live in any brotherly union." (*Uralsperger*, vol. 2, p. 182) Fearful to develop the settlement to such a degree that they would not be allowed to relocate, the Salzburgers of Ebenezer existed in a world of waiting throughout 1735. Finally given the green light to relocate to Red Bluff in the spring of 1736, the Salzburgers in the meantime had subjected the Trustees and anyone else who would listen to a year's worth of complaints regarding the sterility of Ebenezer I. By 1737 John Wesley recorded his own notes and observations as to the original site's shortcomings:

Old Ebenezer, where the Saltzburghers settled at first, lies twenty-five miles west of Savannah. A small creek runs by the town, down to the river, and many brooks run between the little hills: but the soil is hungry, barren sand; and upon any sudden shower the brooks rise several feet perpendicular, and overflow whatever is near them. Since the Saltzburghers removed, two English families have been placed there: but these, too, say that the land is good for nothing; and that the creek is of little use; it being by water twenty miles to the river, and the water generally so low in the summer-time that a boat cannot come within six or seven miles of the town.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 405

Though its shortcomings would quickly become evident, in the spring of 1734 Ebenezer marked the final piece of the Trustees' 1733 ambitious Georgia plan. Oglethorpe was now finally free to return to the Trustees' offices in Westminster triumphant, and the Trustees had every reason to believe their colony was on good footing.

The next two years would prove that it was harder to maintain a colony than to build one.

1734 - 35

“There never was a Colloney so truly Misserable as this will be”

THE SEEDS OF UNREST

Americans in London

CHARLESTOWN, May 11.

Tuesday last sailed out of this Port his Majesty’s Ship the *Aldbrough*, for *London*, having on board the Honourable *James Oglethorpe Esq;* with eight of the Creek Indians and *Tomo-chi-chi* their Chief.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, May 11, 1734

As Oglethorpe departed Charlestown for England on the *Aldbrough* on Tuesday, May 7, 1734 he took with him a small delegation of Creek/Yamacraw allies. As Percival later noted of their voyage: “When they went upon the water, they heard some of the rude multitude swear, which they told Mr. Verelts was very naughty.” (*Diary*, vol 2, p. 122)

The introduction of Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, records nine Indians in the party “and one interpreter,” the interpreter being John Musgrove: “Tomo Chachi... Tooanahowi... Senauki... Hillispylli... Apokowski... Umpychi... Stimolichi,” and two unnamed Indians. Charles C. Jones’ 1883 *History of Georgia* and 1868 *Historical Sketch of Tomochichi* help to fill in the blanks of the other two: Sintouchi and Hinguithi.

Oglethorpe was not the first Englishman to bring a group of Indians to London. The same May 12, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette* that alluded to the first arrival of the *James* and recounted Tomochichi and Tooanahowi’s visit to Charlestown also offered the following blurb shortly below the other items:

Wednesday arrived here the Chiefs of the *Upper Cherokees*, (three of which were carried to *England* by Sir *Alex. Cummings*) with their Attendants, to renew their Treaties.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, May 12, 1733

In truth, the Oglethorpe-hosted Creek visit was actually something of a repeat performance of Alexander Cummings-hosted Cherokee visit four years before (which, itself had been a repeat of the Iroquois’ visit in 1714). Working out a treaty with the Cherokees on behalf of South Carolina in 1730 Cummings had brought ‘Noble Savages’ to London and caused a stir. Remarking about enduring Indian trouble in February 1734, an anonymous correspondent caught us up with these particular Cherokees:

...The Principal Actors in this Affair was those Indians that Sr. Alexander Cummings carried over lately to England; we find notwithstanding the good Treatment they met with there they are more

insolent than the others and say that we are all Slaves to the Great George.... the Treaty of Alliance Settled between them and the Lords of Trade they now despise. [treaty alluded to in the May 12, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette*]

- author unknown, February, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 49-50)

While Oglethorpe's public relations tour was not the first, it is safe to say that it was more successful in cementing favorable relations between the Creeks and the Crown. When, exactly, Oglethorpe had conceived of bringing Tomochichi to London is unclear; there seems no indication that it had been his intention as he tried to leave before the arrival of the *Purrysburg*. But as Percival observed, there was certainly a political advantage in bringing Native Americans into the heart of the English empire. "And Mr. Oglethorpe was willing they Should See the Magnificence wealth and Strength of England. They were very decent in their behaviour, and no less observing of what they Saw." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 57)

One week after the founding of Ebenezer, on March 23 Oglethorpe led the group from Savannah. They arrived in Charlestown on March 25; while they awaited passage the leader of the Nauchees, "a Nation of Western Indians," came to Charlestown on April 21 with 26 warriors. Seeking permission to settle near "Savannah Town," or Fort Moore, the Nauchees found themselves entertained by Tomochichi, who enticed them to dance at the Governor's House and to play a mysterious "Indian game" with rackets.

Three hundred Men of their [Nauchee] Nation have been kill'd by the *French*... which has occasioned the King to come down and desire leave to settle with all his People at Savannah Town. Tomo-chi-chi... who is setting out for England with Mr. Oglethorpe, invited the Nauebees [Nauchees] to dance with them, which they accordingly did before the Governor's House on Wednesday, and on Thursday they invited to play at an *Indian Game* with Ball and Rackets, thirteen of a side, in which they all shewed great Strength and Agility.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, April 27, 1734

Two weeks later Tomochichi was on the *Aldborough*, sailing from the world he recognized. "A letter was read from Mr. Oglethorpe dated the 16th instant, giving account that he was landed at the Isle of Wight after six weeks' passage," Percival wrote in the June 19 entry in his *Diary*. (vol. 2, p.112) Two days later, on June 21, Oglethorpe attended his first Trustee meeting in a year and-a-half. "[I] congratulated Mr. Oglethorpe on his arrival, he being come that morning from his house in Surrey. We were a more numerous Board than of late, probably in expectation of meeting Mr. Oglethorpe." He followed up: "Mr. Oglethorpe acquainted us that he had brought over Tomakecky, the Chief of the Yamacree nation," Percival observed, clearly spelling everything as a best guess.

Friday, 21 [June, 1734]

... together with his man of war [Hillspilli] (which is in other countries the principal man next the Sovereign), Toma-chihi's wife, his grand_nephew and five other Indians, his followers. They are come to learn English and the Christian religion and to confirm the peace we made with that and the eight nations their Allies last year.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 112

"The Chief is ninety years old and a sensible, cunning man," he was informed. Following a brisk and uneventful six-week passage across the Atlantic, the "Georgia delegation" settled in for what

would become a four-month visit. With some initial confusion, Bolzius wrote from Ebenezer in September:

The 20th, Sept [1734]. Yesterday evening we heard several loud cannon shots [from Savannah], and today we had news that with them a ship bringing new colonists to Savannah had been welcomed. Whether that is true... we will learn reliably within the next few days.

The 23rd, Sept [1734]. Today two carpenters returned.... They reported that no ship had arrived in Savannah, as some had assumed on hearing the shooting, but that many cannon had been fired to celebrate the good news that Mr. Oglethorpe had happily arrived in London after a voyage of only four weeks.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 12)

The lodgings for the Yamacraws were furnished by the Trustees, a set of apartments at the Georgia Office in Westminster. "We ordered they should be sent for from on shipboard and lodged in two garrets in our offices, and our Porter had direction not to let the mob in to see them." As Percival remarked of Tomochichi, "He is a very old man but of good natural sense, and well behaved." (p. 114) Elsewhere: "their Chief was 90 years but as hearty as any Man of 50, and had a good understanding." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 57) Marveling that "Their modesty is very great," Percival recorded an amusing anecdote in the wake of their visit to the Tower of London, that

it offended them when being to see the Tower, the flap of Harry the Eighth's codpiece was taken up... the Queen [Senauki] turned her head away. The King's [Tomochichi] reflection on it was that to be sure that man had more wives than one....

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 122

The Indians made their first appearance before the Georgia Board on Wednesday, July 3. Percival's first impressions were mixed, as they walked into the Georgia Offices dressed in a bizarre shabby-shic of English-wear over their traditional Indian garments; they had been presented with English clothing but apparently didn't know what to do with it. "They are all brisk and well trimmed people, and would make a good appearance in our habits, but they dress themselves fantastically, will not put on breeches, and wear the shirts we gave them over their covering, which is only a skin that leaves their breasts and thighs and arms open, but they wear shoes of their own making of hides that seem neat and easy." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 114)

The beginnings of this month [August] The King gave an audience to The Indians in great form, Tomachachi made him a Speech, and returned well Satisfied, only he wished his People had been allow'd to dance their War dance, which was the highest compliment they could make. The King order'd them one of his Coaches, and that they Should be treated in the Same manner the 5 Iroquois Chiefs were in Queen Anne's reign. Tomachachi being afterward ask'd what he observed at Court, reply'd, They carry'd him thro a great many houses (by which he meant rooms) to make him believe the Kings Palace consisted of many, but he was Surprised to find he return'd by the Same Stairs he went up, by which he found it was Still but One house. He observed we knew many things his Country men did not, but doubted if we were happier, since we live worse than they, and they more innocently. After the audience was over, the Queen ask'd for Toonaway, Stroked his face and told him he must come again to her, for She had a present for him. He answer'd her in English, and was forward in his learning, Mr. Smith [Trustee Samuel Smith] of our board taking great pains to instruct him in reading, writing, & the principles of Christianity.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 60

William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland and the 13 year-old son of George III offered gifts to his young counterpart Tooanahowi. As Percival observed: “The Prince presented him with a gun and a gold watch.”

The delegation also met with William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury. “They were yesterday to see the Archbishop of Canterbury, and were extremely pleased with their visit,” Percival wrote on August 19. Wake (1657-1737) was unwell; as Percival recorded: “The Archbishop refused (out of respect to them) to sit down, though so weak as to be supported on the arms of two servants.”

[Tomochichi], who saw him in pain, forbore to make him a speech he had prepared, and said he would speak it to his servants, meaning Dr. Linch, Dean of Canterbury, the Archbishop’s son-in-law and other clergymen there present.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 121-2

“Nevertheless the King [Tomochichi] was so taken with the Archbishop that he said he must come again alone to talk with him.” The Indians were at first intimidated. “They had apprehensions that he was a conjuror...”

... but the kind reception he gave them altered that imagination. The Archbishop would have put some questions to them concerning their notions of religion, but they have a superstition that it is unfortunate to disclose their thoughts of those matters, and refused to answer. They attributed the death of their companion to having too freely spoke thereof since they came over.

- p. 121

One will note “the death of their companion” above. The four-month trip to London was not without incident; one in the group had died, a victim to smallpox. As Percival wrote on July 31:

Mr. Oglethorp acquainted us that the King had ordered the Indians should wait on him to-morrow, whom he would receive in a grand manner, and use them while they stay on the same foot as the Iroquois Indians were treated in Queen Anne’s reign; that he would order a sum of money to maintain them while here, with coaches to attend them. One of them has the small pox, but is under Sir Hans Sloan’s care, and is like to do well. The others were falling sick by reason of their confinement, so different from their usual manner of life, but by bleeding and vomiting are recovered to.

- p. 118

But, as Percival noted on August 1: “Mr. Verelts acquainted me that the King Toma-Chiki and the rest of the Indians was very well satisfied with their audience at Court, but were much afflicted with the death of their comrade, who was a cousin of the King’s. On that occasion they sat up all night, crying and bewailing his loss.” (p. 119) And the next day: “They went on Friday last [August 2] to Mr. Oglethorp’s in Surrey to dissipate their sorrow for the death of their friend.” (p. 120) So clearly, the man described as Tomochichi’s “cousin” died on either July 31 or August 1. As Percival later noted between the July and August entries in his *Journal*:

This month one of these Indians died of the Small pox. Sr. Hans Sloan attended him. He was Cosen to Tomachachi. They sat up all night bewayling his loss. On this occasion Tomachachi told Mr. Verelts that his Relation was gone to the Great Spirit, that he would See us no more, but he Should See him, and believed he Should be the first.

Interestingly, no contemporary source actually names the warrior that died, nor was he evidently left any formal headstone, leaving it to a few secondary sources of the twentieth century to pull names out of a hat—one 1977 Tomochichi biography claiming that it was “Umphechi,” and a 1992 biography claiming the victim was “Stimaulki....” But both Umpichi and Stimolichi reappear in the Georgia record after their visit. George Dunbar correspondence, January 23, 1735: “Toma Chetchie Tuanouie Helespalie [Hillispilli] & Humpetchie [Umpichi] are with me this morning.” (CRG XX, p. 194) And a Thomas Causton correspondence on September 8, 1735 remarked of Umpichi’s return from “the Southwd” the month before: “Tomochachi, the boy Tooanahowi, Hillispilli, Tallahummi, Umpichi, and Histanloppi returned the 18th of August.” (CRG XX, p. 468) Clearly, both Umpichi and Hillispilli survived....

Sintouchi, too, reappears. Thomas Causton correspondence to the Trustees, April 2, 1735: “Tomochachi had Sent Saututche [Sintouchi] to the Nation to Invite the Chiefs of the Towns, to receive Your Honours Presents.... Saututche was a little dissatisfied because Captain Mckay had prevented their coming.” (CRG XX, p. 306) And a follow-up Causton correspondence to Patrick Mackay, April 10, 1735: “It would Certainly be very proper to Advise Senteche, who is the Messenger from Tomochichi, to invite those down here, whom you Discover to have that Interest.” (p. 317)

And Stimolichi (or, more often “Estimolichi”) did not die in England because, quite frankly, he died in Georgia the following year; as Thomas Causton would write in a July 7, 1735 correspondence: “Estimoleechee Accidentally Shot himself when he was out, and is Dead.” (CRG XX, p. 439) Estimolichi had not only attended the first meeting of the Creeks and English in the spring of 1733, but had been singled out by Yahou-Lakee, king of the Coweetas, in his plea that Tomochichi and Estimolichi might reconstitute a ninth Creek town.

Only two names of the nine that went to England do not resume in the Georgia record after 1734, leaving two possible candidates: Apakowski and Hinguithi. But which one of the two, ultimately, perished in the summer of 1734, this author will have to leave to someone even more dedicated.

On the 19th [August] they all dined with me at Charlton. I entertained them wth. dancing, & Musick, made them presents and walk’d them in the wood, which much delighted them as it put them in mind of their own Country. At table I ask’d Tomachachi what dish I Should Serve him? He reply’d, that he [would] eat whatever was Set before him, meaning a civility thereby that he would not refuse any thing I should offer him. They also had the respect not [to] eat when Served until my wife and I had taken the first mouthfull. They had learn’d the way of drinking and bowing to the company, and behaved with much decency, making no noise or interrupting any one that Spoke. I presented Tomachachi with a guilt carved Tobacho box, who on receiving it Said, he would get a ribband and hang it at his breast next [to] his heart. At parting, he told me that he came down to See me with a good will, and return’d in friendship. That God above would continue it, and he hoped we would take care to make their children Christians.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 60-62

The September 17, 1734 *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* reported that: “The Trustees for Georgia are taking up a large ship for a new embarkation of families and artificers for that colony, and we hear the Indian Chiefs are to return home in said ship.” Though Oglethorpe

would remain in London for another year, preparing the Great Embarkation, the Yamacraws set sail for Georgia on Oct. 31, 1734, this time accompanied by Peter Gordon, on the *Prince of Wales*, captained by George Dunbar.

In October, the Trustees held one last important meeting with their guests. “We then entered upon the most serious affair of all,” Percival wrote on October 9, “which is settling a tariff of trade with the Indians...”

...for which purpose we sent for them down, but the Interpreter was drunk and we could not understand one another. We have ten or a dozen articles to settle with them, as blankets, guns, powder and shot, garters, saddles, etc.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 129

But little could be accomplished. In even attempting the first topic of discussion, blankets, Musgrove “said he would ask of the Indians” the Trustees’ proposals, “but being in drink so confounded the Indians that they did not understand our proposals.” As Percival concluded of an inconclusive morning: “Hereupon we desired Mr. Oglethorp to see what he could settle with the Indians to-morrow when Musgrove should be sober.”

As a gift to the Trustees thanking them for their hospitality over the four month visit, the delegation left behind—as recorded in the Trustees’ Account Book—25 buckskins, 6 buffalo skins and 1 “Tyger skin.” (CRG III) One may imagine that the “tyger skin” in question—much like the “tiger” that Andreas Zwiffler was seeking to hunt in the woods of Ebenezer—was probably more bobcat than tiger. Tooanahowi’s gold watch, evidently held safe during their visit, was delivered to him in the days before the group’s return to Georgia. The exchange was recorded in the *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*.

Wednesday evening last Mr Pointz going with a present from the Duke of Cumberland, of a gold repeating watch to give to the young Indian prince and delivering it, asked him: what a clock it was by it? to which he answered very right; sir, it is almost 7.... Mr Pointz added the Duke wishes you to have a good voyage, and desires to hear from you after your return home.

- *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*, November 1, 1734

By January 23, 1735, Dunbar would remark of the rapid deterioration of the Prince’s gift to Tooanahowi: “Touanoies watch is very much abus’d [abused] but I carie it to Charlestown and will have it mended.” (CRG XX, p. 194)

Two years after the London visit and while joining Oglethorpe on the southern frontier, the above watch would play a role in creating another of the place names of Georgia’s southern coast. Just as Oglethorpe had declared an unnamed island Jekyll in early 1734, the June 22, 1736 *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* reported that “Tomachicha Mico, Tooanochowi, his nephew, &c have carried Mr. Oglethorpe to a high ground near the frontiers, told him that this was the boundary betwixt the English and Spanish nations.... Tooanahowi pulling out a Watch he got in England from H.R.H. the Duke, gave the name Cumberland to the isle.”

Tooanahowi, in fact, almost did not survive the voyage back on the *Prince of Wales*, and was sick for much of the next three months. As Captain Dunbar remarked in the first week of the voyage on November 5, 1734: “The Indian King Queen and the others are well and chearfull

(remembering their English benefactors) except the Prince who's cold conenous [cold continues] but was much easier last night than any Since he came aboard." (CRG XX, p. 100) Even weeks after the *Prince of Wales*' arrival in Savannah, in a January 24, 1735 correspondence John Musgrove wrote of a young man only just recovering: "Tunoy has been ill but now he is upon ye Mending hand & I hope he will do very well." (CRG XX, p. 197) Finally, as Tomochichi dictated to Noble Jones in a February 24, 1735 letter to the Trustees: "We have All had our health during the whole Voyage Except Tooanahoure whom we all feard'd woul have Dyed & thro' he is now much better yet is Very Waek and Infirm." (CRG XX, p. 236)

Interestingly, Tooanahowi may have also adopted an English name during his visit; it is worth noting that an October 30 correspondent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* refers to the young man as "John Towanohowi." By 1736 Charles Wesley reported to Percival "that he speaks English and understands it so well as in Mr. Oglethorpe's opinion to be the best interpreter we have." (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 314)

As for Tomochichi, upon his return and the establishment of New Yamacraw, he rechristened his modest hut "Hampton Court".

Mr. Colton, Mr. Cotton & Mr. Causton

Whilst we laboured under those difficulties in supporting ourselves, our *civil liberties* received a more *terrible* shock: For, instead of such a free government as we had reason to expect, and of being judged by the laws of our Mother Country, a DICTATOR (Mr. Thomas Causton) (under the title of Bailiff and Store-keeper, was appointed and left by Mr. Oglethorpe, at his departure, which was in April, 1734), whose *will* and *pleasure* were the only laws in Georgia.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 52

In considering where the fortunes of the colony began to wane in the 1730s, it certainly did not help matters any that many of the more industrious figures who had come on the *Anne* died within the first twelve months, including William Cox (April 6), Joshua Overend (June 28), Storekeeper Joseph Hughes (September 30) and William Kilberry (December 8 or 9). And few that followed on subsequent ships in 1733-35 exhibited any desire or talent for an active leadership role. At least 30 (approximately one fourth) of the passengers from the *Anne* were dead by January 2, 1734... the last of whom was Francis Scott, the man in whom Georgia's civil authority had been based, and the obvious successor to Oglethorpe.

I beg Leave to acquaint Your Honours... That Capt. Scott died here the 2d. Instant.

- Thomas Causton, January, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 44)

With that simple line, Francis Scott, passed into history. As early as June, 1733, the Trustees, aware that Oglethorpe did not intend a permanent residence in Georgia, inquired of his ideas for a successor. Trustees' Secretary Benjamin Martyn wrote, asking Oglethorpe to consider in whose authority he would leave the settlement.

The Trustees are desirous of knowing how long you think Your Stay may be in Georgia, and in whom you judge proper to lodge the Power of Superintending the People when you come away.

But even at that early date the question of Oglethorpe's successor seemed clear; Scott had capably overseen the Savannah settlement during Oglethorpe's month-long absence in May, and had from day one seemed regarded as the most capable. Yet, just as Oglethorpe was on the verge of leaving, the one man presumed to be his successor died, leaving behind no obvious second choice.

Falling back to the newly-established magistracy, Peter Gordon, as first magistrate, would have been viewed the heir apparent, but he wasn't even in the country at the time. In terms of the second magistrate, no one currently held the position. According to the *Journal of the Trustees*, a week before the departure of the *Anne* on November 7, 1732, William Waterland was appointed second bailiff. Richard Hodges, in the meantime, had a dormant commission to replace Waterland, but Hodges died in the Summer Sickness. According to Savannah's court records Waterland was second bailiff as late as July 28, 1733... a week after Hodges' death. (*CRG XX*, p. 31) In his *List of Early Settlers* Percival contends that Waterland was removed in August, 1733—"turn'd out 2 Aug. 1733 for misbehaviour." Waterland went to Charlestown and began advertising his services as a teacher. In the meantime, the position of Savannah's second magistrate fell to a dead man from August, 1733 to October, 1734.

With the civil administrator Francis Scott dead, first magistrate Peter Gordon in London for health reasons and the second magistrate also dead, the only person *remaining* in Savannah's chain of command was third magistrate Thomas Causton, a calico-printer with little experience and few people skills, now the only choice as Oglethorpe swept majestically back to England.

As Thomas Causton closed the January, 1734 letter to the Trustees announcing the death of Francis Scott, he created the foundation for establishing himself as Scott's successor with that next and closing line: "[I] assure You of my diligent Obedience to all your Honour's Commands." (*CRG XX*, p. 44)

And the Trustees probably asked, "*Who?*"

He was referred to as "Mr. Colton" in a March 27, 1734 entry in Percival's *Diary*: "Mr. Colton of Georgia." (vol. 2, p.70) He was "Cotton" by December: "Cotton, one of our bailiffs in Georgia," was the reference in a December 18 entry. (p. 136) As late as February, 1735, Percival was still getting his name wrong. "Cotton, our Head Bailiff," he wrote in his February 12, 1735 entry. (p. 149) Percival seemed to get the name right by March, 1735, but to anyone studying the Georgia record of the 1730s, the idea that Thomas Causton was once unknown to the Trustees—and the fact that Percival couldn't even remember his name until the beginning of the colony's third year—is something of a revelation.

Truthfully, it's not clear to what degree Oglethorpe ever considered the power structure while he was in Georgia. He was a man who didn't even bother to create the civil structure until the colony's sixth month, though the infrastructure and titles had been granted to the various individuals before the departure of the *Anne*. In hindsight, given his apathy—if not outright disdain—for Savannah after 1736, Oglethorpe was a man who moved from one task to another and never looked back. To some degree, he found a kindred spirit in Thomas Causton. And

though not necessarily unqualified for the position he was being bumped up to, Causton's people skills declined appreciably as his tenure progressed.

Tailfer remarked of Causton's rise:

...being before [this time] a man of no substance or character, having come over with Mr. Oglethorpe amongst the first forty, [he had] left England upon account of something committed by him concerning his majesty's duties. However, he was fit enough for a great many purposes, being a person naturally proud, covetous, cunning, and deceitful, and would bring his designs about by all possible ways and means.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 52-3

Oglethorpe, either convinced that the settlement was on solid footing or more likely, burned out and desperate to return to England, gave no recorded thought to the leadership vacuum he was about to create. He had been voicing a desire to leave Georgia since May, 1733.

"I intended to have left this place long ago," Oglethorpe wrote in his August 12, 1733 letter. (CRG XX, p. 29) Robert Johnson, too, remarked in a July 28, 1733 missive that "Mr. Oglethorpe talks of returning shortly to England." (p. 27) And in a separate July 28, 1733 correspondence Johnson remarked: "He [Oglethorpe] is shortly expected in Charles Town in order to take the first opportunity of Embarking for England." (p. 26-7) Jean Pierre Purry, too, had mentioned that Oglethorpe intended to accompany him on his voyage to London in the late fall of 1733, until the spill from his horse altered his plans. Interestingly, Oglethorpe seems never to have addressed this injury; the Trustees learned of it through third-party sources.

Monsieur Purry, who about a year and a half ago, carried over 150 Swiss families to settle in South Carolina, and to build a new town called Purrysburg, returned hither this week in his way to Swisserland to conduct more families to his new settlement, which he says goes on with good success, as well as that of the English in Georgia, but adds that James Oglethorpe, Esqr. having had the misfortune to be hurt by a fall from his horse, which endangered his life, was prevented from returning with him as he had designed, but was however in a fair way of recovery when he left the said Gentleman.

- *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*, November 19, 1733

Percival recorded the news in his *Diary* as it filtered back to the Trustees:

Thursday, 29 [November, 1733].

... He [Captain Purry] told me he was at Charlestown when he heard of Mr. Ogelthorp's accident, but before he came away news came that he was out of danger, though the fever that followed his wound kept him awake eight days.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 451

Saturday, 29 [December, 1733].

... Letters were read... from Georgia in September and October last relating to Mr. Oglethorp, who falling from his horse among some canes, three of them ran into his body...

- p. 476

Benjamin Martyn wasted no time in expressing the Trustees' concern to Oglethorpe:

They [the Trustees] have heard likewise with the greatest Concern of the accident which befell you, and tho' they were inform'd you was out of Danger, they cannot be easy till they hear the News of your perfect Recovery.

- Benjamin Martyn, November 22, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 23-4)

But the letter above, however hastily written, was sent aboard the much-delayed *Purrysburg*, which in the end would not finally depart England until January and not arrive in the hands of Oglethorpe before March of the following year. It should have come as no surprise, then, that Oglethorpe, who apparently never addressed incident himself, similarly never addressed his recovery, even to the Trustees. Nonetheless, by March 25, 1734 the Trustees seemed almost irritated as they remarked that they were concerned "because you have been ill, and they are uncertain of the present State of your health." (CRG XXIX, p. 26)

But while Oglethorpe was eager to make a speedy return, the Trustees were not as keen on the prospect. When, in the summer of 1733, the head of the shipping line carrying most of Georgia's traffic advanced a rumor that Oglethorpe intended to return, Percival voiced some concern that his design to leave was too hasty.

Wednesday, 11 [July, 1733]....

Mr. Simmons acquainted us that by private accounts from Charlestown he was informed that Mr. Oglethorp intended to set out in six weeks for England, which, if true, he must now be at sea, but... he has writ nothing of his design to us....

This report of his coming away so speedily is of great consequence and we directed a special summons of Common Council men and Trustees to consider what to resolve thereupon, it being necessary that some person... vested with the proper authority should be appointed to have the direction of the Colony in his absence.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 389-90

The Trustees, scrambling, found themselves playing catch up for the rest of the year; it was shortly thereafter that they vested the authority to grant "lands & leave" to the tag team of Scott & St. Julian. And though the Trustees were only just hearing of Oglethorpe's desire to leave by July, 1733, in almost every correspondence written from June onward, Oglethorpe voiced the intention of an imminent or near-imminent departure....

So Go Already....

June 9, 1733 speech to the South Carolina Common House:

"As I shall soon return to Europe, I must recommend the Infant Colony to your farther Protection...." (*South Carolina Gazette*, July 14, 1733)

June 9, 1733 correspondence to the Trustees:

"As soon as I have divided the Lands, held the Court of Records, and put everything in order which I hope to do in less than a Month I shall leave Georgia and set out for England...." (CRG XX, p. 25)

August 12, 1733 correspondence to the Trustees:

"I hope in about a month from this time I shall set out for England when I shall be able to give You a more full Accot...." (CRG XX, p. 31)

September 17, 1733 correspondence to the Trustees:

“I shall so soon as the Fort at Tybee is begun, leave this place which I am in hopes will be in a few days.... it is probable that I shall See You near as soon as this arrives....” (CRG XX, p. 35)

November 15, 1733 correspondence to the Trustees:

“I think everything here is now so well settled that I can leave it without Danger of the Colony’s miscarrying. As I doubt not to See You soon & perhaps before this Letter I shall say no more.” (CRG XX, p. 38-9)

And of course, it was by January that he wrote somewhat exasperatedly, “[I] hope You will excuse me staying any longer....” This was a man who had been trying to leave Georgia for twelve months by the time he finally boarded the *Aldborough*.

The Mail & John Savy’s Return to Sender

On March 3, 1734 James Vernon pulled Percival aside and lapsed into a rant against Oglethorpe:

he complained to me of the neglect Mr. Oglethorp shows in not corresponding with us frequently, and thereby keeping us in great ignorance of his proceedings in Georgia and the state of the Colony there, he not having writ to us since December last, and never once in any full and satisfactory manner.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 41

Three weeks later, the Trustees sent their official complaint to Oglethorpe.

Sir

It has given the Trustees a very great Concern that they have not heard from you so long... because they are ignorant of the Condition of the Colony.

- Benjamin Martyn, March 25, 1734 (CRG XXIX, p. 26)

“The Trustees are at a full stop,” Martyn continued. “They have found the Want of a constant and exact Correspondence so very prejudicial to the Business of the Trust... they desire you will appoint somebody... to correspond constantly with them by every ship.”

Ironically, Martyn’s above letter missed Oglethorpe entirely. It arrived at Charlestown in August of 1734... by which time Oglethorpe had already been back in England for two months. The early history of Georgia was mired by poor communication, crossed missives and response delays of months.

It is to history’s great loss that James Oglethorpe—unlike so many other men of his stature and of his time—never left any written journal (especially surprising, given how he prized Raleigh’s journal). His apparent disinterest seems to have carried over even to letter-writing. As a result, so much of Georgia’s early history is provided by subordinates or by visitors simply passing through the colony; it makes one appreciate Percival’s redundancy all the more. Oglethorpe only

wrote twelve letters to the Trustees over the entire first year of the Georgia settlement, and in them he offered few specifics, and worse, many of his letters simply lapse into meaningless hyperbole—take, for example, the opening from his January 22, 1734 letter:

I cannot but congratulate You upon the great Success your Designs have met with being not only approved of by all America but so strongly supported by His Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain. Providence it self seems visible in all things to Prosper your Designs calculated for the Protection of the persecuted, the relief of the poor and Benefit of Mankind

- James Oglethorpe, January 22, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 39)

It was no wonder that the Trustees quickly became exasperated with the lack of necessary specifics, and very soon felt hopelessly out of touch. The Trustees' request by March of 1734 for more information was not new; in increasingly plaintive letters over the course of 1733 they had asked for someone to be appointed to keep a regular journal:

September 26, 1733 to Oglethorpe -

As the Trustees are desirous of being inform'd of every Particular relating to the Establishment of the Colony; They think it necessary that Mr. Christie, Hughes, or whoever else may seem most proper, may keep a constant Journal.

- Benjamin Martyn (CRG XXIX, p. 20)

October 18, 1733 to Oglethorpe -

As I mentioned in my last, the Trustees desire that Mr. Christie, or Mr. Hughes, or whoever may be found most proper, may keep a Journal every Week.

- p. 22

November 22, 1733 to Oglethorpe -

They [the Trustees] have sent likewise Pens, Paper, and Ink Powder, and repeat their Desire that a constant and regular Journal of all Occurrences may be taken and sent over by every Opportunity, and that not only Mr. Christie but Mr. Quincy be desired to do it.

- p. 23

By Martyn's March 25, 1734 letter alluded to above, arriving in Charlestown as Oglethorpe sat in England, the plea to Oglethorpe to appoint a regular scribe had already been made three times:

March 25, 1734 to Oglethorpe -

If the Person, Sr., whom you appoint to correspond with the Trustees, shall not appear to be a proper One, they Order me to say they will send one.

- p. 27

Nor did the entreaties let up the next year, now to Thomas Causton:

January 25, 1735 to Thomas Causton -

As the Trustees want very much to know the State of the Colony, they again repeat their Orders, that Journals (as mention'd in the Letter Oct. 28th last) be constantly wrote every fortnight, and transmitted to them by every Opportunity.

- p. 44

The Trustees, in fact, would not finally find a satisfactory correspondent until the hiring of William Stephens in 1737, late into the colony's fifth year.

Indeed, as of Martyn's writing on March 25 the last in-depth correspondence Oglethorpe had penned describing the condition of the colony was on January 22, while two other letters written the previous September were *still* circling the globe somewhere.

Oglethorpe's resume of correspondence to the Georgia Board of Trustees over the first year:

	<u>Date penned</u>	<u>where penned</u>	<u>when read by the Trustees</u>	<u>time passed in transit</u>
1732	November 18	on the <i>Anne</i>	November 23, 1732	5 days
1733	January 13	in Charlestown	February 28, 1733	6 weeks
	February 10	in Savannah	April 18, 1733	10 weeks
	February 20	in Savannah	April, 1733	6 - 10 weeks
	March 12	in Savannah	May 24, 1733	10 weeks
	May 14	in Charlestown	August 8, 1733	8 weeks
	June 9	in Charlestown	July 4, 1733	25 days
	August 12	in Savannah	November 7, 1733	12 weeks
	September 17	in Savannah	March 27, 1734	28 weeks
	September 27	in Savannah	October 16, 1734	55 weeks
	November 15	in Savannah	January 5, 1734	7 weeks
1734	January 22	in Savannah	by March 3, 1734	(- than) 6 weeks

The letter to make the quickest trans-Atlantic passage was Oglethorpe's June 9, 1733 missive, sent from Charlestown and read by the Trustees a mere 25 days later. The record holder for the longest period from print to read was his September 27 letter, recommending landgrants to Patrick Mackay, James Bulloch and George Dunbar, read by the Trustees more than a year later. As the only surviving letter in the first year not to even broach the subject of the Savannah settlement, it could have been received earlier only to be held in reserve until action was necessary.

From Philadelphia Thomas Penn opened his August 4, 1734 letter to Oglethorpe with the notice: "I had the pleasure of receiving thy Letter from Charles Town dated the 12th of April but I have not seen any thing of the two Letters thou mentions." (CRG XX, p. 65) One of the greatest impediments to commerce and trade between England and her colonies was the sluggish nature eighteenth-century mail. No episode better exemplifies this than the dysfunctional relationship of Robert Johnson and the Trustees, who spent the entire first year trying to catch up with one another; as the Trustees introduced a colony already in place and Johnson offered advice to which the Trustees had already acted contrary.

Sir

I do my self the honour to write this Letter to you, by Order of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia: Which is to inform Your Excellency, that an Imbarkation of Eighty, or

thereabouts of his Majesty's Natural Born Subjects will be ready to set sail on the seventh of next Month for the said Colony, and are to be set on shore at Port Royal within Your Government.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 18, 1732 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 1)

This, the Trustees' declaration of intent to Johnson, crossed Johnson's own introduction in the Atlantic passage, a letter written three weeks before, on September 28, advising the Trustees to establish a settlement on the Alatomaha and presuming the Trustees were going to take a slow and steady course in their settlement. His assumption that "I don't Suppose You will make any Imbarkation till this time twelve months," was quickly shattered when he received the above only days before the *Anne* arrived at Charlestown Harbour. He remarked in his February 12, 1733 reply to the Trustees that "I have rec'd the favour of yours dated the 20th of October.... they were here almost as soon as we heard of their Design of Coming." (*CRG XX*, p. 10-11)

In the meantime, the Trustees, at long last receiving Johnson's September 28 letter, penned a reply that again, crossed its own counterpart with a difference of three weeks. It was the eighteenth-century equivalent of two people speaking at the same time and never getting out a cogent thought. The Trustees' reponse, sent, *via* the *James*, would not reach Johnson until May, and seemed an embarrassed afterthought:

By Order of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, I have the honour to acquaint you, that they have receiv'd a Letter, dated September the 28th 1732, from your Excellency to Mr. Oglethorpe, whom by this time they suppose you have seen....

They entirely agree with Your Excellency, that the first Imbarkation required a Man of knowledge for the Director: as Mr. Oglethorpe has been pleased to undertake it, they have nothing to fear on that Account.

- Benjamin Martyn, January 24, 1733 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 2-3)

Johnson replied on July 28, "I am favour'd with yours of the 24th of Jany. last," (*CRG XX*, p. 26), a reply read by the Trustees on October 10, and with that both parties were back on equal footing, but the crossed lines of communication had taken twelve months to sort out.

Wednesday, 27 [November, 1734]....

No letters yet arrived from Georgia, which is strange.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 135

It's tempting to imagine the Trustees like Charlie Brown waiting for an invitation at the mailbox. Thomas Causton very quickly learned not to overlook the importance of writing to the Trustees.

The Trustees have received no advice from You since May 4, 1734, which occasions great uneasiness.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 28, 1734 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 36)

Causton received the letter on the *Prince of Wales* at the end of the year. Two weeks after its arrival he opened his January 16, 1735 response apologizing that "It has been my greatest Concern, That I have not been able to discharge my Duty of writing as I ought." (*CRG XX*, p. 168-9) And in a second letter the following week he begged to be excused "for my not writing (as I ought) I know there is nothing but your great goodness can allow it." (*CRG XX*, p. 189) But the ten-month silence had annoyed the Trustees. Even as his apologies sailed back to

England on the *James* they would cross the *Two Brothers* on the Atlantic passage with the Trustees' instructions:

The Trustees, having receiv'd no Letters from you, are apprehensive in case you have wrote any, that they may have been stopt at Charles Town, or thrown away by the Captains of the Ships you sent them by, or neglected to be deliver'd. You are therefore to make all the Inquiry possible, where such Letters from you, or any other Letters from Savannah may have been intercepted.

- Benjamin Martyn, January 25, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 45)

"You will receive herewith a Duplicate of the last letter sent to you by the Trustees," Martyn continued. "They direct you to pursue always this Method, that is to say to send to them Duplicates of all Letters and Journals by the next Ship after the first one sent." (p. 43-4) Also, from Harman Verelst, December 13, 1734: "All Letters You send to the Trustees, be sure to send Duplicates of them, by the first Opportunity after, in case of Accidents." (p. 43)

This early lesson learned, Causton remained a dedicated correspondent throughout the remainder of his tenure. "I shall be dilligent for the future in pursuing your Directions and will never Lett fourteen days pass without a Letter," he promised on January 22.

Even local overland mail was fraught with its own logistical concerns, this having less to do with crossing an ocean and more to do with the lack of roads or common pathways. Savannah's mail was delivered by a poorly-paid courier on horseback (he even went on strike in 1734) every two weeks from Charlestown to Savannah, its route running through Purrysburg, then across the river north to Ebenezer, then through the wilderness to the Cowpen and the Post road to Savannah, across thick swamps and thicker brush. And a 'road' in 1734 was a subjective term.

As Percival noted in his *Diary* after meeting with Jean Purry in the fall of 1733: "There is a road to be laid out for communicating between his town and ours." (vol. 1, p. 443) Overland travel in the 1730s could be hazardous; one need look no further than the plight of the Salzburgers, who often strayed from town and became lost, never to reemerge from the wilderness. In his March 16, 1734 diary entry Philip von Reck, leader of the Salzburgers wrote of a primitive system of path-marking only slightly better than breadcrumbs.

If one should ask how it is possible to travel through a land covered with forests in which there are to be found many rivers and swamps everywhere, let it be known that, since the colonists settled in Georgia, paths have been marked by peeling some bark off certain trees which show where to go and where to cross the rivers.

- Philip von Reck, *Diary*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 199, note 28)

Oglethorpe officially inaugurated the mail trade between Carolina and Georgia in the spring of 1734, shortly before his departure to London, and accordingly, the *South Carolina Gazette* began advertising a courier for anyone who wished to communicate with Georgia.

Advertisements.

THE Hon^{ble} James Oglethorpe Esq; ha=
ving appointed a Messenger to go from *Charlestown* to

Georgia; any Persons that have any Letters or
Parcel to send that Way, may bring the same to the Printer here
of, and the same shall be carefully forwarded sometime
next week.

- advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, March 16, 1734

On the very day that saw Oglethorpe's departure on the *Aldborough*, May 7, 1734, John Martin Bolzius prophesied of his town: "The city of Ebenezer may be regarded as a key to Carolina and Georgia because all the commerce of the two provinces that is carried by land must pass through this place." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 1, p. 83) As his associate, Henry Gronau remarked three weeks later of the nascent postal system: "The mail... goes from Charlestown to Savannah every 14 days, passing though our place [Ebenezer]." (May 28, 1734 - *Urlspurger*, vol. 1, p. 83) The road to Ebenezer, successfully cut only the month before—and in part by the Ebenezer Slaves—was just the first leg of the mail route to be completed. From Ebenezer the post was to cross the river to Purrysburg and from thence to Charlestown. But cutting any road or discernable path through the thick brush, marshes and swamps came with its own hazards.

In early August, Patrick Mackay, whose rangers were employed in crafting a road to connect Mackay's newborn settlement of Josephs Town to the post road, learned that Robert Parker, Jr., the company's lieutenant, "had received a dangerous wound to the body from a Cane, Cutting a Path from Josephstown to the post road, by which he was confined when he wrote to me ye 20th of last Month [July];" (*CRG XX*, p. 69) a note, which, ironically, he received by the mail.

The Georgia Messenger continues to car=
ry Parcels &c.to *Charlestown*, and thence back to *Georgia*;
whoever has any to send by him, may leave the same at
Mr. *Haynes's* in *Charlestown*, or at *Elisha Dobree* in *Georgia*.
NB: As soon as the Road from *Purrysburg* to *Charlestown* is
made good, the Messenger shall go that way, and will
make quicker return than before.

- advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, August 3, 1734
reprinted in the August 10 and August 17 issues

But in spite of this optimistic advertisement the Post ran into difficulties almost right away.

The 1st of Sept [1734]. Sunday. Mr. Oglethorpe had made the useful arrangement of having mail sent every two weeks on horseback from Charlestown to Savannah. And since it frequently passed through our place it was easy to mail letters either to Savannah or Charlestown. But this good mail service has run into difficulties and we hear that it will stop altogether.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within *Urlspurger's Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 10)

From the surviving correspondence, money seems to have been the presiding issue. The Post was reestablished a few weeks later; Thomas Christie mentioned a "subscription" to cover costs, and Isaac Chardon remarked of a "postage" affixed to letters as salary. From Charlestown, Chardon wrote to Oglethorpe:

we have Again Settled and fixed a Post Man and as there is a great many traders from hence to Georgia... Mr Causton has thought proper to fix a Postage on the Letters for Encouragement to the man and to make it the More Easy for people to Convey their Letters. All persons who have any to Send Carrys them to the Box at the Georgia & Purrysbourg Coffee house here.

- Isaac Chardon, October 26, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 92)

“The mounted post which stopped some time ago is now operating again,” Bolzius wrote on November 5, 1734. (*Urlspurger*, vol. 2, p. 20) Though successfully reestablished in the short term, in the long term the Post remained consistently inconsistent. Remarking of the ongoing efforts to finish the Carolina side of the road that “The Cutting a Path between Purrysburgh & Charles Town goes on,” Thomas Christie wrote from Savannah to Oglethorpe:

we have by a Subscription among our Selves Established a Messenger for one year between this place & Charles Town, wch will by that means Secure a Communication not Easily Cut off.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 123)

“The want of Roads is grievously complained of by almost ever Man here,” wrote John Brownfield as late as 1737. (*CRG XXI*, p. 470) Even with roads in place, the most challenging obstacle to the mail route was the hazardous geography of low-lying terrain. A moderate rain could reduce any path to swamp. Remarking plainly that, “It is very difficult to travel to Savannah,” Bolzius observed of the treacherous terrain between Ebenezer and Savannah:

The 11th, July [1735].

... After a rain the road to [Musgrove’s] cowpen is impassable because of mudholes and swamps which fill up with water very quickly.... But it is amazing that the Englishmen have not long since taken any measures to improve this path, since the post and other travellers from Charlestown must pass this way with discomfort and danger.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within *Urlspurger’s Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 109)

The following month he returned to the topic:

The 20th, Aug [1735].

... after a rain it means risking one’s life because the horse must swim through deep and broad swamps and other watery places. Perhaps the roads will be improved after Mr. Oglethorpe’s arrival, as they should be, because it is the mail route from Charlestown to Savannah.

- p. 126

Elisha Dobree—a failed merchant always eager to impress the Trustees with his initiative, and alluded to in the above August, 1734 *South Carolina Gazette* advertisements as the Georgia office for mail—experimented with a different mode of transportation.

Finding the Messenger making his Journeys to Charles Town & back to Consist of 15 or 20 days I have hired a passage boat to go & back from Charles Town every week by wch means we may have an answer in Less than 7 days.

- Elisha Dobree, January 15, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 160)

But as in the case of so many of Elisha Dobree’s initiatives, this one seems not to have survived any trial or anyone’s memory but his own to boast of. The Charlestown/Savannah Post remained on a 14-to-20-day schedule for the next several years, subject to conditions and the health of the

messenger. "Today the post rode again through our place from Savannah to Charlestown," Bolzcius wrote on September 17, 1735, noting wryly: "Time will tell whether or not it will continue."

It was this inconsistency of the mail drove Bolzcius to a fateful decision that could have resulted in disaster as another opportunity arose.

The 6th, May [1735]. It had been our intention to send our letters and diaries by mail to Charlestown and from there on to England. But it so happened that two fine gentlemen and planters from Carolina came to see us in order to inspect this region; and one of them offered to deliver the letters safely at the right place, since he intended to leave on the next ship for London on his way to Geneva. His name is Monsieur Savy. He also promised to make representations in London regarding... the circumstances of the Salzburgers.

- John Martin Bolzcius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 85)

The 22nd, May [1735]. As we suspect that Captain Thompson, who is still anchored in Savannah with his ship, will go to London soon, we shall send him our letters and diaries. The man we mentioned on the 6th May [Savy], to whom we recently gave a big package of letters and a large section of the diary, will go with the captain.

- p. 92

The ship in question was the *Two Brothers*, which had arrived in March with 112 colonists for Purrysburg and ten Moravians intended for Georgia. The ship finally sailed from Savannah on July 8, 1735, with Savy and the mail packages. Months passed in Bolzcius' *Daily Register* before mention was made again of this particular exchange, but by November it reemerged.

The 3rd, Nov [1735]. We would be ready now to send our diary to London, but we lack an opportunity to send it to Charlestown. A few weeks ago the mail passed through our place en route to Savannah, but it has not yet returned. Even though some people travel through here on the way to Charlestown, we cannot entrust the letters to them too safely because we do not know them. We almost regret that in July we entrusted a thick diary together with many letters to a man who inspected our place and offered to forward them. His name is Savy. He travelled with Captain Thompson to England, and from there to Geneva. Only later we were informed that he stood in bad credit in Carolina and also with the magistracy in Savannah and would have been put in prison if he had not saved himself in time.

- p. 195

The man in question was John Savy, *alias* Jean Savy, *alias* Don Juan Savi, *alias* Michael Wall. One of the pioneers of Purrysburg, he was mentioned in the December 30, 1732 *South Carolina Gazette* describing the beginning of the Purrysburg settlement:

On Wednesday last Col. John Peter Purry, set out, in three Pettiaugers, with Eighty-Seven Switzers, in order to settle a Colony on Savannah River, in Granvile County, and was saluted with Seven Guns from the Bastion at their passing by.

His Excellency, our Governor has been pleased to appoint Mr. Joseph Edward Flowers to be Captain, and Mr. John Savy to be Lieutenant under the said Col. Purry

- *South Carolina Gazette*, December 30, 1732

"The Carolineans... do not Care for Savy," a correspondent wrote to the Trustees in June, 1735. Presenting his own opinion, the Savannah correspondent known as 'Anonymous' referred to

“The tryal of Savy of Carolina” as a mark against Thomas Causton, who had proved over-zealous in pursuing a conviction, Causton “Saying now he was glad that he had an Opportunity to Punish a Carolinean. The Punishment was to be Pilloryd [set in stocks]. The Jury desird his Sentence might be Moderated wch Alterd Imediatly The Severity designd.” (CRG XX, p. 375)

In his *List of Early Settlers*, Percival remarked vaguely that Savy was “Convicted of defaming the Trustees 1 April 1735.” As Percival noted in his *Journal*: “A certain person named Jo. Savy... had run from S. Carolina for debt to Georgia, from whence in June 1735 he Ship’d himself for England.” But this intended destination, as Percival noted after the fact, “was but a pretence.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 314) Savy entrusted the mail packages to Captain Thompson, jumped ship in the English Channel, boarded a French fishing boat and promptly disappeared.

Two years after his flight, the peculiar saga of John Savy continued, as he reemerged in Cuba, claiming a different identity and offering to the Spanish a plan to destroy Georgia.

In January of 1737, Henry Weltden wrote an alarmed letter to Oglethorpe from Havannah, Cuba, concerning “a Baily, nam’d John Savy, but at present stiles himself Coll. Wall,” who had offered his services to the Spanish. Fortunately for Georgia, Weltden went to the trouble of getting Savy drunk and the particulars of the scheme began to unfold.

by the help of a Bottle I got the Noble Coll. to disclose his scheme (or pretend? one)... setting forth the weak state of Georgia... and that a small number of Troops might drive out or destroy the present Incumbents, offering himself to be their Guide as knowing that Country, which scheme... is to be executed in three or four months.

- Henry Weltden, January 17 [NS; Jan. 6 OS], 1737 (CRG XXI, p. 374)

Upon receipt of the above, Percival remarked:

[May 4, 1737]

It Seem’d to us that One Savy, a person of vile character, who had been a bum-Bailif in Carolina, was he who under the character of an Officer arrived at the Havanna from Old Spain, and by his bragging how Carolina & Georgia might be reduced, gave occasion to the report that the Spaniards design’d to invade us.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 267-8

Savy’s missing 18-month period of activity now began to emerge, and as Percival observed, after jumping on the French fishing boat...

That he proceeded to Paris, and being poor apply’d himself there to the Spanish secretary and by him wrote a letter to Don Joseph Patinto of Madrid to give him a larger Acct. of those Settlements, and afterwards Sent him to the Havannah in order to go against Georgia...

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 314

“I have the honour of offering my services to His Majesty,” Savy wrote to Don Joseph Patino, counsellor of state to the King of Spain, in October of 1735.

And with my knowledge of that country, which I left only last July, and with few men and little expense, I undertake to evict the usurpers and to destroy all their towns, houses, and forts in such a way that they surely will never wish to return there.

- Jean Savy, October 17, 1735 (*Florida Historical Quarterly*, v.56, n.3, p. 264)

“At thirteen years of age [I] was sent aboard a merchant ship to learn navigation and trade on the coast of South Carolina,” he wrote. (p. 263) London-born to a French Catholic father, Savy suggested his plan was religiously motivated, and it does appear to have stoked interest in official circles. The governor of Havana repeatedly sounded him and reported back his findings to officials in Spain... until it became clear his plan was just revenge for the slights he had encountered in the two colonies. “Time has given me more opportunity to become acquainted with Michael Wall,” Don Juan Francisco de Guemes wrote by May of 1737.

I have learned that the motive for his plan is revenge for some personal grievance which he suffered in Carolina where his wife now lives in which he was offended by certain individuals who are now in Georgia.

- Don Juan Francisco de Guemes, May 20, 1737 (p. 271-2)

Such a petty revenge plot leads to the question... did Thomas Causton almost incite a war? Guemes found himself particularly concerned over one habit Savy had shown. “I perceived in Wall a great weakness and inclination towards drinking so excessively... which makes it impossible to entrust anything of importance to him.” In fact, this had already proved the case the moment Weltden bought him a drink four months before.

With the plot exposed, Savy seems to have experienced a change of heart. Having sold out the English in a moment of poverty and pettiness following that hasty exit in 1735, he tried to make amends to the Trustees by the end of 1737. By October, Percival wrote in his *Journal* that a “certain person named Jo. Savy wrote from Cadix,” noting that “he had Surrender’d himself to the Capt. of the Grampus.” Percival observed that he “designed for London to cast himself at the Trustees feet, and implore our pardon which he thought himself worthy of, having offended his God, his King & his Country.” (p. 315)

He had changed sides again and was now offering intelligence on the Spanish, writing to the Trustees: “Should you of Your Charity and Mercy save my Life, I shall acquaint You how to take St. Augustine or the Havannah,” he bargained. In a defense requiring some serious suspension of disbelief, he was now claiming that he had been a double-agent the entire time. “All I did with the Spaniards was only to know their Secrets and to make the Use I now do of them.” (*FHQ*, vol. 56, no. 3, p. 275) But it appears no one was buying it. As Percival noted the following month: “He now is a State prisoner in Pendennis Castle, for his crime is no less than High Treason, and he himself has confessed it.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 446)

The First Murder & the ‘Bad Forty’

[As to] The Unfortunate Mr. Wise his Effects was Sold Except Papers & Manuscripts remaining in a Trunk in ye Store & those things mentioned to be Left with Your Honnour remain in the Store house till farther Orders.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 125)

So wrote Thomas Christie to Oglethorpe, taking an inventory of the late Will Wise's effects. "Ye Amount of his Effects Sold was about 20 Stg.," he wrote, lamenting that so little was raised by the sale, and adding: "No doubt great many were Stolen by that Villian that Murdered him."

As his remaining goods were sold off and his papers left to moulder in a trunk in a corner of the Store, Wise had already been dead longer than he had been alive in Georgia, the victim of the colony's first murder some nine months earlier. The prior year had seen a hefty mortality of no fewer than 63 people, but all in question died of natural causes. It was the spring of 1734 that would see Georgia's first murder. The murder of Wise—the earliest in Trustee Georgia, predating even the Ebenezer slave's murder—took place in the unlikeliest of places, not that any place was likely, but Hutchinson Island seems today an unheralded spot for such a barbarous act. In 1733 the island became the site of an ambitious engineering effort; an attempt to clear-cut a line of trees, creating a vista which might provide a view to the north channel of the river from the town. In early 1734 Oglethorpe described the effort to the Trustees.

Over against the Town lyes Hutchinson's Island one of the most delightfull Spots of Ground I ever saw.... In that Island on the farther Side which commands the Northern Branch of this River opposite to the Town there is a House built and an Overseer lodged with four Servants belonging to You with Orders to cut a Walk through the Wood in a strait Line the breadth of this Town which will serve as a Meadow for feeding of Cattle and give a beautifull Prospect of the other River.

- James Oglethorpe, January 22, 1734

By the penning of that letter Will Wise had been in Savannah a month and had been given the task of overseeing the work by the four servants. It was this house on the north end of the island that would see his death on March 1, 1734.

Wise first appears in the Georgia record in the pages of Percival's *Diary* in June of 1733. A gentleman evidently once of means, he had fallen on hard times, though Percival was clearly concerned about sending him beneath his status.

Wednesday, 6 [June, 1733].... Mr. Wise, an unfortunate gentleman, brought me letters from the Bishop of Salisbury, Lichfield and London, to recommend him to Georgia. I told him unless he had money to carry him over and subsist servants to cultivate lands, he must go on the charitable list, which was the meanest foot that could be, and what I feared he could not bear with. He said better do anything than starve, and would desire to go in a future embarkation if he could not do better for himself before.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 384

His luck evidently did not improve over the next three months and Wise was mustered as a Charity passenger on the *Savannah* (#129), the first ship of the September Embarkation. Wise, despite Percival's concern, proved to have no reservations about going on the charitable list; so much, in fact, that he brought his daughter too... only to have the Trustees discover that Wise didn't have any children. As the Trust's Secretary Benjamin Martyn bristled in a letter to Oglethorpe, Wise "went in the *Savannah*, having misbehaved himself, and imposed on the Trustees by carrying a Woman of the Town on board the Ship, whom he had recommended to the Trustees as his Daughter." (*CRG XXIX*, p. 20) Martyn further elaborated in his next correspondence to Oglethorpe as the situation escalated from bad to worse:

The Trustees were afterwards inform'd, as the Ship put into different Ports, that there were great Differences and Distractions among the People, chiefly, if not entirely owing to him. They sent their Orders for him to be set on Shore, but the Ship sail'd before these were receiv'd.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 18, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 22)

Martyn concluded: “As the Trustees are apprehensive he may be the Cause of Disturbances among the People in Georgia, they think it improper that he should be permitted to have a Settlement there.” But Wise was welcomed in Savannah before these correspondence were received; the *Savannah*'s speed had worked in Wise's favor—he was not only welcomed but granted a prominent position, overseeing the clearing of the Hutchinson Island vista. Whatever became of his consort “daughter” was not recorded.

Wise's behavior evidently quickly tempered, for by the time he was murdered, just two and a half months after arrival, he was ill. The record on his murderers is equally as light. For all the fantastic lore that has arisen around Alice Riley in the subsequent centuries—including a 2015 opera—there is surprisingly little meat to be found on this bone. She is referred to (briefly) in only three surviving correspondence of the 1730s... one by Edward Jenkins and two by Thomas Christie, and until and unless the Georgia court records emerge out of a forgotten London cache—a feat after three hundred years not without precedent, but increasingly unlikely—so begins and ends the record of Alice Riley.

Alice Riley and Richard White were two of a shipload of Irish transport servants... historically speaking, these Irish transports were the dislocated and destitute, essentially chattel, selling themselves or being sold off as indentured servants for the price of their passage. The ship, whose name is lost to history, limped into the Georgia waters in either late December, 1733 or the first few days of 1734, and its cargo of forty persons was purchased by Oglethorpe at the beginning of January 1734. According to Tailfer, the “forty transported Irish convicts... had been refused at Jamaica,” (*Tailfer*, p. 48) but as Percival countered: “The best and most human actions are by these malicious writers calumniated. That these Irish were Transports convict is more than we know, or that they were refused at Jamaica. Thousands of Irish at that time transported themselves to Plantations, to be indentured servants to Masters who should pay their passage, and these were probably of that sort.” (Notes within *Tailfer*, p. 48) Given Tailfer's poorly disguised contempt for servants in general and poor record in dealing with his own servants in particular—which included beatings, sexual misconduct and even a 1735 indictment for murder—it is unlikely that five years' worth of opportunity for direct contact with these Irish gives Tailfer any more credence than Percival, a man an ocean away. In point of fact, Percival later remarked in his *Journal* that the forty “put into Savannah in their way to Pensilvania being in the utmost distress, which the Trustees allow'd of. But” —as even Percival admitted— “most of them proved to be vile rogues.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 40) The author of *A New Voyage to Georgia* recorded seeing in the Savannah River on January 10 “a Sloop for *Barbadoes*, which was forc'd in by the Badness of the Weather” (p. 3) but does not record the name. While this could be the vessel in question, fellow correspondent Hector de Beaufain recorded the *Two Brothers* at harbor in Savannah at the same time, which could just have likely been the vessel bound for Barbados. The *South Carolina Gazette* was on hiatus following its founder's death, so any attempt to consult that as a source of arrivals and departures is not possible.

Wherever they had come from, and wherever the ship had been bound for, Oglethorpe proudly remarked:

A Sloop loaded with Servants was forced in here through Stress of Weather and want of Victuals many of them were dead, 40 only remain'd as they were likewise to perish through Misery. I thought it an Act of Charity to buy them which I did giving £ 5 a head. I gave one of them to each of the Widows which will render them able to cultivate their Lands and maintain their families. I let each of the Magistrates have one at prime Cost.... Of the rest I have allotted Mr. Lafond five to help him in building a Saw Mill, Four to the Gardens and four to the [Hutchinson] Island.

- James Oglethorpe, January 22, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 41)

Thomas Causton sent the Trustees the £ 200 bill for the servants, dated Jan. 9, acknowledged by the Trustees in the Minutes of their March 27 meeting: "Read a Letter from Mr T. Causton (by order of Mr Oglethorpe) with advice of Bills drawn for two hundred Pounds sterling paid for forty Servants." (CRG II, p. 65) As the Trustees later remarked in their 1734 recap of finances, "[40] Servants bought in Georgia 9 January...." (CRG XXXII, p. 138) If the *Anne* had brought the 'first forty,' at the beginning of the year this unnamed ship at the end of the year had brought what could only be described as the 'bad forty'.

By October, Samuel Eveleigh wrote from Charlestown to Oglethorpe:

The Irish Convicts give him [Thomas Causton] a great deal of Disturbance. They are constantly playing their Roguish Tricks, stealing from their Masters and carrying the Goods to Some Others, whc gives him trouble, for he punishes both the Thief and the Receiver. Tis the General Vogue; That the buying of these Convicts, was the worst Action you did whilst there, and the Opinion is as General, That you did it with a good design.

- Samuel Eveleigh, October 19, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 87)

The Irish Transport

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers*]

The following is a reconstructed list of the Irish servants, with relevant comments. The *List of Early Settlers* features 42 persons described as a servant "arrived 10 Jan. 1733-4." (All remarks regarding later bad behavior are from Percival's *List of Early Settlers* unless otherwise noted).

1. Edward Campbell
2. Richard Clancey... (*"Sentenc'd 100 lashes for assault, abusing the constable, & profaning the Sabbath 16 Sept. 1734."*)
3. Edward Cruise... (*"Whipt 60 lashes for misprison of treason March 1734-5."*)
4. Peter Delany
5. Patrick Denys
6. John Dodding
7. Mary Fitzgerald
8. John Flin
9. Isaac Fling... (*"condem'd 100 lashes for stealing 31 May 1735."*)
10. Denis Fowler... (*"accused before me of lying with Carwall's Wench in his Master's yard... in the time of Divine Service."*)

- Thomas Causton, March 24, 1735 [CRG XX, p. 285])

11. John Fox... (*"sentenc'd 60 lashes for stealing 31 May 1735. Also for false imprisonment, and combination to extort money... 12 July 1735."*)
12. Michael Gaffney... (*"Convicted of theft and running away 26 March 1734."*)
13. Owen Hayes... (*"run away"*)
14. Edward Jackson
15. Bridget Jones
16. Daniel Joy... (*"dead 29 Oct. 1734."*)
17. Michael Kilcannon
18. James King
19. Barrow Macdermot
20. Peter Macgowran
21. Thomas Merrick... (*"run away or lost."*)
22. Catherine Morison
23. John O'Bryan
24. Catherine Ongy... (*"She married Michl. Welsh 16 Feb. 1734-5." ... Other remarks: "Tis certaine ye wicked & vile behavior of ye Servt ocation'd me to sell her. I could not endure her, in my house..." - Robert Potter, December 16, 1734 [CRG XX, p. 127])*
25. Sarah Roach
26. Henry Rone... (*"Fyn'd 5 shillings for stealing clapboards & selling them 4 July 1734."*)
27. Joseph Rone... (*"Fyn'd same time for the same crime."*)
28. Richard Rone... (*"Fyn'd same time for the same crime."*)
29. Alice Ryley... (*"Condem'd for the murder of Will. Wise."*)
30. John Ryley... (*"Sentenc'd 30 lashes for breaking open a door being drunk 19 May 1734."*)
31. William Shale... (*"run away to Carolina."*)
32. Robert Storey... (*"dead 3 March 1733-4."*)
33. John Sullivan
34. George Thompson... (*"On the expiration of his service in 1738 a lot was granted him at Abercorn."*)
35. John Timberman... (*"Dead 13 Feb. 1733-4"*)
36. John Wade
37. William Wallis
38. Simon Welsh... (*"Condem'd to be hang'd for robbery 6 Oct. 1733 [sic] but broak jayl and fled the Colony."*)
39. Steven Welsh
40. John White
41. Nicolas White... (*"hang'd for murder."*)
42. Richard White... (*"hang'd for murdering Will. Wise."*)

By April, 1734, as he prepared to sail back for London, Oglethorpe was still pleased with his purchase, boasting somewhat curiously: "the Ship Load of Servants which I bought, who must otherwise have perished... are now grown very usefull to the Colony." (CRG XX, p. 53) How "usefull" they were indeed was *already* debatable, given the fact that at least two had already

collaborated in a murder the month before; a murder of which Oglethorpe could not have been ignorant. The murder occurred on March 1, 1734, as Oglethorpe was in transit to Charlestown, but he was back in Savannah between March 14 and 23, before returning to Charlestown for departure to England on May 7, just four days, before the conviction of White and Riley.

In December Thomas Christie refreshed Oglethorpe's memory of the incident. "The manner of his Murder was thus, wch you have no doubt been acquainted with:"

He [Wise] Lay over in the Island a Considerable time in a very weak Condition and kept his Bed. He Used to Call for Some Water in the Morning to Wash himself & White Used to Assist him in Combing out his hairs in which he took a great deal of Pride & Used to lay his head Leaning out of the Bed to have it Easier done. Alice Riley by ye Direction & Influence of White brought a pail of Water wch She Set down by his Bed Side. White came in also pretending to Assist him in Combing his hairs. He Usually wore a handkerchief about his Neck, & while he was Leaning over the Bed Side, instead of Combing his hairs White took hold by that handkerchief which he twisted till he was almost Suffocated. Alice Riley at the Same time took hold of ye Pole of his head & plunged his Face into the Pail of Water & he being very weak it Soon Dispatched him.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 125-6)

Convicted of murder on May 11, 1734, Alice Riley and Richard White actually escaped jail before sentence could be carried out. Attempting to lay low in the Georgia wilderness these Irish fugitives did not make it far.

I have paid Mr [Edward] Jenkins Mr Henry Parker and his Brother fifty pounds Currency in equall Portions, as a Reward for Retaking the Murderers of Mr Wise.

- Thomas Causton, July 25, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 452)

Edward Jenkins, who had come to Georgia on the *Susannah* in September, 1733, wrote to Oglethorpe in January of 1735, explaining the capture of Richard White, which left Riley alone in the woods without a provider:

Sr

I did not think to have Given your Honour an account how [Richard] White was Taken that Murdered Mr Wise My self but thought Mr Christie or Mr Causton had doon it, but I understand they have not. The truth of it is as follows.

Mr Henery Parker and his Brother william was at woork at my Lot to pay me for what woork I had doon for him. As we was woorking one of my men Sd yonder Goes a man very fast. I Looked & saw ye man & said I beleve its White that Brook out of Prison, If it is him Let us Go & take him. The two Parkers agreed not knowing where [whether] it was he or no, Left ye men at woork. All the wepons we had was two hooks & an ax we was at woork with. I desired one of them to be about 10 yards at my right hand & other at my Left keeping that distance without speaking a word. And as soon as we Came to him I would Cease him & if he offered to reble they should kill him immediately. So we persued him till we came into about twenty yards of him. At first sight of us [he] was much Surprised. I told him your Name is white its in vain to Attempt & immediately I Cesed him. He fell on his nees & with many Blows on his Breast baged his life. So I took him by one side of Coller & Mr Henery Parker by ye other & William walked behind. We heald him very fast for we had often heard that the sarvant bid defiance two [to] ten men to take him. As we was Leding him to Town, we asked him where he had been & where he was Going. He said he had been Looking for some house out of Town to Get some Provisions but find any one [none]. And he then was Looking after ye woman. He thought he Left her a little to ye right hand where we then was. As we was Leding him along he would often beat his breast & bage his Life. We told him if we Let him Go he must perish In ye woods. He said he woud Joyfull to perish in

ye woods rather than dye on the Gallows. We told him If any [thing] could turn to his Safety it would be if he knew of any other vilony that ye Irish Sarvants or any one els had been doon or was inventing. He then Ernestly Declard before God that some of the Irish sarvants was at him to Contrive to break open ye Store, & for fear of his speeking of it they had Taken away his Life. And if thair oaths must be Taken he did not doubt but thay would sarve many others the same. We Could Get nothing more from him but Carried him into Town.

- Edward Jenkins, January 20, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 182-83)

“He was had immadiately to ye Gallows & Declared to ye last he was not Guilty of ye Murder & by all apperance dyed a Roman,” Jenkins continued.

Riley was recaptured, but no one recorded the event. As to her execution, Jenkins noted:

The woman was Hanged yesterday, & denied ye Murder of wise & the most that She had to answer for was by her being so wicked to Confese a thing that She was not Guilty of by which She Imagined was the Death of White. She seme to be of ye same principle as white was.

- CRG XX, p. 183

Alice Riley was the first woman hanged in Georgia, on January 19, 1735... four weeks after she had given birth to a son. Two months later Thomas Christie made what final comments he could in his March 19, 1735 letter to the Trustees:

Alice Riley was hang'd Some Months agoe within Six weeks after her being brought to Bed pursuant to her Sentence of the 11th day of May Last and the Child is Since dead.

- Thomas Christie, March 19, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 273)

Alice Riley's son, James, followed her death by four weeks. Percival summed up the two in the *List of Early Settlers*:

1045. Ryley, Alice - Servt. to Ri. Cannon; arrived 10 Jan. 1733-4. An Irish Transport. Condem'd for the murder of Will. Wise her master 1 Mar. 1733-4. Hang'd 20 Jan. 1734-5.

1046. Ryley, James, son - Born in Georgia 21 Dec. 1734; dead 15 Feb. 1734-5.

William Grickson may have been the hangman. A man with a checkered past himself, by 1734 he had taken up lot 107 on the south end of Percival Ward, facing what is today's Oglethorpe Avenue. Grickson arrived on the *Georgia Pink* (#31) an apprentice to a tailor and was punished for attempting to escape in April of 1734. After his term of service was over, as Percival noted, he “was made hangman.”

547. Grickson, Will. - Apprentice to Hugh Frazer; embark'd 15 June 1733; arrived 29 Aug. 1733; Lot 107 in Savannah. Sentenc'd 50 lashes for deserting and again attempting to run away 29 April 1734. After his discharge from service he marry'd Janet

Colstong May 1734, took this lot, and
was made hangman.

The tradition that White and Riley were hanged in Wright Square—not found in any source—certainly begs closer scrutiny, given the fact that neither the court house nor the log house would be in Percival Ward until Oglethorpe's orders in 1736. Even after the location of the court and jail in Percival Ward, executions were not necessarily carried out there. In an execution carried out in a capital case in August, 1739, for example, William Stephens noted that a "Gallows should be erected on the Bluff, towards the Extremity of it." (*CRG IV*, p. 377) So the location of Georgia's first capital execution is unknown.

The Complete Failure of Industry

"The success of all Colony's [colonies] must depend upon the industry of its inhabitants," Peter Gordon observed in his *Journal*. His argument was a simple one; cultivation was part one, exportation was part two. But all depended on part one, and if that criteria could not be met, nothing else could. It all rested on the ability of the inhabitants...

... in cultivating and improveing the lands that are allotted to them, in order to produce (in the first place) provisions for their own subsistence, and in the next place some comodities for exportation to forreign markets, without which no Colony can long subsist, tho ever so powerfully supported.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 51

An examination of the *South Carolina Gazette* reveals very little Georgia port activity over 1734. Not surprisingly, the vessel to conduct the most number of transactions between the two ports (with only two visits) was the Georgia transport *Heathcote*. Originally piloted by William Kilberry, following his death Georgia's sloop was piloted by Richard Miller. Georgia port activity as recorded within the *South Carolina Gazette*:

Week ending...

<i>February 2</i> -	Schooner <i>Charming Sally</i> entered in Charlestown Harbor "from Georgia," J. Colcock, Captain
<i>February 2</i> -	Ship <i>Savannah</i> entered in "from ditto," Lionel Wood, Captain
<i>February 16</i> -	Sloop <i>Heathcote</i> entered in and out, Richard Miller, Master
<i>June 1</i> -	Sloop <i>Midnight</i> entered in "from N York to Georgia," Thomas Barnes, Captain
<i>June 15</i> -	Sloop <i>Heathcote</i> entered in, Richard Miller, Master
<i>July 6</i> -	<i>Heathcote</i> entered out, Richard Miller, Master
<i>August 3</i> -	Sloop <i>Delight</i> entered in "from Boston and Georgia," Edward Vine, Captain
<i>December 28</i> -	Brigt. <i>Whately</i> entered in "from Bristoll & Georgia," Thomas Price, Captain.

“The Town of Savannah is Subject to several Disadvantages, in its Trade, from the want of a Wharf & Landing Place,” John Brownfield remarked soberly in 1737.

We have two or three Vessels this Summer from Jamaica & St Christophers & I was sorry to hear the Complaints which the Masters of those Vessels made for want of a good Crane & Wharf to unload upon. I heard Men of Judgmt say that Ships are above three times longer unloading here than at other Ports.

- John Brownfield, February 10, 1737 (*CRG XXI*, p. 325)

The vessels in question had been noted by William Gough, keeping a log of events: “August 22 [1736]. A Ship and a Snow from St. Christophers are at Cockspur.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 248)

Upon his arrival, Samuel Montaigut wrote as early as December 17, 1734 of the necessity of a wharf. “It is desirable that there should be cut here a descent at the Bluff and that a little wharf be constructed along the river, which would avoid a great distance for the discharge of vessels.” (*CRG XX*, p. 131) The small bar of sand visible only at low tide was known as Yoakley Bank, but Montaigut encouraged its development. Despite this plea, no effort was undertaken to develop beneath the bluff until 1739, and even this effort was underfinanced and undermanned. “The Way down to the Water-Side,” William Stephens wrote on April 12, 1739, was “wearing away apace with the loose Sand, which made it very incommodious in passing up and down with Burdens.”

And the Crane growing often out of Repair, which made it dangerous, as well as expensive; the General [Oglethorpe] agreed with one to build a Wharf down at High-Water Mark, with a Store House, and proper Conveniences on it; which must undoubtedly prove a cheap Bargain to the Trust, who are to pay only 50*l.* Sterling to the Undertaker, which is Duchee the Potter[,] provided he can effect it; but there are few who think it possible it can be done for that Sum.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 315)

Andre Duchee was a potter. Bolzius had already espied him checking under rocks at Ebenezer.

Wednesday, the 7th of February [1739]. The potter from Savannah has been looking for lime and clay in our vicinity for his trade, but then he found a whole mound of stones of which he took as many as his boat would carry and transported them to Savannah.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 6, p. 15)

“I do not think that these stones are strong enough to withstand a hot fire,” Bolzius concluded, “but they might serve to line a cellar or well.” Duchee may have known his clays, but his expertise did not necessarily extend to construction. By June, the storehouse below the bluff was taking shape, but the shape wasn’t a good one.

Duchee the Potter, who I formerly took notice had agreed with the General, to build a Wharf under our Bluff, for the better Landing of Goods, having framed most of it, began to set it up; but for some Days past, finding many Difficulties in fixing a certain Foundation in the loose Sand, without Piles; and often altering his Purpose, now seemed determined how to proceed.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 353)

Stephens was not impressed with the result, remarking that the structure “did not promise any long Duration, for divers Reasons which I thought were apparent.”

The year 1735 had seen an impressive beginning of Georgia's exports. As Thomas Causton boasted at the end of his January 16, 1735 correspondence, "we have got about 700 Barrels Pitch and Tarr for him [Captain Dunbar], which we beg leave to Consign to your Honours as the first Export of the Growth of this Province." (CRG XX, p. 176) Captain Dunbar was the captain of the *Prince of Wales*, the vessel that returned Tomochichi at the end of 1734, and by January was taking on cargo for export. The tar had been produced under Causton's own enterprise, as he did his part to start Georgia's economic gears turning. One week following, Dunbar echoed Causton's exuberance:

[I] have contracted with Mr Causton for eight hundred barrels of Rice pitch or tarr on freight for London. Ther's likewise twenty hoggds Skins belonging to Mr Eavily. So that tho I go to morrow to Carolyna to purchas Some rice on freight or otherways I hope to be fully loaded wt the product of Georgia on my return [to England].

- George Dunbar, January 23, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 193)

Technically, Georgia's first export was two barrels of rice, shipped to England after the *James'* first voyage in the summer of 1733. And though this eight-hundred barrel shipment of rice, pitch and tar in 1735 was more impressive, after two years it represented an agricultural community slow to find its footing, its focus or any direction. By the end of 1735, Trustees' Accountant Harman Verelst wrote back to Causton almost apologetically:

I wish I could give You a good Accot. of Profit by the Tarr you sent. It is a low priced commodity and when a tolerable Market happens will be sold.

- Harman Verelst, November 25, 1735 (CRG XXIX, p. 107)

The Trustees' Account Book later made reference to the disappointing proceeds brought from portions of these exports: "Sixty four Hogsheads and one hundred & twelve Barrels of Tar, sold for less than the Freight & Charges, but the Bounty on Importation when received, is to make good the Loss by Sale." (CRG III, p. 130)

"Mr. Causton, the Trustee's store keeper, mostly at their charge [the Trustees'] made a tar kiln, which turned out no advantage," Patrick Tailfer and his fellow authors noted within their 1741 book. Addressing the economic shortcomings of tar, Tailfer wrote of the colony's less-than-successful attempts to shake the tree of productivity in the early years.

Some, with great labour and expence, essayed the making of tar.... This, as tis well known to the Trustees, never quitted costs: Others tried to make plank and saw boards; which by the great price they were obliged to sell them at, by reason of the great expence of white servants, was the chief means of ruining those who thought to procure a living by their buildings in town....

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 49

The reference to making plank boards was almost certainly a reference to the long-suffering attempts of Robert Parker to build a saw mill near Abercorn. "I am now in Georgia where I have undertaken to make a Mill for Sawing of Wood," Parker wrote to the Trustees shortly after arriving on the second arrival of the *James*, in January, 1734. "I am building a Mill which will be very strong and will move upwards of thirty saws," he boasted. (CRG XX, p. 49) Thomas Christie, addressing a lack of resources, remarked of the shortage of available lumber, though he didn't seem to think that Parker's mill would prove the solution:

That Gentlemen [Parker] has been at a Vast Expence in Endeavouring to Erect a Saw Mill wch is not yet brought to work & is believed by Workmen will never answer. We are in great want of Boards by reason of so many Buildings that are on foot & Contracted for.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 123)

By the spring of 1735, Causton paid a visit to see the mill in operation, and was apparently less than impressed.

We went as Visitors and Mr Jones with us. We saw the Mill and [I] am Convinct [convinced] the Shortest way to make it answer a proper end, is to pull it down and new build from the bottom in another manner. We saw it work, and it Sawed half a foot in half an hour.

- Thomas Causton, March 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 260)

By the following month, Thomas Causton wrote of Parker's mill at Mill Bluff, "Robert Parker Senior, has now left his Mill (being much in Debt)... finding that it is not able to Answer his ends." (*CRG XX*, p. 305-6) Walter Augustine "by the Assistance of a Millwright is building a Saw Mill on his own Land," Causton wrote with his next line. One month following Causton's letter, Eveleigh wrote of Augustine's mill, "they have made good Progress," *but...* "I am altogether unaquainted with the Nature of Mill Work, he [Augustine] told me how he designed to perform it, wch to me appeared Feasable but I am afraid the Charges will be too great." (*CRG XX*, p. 358)

By September Eveleigh readily admitted that the Augustine Mill was "being brought to Perfection, tho' I don't rightly understand it." (*CRG XX*, p. 472-3) By a November 13, 1736 correspondence, Causton updated the Trustees on the performance of the Augustine Mill in the following terms: "Walter Augustine has built a Saw Mill, wch was judged to be well built, but by not laying a Proper foundation it has been Severall times blown up." (*CRG XXI*, p. 272) No sooner had Augustine's Mill failed when Oglethorpe ordered one built for the Trust. "Mr. Oglethorpe is having a board mill built in Old Ebenezer," Bolzius wrote in a November 18, 1736 *Register* entry. (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 244) The mill was to be overseen by two millwrights who had arrived in Georgia in August of 1736, Richard Cooper and James Smyther. As Causton wrote to the Trustees:

Att Old Ebenezer (the Millrights lately arrived) are erecting the Saw Mill, and a Cow Pen with a Stock of 200 head of Cattle will be Settled there as soon as the waters of Savannah will permit.

- Thomas Causton, November 26, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 271)

Bolzius' prophesy that "the construction of the mill alone requires nine months" proved to be optimistic, as it was still unfinished by June of 1738, 19 months later, as William Stephens visited. "I asked him [Cooper] how much longer Time he thought it would take to finish his Work, so that the Mill might be constantly employed on the Business of the Trust that it was built for," Stephens wrote in a June 27 *Journal* entry; "and he told me he expected in two Months more he should compleat it all." (*CRG IV*, p. 162)

But the saw mill at Old Ebenezer was subject to the same poor fortune that seemed to befall everything else: It was destroyed in a severe rain deluge during August of 1739, after having been operational for less than a year. As Stephens remarked in his September 1, 1739 entry, he

“got to the Mill about Seven, where we saw indeed a melancholy Wreck, and the Mill sunk away and fallen all to one Side... impossible to be set right again.” (p. 403) The cause was “a great and uncommon Flood,” (p. 402) “so strong, and spread so wide, that when it came, it covered the whole Ground near it, overflowing the whole Work, which was perfectly buried under Water.” (p. 403-4) As Bolzius remarked by November: “Old Ebenezer is now becoming entirely empty of people.... The mill has been taken apart; and... the wooden and iron parts that were sent here from England may have cost very much.” As Bolzius concluded of the long and sad saga of his former town: “Therefore nothing will become of Old Ebenezer, and it is a shame that so much money was spent on it.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 6, p. 279)

Three sawmills had gone up and come down in the span of five years. Other economic outlets fared little better.

The People are going Some upon Planting Corn, Some on Silk, on Vineyard, Some on Pitch & Tarr. Others on Fruit Trees as Oranges Limes Olives Figgs & other Fruits & Cotton also, according to their own Genius & Inclination. But all those productions will be a Considerable time before they are brought to any Perfection and we Shall be always poor & needy till we are able to make Exports of our own.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 121)

That silk was intended to be the primary industry of Georgia was evident from the earliest meeting of the Trustees, in which the silk worm became the very icon of the colony.

[LONDON, July 22, (1732)]

The Trustees ordered a common Seal to be made, with the following Devices; on one Face two Figures of Rivers, resting upon Urns, representing the *Alatamaha* and *Savannah* the Boundaries of *Georgia*, and between them the Genius of the Colony, seated with the Cap of Liberty on her Head, a Spear in one Hand & a Conucopia in the other, with this Motto, *Colonia Georgia Aug.* The Reverse is to be Silk Worms, some beginning, some having finished their Web; with this Motto, *Non sibi sed alius.*

- *South Carolina Gazette*, December 9, 1732

“The Silk affair goes on and will Succeed, and it was talk’d at Savannah that this year a hundred pound weight of Silk would be sent us,” Georgia midwife Elizabeth Stanley boasted to Percival upon her return to England in March of 1737. (*Egmont Journal*, p. 243) A month later, Percival himself related an amusing anecdote.

14 April 1737. The Queen told me at Court this day, that the Georgia Trustees had been under a mistake. I reply’d I Should be glad to know where in that we might mend it. She Said the Silk of which her gown was made last year was indeed the finest She ever Saw, but She was told it came from Italy not from Georgia. I reply’d, Smiling the only ground for that report was that we had debauch’d away from Piedmont two Italians & Sent them to Georgia where I assured her the Silk was work’d.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 258-9

True enough, the silk *was* produced by Italians... but Georgia Italians. While Percival was able to laugh off the event, he also quietly grumbled: “This Shews what pains was taken to injure us at Court.” The silk in question had been produced by Paul Amatis in his Charlestown proto-garden and sent from Georgia on the *James*, in January of 1735.

Wednesday, 9 [April, 1735]....

Our Secretary Mr. Martin acquainted us that Sir Thomas Lamb, Alderman of London, the great silk alagoziner, had received the thirty pounds of raw silk sent us from Georgia and had promised to alagozine it at his mill in Derby without expense in order to our weaving it up into a suit of clothes to present her Majesty.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 168

“Sir Thomas added that it is as good raw silk as ever he had seen, and that considering how cheap we can afford it from Georgia, we may not only beat out the Italian silk but even send silk thither,” he concluded. But what further exports of silk were ever made by Amatis is unclear from the record, and even at the time the Queen’s dress was finished by 1737, Paul Amatis was dead and his brother had run away.

In the hindsight of 1741 Patrick Tailfer attacked the notion of Georgia’s intended silk industry. “A garden was planted with mulberries and vines, which were to be a nursery to supply the rest of the province,” but as he noted, the Trustees’ Garden was “situated upon one of the most barren spots of land in the colony.” (*Tailfer*, p. 60)

Even as far back as 1735, the Trustees’ Silk Man, Paul Amatis, had been candid with the Trustees regarding the soil, writing of the quality in the Garden in a July 5, 1735 correspondence. “The Soil at the Top is Sandy & not good Enough for all Sorts of Plants without taking Vast Pains.” (*CRG XX*, p. 424)

Tailfer complained that the poor soil was just one problem. “This was remonstrated to the Trustees; and they seemed to be sensible of the error, and gave orders to chuse another spot of ground, but,” as the authors factored Causton into their argument, “the *ruling powers* in Georgia took no notice thereof. And now,” they concluded, not “so much silk [is] made there in one year, as many of those planters do make [in Carolina].” (*Tailfer*, p. 60-1)

In fact, in addressing the very gown mentioned above made for Queen Caroline, Tailfer claimed the gift “was most of it, if not all, made in Carolina.” Nor did the garden spring forth with any other significant bounty, as the authors spoke plainly: “Nor could they ever, in that garden, raise one vine to the perfection of bearing fruit.” (p. 61)

That the Trustees seemed unable to consider a ‘plan b’ when agriculture proved less than successful from the outset (or seemed unwilling to consider a ‘short term fix’ in the interim) can be attributed in part to the Trustees’ opinion (read: Percival’s opinion) that the colonists just weren’t being industrious enough—this, coupled with a debilitating feud between Paul Amatis and Joseph Fitzwalter, the Trustees’ Gardeners, which slowed—if not precluded—any progress on the silk and produce fronts. “Merchant adventurers” who did make the effort of coming to Georgia quickly found themselves in debt, and as such, little more than indentured servants to the Store (the case of Elisha Dobree).

“I find the people here backward in planting,” (*CRG XX*, p. 85) Dobree remarked in an October 17, 1734 letter to the Trustees.

Remarking that “most of the Crop that was Sowed last Summer have been Eat up by the Cows & horses,” Thomas Christie explained the further failure of the crops in the months following Oglethorpe’s departure by bad seed and the unabashed inexperience of the settlers as planters:

The Corn & Seeds that was in the Storehouse when you went away... was Musty Damaged or Spoilt So that it never came up. And it was So Long & Late in the Year before they got fresh Seed that it balked Some & others did not Sow it till it was too Late in ye year. I think if I had not represented this you might have been too Severe in blaming your Peoples Neglect. And indeed we have Some people who never were Masters of any Land...

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 120-1)

A month later, Samuel Eveleigh also addressed the agricultural shortcomings, again urging the introduction of at least limited slave labor and warning the Trustees, “without Negroes you can’t have any produce there Sufficient to load vessells, and without that no Trade can be carry’d on there to Satisfaction.” (*CRG XX*, p. 177) Patrick Tailfer, too, wasted no time bringing the slave issue into the examination of what had gone wrong, remarking in his *True and Historic Narrative* that the Trustees “still continued exhausting our substance in pursuing an impracticable scheme, namely, cultivating land to advantage [profit] in such a climate with white servants only.” (p. 57-8)

Peter Gordon also addressed the issue. “Nay it is morrally impossible that the people of Georgia can ever gett forward in their settlements... without the help and assistance of negroes.”

Because the people of Carolina... who inhabite a country equally as fine and productive as Georgia, will at all times, by the help of their negroes be able to undersell the people of Georgia in any commodities they can possibly raise, at any market in Europe.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 59

Thomas Christie wrote further in his December, 1734 correspondence:

This Place might easily be made a Mart between North America & England... once... this Trade will Entroduce it Self. But in the mean time it Seems to me nothing can keep us alive but... the Raising of our Fortifications, The Indian Trade & the Fresh Embarkations of money’d men.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 121)

Elisha Dobree, working in the employ of Thomas Christie by late 1734, not surprisingly, held the same opinion. “I am Sorry to find we have no money here,” he wrote to the Trustees in January, 1735. “What Currancy is Left here, is generally Carryd away by the Carolina Traders, who brings here Pork Fowles &c & always sells for ready Money.” (p. 207) The point was sound... because Savannah had no exports to trade, the settlers’ ready currency was used to pay for goods offered by South Carolina traders, so that all the currency was being sucked into South Carolina while Georgia was filling up with chickens.

People never were so short of money as they are now.... if hogs or Fowls arrive here from Carolina they are generally bought up for ready money by wch means all the Cash is drain’d from hence by the Carolina Planters.

- Elisha Dobree, January 15, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 161)

As Dobree explained, a small ship might “Carry off about 2 or 300 Currancy” from Savannah “& take little or nothing at all from us,” in terms of a general export.

Moneyed men would Contribute greatly to the Prosperity of this Province, without which I have but little hopes of this Place. We wish Ardently you would Encourage Such to Settle with us.

- Elisha Dobree, January 29, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 207)

The point was lost, however, on the Trustees, who seemed to genuinely not realize the problem. Harman Verelst, penning their May 15, 1735 reply, responded: “The Trustees think there is an odd Paragraph in Mr. Christie’s Letter about sending over Embarkations of Money’d Men....” Further, one can almost hear Percival dictating in the background as Verelst addressed Christie’s lamentation of so little ready lumber: “And they are very sorry to find there is Want of Boards, where there are so many Trees and so many Saws.” (*CRG XXIX*, p. 59)

By 1737, John Brownfield remarked plainly: “Had the Inhabitants of Savannah built less in Town they might have made large Improvements in the Countrey.... But,” as he reasoned, “a general Error has prevailed amongst us[:] That of getting up Houses before we had any thing in the Ground.” As he concluded: “From thence proceeds our having a large Town without Provision to support it.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 483)

Till we can raise some product with which to purchase the Goods brought to us from Carolina[,] Philadelphia[,] New York; & New England (all those places send provisions hither) it will be impossible to keep Money in the Colony.

- John Brownfield, February 10, 1737 (*CRG XXI*, p. 324)

But, “To explain how these Inconveniencys may be remedied,” he concluded, “will require a Capacity infinitely superior to mine.”

Seeking, in their own way, to rectify the matter... and to try to better control the money-hemorrhaging, the Trustees began printing Sola Bills as Georgia’s currency in 1735, but this did nothing to rectify the bigger problem. In a May 20, 1737 correspondence, Paul Jenys wrote from Charlestown: “By my late Advices from Savannah I hear they are in great want of money, wch I fear will be Attended wth some Ill consequences.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 426)

The one marginally successful commercial outlet—trade with the Indians—came at the expense of South Carolina, and so isolated the older colony that any benefits for Georgia were far outweighed by the outright hostility of the Carolina colony, destroying all the good will of the first year.

The Savannah settlement flirted with creating a successful mercantile trading system in the first two years. Samuel Eveleigh, the frequent correspondent to the Trustees and mercantile trader, whom Oglethorpe had even honored with a street name on July 7, was instrumental in this process and wrote optimistically to the Trustees in 1734:

I have spent a great many thoughts how to promote and encourage Georgia, Some of wch I shall communicate to You. I have already Spok [spoke] to a Hatter, who has promised to goe down there [to Savannah], and I have promised to Supply him wth Beaver, and all other Necessary’s for his Trade. I shall also endeavour to gett a Cooper, a Shoemaker, a Gold Smith and other Tradesmen, and will Supply them wth what ever they shall want to carry on their Trades.

- Samuel Eveleigh, November 20, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 107)

But faced with the 1735 restrictions on alcohol, land tenure and slaves (the Trustees' only legislation), this early promise began to wither. Even Samuel Eveleigh, Savannah's greatest hope to establish a successful trade, saw these obstacles as insurmountable, and before finally exiting from the Georgia stage in frustration, bowed respectfully to the Trustees.

The Design of the Trustees in relieving the Poor insolvent Debtors And persecuted Protestant's Abroad are very humane and Laudable, And deserves Incouragement from Every Person that is in A Capacity to Assist them. But as my Talent lies chiefly in Trade, by not Admitting Negroes will hinder me from what I had thought of, or doing that Service which otherwise I might.

- Samuel Eveleigh, September 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 473)

With this letter, Eveleigh, prophesied doom. "[I] do assure you that here... without Negroes Georgia can never be a Colony of any great Consequence. But, Since the Trustees have thought fitt to pass Such a Law, I shall say no more." Polite as always, nonetheless, some of his observations had merit. And much as his street name would gradually be replaced by another, his cautious comments would soon give way to the scathing indictments of the malcontents.

The fact that Georgia still had no discernable industry by 1738—five years into the settlement—did not escape the notice of the Trust's loyal scribe William Stephens, who echoed Brownfield's sentiment from a year earlier while begging "Pardon me if my zeal carrys me farther than becomes me:"

... till the Colony can attain to the State of exporting something valuable of its own Produce; at least-wise, till they can raise sufficient maintainance for themselves; it is impossible (as I humbly conceive) that it can encrease... but must be a place of Want, and continue a Burden on that Honourable Trust, which has so long supported 'em.

- William Stephens, January 19, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 73-4)

By 1739, Captain Caleb Davis was making regular stops in Savannah, offering goods, though Stephens wondered why on earth he bothered.... "To what Benefit either to himself or others, I had not the Discernment enough to find out." (*CRG IV*, p. 247)

A Sloop belonging to Captain Davis arrived here from St. Augustin, with the usual Traffick of that Place; but as a Cargo of that Kind was not likely to sell here, where the Necessaries of Life, which were frequently offered us from the Northern Provinces, could not be bought.... Mr. [Robert] Williams had a Sloop likewise come in this Day from St. Christopher's, with Molasses and many useful Commodities, none of which could be come at by us.

- p. 308

By 1739 the Savannah settlement was simply too poor to take advantage of such luxuries. But even as Savannah continued in its spiral, there was hope still, that this would not remain the case. "It was observable," William Stephens wrote in a March 31, 1739 *Journal* entry, "that during this Time of Trial... there seemed to be a Show of future Trade expected." Though this was still weeks before Andre Duchee would attempt the storehouse beneath the bluff, the commercial lots on the Strand north of Bay Street were filling with prospective merchants.

For Instance, Mr. [Will] Kellaway having the Grant from the General lately of one of the Lots hitherto reserved, fronting the River, has already set up a large Store-House, and purposes a Dwelling-House also: Captain Davis (I am informed) has a Grant of another Lot, next to Mr. Kellaway's, where he will immediately do the like.... The next Lot adjoining, which has generally

been looked on as intended for Mr. Montaigut, it is now said he is determined forthwith to build both Dwelling and Ware-houses on. Mr. Provost some Months since built a large Warehouse on his Lot (formerly Hughes's) Mr. Brownfield keeps a large Warehouse well provided with many useful Commodities from England : and Mr. [William] Woodrooffe (bred a Haberdasher of small Wares) deals much in the same Way here as in London, keeping a Shop well furnished with Variety.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 308-9)

“Thus,” he concluded, “in the mercantile Way, we see enough ready to turn Adventurers. Happy were it, could we also find the like Disposition for cultivating Land. But what can be said of that?” But many of these—even modestly ‘moneyed men,’ as Dobree and Christie had pled for—fell victim to Savannah’s spiral and the simple law of economics that if no one can make a purchase a business cannot be supported.

Mr Montagut & his wife are in good health. He hath built a Store house Adjoyning to your House & is Retailing his Goods for ready money.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 124)

Purrysburger Samuel Montaigut was the first to try. He came to Savannah in 1734. John Lyndall wrote to Oglethorpe on October 29, 1734 that “I Recd your orders by Mr Mountagut to put him and his family into the hous wherein you lodged.” (CRG XX, p. 92-3) Oglethorpe’s ‘house’—the property in question—was Lot 11 in Derby Ward, the property formerly owned by Joshua Overend, at the corner of Bull and Bay street locations, the lot where Oglethorpe resided in late 1733 and early 1734. “Mr. Causton has received me with marks of distinction and has not ceased to render to me all the services that were in his power,” Montaigut wrote to Oglethorpe by December. (p. 130)

Causton had every intention of constructing a brand new property for Montaigut. “Agreeable to Your Honours Orders, I bargained for a Frame of a house completely fitt to be set up, any where for Mr Mountagut,” Causton wrote to Oglethorpe. “But he coming before the house was finished upon Arrivall,” required the plan b:

In Regard, that you was pleased to order the house you lived in for his Residence whilst here... I gaive leave for him to set it up at the Corner of that ground joyning to the house. In this Case, he made a new Bargain with the Carpenter.

- Thomas Causton, July 27, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 437)

“I have had built a little store by the side of your residence,” Montaigut explained to Oglethorpe. “There I have put some merchandise, and have commenced to sell to the satisfaction of the inhabitants of Savannah.” Montaigut referred to his enterprise as a “little business which I have here commenced conjointly with the Messrs Simond.” The new public store was a partnership between Montaigut and Simmond brothers, whose ships had brought most of Georgia’s colonists. “I intend to make here my principal residence,” he boasted, asking for “a town lot before the Bay or Strand, wherever there are vacant ones.” (p. 131)

In 1735 Causton’s excitement over Montaigut’s store was tempered: “I believe he finds the benefitt of being here but, I don’t find him inclinable to Encourage Exportation from hence.” (p. 437) And again: “Mr Mountagut don’t seem inclinable either by employing the People or buying Skins and Goods for Exportation.” (p. 438) Another issue, as Christie noted: he spent a

significant amount of time minding his plantation at Purrysburg. “For being frequently at Purrysburg... his store [is] always shute in his absence.” (p. 239) In fact, Charles Purry, son of the founder of Purrysburg, eventually joined as Montaigut’s partner.

William Stephens explained how Purry had ended up residing on Lot 16 of Derby Ward, at Bull and Bryan streets, adjoining the Overend lot to the south, a lot which had already passed from Joseph Hughes to John West to William Thompson and back to John West... but was not lived on by any of them.

The Number of the Lot is 16, formerly in possession of Joseph Hughes, since deceased; the House in Derby Ward, rented at prest. by Mr. [Charles] Purry, who also keeps a Store near adjoining, in Partnership with Mr. Montague; & undoubtedly they take more money than any (I had almost said all) of the Stores in Town.

- William Stephens, February 27, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 96-7)

Purry was a renter. And despite his request to the Trustees for a town lot in 1734, so was Montaigut. The Trustees’ term for anyone residing on a lot not granted to them by the Trustees was ‘living inmate.’ Regardless of whether one was renting in good standing or simply squatting, ‘living inmate’ was an umbrella term that was never meant favorably. In short, these store owners didn’t actually *own* any property in Savannah.

By 1739 the partnership between Montaigut and Purry had fizzled, and as is often the case with a dissolved partnership, the books were a mess. And Montaigut, despite his promises to develop his storehouse lot facing the river, died instead. “*Thursday* [November 8, 1739]. Ill News came to Town this Morning of Mr. Montaigut’s Death, who sickened in a Fever of the worst kind... at his Plantation up the River in Carolina.” (William Stephens *Journal*, *CRG IV*, p. 449) The next day he was buried in Savannah. “Mr. Montaigut’s Corpse was brought down and decently buried,” Stephens noted. “Most of the principal Inhabitants (who were particularly invited) attended him to the Grave.” (p. 449-50) But following the death of Tomochichi the month before, and coming two months after the slave uprising in South Carolina and the news of war with Spain, the loss of Montaigut was just another blow that contributed to a very bad fall in 1739.

The Strange and Enduring Case of Joseph Watson

If Will Wise was the first murder in Georgia—in the spring—and the Ebenezer slave the second—in the summer—then it is worth noting that *both* the third and fourth murders in Trustee Georgia by the autumn of that year both revolve around an enigmatic figure named Joseph Watson.

He was a man who may or may not have been sane but who quickly became a lightning rod for controversy: to some he was the bogeyman for every misfortune in Georgia, to others he was the persecuted innocent. Authority despised him while the malcontent community grew around him... so that ultimately his record is painted in stark tones of black and white.

[Joseph] Watson, the Trader, as soon as Mr Oglethorpe went hence, gave himself to drinking, and was so seldom Sober That it was hard to Guess if he was not Mad. He would be naked with the Indians, Drunk with them[,] lye down with them, and sometimes pretended to Baptize them.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 172)

Watson had come to Georgia from Charlestown, and was treated as a gentleman; on his behalf Oglethorpe petitioned the Trustees for a 500 acre grant on February 26, 1734—whether this tract was ever actually granted is unclear. Soon thereafter he established an Indian tradership and a four-year common-interest partnership with John Musgrove. Musgrove, away from Georgia throughout most of 1734 while in England, returned to find he was in league with a madman. He wrote in a letter to Oglethorpe: “I do not Like nor Cannot Approve of his way of proceeding.” (*CRG XX*, p. 197) “Watson has behaved very Ill Since your departure,” Thomas Christie wrote to Oglethorpe on December 14, 1734, “and hath Committed Several Irregularities, has beat the Indians, presented a Gun at Mrs. Musgroves, proved very dissaffected to the Colony & unfit for a Trader.” (*CRG XX*, p.122)

His antics quickly escalated from simple mischief to murder. Watson got into a quarrel with a Creek named Esteeche and beat him, pulled a gun on Mary Musgrove, caused by his own actions the death of a Musgrove servant named Justus and killed a highly-respected warrior named Skee by essentially drinking him under the table. All within two months. From Charlestown, Samuel Eveleigh wrote to Oglethorpe:

Watson has been drunk almost ever Since You went away. I was credibly informed, that he has been so three Weeks Successively. But yet whilst I was there He kept himself Sober, Especially in the day Time. He rails very much against you, myself and the whole Province of Georgia, and Says He has Seen the Ruin of two New Collonys and doubts not but he Shall see the Third. He kept Sky [Skee] drunk in his Store for fortnight together, and when he went away, publickly said, That he had done his bussness for him, and he dyed soon after.

- Samel Eveleigh, October 19, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 87-88)

Thomas Causton told a similar story in his remarks, seeking the advice of the Trustees regarding an incident he was unsure how to handle.

He made Skee his Chief Companion, and he seemed to apprehend some Danger from him; Therefore wanted to make him his particular friend. They were drinking every day together in this mad way for about a Month. Skee got the Flux and went to the Cow-pen and died. When Skee was thus ill, Watson made public Talk, That he had done Skee’s business, and that he would dy [die].

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 172)

Already found guilty of trifling offences, Watson was now boasting of murder. It was in March of 1733 that Oglethorpe had created Skee “captain of the Second Militia Company of the Indian allies,” while appointing Tuskenca captain of the first. Tuskenca died in the spring of 1734; as Causton wrote: “Captain Tuscany the Beloved Indian died here about the later end of May.” (*CRG XX*, p. 172) In England, Tomochichi and his entourage had only just learned of Tuskenca’s death:

Wednesday, 11 [September, 1734]

... Then the chief warrior of the Yamacraws told us he had news that the vice warrior is dead, and has left only two daughters, his children, who are helpless, and without clothes, that therefore they

are become his children, and he wished he was at home to provide for them; that he knew he could not go but by ship, but if the way was by land he would make nothing to go on foot though all the way were woods, and the night as dark as now.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 126

And now, barely three months after Tuskenca's death, Skee had been murdered.

Thomas Christie noted that the "Indians are full of resentment against him [Watson] and have Petitioned us that Mrs Musgrove may have the Trade" alone. In his January 16, 1735 letter, Thomas Causton began rattling off a list of offenses, a veritable resume of growing audacity leading up to the murder.

Sometime before Skee's Death [Mary] Musgrove and Watson quarrelled and she would not be perswaded from bringing an Action against him for calling her Witch. The Cause was tryed August 13 and 6s. 8d. for Damages given against him as you will See by the Recorders Report.

On the 24th another Action was tryed for an Assault whereby he was charged with Endeavouring to Shoot Mrs Musgrove. And it appeared very plain that he had [would have] Shott her, If she had not overpowered him in her own Defence, And took it from him and broke it. A verdict went against him for five pounds Sterling Damages, and he was Ordered to be bound for his good Behaviour.

The Next day he was tryed on an Indictment prefered against him by the Grand jury for Beating Esteeche the Indian and Defrauding him of his Goods, Which upon Tryall appeared to be true, and he was found guilty, and ordered to pay 13s. 4d Sterl fine and make the Indians Satisfaction for their goods. On which Occasion I publicly reprimanded him; and gave him Cautions of the great Danger of Such proceedings. I then Spoke to the Indians and desired That Esteeche would forgive Watson, and pass it by, for that he had now benn tryed, found Guilty and fined.... However, It appeared afterwards very plain, That Esteeche, and all the Indians had reced so Strong a hatred against him That Esteeche said his Heart would never be Streight towards him.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 173)

It was just one week later that Skee died of alcohol poisoning. Eveleigh wrote in his October 19, 1734 letter to Oglethorpe that Causton was "resolved Either by fair or foul means to drive Watson off the Bluff. For it will be of ill and very dangerous Consequence, if he should be killed by Indians." (*CRG XX*, p. 88) Watson himself seemed unconcerned as to any Indian reprisals against him, for as Causton noted, Watson claimed that "we need not be afraid of Indians Since we had Sufficient Hostages in England," (*CRG XX*, p.175) a cold reference to Tomochichi's delegation visiting London.

Watson's business dealings were a mess. As Musgrove would remark in January, following his return, "Wattson being Continually Drunk I Cannot bring him to Acct for wt has been Sold out of ye Store Since ye Commencmt of ye partnership. Nor will he Acct wth Mr Eveleigh at any Rate wtever." (*CRG XX*, p. 198) In September, Samuel Eveleigh tried unsuccessfully to collect money owed him, finally turning to an arbiter and beginning a chain of events that would lead to a second death, only weeks after the first. Causton noted that he had received notice from Eveleigh that "he had reced [received] no Skins since Mr Oglethorpe went, That there was a Considerable ballance due to him, That he [Eveleigh] had given James Muir a Letter of Attorney to Settle the Account, and demand the money." (*CRG XX*, p. 174)

The Recorder [Thomas Christie] and I went to Musgroves [the store] for this purpose and soon found That this Enquiry would be the Unraveling of all Watson's behaviour. That under pretence of managing the Trade, he had bought and Sold without Musgroves knowledge, and was carrying Trade into another Channell; which was contrary to the Agreement with Eveleigh.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 174)

Watson had wrecked a four-year contracted partnership in less than six months. Causton, realizing that it would take some time to sort out the situation, asked Watson to step down. After some initial equivocation, Watson ultimately decided that he would not allow any investigation to proceed and locked himself in the Store.

I judged that... It would be well, if he [Watson] could be perswaded to withdraw from the Stores, Let his affairs be mananged by another person... and a perfect Inventory be taken. To this he consented; But having changed his mind, he went frequently away, and lockt up the Store. Mrs Musgrove one day found only the servant there, and she turned him out of Doors & lockt it and took the Key herself with intent (no doubt) of keeping Sole possession. But he [Watson] soon found means to regain it, and then for severall days refused to open the door to any one.

He was one day lockt in, when the Indians came to weigh there Skins. They found that Watson was in the Stores and would not open the Door, therefore they endeavoured to break it open.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 174)

Among the Indians at the door was Estechee, still fuming from the assault incident the month before. In a prophetic observation of the Creek character, Philip von Reck had already noted in 1734:

If an Indian is beaten or insulted he suffers it in silence; but he never forgets, and he waits for an opportunity to make his revenge that much more impressive.

- Philip von Reck, *A Short Report on Georgia and the Indians There* (within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 146)

John Musgrove, relating his wife's account, picks up the story.

[Watson] Locked ye Door & would not Lett the Indians In wth their Skins that they Brought wth them that they might have them weigh'd. And they waited wth Abundance of patience till at Last their patience was quite Tier'd [tired] & very Much Vexed & broke Open ye door & was Resolved to be Revenged. And as Soon as my Wife heard that ye Door was broke Open She Run to ye window & told Mr Wattson & Desired him to gett away or Else he would be Kill'd. And because they Could not find him Stechey Knocked my boy Justice on ye Head Directly & Kill'd him he having ye Misfortune of being in ye way.

- John Musgrove, January 24, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 197)

Justus (or Justice) was the name of a Musgrove servant at the Store. Variouslly referred to in writings within the *Colonial Records* as a "servant" and sometimes "slave," Justus was not African but Native American. Causton corroborated the details of that night:

Mrs Musgrove begged of him [Watson] to Escape for if the Indians got in She feared that they would murder him. Accordingly Watson got out another way and came to Town. The Indians broke in, but finding Watson gone, their Anger was rather encreased, and Esteeche killed Musgrove's Slave.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 174)

As Causton remarked, “this Murder justly alarmed us.” Esteeche was quietly banished in the wake of the death of Justus, while the Trustees provided for a replacement for the Musgroves. And Skee’s memory was recompensed by the Trustees with “some Paint” and trinkets. Benjamin Martyn carefully instructed Causton to carry out the Trustees’ wishes in a March, 1735 correspondence.

The Trustees loved Skee, and therefore You must give from them to Tallafolechee the Brother of Skee, to be distributed by him amongst all Skee’s Relations the following Gifts Viz. 6 Guns, 100 flints, 6 Mantles of Blew or strip’d Duffils, 6 Yards of Strouds, a Pound of Beads, a pt. of red Inkle, and some large Needles and blew sewing thread for the Women, 6 Hatchets, 2 Indian brass Kettles, 12 knives & some Whet Stones and also some Paint.

- Benjamin Martyn, March 17, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 48)

By July, 1735 Causton would inform the Trustees: “I have paid Mrs Musgrove, for another Indian Servant she has bought of a Trader in the Stead of her Servant Justus,” and that “Esteeche is reconciled to Mrs Musgrove and his People,” while, “Tallapholeeche has accepted very gratefully of your Honours favour to him, and his Relations.” (*CRG XX*, p. 451-2) And Watson? Causton had seen enough disorder, but any direct murder charge in connection to either death would have been difficult to prove in a court of law. As Percival noted of the case two years later, Watson almost certainly would have been found guilty of the murder of Skee “if the Indians’ evidence had been taken, but that by laws of America they are not allowed to be evidence.” (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 368) “Hereupon we all thought it proper that An Act Should pass to allow Indian evidence.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 242) Causton, in the meantime, found an expedient—though as time would prove, not necessarily legal—alternative.

A Charge was drawn against him for Misdemeanors, which I chose to have found by a Grand jury; Upon this he was tryed November the 21st and found Guilty... but believing him to be Lunatick, recomend him to the mercy of the Trustees.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 175)

On November 21, 1734 he was confined to his house as a lunatic, unfit to stand trial... and there imprisoned, Joseph Watson remained for three years. The Trustees, hearing of these incidents months after the fact and separated by an ocean, could do nothing but scratch their heads and confirm Causton’s decision.

12 March [1735] And orders [are] issued to all the Magistrates to take from Joseph Watson his Lycense for trading with the Indians, and to confine him as a lunatick, till having recover’d his Senses, he Should be brought to tryal for drinking to death Skea an Indian Warriour, which he first gave out he would do, and afterwards glory’d in.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 78

Nobody seemed to know quite what to do with him. As Percival further explained: “As Soon as the Trustees had notice of it from Mr. Causton, they directed him to confine Watson as a Lunaticke, until having recover’d his Senses, and then a Commission Should be Sent to try him for the Murder: for he had been indited only of a misdemeanor.” (p. 241)

But the months dragged into years. Following his first meeting with Watson, in March of 1736, John Wesley confided to his Diary that he had heard “strange things if true.” (John Wesley

Journal, vol. 1, p. 186) But by the time of an interview with Watson a year later, his reaction had redacted to a single word: “Strange!” (p. 320)

In December, 1736, Charles Wesley brought word to the Trustees that:

That Joseph Watson who was try'd for killing an Indian by giving him Rum with intent to destroy him, and who is Still confin'd, is really disturbed in his Senses, as the Jury had found him....

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 215

Furthermore: “This Mr. Wesley Said he learn'd from Several persons in Charlestown, who declared he had Six years before been mad on account of a Mistress that jilted him.”

That same month, Lachlan McBane came with similar reports (... and evidently, a bear). McBane was listed as an Indian Trader in the *LES*, as Percival remarked in the *Egmont Journal*: “Mr. McBane a Highlander Settled at Darien, and Sent over by Some private persons to procure them Servants, brought me the present of a bare (which I refused to accept) and gave me the following particulars.”

That Watson who has So Long layn in prison is at times mad, but rather a foolish [mad] than mischievous [mad], and when he left Savannah, there was talk of Shipping him on board the Diamond [Captain George Diamond, *Peter & James*] & making him return to his first occupation, that of a Sailor.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 218

McBane made an interesting distinction of the degrees of madness, all the while assuring Percival that he was indeed, some kind of mad; but to the Trustees, the situation was becoming... maddening. By the spring of 1737, Sarah Watson, his estranged wife in London, began rallying support to her husband's cause, as she “proceeded So far as to present his case to a member at Parliament for redress.” (p. 241) On March 14 the Trustees organized together for a strategy meeting at the home of fellow Trustee James Hamilton, Lord Limerick (c.1691-1758), formerly a member of the prison reform committee, to “consider of Joseph Watson's case.”

Oglethorpe, back in England for the second time, took part in the conference, as Percival noted. “After refreshing our memory's by consulting our books, Mr. Oglethorpe was of the opinion, that if Watson were released, it would be interpreted by the unruly people of Savannah our censure of Causton for having confin'd him, and they would grow more insolent.”

And as he was in his conscience persuaded, that Watson not only drank the Indian dead by design (he having had a quarrel with him, and afterwards boasted he killed him) but that he poison'd his liquour, as the other Indians aledged, and appear'd by Several Symptoms on his body after he was dead, he was of the opinion to Send over a commission to try Watson of murder.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 242

Arguments and counter-arguments ensued:

First: “But Mr Holland who is a lawyer Said it was against the law to try Men twice for the Same Fact & with him we all joined.”

But: “Then Some Gentlemen proposed that orders Should be Sent to Mr. Causton to proceed to pass Sentence, which might be corporal punishment.”

Then: “But this my Ld. Limerick opposed, as a great hardship to punish corporally a Man after 2 years confinement.”

And: “Then it was proposed that Watson Should be fined, and remain in confinement till he had found Security for his good behaviour, or else [be] banished.”

“But that was not thought proper,” either, Percival concluded, “it not belonging to us to direct what punishment the Magistrates Should Inflict.” (p. 242)

While the Trustees considered options, Sarah Watson took her petition before the King and Privy Council. The issue was considered by the Privy Council on March 17, 1737, and two days later the Council ordered the Trustees to answer to the charge. The Trustees wrote to Causton in some haste the following week:

Sir

Last Week a Petition (of which the inclosed is a copy) was presented by Mrs. Watson to the King in Council relating to her husband’s Confinement. To which the Trustees desire your particular Answer, supported with such Evidence as You have that can Speak to it; which Evidence may be given by Affidavits before the Recorder. Loose no time in answering this Petition, & be prudent in the manner of doing it.

- Harman Verelst, March 24, 1737 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 185)

Two months later, the Trustees wrote to Causton again, still scrambling for legal precedent and struggling to produce evidence for insanity of a man who had once threatened to reign down blood:

In March last You had a Copy sent You of Mrs. Watson’s Petition which You were desired to send your Answer to supported with sufficient Proofs upon Oath.... And it is further necessary That there should be like Affidavits sent over of the Acts of Lunacy Watson has committed, such as his Painting himself, running about naked, threatening to bring down Storms and Showers of Blood, Saying Mrs. Musgrove had bewitched People; and his other Figaries.

- Harman Verelst, May 21, 1737 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 196)

Watson, the subject of the only case formally petitioned to the Privy Council in Trustee Georgia, was finally released November 5, 1737, as John Wesley observed, “after a confinement of two years, eleven months, and nineteen days.”

In 1741, Tailfer and his fellow authors made reference to the Watson affair.

This person, having incurred Mr. Causton’s displeasure, was indicted for stirring up animosities in the minds of the Indians, &c. tending to the ruin and subversion of the colony. Upon his trial, the jury, in their verdict, found him only guilty of some unguarded expressions (although twice returned and hectored by Mr. Causton, who acted as both witness and judge in the matter) and verbally recommended him, by their foreman, to the mercy of the court, imagining or supposing he might be a lunatick; (however, as it afterwards appeared, it was represented to the Trustees, that the jury found him guilty of lunacy in their verdict) whereupon he was immediately confined by

Mr. Causton (although sufficient bail was offered) and kept prisoner near three years, without any sentence.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 56-7

No sooner was he released in November, 1737, than he began showing up at William Stephens' door, with "attorney" John Coates.

Friday [November 10, 1737]. Mr. Watson made me a Visit this Morning, bringing Mr. Coates (the Constable) with him, who was constantly his Companion, and entered on a long Narration of his Confinement and Sufferings from the Beginning, alledging, that the whole Proceeding was illegal and unjustly founded... but I could not readily believe everything as Fact.

- William Stephens *Journal*, (CRG IV, p. 23)

"Moreover, I thought him a little too much transported," Stephens confided, "carried away with Flights sometimes in his Discourse, which had the Appearance of a distempered Head."

Wednesday [November 30, 1737]. Mess. Watson and Coates with me again this Morning, when Coates produced a large Sheet of Paper, close wrote, containing a Multitude of Grievances the many People (as he said) laboured under; a great Part of which he laid to the Charge of Mr. Causton.... It was plainly evident, that much Malice was at the Bottom of it, having been the Work of some Years to collect it.... Coates offered to make Affidavit of all that was wrote; but I told him I have no such Authority; which he seemed disappointed at; and after a great deal of Talk they took their Leave.

- p. 39

Watson returned to England. In June of 1738 Stephens happened to find himself on the 500 acre lot "which goes by the Name of Capt. Watson's; but (as I am informed) he never had any real Grant, and what small Improvements he had formerly made, we saw, which was only Part of a Shell of a House, never nigh perfected, and now ruinous and rotten, nothing having been done upon it for many Years." (p. 164)

By 1743 Watson declared his intention to return to Georgia and petitioned the Trustees to have his trading license restored. In March 1744, left with nothing else, he returned to a tract of land he claimed, near Yamacraw Bluff, but never necessarily owned, running around naked, or very near to it.

April 21 Saturday. Mr Joseph Watsons behaviour since his arrival has been a riddle to the whole Town, having no certain abode, but sometimes met walking in the woods in an odd habit, with a sort of Gown or Cassock... seeming to betoken some order, and the rather, because of his giving it out that he meant to convert the Indians.

- William Stephens *Journal*, 1744 (CRG IV, Supplement)

The Trustees initially gave their blessing for his license (unable to confirm or deny his Yamacraw tract), but William Stephens, despite numerous appeals by Watson, failed to approve it. After Watson was brought into court for yet more complaints by Mary Musgrove (by now Mary Busomworth) in January 1745, the Trustees finally approved of Stephens' refusal for a license in March. Percival, in his *List of Early Settlers*, describes him in the following terms:

1235. Watson, Joseph - An insolent vile man: tis said he has a grant of 500 acres, but I don't find when, or when

taken up. Twice fyn'd for scandal;
again fyn'd for assaulting an In-
dian, and afterwds. capitally con-
victed of killing one, but brought in
lunatick. Is now out on good behavior.
In the Colony the end of the year
1746.

He eventually sold his lands to William Francis in 1755 and died virtually penniless in 1758.

The Rise of the Savannah Court

In a July 8, 1735 correspondence to Trustees' Accountant Harman Verelst, Elisha Dobree recorded the second anniversary of the Savannah court, noting: "This Day the Guns were fir'd for Remembrance of Oppening the Court as on this day." (*CRG XX*, p. 441)

Upon his arrival in Savannah, in February, 1736, Francis Moore remarked of the ramshackle building that constituted the court house and church: "The courts were held in a hut thirty foot long and twelve foot wide, made of split boards, and erected on Mr. Oglethorpe's first arrival in the colony. In this hut also divine service was performed." (*A Voyage to Georgia*, p. 26) This building, at the rear of lot 11 in Derby ward, is pictured on the Peter Gordon Map at the rear of the Overend cottage. Its construction and materials were included as part of a 50-pound expenditure package by the Trustees.

But upon Oglethorpe's return in early 1736 he directed that a more suitable building for the purpose should be built, this one in Percival Ward. As Moore noted: "Upon his arrival this time Mr. Oglethorpe ordered a house to be erected in the upper square [Percival Ward] which might serve for a court house."

By the end of the year the court house was finished, as Charles Wesley described to Percival in December, 1736 "That a new convenient Town Hall is built in Savannah, furnished with benches, a gallery for the bailiffs and a pulpit for the minister, in which Divine service is performed, and that it holds 100 people." (*Percival Diary*, vol. 2, p. 314) In 1740 the authors of *A True and Historic Narrative* described it as "being one handsome room, with a piache on three sides." It "likewise serves as a church for divine services, none having been ever built." (p. 140) They had decidedly less praise for the prison house.

Opposite to the *court house* stands the *log house* or prison (which is the only one remaining of five or six that have been successively built in Savannah) that place of terror, and support off *absolute* power in Georgia.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 141

"A prison is necessary, and only disorderly persons can object to one," Percival scribbled in the margins.

Percival Ward's lot H would, in fact, host four incarnations of the court house over the span from 1736 to 1889, giving rise to the square's unofficial title as "Court House Square." Interestingly, the old 1736 court house, once its day was done, found renewed life as the Lutheran Church. In 1756 six men of the congregation purchased lot F, across the street from the old court house. H. M. Muhlenberg made reference to the new "old" German meeting house in the October 30, 1774 of his *Journal*:

About ten years ago they bought a lot for 150 sterling, and a wooden building which had formerly been a court house for 18 sterling, which they had moved to the lot and adapted for worship.

When exactly, the court house was dragged across the street to become the church is unclear. According to an indenture of Rebecca Lloyd, as of April 27, 1771 there still was no house of worship, but by 1773 a correspondent noted that the Lutheran Church "wants some finishing," so the move across the street happened sometime in-between. The court house/Lutheran meeting house building evidently survived until the fire of 1796. In the meantime, a second court house had been erected on lot H. A Commercial Directory out of Philadelphia described this second court house as it stood in 1823:

The Court House is an old brick building near the centre of the city, two stories high; it was much injured during the revolutionary war, whilst this city was besieged by a combined American and French force; it lay open to the principal batteries of the besiegers.

A hundred years after the creation of the court a third incarnation was built on H as Henry McAlpin and Edward Jones were contracted to dismantle the old building and erect a new one "drawn by Russell, Warren and by Tallman & Bucklin of the State of Rhode Island." (*Daily Georgian*, November, 1830) The design of Russell, Warren, Tallman and Buckling, of Providence, was approved in June of 1830, and the structure was completed in 1833. The fourth court house, a grandiose and whimsical structure which still graces the lot today, was designed by William Gibbons Preston and erected in 1889.

But it had all started years before with the unassuming building completed in 1736. Francis Moore wrote of the Georgia Court:

This town is governed by three bailiffs, and has a recorder, register, and a town-court, which is holden every six weeks, where all matters civil and criminal are decided by grand and petty juries, as in England; but there are no lawyers allowed to plead for hire, nor attorneys to take money, but (as in old times in England) every man pleads his own cause.

- Francis Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia*, p. 20

Likewise, Wye's London letter of June 27, 1734, printed within the *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* a week later, made observation of the absence of lawyers within Georgia's court system:

A Gentleman newly arrived from Georgia, gives the following more particular account of the state of that Colony than has been yet mentioned *viz*.... That two Justices of the Peace, a Surveyor General, constables and tythingmen are appointed; and all causes are determined in a summary way, in the manner of the court of conscience of London, and records kept of them; and 'tis remarkable that there's not a Lawyer amongst them.

- *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*, July 2, 1734

Oglethorpe's only comment in the record explaining the rationale consists of two brief lines within his January 22, 1734 letter to the Trustees, explaining that "Every man pleads his own Cause. The fact is tryed by the Jury and Sentence pronounced by the Court." (*CRG XX*, p. 41-2) In short, the Trustees' attempt at creating a level playing field in Georgia extended even to its court system.

While Noble Jones was appointed to act as attorney for the Yamacraws and South Carolina Attorney General James Abercromby stood at the ready to assist the Georgia colony in its more complicated disputes—such as the Mellichamp counterfeiting case in 1735 and the peculiar seizure of Captain Yoakley's license in 1734—most internal disputes were to be handled within Savannah's modest legal structure and heard by the magistrates. Samuel Eveleigh checked in on Savannah in the fall of 1734 (while trying to collect on debts from troublemaker Joseph Watson), and after his return to Charlestown wrote to Oglethorpe:

Where Causes were try'd (and in my Judgement) very impartially, without the Jargon or the confused Quirks of the Lawyer's and without any Cost or Charges, and yet (in my Opinion) consonant to reason and Equity, wch I take to be the foundation of all Laws.

It's true there were Some person's, Who did complain but that is common with Such who have lost their Causes.

Mr. Caustin has there a great deal of Buisness, and is very much fateagued from Morning till Night, by the Impertinances of Some people, and who Seem to Exclaim against him tho' I believe without a Cause.

- Samuel Eveleigh, October 19, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 87)

History fails to credit Thomas Causton for being essentially an Everyman thrust into a position he was not prepared for. Causton was left in an impossible situation; with no training and no experience, he was thrust into the role of acting governor of the Georgia province, while serving in addition as Storekeeper, judge, sometimes records keeper, husband, father and guardian; yet managed to juggle all these roles—with varying degrees of success—for four years. As Samuel Eveleigh soberly remarked to Oglethorpe by the spring of 1735:

Mr Causton hath his Faults as all men have, but [I] must assure you tis the Common Vogue that he was the most Capable of Such an Office than any men in the Province when you went off, but he has too much business to Act in both Capacities as Magistrate & Storekeeper.

- Samuel Eveleigh, May 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 344)

In September of 1733 Francis Scott had been the civil administrator, Peter Gordon first bailiff and Joseph Hughes storekeeper... two years later, by September of 1735, Thomas Causton held the titles of all three.

In June, 1735 an anonymous correspondent dedicated a six-count complaint to the Trustees entirely on the subject of Causton. While remarking that "if the Jury does not bring a Verdict pleasing to him they are Called Traytors &c." and vilifying him in other similar counts, the correspondent did nonetheless bring up a salient point, taking a moment to ponder the legality or wisdom of one man holding so many offices.

That the Storekeeper & Superintendant Should at the Same time be Chief Bailiff prevents redress in ye Court of Justice for any reasonable Complaint relating to the Store or Publick Works....

It is the Oppinion even of his Friends that one of those Employ [duties] is Enough to take up all his Time and that both is more than he Can menage.

- Anonymous, June 5, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 374)

Whether or not there was a conflict of interest in one man holding every official office, certainly, remains a valid point. But so, too, do the considerations of his character, which became increasingly shrill as time went along. He was abrasive, often inflexible; he accrued enemies and never looked back; he invested in personal crusades that did not serve him well, but all the while honestly seems to have believed he was doing right. Of course, the very same could be said for Oglethorpe; it was no wonder the two men remained loyal to one another for so long; and no wonder, too, that when the Trustees finally took action against Thomas Causton in the Great Purge of 1738 it was seen as a thinly veiled slap at Oglethorpe.

Causton was also dealing, on a personal note, with a blossoming niece, who, by 1736 was being stalked by a convicted felon. And for the better part of four years, he was forced to contend with issues of growing social unrest and a population that continued to make a mockery of order. It was a battle he won during 1734 but essentially lost in 1735. As he wrote between the cusp of those two years: "Till now, I had maintained the publick peace, with some Ease." (*CRG XX*, p. 176) But that Ease fell apart in 1735, as unrest scaled new heights. "Many people here are much altered in their Manners and behaviour," he observed by July. (p. 439) He requested to step down upon Oglethorpe's return in February of 1736, but Oglethorpe—the Savannah settlement no longer his focus—refused to let Causton go.

And then there were the punishments. Facing a recalcitrant populace, Causton vowed in a July 7, 1735 correspondence: "I am sensible that Malitious People invent Reproachfull Tales of me, But tho' I am very Cautious of exposing the Reputation of those who come at the Trustees Expencc, I shall never be afraid of punishing and threatening those Guilty of Crimes." (*CRG XX*, p. 440) Say what one will about the intentional absence of vetted attorneys, the nascent court system of Georgia inevitably left itself (and Causton) open to the charge of arbitrary proceedings.

Thus, while the nation at home was amused with the fame of the happiness and flourishing of the colony, and of its being *free from lawyers of any kind*, the poor miserable settlers and inhabitants were exposed to as *arbitrary* a government as Turkey or Muscovy ever felt.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 58

In 1735 Thomas Causton wrote to the Trustees of Joseph "Watson's Party...who still maintain their Caballs in full Assurance of Mr Gordon's promises, which I chose to wink at." (*CRG XX*, p. 304) Joseph Watson had an entourage of the town's malcontents. Causton described the members of these "Caballs," such as they were, in the following terms.

Mr [John] Coats is a great Sollicitour, and an Assertor of Watson's Grievances for which he has many Reprimands. De Peiba the jew [Aaron Depiva?], will be nibbling but is as yett Sly enough to Avoid a Punishment. Watkins the Surgeon is his Secretary. Robert Parker Senior and Robert Parker Junior, [John] Wright, and [Isaac] King Clark are Councillours, in their Turns and they all think themselves Eminent Polititians and Scorne to be advised or Submit to Rule. The two

Parkers absolutely Refuse to serve on Jurys or appear in Arms Saying they are Gentlemen and it is beneath them to serve in an Inferior Court.

- Thomas Causton, March 24, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 283-4)

In June, following the arrival of the Trustees' order for the continued confinement of Watson, his "Councillour" Robert Parker responded:

Your orders read Yesterday in the Case of Capt Watson. I hope before this time the Authentick Acctts sent by the Revd Mr Quincy and others are arrived and you see things in a diferent light to what Prodest that Order wch hope will be a motive for you to recall the same. Confinement to a Mans own Roome heare with Winders & Dore's Nailed Down as in Capt Watsons case in so hot a Country may be lookt upon as Sure tho not a suden Death. Itts the opinion of most People he deserves no such usage but on the Contrary these things are trumpt upon him purely to defraude him of his Just Right in his Partnership. There never was a Colloney so truely Misserable as this will be....

- Robert Parker, June 3, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 373)

But if Causton seemed amused at the play-acting of Watson's team as lawyers, men with more weighty credentials would begin showing up on the Georgia's doorstep by 1736.

Samuel Eveleigh attempted to explain his perception of Savannah's court problems in a letter to Oglethorpe, equating it to a battle of classes:

I found the People very much divided here like Court & Country in England. The Magistrates & the better Sort as I take it of one side. The Populacy if I may So Call em with a few of the better Sort on the other. I find if any person wants any thing of Mr Caustons and he refuses them tho it be unreasonable & contrary to his Instructions they presently turn Grumbletonians & Side & herd with one another as in the Corporal Body if there is a wound in the Leg all the Malignant humours will Imediately fly to that Place. If a Person has a Tryal with another the Looser Imediately Exclaims, nay I observed when I was last here, that after a Tryal both Parties were disatisfy'd and both Reflected Chiefly on Mr Causton, for as he is the Chief Magistrate all the Reproaches Seem to be Levelled at him.

- Samuel Eveleigh, May 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 344)

Nor were Thomas Causton's constables any great help. John Coates—as seen above, a supporter of Watson—openly disobeyed Causton. Noble Jones seemed completely disinterested.

In pledging his "Unanimity wth Mr Causton for the support of Order & Government," an exhausted Thomas Christie wrote by 1735:

The many surprising Attempts made to disturb the peace of the Colony & the irregular life of many of Its Inhabitants has required Our utmost Effort.

- Thomas Christie, July 31, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 455)

And even in Ebenezer, word would occasionally filter back of the bizarre goings on in Savannah. In June of 1737 Leonard Rauner (*Purrysburg* #28) jotted off a note to Bolzius.

Rauner wrote from Savannah, where he has gone to work, concerning some affairs of the world; and he also let me know that he had never in his life witnessed such licentious and evil doings as were going on in that town.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

The Early Malcontents

Robert Parker I

“If I had People to help me I could build several Mills. If we had half a dozen we could employ them all.” So boasted an optimistic Robert Parker upon his arrival in Georgia in early 1734. “I have resolved to build all my Mills... in Georgia.” (CRG XX, p. 49) Parker had arrived in the September Embarkation, on the second arrival of the *James*. Also aboard the vessel was a letter to Oglethorpe by Martyn, recommending for Parker a town lot.

Sir

The Trustees recommend the Bearer of this Mr. Robert Parker (lately an Alderman of Lynn) to be put under Christie's Grant in the Town of Savannah if there is room; or else to have fifty Acres set out for him for which a particular Grant must be made.

- Benjamin Martyn, September 26, 1733 (CRG XXIX, p. 20-1)

“I like my Present Scituation verey well,” he wrote to Robert Hucks (CRG XX, p. 134) Speaking of “my Former condition of Life,” Parker explained to Hucks that “I have formerly upon my own foundation as a Merct Employed almost as many People as is in the Colony.” (p. 132) As son and namesake Robert Junior wrote in early 1735: “My Father was few Years Since a Very Eminent Merchant, but Misfortunes at Sea & Treachery at home proved his Ruin.” But as the younger man assured his in-law correspondent: “He is Now in this place & has Erected a fine Saw Mill which will turn to good Acct.” (p. 208)

Robert Parker Senior was patriarch and provider to a large brood. To Oglethorpe he remarked: “I have a large Family of Eleven Children.” (p. 250) To Robert Hucks he made reference to “my Large Family of Eleven Children,” while reminding him a few paragraphs later: “I have Severell Children;” (p. 132-3) and in case Hucks had forgotten by the next year, he happened to mention: “I have a Wife and Eleven Children.” (p. 371) While his wife remained in England, three of those children came to Georgia with him, including sons Robert and Edward (*Savannah* #103, 102) and daughter Elizabeth (*Prince of Wales* #73).

Oglethorpe's brief acquaintance with Parker was marred by word that leaked back to him of Parker's association with the less-than-reputable chaplain for the Independent Company, Edward Dyson. We'll encounter Dyson later, he's hard to miss. But as Parker acquitted himself: “I had a little acquaintance with him at Charles Towne.” Another issue the fact that Parker refused to take part in guard duty, a requirement of all freeholders.

As Francis Moore observed in early 1736: “Near the river side there is a guard house inclosed with palisades a foot thick where there are nineteen or twenty cannons mounted, and a continual guard kept by the freeholders.” (*Voyage to Georgia*, p. 20) Indeed, in a letter quoted within the July 2, 1734 *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* the correspondent noted “That a guard was set

every night by turns, in which Mr Oglethorpe took his turn regularly, as an example to the rest, to prevent murmuring.”

The earliest guard house building did not survive 1733, burning to the ground in the summer. In his September 17, 1733 letter to the Trustees, Oglethorpe remarked that the Warren family’s “Goods burnt when the Guard House was fired.” (*CRG XX*, p. 36)

But a year later a new and better one had arisen out of the ashes. “Our gard Hous is feneshed & is veary tite,” John West wrote to the Trustees by October of 1734. (p. 81-2) “There is a Strong fort belt round itt & 13 guns mounted beefore itt.”

Thomas Christie, too, couldn’t help but boast of the new guard house in his December 14, 1734 letter: “We have Finished the New Guard house, mounted four peices on New Large Carriages handsomely painted besides five pieces fixt in a Platform & designed for a Salute, besides four others on ye old Carriages.” (p. 123) But guard-duty remained an occasional gripe for many of the freeholders.

But this was not at all the case in his instance, Parker claimed. Instead, Parker insisted that it was his sons’ overprotective nature that forbade him from the duty. “As to my bearing Armes[,] while I had Sons they would not permitt it while they could do it for me. The duty was never neglected,” he assured Robert Hucks. (p. 133) Given the hindsight of 20/20, however, this excuse seems to not pass muster, in that son Robert Parker, Junior, not only commonly refused guard and jury duty but was fined for not taking part.

Issues of civic responsibility aside, in a November 20, 1734 correspondence to Oglethorpe, as Parker’s mill began to grow, Samuel Eveleigh noted that “Mr Parker told me that he was building of a Saw Mill, and Spoak with Something of an Assurance that it would do.” (*CRG XX*, p. 108) That confidence that it “would do” marked a contrast to Thomas Christie’s prediction made less than a month later that it “is believed by Workmen” that Parker’s mill “will never answer.” (p. 123)

By December 24, 1734, Robert Parker wrote to Hucks, announcing, “Plese to informe the Gentlemen [the mill] is at Worke.”

And I hope in a few daye to Cut Eight Hundred or a Thousand Foott of Timber a Day and when I make an addition hope more than to double it. After furnishing the Demand at Savannah and the other Settlements & Purisburg hope to ship off large quantiteys for the Sugar Islands.

- Robert Parker, December 24, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 133)

But his sales pitch wasn’t done: “Besides I expect to furnish London with Thousands of Foott for Floring of the finest Cleare stuff that ever was imported.” He was essentially reflooring the offices at the Georgia Board before the mill was even finished. But as he assured Hucks: “One branch of my business was the Norway trade so that I pretende to understand it as well as anybody.”

Pretend, perhaps, was just the word Causton might have agreed with as he wrote of the mill by January: “It has begun to work, But whether it will Answer his Ends, is I find a question.” (p. 171) He observed further: “I believe he has been at great Charges and is in Debt about it.”

As to the location of the mill, “I had liberty before Witness from Mr Oglethorpe to Erect my Mill Worke either in the Salts or up the River where I pleas for my Own conveniency,” Parker claimed. (p. 132) The location seems to have troubled Causton.

I must not Omitt Mentioning That Mr Robert Parker Senr has fixt his Mill about 8 miles up [Abercorn] Creek where ther is a Bluffe of about 12 feet high and plenty of Pine.... When I knew of it, I advised Mr Jones to go and See it, who told him, That he must not meddle with the Timber without Lycense, And I suppose he has petitioned Your Honours for Such Lycense.

- Thomas Causton, January 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 171)

“I have had Some trouble with the two Mr Parkers,” Noble Jones wrote by July, 1735. Serving both as Ranger and as attorney to the Yamacraws, it was Jones’ duty to forbid the cutting of trees outside of the Common without license. “As Ranger I Do My Constant endeavour to prevent any Depredations being Comited in Any Part of the Province perticulary the Cuting down Cyprus, & live Oak Trees.” (p. 428) But more than that, if the location seemed troubling to Causton it proved even more so to Jones, who as he learned of its placement couldn’t shake the feeling he had been duped by Parker.

“Soon after Mr Oglethorpe was Gone Mr Parker Came to Me as I was Going Up Savannah River and Desired a Pasage with me to Purrisburgh,” Jones explained to the Trustees.

In the Passage we had Some Discourse about his Mill, and As we Came between litle Yamasee & Purrysburgh there it is a Short Cutt of Creek, we Att his Desire Stopt and view’d it well. He resolved he said to Erect his mill there.... I told him it was Contrary to Mr Oglethorpes Directions to me, but that... if Petition’d [to the Trustees] he need nott Doubt a Grant. He said he had private instructions that wou’d protect him farther than thatt.

- Noble Jones, July 1, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 414)

“I heard No More of it for I believe 6 weeks or 2 Months when one Day being in Town Mr Causton Ask’t Me If I knew where Mr Parker had sett his Mill[.] I told him I Suppos’d in the above Creek. He said he was inform’d otherways for that it was in Abercorne River Somewhere Above the Town.”

We Mett Mr Rob’t Parker Junr who we Askt abt it, he Said it was So & that his father had instructions from Mr Oglethorpe to Sett it where he pleas’d. I desir’d to know if it were Possible to see those Instructions, he Said they were verbal. I then Said Mr Parker had Acted Ungenerously with Me for So Doing.

“I Shou’d Now Much fear,” Jones considered, “whether the Trustees would Not be Very Angry with Me, If I Shou’d Not Stop itt.” (p. 415) But the Junior Robert Parker, as hot tempered as his father—and moreover, Lieutenant in the Independent Company—threatened to mobilize his force of men against the magistrates to protect his father’s claim.

He in a heat told Us that he was a Lieutenant and [had] Men Under his Command [&] that he wou’d protect his father, and Dispute his Title Other where. Mr Causton and Myself both told him

that Passion Nor his Command wou'd Avail but Litle, that I was Sure I cou'd easily Raise a Stronger force to Defend & maintain the law & lawfull commands... but that Since his father had Unadvisedly begun, it wou'd be his best Way to Pettition to Yr Honours for a Grant of Some land at that place with Leave for his Mill.

This encounter in particular, seems to have been on Causton's mind as he wrote months later to the Trustees that "I am Sorry, that I have Still occasion to complain of the Conduct of too many of the Military Officers."

As most of them are unskilled in Military Exercise, they Ridicule those who would Enforce it But are Ambitious enough, at the same time to Sett up the Military Power in Opposition to the Civill and will by no means think of it Conjunctively.

- Thomas Causton, July 7, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 440-1)

When confronted by Jones, the elder Robert Parker was even more obstinate than his son, who threatened simple military force... Parker Senior threatened the Wrath of God. According to Jones, the older gentleman claimed "that his Interest was So good with the Trustees, that it was out of the Power of any Man, to hinder any thing he Desired."

Noble Jones described to the Trustees what he found at Mill Bluff.

Mr Causton Desired Me to give Your Honours A Discription of the Mill and its Scituation. First as to the Mill, there is Nothing New in the Design, it is Not on flotes, as he pretended he wou'd Sett it, but Yet if he had Employ'd good workmen or Understood Work himself, it Might have Answer'd. But he wou'd take No Advise, So that in ye Oppinion of Me & Every one here that have Any knowledge of Workmanship, there is No part except ye water wheel (which is well made) fit for Such a Use, and that if he Shou'd ever Set it to work the whole wou'd tumble to Peices, before it had Cut half the Stuff as wou'd pay for the Building.

- Noble Jones, July 1, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 417)

In the meantime, Causton's concern that Parker was already in debt proved true. By February 14, 1735 he was writing to the Trustees requesting financial assistance. By March 8 he wrote again, seeking an office under the Trustees, anything that offered a salary. By June he was admitting failure, but casting all of the blame upon the magistrates. "The Mill by her sawing would have Daily brought me in Four or Five pound Stirling," he lamented to Robert Hucks. (p. 370) Again reflecting on his imaginary worldwide lumber trade, the mill, he claimed, could have supplied...

the Sugar Islands with all Materials for Building and the returns to be made from thence. And the great quantitys of fine Clear Deals that might [have] been sent for England and Sold to an Extraordinary price, wch with the Situation I have mentioned I would a made it one of the finest & most Valuable Plantations In America.

He concluded bitterly: "All this after bringing it to so great Perfection is Ruined and overturned at once by the Villany of the Present Magistrates of this place." He admitted in a separate letter to the Trustees that the mill had run four times his estimated cost, that he had even gone to Charlestown to respond to creditors; "my Workes being near four Times as much as what I proposd to Mr Oglethorpe." (*CRG XX*, p. 372)

But even in this letter he engaged in hyperbole, waxing poetic to the Trustees that “I pleased myself with the Hopes of your ready compliance and that in a very little time I might have had (taking everything together) a Plantation that would have emulated with any for Beauty & Proffitt in these parts of the Worlde.”

But the real “Worlde” crashed around him as he stepped into Savannah and found himself arrested for debt.

But coming down to Savannah instead of meeting with the Kinde reception and Incouridgment I thought I had highly merrited, I was stopt and Arrested from going off the Bluff by a Warrant from the Magestrates for two Trifling Debts and to answer to such things as the Court should alledge against me.

- Robert Parker, June 3, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 373)

“Mr Causton might and ought to payd and dissharged the Debts,” Parker insisted, “he having about this time 12 month to serve the Use of the Colloney taken from me a lott in Towne with all the Improvements I had made upon it, and given it to another Person.”

The other person in question was Thomas Jones. The *List of Early Settlers* records that Parker was granted lot 133, in Heathcote ward, but he quickly laid designs on Lot K, the north-east Trust Lot of Decker Ward instead. “Mr Oglethorpe gave, if confirmed by the Trust, a Trust Lott marked K in the Draft of the Towne Plot in the Large Book,” he wrote to Robert Hucks. “I should be glad to be confirmed in it and hopes the Termes will be made verrey easey to me.” (CRG XX, p. 132) In truth, Robert Parker proved a great fan of the “verbal grant,” and made use of it to claim the situation for his mill AND lot K, as well. Whether or not Oglethorpe had actually granted him that lot before dashing back to England, Parker clearly believed he had... unfortunately, Oglethorpe had already promised the same lot to Indian negotiator Thomas Jones. By his December 14, 1734 letter Thomas Christie wrote to Oglethorpe of Jones bringing a “Writ of Ejectment for his Lot wch was possessed by Mr Robert Parker.” (p. 122-3) As Mary Musgrove explained to Oglethorpe:

There has been a great Dispute about the Lot that You was pleased to give the Grant of to Thomas Jones, and since You have given it to Mr. Parker Gent.... Jones is returned home. He finds he had lost it so there has been a Court Business about it, for Mr. Jones does insist upon that very Lot or else none; and the Court has considered upon it and was so good as to give it to him again.

- Mary Musgrove, July 17, 1734 (GRG XX, p. 64)

Parker sulked: “Mr Oglethorpe gave me a Lott for House &c wch I inclosd in [&] built a Large Workshop Saw Pitts &c at a very great Expencc for my Workmen about the Mill, wch since has been... taken away by our Court to gratifie one that went up to the Indian Nation.” (p. 132) But Causton justified the action, because Parker, in a huff, renounced his lot rather than serve on juries or perform the civic responsibility of guard duty. “The two [Robert] Parkers absolutely Refuse to serve on Jurys or appear in Arms,” Causton wrote, “Saying they are Gentlemen and it is beneath them to Serve in an Inferior Court.”

I told him I would fine him & he imediately declared he would quitt his Town Lott which prevented his being troubled any more on that head. And upon this Occasion it was, That Tommy Jones being Resolved to Claim his Right to the same Town Lott, the Court gave way to the Prosecution.

- Thomas Causton, March 24, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 284)

In short, Parker “had Verbally relinquished his Lott” during a tantrum against being “fined for not Serving as a jury man,” Causton explained in a second letter to the Trustees. “An Action of Trespass and Ejectment was brought against Parker by Jones, to wch Parker refused to Appear and a Verdict passed against him for the Possession.” (p. 438) To Robert Parker, it was just another example of “Caustons ill and Pernicious measures” that had left him without land, without a mill, without a house lot and in debt. He concluded to the Trustees: “There never was a Colloney so truely Misserable as this will be should things want a redress for a little time longer nor more markes of Tyrany and Slavery to be product.” (p. 373)

By 1736 Parker was back in England, at the offices of the Georgia Board, demanding recompense.

8 Sept. [1736]...

Robert Parker a Saucy fellow who formerly was an Alderman of Lyn in Norfolk and transported on the charity acct. to Georgia, having lately run away from the Colony appear'd [at the offices of the Trustees], and made heavy complaints against Mr. Causton that he had ruin'd him by not advancing him money to compleat a Saw Mill which would have yielded him 1000 £p. ann. Also that he would not Suffer him to leave the Province. He concluded with desiring the Trust to advance him money, being in debt, and in danger of arrest.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 198

“We bid him put his request in writing & bring it next fryday,” Percival observed. And indeed, two days later Parker was again “blustering”⁸ before the Trustees:

10 Septbr....

Robert Parker again attended to See if he could obtain money from us, either by gift or loan. We told him he was already indebted 80 £ to the Trust advanced him towards erecting his Sawmill.... He then desired we would contribute to him out of our private purses, but none of us were inclined thereto.

- p. 199

“He was very blustering and indecent,” Percival noted, “and again complained the Magistrates of Savanna had been unjust and cruel to him in ruining his project of a Saw Mill.” In his November 10, 1736 *Diary* entry, still with the meetings fresh in his mind, Percival called Parker, “This coxcomb, the vainest fool and knave together I ever knew.” (vol. 2, p. 306)

Robert Parker’s time in Georgia was over. But his son was still in Trustee Georgia.

Robert Parker II

Robert Parker, Junior, introduced himself to the Trustees in the following manner:

I was one of the No that came over in the Savannah, Lionell Wood Commander. We Sayld down the River Septemr 15th & Arriv'd Decr 16 following 1733. Mr. Oglethorpe sent me up to the Pallachuckolas in Aprill where I continued till call'd down [by] Capt. Mackay on the latter end of May & presented with a Commission from Mr Oglethorpe appointing me Lieutenant of the Independant Company. In Compliance wth it I went up to Josephs Town where I found the Soldiers employ'd in Hewing Sawg Clearing Land &c.

But his tenure as Lieutenant in the Independent Company was plagued by a combination of sickness and simple bad luck, as he remarked to the Trustees that, "I bought a Horse for the Indian Journey wch cost me £ st 7 wch was Drown'd Crossing the Savannah River before I saw him." (p. 215)

He explained the illness which attended him: On July "22d... I came down from Josephs Town in a High Fever.... most of the Soldiers fell Ill, wch some ascribe to their being over Work'd, tho I rather think it Proceeded from the Badness of their Provision." (p. 214)

Captain Patrick Mackay, too, wrote of a scene of disarray as he returned to Josephs Town: "But when I arriv'd at Josephstown I was truely Confounded to finde my Carpenter and two other white Servants had dyed, All my men either down of the fever or but So Weakly Recover'd the One could not help the Other; and told Lieut Parker lay ill in Savannah." (p. 111)

Parker noted that while in Savannah his "Life was Despair'd off." Mackay worried of the fate of the Independent Company's doctor, who had also fallen ill.

I went down to Savannah, where I found both the Lieut and Surgeon much worse then I expected, and the Lieutenant then notified to me he would not in health goe into the Indian Natione, And therefor desired I would look out for any other would Accept of the Commissione.

- Patrick Mackay, November 20, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 111)

As Parker explained: "Capt Mackay came up again Sept 16 when I was somewt recoverd, but finding my State of Health wd not Permitt, & I was thereby rendered Incapable to Serve the Colony. I Desir'd Him to Provide Himself with another Lieutenant." (p. 214)

As a replacement, James Burnside recommended Adrian Loyer, "who once served in the Store.... I contented myself with Mr Loyer," Patrick Mackay concluded, adding soberly: "tho its my Opinion he is one, no more of a Warlick disposition then his predecessor. (p. 112) Adrian Loyer (*Purrysburg* #56) was happy for the commission: "May it please your honour To Receive my humble & hearty thanks," he wrote to Oglethorpe on January 5, 1735. "The Lieutenancy in Capt. Mackay's Independent Company being Vacant by the yeilding up of... Robt Parker Junior some day in October last I was presented with it." (p. 156)

In the meantime, Robert Parker married into a gentleman's grant. "In Sept [1734] I Married the Widow of Mr Sale, by wch I am become posses'd of your Honours Grant of 500 Acres of Land wth Six Stout Men Servants &c," he wrote to the Trustees. (p. 214-5) Will Sale, his wife and at least four servants had arrived only months before, on the *Purrysburg*, but he quickly expired. As Parker explained: "Mr Wm Sale Died the 8th of July."

"Robert Parker Jun having married the Widow Sale gave up his Commission and Mr Adrian Loyer is made Lieutenant," Causton noted to the Trustees. (p. 171) He observed as well that upon her husband's death the widow Sale was at first prepared to leave Georgia: "Upon the Death of Mr Sale, His Widow resolved to go to England." (p. 256) But as circumstances changed and she found another husband, Causton noted wryly:

She Soon after changed her mind, with respect to her going to England, and married Robert Parker Junr who upon that Marriage gave up his Commission and preferred Idleness and Luxury above the Service of his Country.

- Thomas Causton, March 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 257)

Parker, for his part, explained the marriage in a letter to his wife's brother:

Sr

As Women in a New Colony are the Very Sinews of it Your Sister being left a Widow & Designing to leave this place, I thought I cou'd Not do my Self or the Settlement a greater Service than by laying an Embargo Upon her by Way of Marriage, which I in a few Months put in practice & have Now the Happiness of Calling you Brother.

- Robert Parker, Jr., January 30, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 208)

But he added as well words of discontent to his brother-in-law regarding the state of the colony: "Wtever is given out in England in praise of this place is Generally false & people are much Deceived when they come here."

Having retired from the service, he explained his intended new trade to his brother-in-law: "I intend to go About Making Pot Ash," he wrote, noting with contempt: "As soon as I can Get any land (which I have been kept out of by the Indolence of our Publick Surveyor & by which am in a fair way of loosing £ st 150)." Indeed, one of Parker's biggest complaints was the apparent negligence of Noble Jones in laying out his lands. He first wrote to the Trustees on February 1, 1735:

My Wife Order'd Mr Jones (the Publick Surveyor appointed Mr Oglethorpe) to Run out her Land in August Last wch He often Promis'd & as often Falsify'd his Word. Since our Marriage I have not left Importuning Him, but to no Purpose.

- Robert Parker, Jr., February 1, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 215)

"My Land is not Yet run out nor do I know when it will," he lamented. Complaints of Noble Jones were nothing new. As early as December, 1734, Thomas Christie wrote to Oglethorpe, complaining that "The People have greatly Complain'd of Late for want of knowing the Bounds of their Lotts."

I have often Spoke to Mr Jones to Send you the Plan & keep a Journal of the Lands that he runs out wch I could never obtain. Indeed I dont wonder at it for I believe little has been runn'd out Since your departure till very Lately.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 120)

Samuel Mercer complained to the Trustees of Jones' apparent negligence too:

When the Esqr [Oglethorpe] Left this place Mr Jones our Surveyor promised him that our Lands Should be Run out and that Every man Should now [know] his Land, but we never any Run out yett nor do not know when we Shall which is very hard upon a great many people.

- Samuel Mercer, April 25, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 326)

And so did Thomas Gapan, who hoped "Your Honrs will please to Excuse me in Applying to the honourable Board," as he went over Jones' head in asking the Trustees for assistance:

we have been 2 Years without Seeing our 45 Acre Lotts[,] we may be as much more unless your Honrs please to order it otherwise. I have made Several Applications to Mr Jones and Mr Causton to have my Lott run out, and abundance have done the same, but to no Purpose.

- Thomas Gapan, June 13, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 390)

Joseph Hetherington, also waiting almost two years, made a polite reference that could not have escaped the Trustees' notice by this time, hoping that "Mr Jones would be so good as to run our Other lands out, wee haveing no more then One hundred & twenty five Acres apiece as yet." (p. 277)

Even the Senior Robert Parker chimed in:

The Settlements at Abercorn & Skedeway, for Want of their Lands being run out, to know Where to clear & Plant, have nothing to do but bemoan themselves.... The former Place was but the last Week run out by the Surveyer, but whether Skedeway be yet done, I am a stranger to, but have heard very lately great Complaints for want of its being allotted.

- Robert Parker, January 4, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 140)

Poor opinion of Jones spread as far away as Ebenezer, where Bolzius, who rarely lashed out, referred to him in unfavorable terms, stating, "the Surveyor Jones is a lazy, selfish, and hostile man." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 158)

The younger Parker was indignant, given his time in the colony and his inherited gentleman's grant. He quipped to Peter Gordon: "I think 'tis very hard seeing I have been here this 12 Months and been 6 Months in Possession of the Honble Trustees Grant to Mr Wm Sale for 500 Acres & tho' I have offer'd Mr Jones 5 Guineas above the Comon Rate to Run out my Land I can't get it done." (*CRG XX*, p. 243)

As the Trustees received these complaints they were alarmed and assumed a strong posture with Jones in a May 15, 1735 correspondence, demanding a reply to these charges. "If these Complaints are true," Martyn warned Jones, "the Trustees think You have been guilty of unaccountable Negligence, which has been already, and may for the future be attended with very bad Consequences." (*CRG XXIX*, p. 71)

Jones replied in a lengthy letter on July 1, dismissing most of the claims: "I have Run ye land of Most of the people who have any title here at present and hope 'ere long to finish, which I had Done before Now had I Not had ye Misfortune, of Being Weak handed, Occassioned by ye Sickness & Death of Servants." (*CRG XX*, p. 418)

In the case of Parker, he noted with some contempt the "bribe" offered by Parker. "He came & Demand'd Such land in his Own Name Afterward Offer'd Me as a present five Guineas beside my fees." (p. 416) Jones quipped, "I Shou'd have been willing to have Done it without a bribe as with."

But, according to Jones, there were other complications; the Sale grant had been intended for Skidaway, but as he wrote to the Trustees, Parker "wou'd Not live on the Salts," claiming "that wou'd Not Do for him," and that Parker insisted that "Mr Sales Grant Entituled him to five hund

Acres of land where Ever he thought fit.” (p. 415) According to Jones, by December, though, the young Parker seems to have had a change of heart.

About the begining of December last, he Came to Me, that Now he had a Mind to go and Live on the Salts provided the place pleas'd him. I Acquainted him that in A Day or two I was going to Scidowa that I wou'd at the Same Time go and Shew the place. Accordingly we went, but when We Came to Scidawaa he told me in Short terms, he wou'd Let Nobody Choose for him, so he took one of the Scout boat men to Pilott him.

- Noble Jones, July 1, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 416)

“Away he went,” Jones observed. In the meantime, he assured the Trustees, “I was finishing for ye People at Scidwa,” when Parker returned two days later. Though he had a plot in mind, Jones turned him down for lack of a licence. Denied his request a furious Parker swept “in that passion” back to Savannah, as Jones added: “but as I was inform'd [he] Vented a litle More of his Spleen at thunderbolt” first.

He flew in a passion, Used Much Scurrilous Language Concerning Mr Oglethorpe and the Settlement, Said he wou'd Not have any land in this Province... and if I run any land for him he wou'd Not take it.

At an impasse with Jones over the issue of land, and not favoring the land to the east, the young Parker took matters into his own hands, concentrating on the lands to the west of Savannah and choosing to settle on the land near his father's mill. As he explained to Peter Gordon, having encountered nothing but frustration running through the proper channels, he “thought I might Settle any where, where the land was not allready Run out as my Father had some Months agoe written the Trust that I had allready taken my Land there upon Acct of His Mill.” (p. 243)

I went up to my Fathers Mill & began to Clear land & built a large Convenient Hutt for the Reception of my Wife & Family; butt Mr Causton, Jones, & Capt. Dunbar coming up to see the Mill, the Two former told me that if I offer'd to settle there they wd chop or burn down my Hut & oppose me to the Utmost. They being so possitive against all I could alledge, I again remov'd my Servts & Household Goods for Savannah.

- Robert Parker, Jr., March 2, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 242-3)

Captain George Dunbar, commander of the *Prince of Wales*, had been invited by the Senior Robert Parker to witness the mill. As Robert Parker, Senior, wrote to the Trustees: “I wrote for Capt Dunbar to come before his departure and View my Workes.” (p. 372) Dunbar was escorted by Causton; the two of them were joined at the last minute by Jones.

Noble Jones, who had not seen the younger Parker since he stormed away from Skidaway, was surprised to find the young man had gone renegade. “When going up with Mr Causton & Capt Dunbar, to See his fathers Mill I found he had taken possession and Said he was Resolved to keep it, I told him that he Must Not do that, without Such licence, as I had before Urged him.” (p. 416) When Parker disagreed with his assessment Jones informed him it was within his duty to remove the illegal structure. “At length Mr Causton Advised him, Not to be Angry with Me, for I only Did my Duty, and that if I pull'd his building Down it was No More than a Discharge of Such Duty.” (CRG XX, p. 417)

In a letter to the Trustees, calling Parker's accusations against Jones "groundless," Causton took issue with Parker's erratic character, complaining that he was of an unsettled "mind concerning his Land by his Wife's Grant...."

Sometimes agreeing (to Orders) for the Land near Thunderbolt according to the Priority of Landing & Grants; At other times absolutely refusing all Lands except at Skidoway; And since that resolved to have it, where his Father has thought fitt to Erect a Mill and no where else.

- Thomas Causton, March 10, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 260)

As Causton explained the incident: "I thought it necessary to accompany Mr Dunbar to see his Father's Mill because many reports that had been raised about it."

When we were there, the Young Gentleman shewed us his Hut which he was building; I made no answer to that; But Mr Jones I believe did tell him That if he thought he did not intend to get Lycence, he would pull it down. At which he was displeased, & said he would go to England. I advised him not to be Angry, for if Mr Jones pulled it now down, he did but his Duty.

His financial situation was as precarious as his father's. By March of 1735 he was writing to Peter Gordon, in Charlestown, seeking a cash advance "from any Man in Charles Town," against a £ 50 Bill offered him by "Mr Woodward of Port Royall." (p. 243) He itemized his losses to the Trustees, arguing that it was unfair that he was docked £6 for 3 months of illness in the service, and that the £7 on the drowned horse combined with the losses of not being able to cultivate his land made him a "looser this Year" of £127. As he sulked: "Poor Encouragement to leave England for Georgia." (p. 215)

'Anonymous'

"From an Evil Tree no good Fruit Can be Expected." So wrote 'Anonymous' to the Trustees in a correspondence dated June 5, 1735. (CRG XX, p. 375)

Your Generous Endeavours for the Publick Good and the many Christian Vertues that adorn your Person are two great reasons for Laying at yor Lordships Feet in the most Humble manner the Grievances of the Colony.

- "Anonymous," June 5, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 374)

This was the opening of a letter addressed to John Percival and written by a correspondence identified only as 'Anonymous.' With six points of issue, it presented complaints against Thomas Causton. Not surprisingly, given the note was unsigned, it also went unacknowledged in any of Percival's literature, though certainly he received it.

'Anonymous' primary complaint seems in retrospect a valid one: that Causton's authority was beyond the measure anyone had the ability to wield or even *should* have had the ability to wield; "that the Storekeeper & Superintendant Should at the Same time be Chief Bailiff" represented a conflict of interest and prevented any redress against complaints about matters civil, public or in regards to the store. "This his Power is so great in relation to Publick Works & othr Affairrs that he may Bypass the Jury." (p. 374) "People Compain sadly," Anonymous wrote, "and indeed, not without reason." (p. 377)

Another particularly alarming claim made by Anonymous was “that People Houses are Searched & their Papers Examined to See if any Complain to the Honbe the Trustees.” (p. 375) But in this claim Anonymous was not alone. Elizabeth Bland made a similar claim.

“At Carolina I heard So terable a Charicter of Georgia that I resolv’d never to See it,” the Widow Bland wrote to the Trustees in a June 14, 1735 correspondence. “When I came to Georga Mr Causton promisd not to detain me against my Will, but to my great Surprise I have lost my liberty & must not return home [to England] without leav from the Trustees.” That the colonists were not supposed to vacate the colony without the expressed consent of the Trustees or their Georgia representatives was true, but Bland seemed terrified as she took the threat very literally. “In Short it’s a very hell upon Earth,” she wrote. “I beg & intreat Your orders for my deliverance as soon as possible.” (p. 394)

Causton’s counter-argument to the Trustees: “Mrs Bland and her Son arrived at Charles Town. She was so frighted with idle Storeys, that I thought she would not have come near me.” Causton was insistent that he had done her no harm. “I have taken a house for her, and advanced her a little money, But she is very troublesom to the whole Place and every one believes her to be mad.” (p. 440)

She pleaded to the Trustees: “Oh Sr send for us home or we Shall Certainly loose our lives in this terable place,” she wrote. “I would rather serve my betters in England rather than to be a Slave to such ville wretches as govern here.” (p. 395) In the letter she makes reference to the possibility that her letter could be seized at any moment. “I cou’d inform You of a great many Affairs You woud be both Glade & very Sorry to hear but [I] dair not write them. In Short I tremble all the time I writ this for Shou’d I be ketch’d writing this I should be made a Close pissoner & allowd Nothing.” (p. 394)

Paul Amatis, too, made reference to this paranoia of having letters seized and opened, explaining to the Trustees in a June 30, 1735 letter: “I have not Sent you my Journl Least it might fall into ye hands of Mr Causton & he Should keep [hold] it back [as] being Hazardous.” Noting that the colonists no longer “have Free Conveyance of Letters,” he further observed: “The People here Look on this as a Grievance not to be born in England & from wch they hope yor Honrs will relieve them.” (p. 410-11)

The elder Robert Parker remarked in a postscript to a June 3, 1735 letter to Robert Hucks that his letters were being sent *via* Charlestown to avoid “the Fate of divers others, Private Houses being strichly searched for fear of advising you or letting you into the Truth of things they still lye there.” (p. 371) As it turns out, Robert Parker was justified in his fears. In a July 1, 1735 correspondence to the Trustees, Constable Noble Jones made a casual reference to Parker’s “letter I happen’d to Seize the Seventh of March last (a Copy of which I Sent Your Honours in Closed in Mr Caustons).” (p. 417)

In actuality, the episode of seized letters seems to have been an isolated incident taking place in the spring of 1735, in the wake of the Red String Plot. And accusations of seized letters do not appear after this time period. Still, as of June, 1735, it made Anonymous’ Point number Six.

On the subject of Parker, the claims of Anonymous bear enough similarities to prior (and future) complaints made by Parker, Amatis and Elisha Dobree, that it is easy to infer that ‘Anonymous’ was a cabal among the three.

Anonymous’ claim that Causton “is Noted for Severities & Revenges to ye Uttermost but not for one Sole Generous good Action,” (p. 375) was not dissimilar to Amatis’ claim—just three weeks later—referring to Causton as “a Man who Seems to think no pleasure so Great as Punishing with the Utmost Severity but Shews no Delight in any Kind Actions.” (p. 409)

On the affair of the Tybee light house, Anonymous claimed that to the detriment of “the Publick Money” the light house “has Cost already near Fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling, & hardly an thing to be Seen for it,” (p. 376) which was a sentiment echoed three weeks later in Amatis’ letter mentioning the “Tybee Light house on wch has been Laid out of the Publick Money abt Fifteen hundred Pounds Sterling & has not Two foot built above Ground.” (p. 410)

Anonymous’ Point Five in the memorial was “that in difficult Cases often a Special Jury is Called ye Majority of wch are Freemasons.” (p. 375) In a correspondence dated one day after Anonymous, Amatis made complaints of numerous people, while noting: “I dont Say because they are Freemasons.” (p. 379) “I am No Free Mason, nor a Member of any Clubb,” he reiterated on July 24. (p. 448) Six months before, Robert Parker had written a four-point memorial. His Point Four also complained of the Freemason contingent. “We have about 30 or 40 Free Masons they have a fine Supper every Satterday Night & often 2 or 3 in the Week besides. Where such an expence can be born I am at a Loss to know.” (p. 141)

If Amatis did indeed have any part as Anonymous, it should be understood he could not have done so without the help of Elisha Dobree. As Amatis explained to the Trustees: “I Employ him to Translate My Letters & Accots from French to English.” (p. 381) Dobree also had a relationship with Robert Parker. In fact, in July of 1735 Dobree asked the Trustees to be appointed with Parker as agents to oversee Causton’s books. “If your Honnours will please to Appoint Commissioners to Examin into the Transactions of ye Stores & the Publick Money, & Name me for one & Mr Robt Parker for another 4 or 5 New Comers & the others few Free masons.” (p. 437) He also opened his January 15, 1735 letter to the Trustees commending Parker’s work to the Trustees. “God grant the Like Success to all,” he wrote. (p. 161)

Anonymous certainly would have agreed.

The Prince of Wales

John West wrote to Oglethorpe in October of 1734, observing how quiet the Savannah harbor had become since Oglethorpe’s departure on the *Aldbrough*, six months before.

Wee have had no Shepe [ship] arived heare Since your Honnor Left us, but we are in Expectasion
Everey Day thow.

- John West, October 12, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 82)

It was true; the contrast between 1733 and 1734 was pronounced. The period between January, 1733 and March, 1734 had seen no fewer than 14 ships bringing Georgia colonists; at the time John West penned in October, there had only been one, and it hadn't even come to Georgia.

Savannah-bound passengers on the *Friendship*

arrived in Charlestown, August 21, 1734

--- Compton, Captain

[compiled from Percival's *List of Early Settlers*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Humphrey Bright | [lot 141, 4th ward] | 2. Andrew Walker | [lot 216, 6th ward] |
|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|

Additional Friendship passengers arriving on their own account:

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 3. William Bateman | | 8. Joseph Wardrope | [lot 211, 6th ward] |
| 4. Mary Bateman (<i>w</i>) | | 9. Jane Wardrope (<i>w</i>) | |
| 5. ? (<i>ser</i>) | | 10. Eleanor (<i>d</i>) | |
| 6. Richard Brooks (<i>ser. to J. Vanderplank</i> *1) | | 11. George Bunkle (<i>ser</i>) | [lot 179, 5th ward] |
| 7. James Haselfoot | [lot 215, 6th ward] | 12. David Jarvee (<i>ser</i>) | |

*1 - John Vanderplank arrived on the *Volante*

William Bateman (#3) quickly found himself without his servant, as he noted: "My Man run away from me at Charles Towne."

I Arrivd here [in Savannah] on Wesnesday the 28th of last month (I thank God in good Health as is at Present the whole Colony) when instead of finding what I heard at Charles Towne I found more ground Cleard, more Houses Built and in a more Regular manner then it was Possible for me to Conceive or Believe.

- William Bateman, September 3, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 75)

Remarking that the people of Charlestown had painted an unflattering picture of the Savannah settlement...

There could be no description of any Place (without the malice of Hell it self) be made so dismall as the People of that Towne endeavour to make Georgia.

... Bateman couldn't help but be pleasantly surprised by Georgia. "I Chose a Country Lot and am going to settle at a Place called Hampsted about 4 miles out of Towne."

But John West had opened the floodgate. His observation that there hadn't been any ships by October 12 jinxed the dry spell, and three ships sailed up the river, as if to chastise his

impatience. Just days after John West's letter, the *James* arrived, one of three ships to comprise Purrysburg's "Great Embarkation." As Isaac Chardon noted in Charlestown: "I Just now received A Letter of The 21 from Mr Causton Who Confirm me of the Safe Arrivall of Capt Yoakley at Georgia with 60 passengers for Purrysbourge." (CRG XX, p. 92) The Savannah River would remain an active hub through the end of the year; the Purrysburg emigration was huge, with three-to-four hundred passengers taking part... and it is worth noting that four colonists who hitched a ride with the Purrysburgers aboard the *James* were Georgia colonists.

Savannah-bound passengers on the *James* (3)

arrived in Savannah, October 21, 1734

James Yoakley, Captain

[compiled from Percival's *List of Early Settlers*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Elizabeth Bush (<i>w. of Edward</i> *1) | 3. Mary Vanderplank (<i>w. of John</i> *2) |
| 2. William Hadley | 4. Mary Michel (<i>ser</i>) |

*1 - Edward Bush arrived on the *Purrysburg*

*2 - John Vanderplank arrived on the *Volante*

The other two ships taking part in the Purrysburg Great Embarkation were the *Peter and James* and the *Simmond*, described in the August 19, 1734 *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* as "a new ship of 150 tons." The disembarkation complete, all three ships remained in Georgia waters into December, evidently bound for Lisbon as their next port after the Georgia coast.

Coll. Purry with his people are all Safe Arrived before this Town the [left blank] as likewise did Capn Yoakley who remain here Still but is almost ready to Depart. The two other Ships are Sailed for Lisbon these 14 days

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 124)

But Captain James Yoakley got caught up in a bizarre episode that is never fully explained. As the vessel prepared for departure, Causton was excited to load exports upon the *James*. "I used my utmost Endeavours to perswade Mr [Samuel] Montaigut to Load two Ships in this River," he wrote. "I could have got the Rice."

But he [Yoakley] Started with so many Difficultys about his Orders for Lisbon, That with much perswasions I got Yoakley to Load here; and he went to Port Royall to Agree with the Colector there to Clear him pursuant to his Lycence for Lisbon.

- Thomas Causton, January 22, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 189)

The exports being loaded onto the *James* were probably intended for London, however it is possible that Causton had the idea to export the rice to Lisbon. Samuel Eveleigh remarked in an October, 1734 correspondence of the "late Act, that gives us Liberty to Transport our Rice

directly to any part of Europe.” (CRG XX, p. 97) And in 1737 Percival observed in his *Diary* that the newly created Spanish embargo would damage what was a significant rice trade from South Carolina to Lisbon. (vol. 2, p. 390)

Nonetheless, whatever port the rice was intended for, Yoakley got into what both Causton and Robert Johnson would later refer to as “a Drunken Frolick” with the Port Royal customs agent. “It happened, that the Collector and the Captain over their Cups quarrelled, and the Collector took upon him to Search the Ship,” Causton wrote. (p. 189) As James Abercromby, Attorney General of South Carolina, wrote to Oglethorpe, one Mr. Reeves, “Collector of Port Royal... Seizd Capt Yoakleys Ship in the River before Savannah, for having Brandy and french liquors aboard.” (p. 205)

As Isaac Chardon explained:

Capt Yoakley has got his [vessel] seized by the port Royal Collectr who lived on board him thirty days, and until his Ship was almost Loaden and then Quarriling with the Capt, [Reeves] Seized his Vessel for the Liquors... which he drank Plenty of, all the while he remained on board.

- Isaac Chardon, January 10, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 151)

Seeking authority to seize the vessel, Reeves ran off to Charlestown, taking the Lisbon licence with him. Abercrombie was embarrassed as he wrote to the Trustees and made it clear that Reeves was being either overzealous or petty. Given the fact “That the Ship now, and at the time of the Seizure made, was not in this [South Carolina] Province,” (CRG XX, p. 205) Abercromby was unable to exercise any authority. Causton wrote: “The Capt being thus disappointed by the Collector as to his Voyage for Lisbon in now bound for London.” (p. 190) As George Dunbar wrote: “Owing to a missfortunat axident here wt ye Collr of Port Royal being intended for Lisbon till yistirday,” instead was now “going for London.” (p. 193) The ship wasn’t fully laden, but Yoakley, probably frustrated (or still hung over) didn’t seem to care. Causton wrote on January 22, 1735: “Capt Yoakley having taken a Sudden Resolution to go for London makes me desirous to Send as many particulars as I have ready, Intending to Send by Capt Dunbar, a more full account.” (p. 189)

The April 3, 1735 *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* recorded its arrival back in Britain. “The James, Captain Yoakly which arrived in 22 days from Georgia... has brought from thence a great quantity of Rice, and Raw Silk.” The silk was placed aboard by Paul Amatis, who had excitedly written to Oglethorpe with the departure of the *James*: “I send you, by means of Captain Yokoly, all the silk that I have drawn off for the past year.” (CRG XX, p. 211)

Thus while the *James* brought some exports, the larger bulk of this first major export of rice and tar from Georgia would sail on the *Prince of Wales*. Captain George Dunbar wrote to Oglethorpe on January 23, 1735 that he had “contracted with Mr Causton for eight-hundred barrels of Rice ptch tar on freight for London.” (CRG XX, p. 193)

The *Prince of Wales* would depart Georgia in 1735 with the colony’s biggest export, which was discussed earlier. But this neglects the fact that it arrived in 1734 with an impressive complement. Just as the Purrsyburg vessels were leaving the *Prince of Wales* came up the river.

Wednesday, 5 [March, 1735]...

We were informed by letters to Mr. Simons from Captain Dunbar that he with the Indians were arrived in Savannah in fifty days, and were but thirty-nine days between land and land.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 157

The *Prince of Wales*—without peer—was the biggest Georgia embarkation of 1734.

Reconstructing the muster using the *List of Early Settlers* is messy, as the number of passengers continued to rise right to the moment of departure.

7 *Octobr* [1734].

Agreed with Mr. Simons the Mercht. to carry 75 persons to Georgia...

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 65

16 *Octobr* [1734]...

Sign'd the Charter party with Mr. Simons whose ship is to carry them, to the number of 85 heads....

- p. 67

The Trustees' Entry Books records a total of 81 Charity colonists sent on board the vessel (*CRG XXXII*, p. 137 & 208), but Percival tallies a total of 84 Charity colonists in his *Egmont Journal*. The reconstruction below lists 84, not including returning colonists Peter Gordon, his wife, Henry Loyd, John Millidge and respective servants or John Musgrove and the Indians. Factoring in an additional 20 passengers paying their own passage, and the *Prince of Wales* suddenly rivals the *Savannah* as the largest single embarkation of the first two years.

A reconstruction of the *Prince of Wales* muster *1

(*aka*, "the second Salzburger transport")

arrived in Savannah, December 28, 1734

George Dunbar, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers*, *CRG XXIX*, *Percival Diary vol.2* and Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports*]

(*All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022*)

(*salz*) - Salzburger

(*salz* [*]) - Salzburger still alive on May 19, 1739 (*Urlsperger*, vol. 6, Appendix iii)

(*salz* [d.--]) - Salzburger dead before 1739 (*Urlsperger*, vol. 6, Appendix iii)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Ebenezer

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Gabriel Bach | (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 8. Maria Brandner (<i>w</i>) | (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 2. Thomas Bacher | (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 9. George Bruchner | (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 3. Maria Bacher (<i>w</i>) | (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 10. Mathias Burgsteiner | (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 4. Maria (<i>d</i>) | (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 11. Agatha Burgsteiner (<i>w</i>) | (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 5. Apolonia (<i>d</i>) | (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 12. Ruprech Eisperger | (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 6. Henry Bishop (<i>ser. to J.M. Bolzius</i> *2) | | 13. Maria Eisperger (<i>w</i>) | (<i>salz</i> [*]) |
| 7. Mathias Brandner | (<i>salz</i> [*]) | 14. George Felser | (<i>salz</i> d.36) |

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|---|-------------|
| 15. Sebastian Glantz | (salz d.35) | 39. George (s) | (salz [*]) |
| 16. Christian Hasler | (salz [*]) | 40. Michael (s) | (salz [*]) |
| 17. Ruprecht Kalcher | (salz [*]) | 41. Steven Rothenberger | (salz [*]) |
| 18. Margaret Kalcher (w) | (salz [*]) | 42. Cath. Rothenberger (w) | (salz [*]) |
| 19. George Koglar *3 | (salz [*]) | 43. George Santfleben | (salz [*]) |
| 20. Veit Landfelder | (salz [*]) | 44. Jacob Schartner | (salz [*]) |
| 21. Paul Lemmenhoffer | (salz d.37) | 45. Ruprecht Schopaker | (salz d.35) |
| 22. Veit Lemmenhoffer | (salz [*]) | 46. Ursula Schopaker (w) | (salz [*]) |
| 23. Maria Lemmehoffer (w) | (salz [*]) | 47. Agatha (d) | (salz [*]) |
| 24. Hans Madreuter | (salz d.35) | 48. Maria (d) | (salz d.35) |
| 25. Gabriel Maurer | (salz [*]) | 49. Margaret (d) | (salz d.35) |
| 26. Hans Maurer | (salz [*]) | 50. Sibylla Schwabb | (salz [*]) |
| 27. Hans Muggitser | (salz *4) | 51. Francis Sigismond | (salz) |
| 28. Carl Sigismond Ott | (salz [*]) | 52. Nevil Smith (ser. to J.M. Bolzius *2) | |
| 29. Thomas Pichler | (salz [*]) | 53. Ruprecht Steiner | (salz [*]) |
| 30. Maria Pichler (w) | (salz d.38) | 54. Maria Steiner (w) | (salz [*]) |
| 31. Andreas Resch | (salz d.35 *5) | 55. Simon Steiner | (salz [*]) |
| 32. Adam Riedelsperger | (salz d.36) | 56. Gertrude Steiner (w) | (salz [*]) |
| 33. Barbara Riedelsperger (w) | (salz [*]) | 57. John Vat (embarkation leader) | |
| 34. Christopher Riedelsperger | (salz [*]) | 58. Bartholomeus Zant | (salz [*]) |
| 35. Nicolas Riedelsperger | (salz d.36) | 59. Rupr. Zimmerman | (salz [*]) |
| 36. Bartholomeus Rieser | (salz [*]) | 60. Paul Zittrauer | (salz [*]) |
| 37. Maria Rieser (w) | (salz [*]) | 61. Ruprecht Zittrauer | (salz [*]) |
| 38. Balthasar (s) | (salz [*]) | | |

settled at Savannah

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|--|---------------------|
| 62. Will Calloway | [lot 202, 6th ward] | 71. Jane Leak | |
| 63. John Jones (ser) *6 | | 72. Catherine (d) | |
| 64. Elizabeth Cundall (w. of John *7) | | 73. Elizabeth Parker (d. of Robert *10) | |
| 65. John (s) | | 74. Francis Piercy | [lot 208, 6th ward] |
| 66. Thomas (s) | | 75. Will Russel (ser. to T. Christie *8) | |
| 67. Will (s) | | 76. Joseph Smith | [lot 212, 6th ward] |
| 68. Thomas Egerton (grandsn of T. Young *8) | | 77. Anne Smith (w) | |
| 69. William Ewen (ser. to the Store) | | 78. Elizabeth (d) | |
| 70. George Hows (brother of Robert *9) | | | |

Trust Servants

- | | <u>term of service</u> |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 79. Thomas Meyer | 5 years |
| 80. Ursula Meyer (w) | 5 years |
| 81. Daniel (s) | |

- | | <u>term of service</u> |
|----------------|------------------------|
| 82. George (s) | |
| 83. Henry (s) | 10 years |
| 84. Ursula (s) | |

returning to Georgia

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|
| 85. Peter Gordon *8 | | 89. Henry Loyd *8 | |
| 86. Katherine Gordon (w) *8 | | 90. Phoebe Loyd (w) | |
| 87. Elizabeth Abraham (ser) | | 91. Joseph Bell (ser) | |
| 88. [second servant] | | 92. John Millidge *8 | |

93. John Shears (*ser*)
94. John Musgrove

95-102. Tomochichi & the Indians

Additional Prince of Wales passengers arriving on their own account included, but were not necessarily limited to:

103. Mary Bashter (<i>ser. to Peter Baillou</i> *11)	116. Anna Amelia (<i>d</i>)
104. Francis Bathurst (<i>settled at Westbrook</i>)	117. Torodea (<i>d</i>)
105. Frances (<i>w</i>)	118. John Ring (<i>ser</i>)
106. Elizabeth (<i>d</i>)	119. Catherine (<i>d</i>)
107. Martha (<i>d</i>)	120. John Christopher (<i>s</i>)
108. Mary (<i>d</i>)	121. John Peter (<i>s</i>)
109. Robert (<i>s</i>)	122. John Dun
110. John Gulliver (<i>ser</i>)	123. [<i>P. Diary p.165</i> - "Rev. Mr."] Fullerton
111. John Horn (<i>ser</i>)	124. Jonathon Hood
112. James Noble (<i>ser</i>)	125. Alexander Ross [<i>lot 220, 6th ward</i>]
113. Thomas Bayley [<i>lot 206, 6th ward</i>]	126. Christopher Gallimore (<i>ser</i>)
114. Andr. Godfrey Dietzius (<i>Moravian</i>)	127. Anne Taylor (<i>ser. to Musgrove</i>)
115. Matalena Dietzius (<i>w</i>)	

*1 - Daniel Weisseger is not included above, as he was not bound for Georgia but Philadelphia

*2 - Bolzius arrived on the *Purrysburg*

*3 - Redundant *LES* entry under "Coglar, Geo."

*4 - Muggitser left Ebenezer in early 1739

*5 - Presumed dead. Andreas Resh disappeared in the Ebenezer woods, August, 1735

*6 - Jones is subject to redundant *LES* entries, one suggesting he was a servant of Joseph Smith, but the more contemporary *CRG XXIX* suggests he was the servant to Calloway

*7 - John Cundall was granted lot 52 in Savannah but what ship brought him is unclear

*8 - Thomas Young, Thomas Christie, Peter & Katherine Gordon, Henry Loyd and John Millidge all arrived on the *Anne*

*9 - Robert Hows came on the *James*, May 14, 1733

*10 - Robert Parker arrived on the *James* [2], January 14, 1734

*11 - Peter Baillou arrived on the *Georgia Pink*, August 29, 1733

Before the voyage had begun, while still in the Downs, Captain Dunbar wrote favorably of the behavior of the leaders of the two disparate groups on board his vessel:

Mrs [Peter] Gordon and Vate [John Vat] manage their p[e]ople with So much prudence and good Seence that every thing is as orderly as cou'd be expected and I think myself extreamly happy in both.

- George Dunbar, November 5, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 100)

Still retaining the mantle of first magistrate, returning Peter Gordon (#85) was the *de facto* leader of the English contingent. The Trustees defrayed his passage in early October.

Wednesday October 9 th, 1734

...*Order'd*

That the Passage be defrayed of the following Persons. *Vizt* Peter Gordon his Wife and two servants, Henry Loyd his wife and One Servant John Millidge and One Servant, Thomas Egerton

Grandson to Thomas Young, Henry Bishop Servant to Mr. Bolzius and two servants for the Magistrates.

- *Minutes of the Common Council (CRG II, p. 72-3)*

In fact, the *Prince of Wales* featured an entire delegation of former *Anne* passengers. Henry Loyd (#89), formerly servant to William Cox, now returned as a freeholder in his own right, bringing his wife and a servant of his own. And following the death of both parents, 13 year-old John Millidge (#92) was returning to Georgia, having secured recognition by the Trustees as head of his family and being granted a servant. As Benjamin Martyn wrote to Causton:

The Trustees think it proper that John Millidge should have a License to occupy the House and Lot, which of right belong to... Thomas Millidge.... [&] that the said John Millidge may be thereby enabled to take care of his two Sisters and his Younger Brother in Georgia.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 28, 1734 (*CRG XXIX, p.38*)

“John Millidge must be look’d on as a Freeman,” Martyn concluded, “and must not be apprentic’d out to any other Person.”

Thomas Egerton (#68), described by Percival in the *List of Early Settlers* as “a minor” at the time he arrived, was the grandson of 47 year-old *Anne* veteran Thomas Young.

George Hows (#70) was also evidently a minor, the brother of Robert Hows and (now deceased) Henry Hows, carpenters who had come on the first arrival of the *James*.

Wednesday October 9th, 1734

George Hows attended with his Father and desired to go to his Brother Robert Hows in Georgia.

Order’d

That the Passage of the said George Hows be defray’d, and that he be maintain’d for a Year in Georgia.

- *Minutes of the Common Council (CRG II, p. 72)*

William Calloway (#62) came with a servant. Granted a licence by the Trustees to sell beer (who encouraged the sale of beer and ale but not hard liquors), he hoped to establish an ale house and was settled in Savannah’s 6th ward.

Wednesday October 2d 1734

Receiv’d a Receipt from the Bank for a twenty five Pounds paid in by Mr. William Calloway to be applied towards the Passage and Subsistance of himself and a Man Servant.

- *Journal of the Trustees (CRG I, p. 86)*

Wednesday October 9th, 1734

...Order’d...

That William Calloway have License to sell Been Ale and all other Liquors except distill’d Liquors and all mixtures therewith.

- *Minutes of the Common Council (CRG II, p. 72)*

“I hope this Climent [climate] Will Agree With Me very Well,” Calloway wrote to the Trustees and Common Council member Alderman Kendal in the days following his arrival. Asking for an “alcoholic advance” for the five *Prince of Wales* heads erecting their houses in the sixth ward, he wrote:

I hope You Will further Bestow your favers on me by Ordoring me Sum Beer out of the Stores to Draw in My hutt Wile our houses are Building, Which Will bee a Great Sarvis to me. And I Will Take Care faithfully to pay for and Do all that in me Lyes towards the peace and prosperity of the Colona Which Shall allways Bee the Industries Care of Your Honors.

- Will Calloway, January 16, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 168)

Harman Verelst sent a letter to Thomas Causton on the very next Savannah-bound ship, the *Two Brothers*:

The Trustees have sent you... the following Parcels, for which you have a Bill of Lading inclosed, the Particulars in each Package are as follow....

...And in the same Bill of Lading is contained a Ton of Strong Beer... which Thomas Hucks Esqr. has credited Wm. Calloway with to retail in Georgia on the Recommendation of Mr. Alderman Kendal in London, and for which as he retails it, he is to Pay you [Causton] from time to time what he can until Six pounds the Price thereof is fully paid.

- Harman Verelst, January 25, 1735 (CRG XXIX, p. 48-9)

But Calloway was dead by June, and despite her listing in the *List of Early Settlers*, his wife Elizabeth does not appear to have come to Georgia. She made inquiry into Calloway's effects in early 1736 *via* the Trustees, but never reappears in the Georgia record. "His wife was in England when he died. Quitted if she be living," Percival remarked in the *LES*.

Martyn conveyed to Causton the Trustees' wishes, placing all the Savannah Charity passengers on the Store:

The Trustees order that the following Persons should be put on the Store; Vizt. George Hows, Thomas Egerton, William Calloway and his Servant, Henry Loyd his Wife and Servant, William Ewen, whom the Trustees have sent You as a Servant for two Years, William Russell bound to Thomas Christie, (and Henry Bishop sent by the Trustees as a Servant to Mr. Bolzius for seven Years.) John Millidge his Brother and Sisters are likewise to be kept on the Store, and his Servant is to be put on it.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 28, 1734 (CRG XXIX, p.39)

The family of John Cundall came by the *Prince of Wales* (#64-67). He himself had already arrived in Savannah on his own account (*LES*: "embark'd 1733 "), but on which ship is unclear.

Wednesday October 16 th, 1734

...Order'd....

That Elizabeth Cundell wife of John Cundell now in Georgia with her three Children be sent over to Georgia.

- *Minutes of the Common Council* (CRG II, p. 75)

As Percival noted in the *LES*, John Cundall was "Fyn'd for scandal... Aug. 19, 1734," and "Run away none knows where." Wife Elizabeth, in the meantime, was "Prosecuted for keeping a bawdy house 6 Dec. 1736; and fyn'd for the same 17 April 1737." In September of 1736 she was arrested for stealing food for her family.

September 19 [1736]. Brought Mrs. Cundal before the Magistrates for stealing Fowls the property of Edw'd Jenkins[.] she was order'd to stand two hours at the whipping post with a paper on her Breast denoting her Crime, but she making a Confession & promise of Amendment was forgiven.

- William Gough, November 13, 1736 (CRG XXI, p. 249)

As to the Salzburger on board the *Prince of Wales*, in contrast to the tumultuous relationship between Captain Fry and the first transport, Captain Dunbar remarked after the voyage that the Salzburger were "a pyius Sobir laborius people," that he hoped were "satisfyed with their treatment while on board." (CRG XX, p. 191) As Bolzius remarked of this second transport: "They were at sea only seven weeks.... No one died, and with the exception of two people who are sick, all of them landed in good health." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 2, p. 33) To Henry Newman, he wrote:

We take the pleasure to acquaint You, that the Saltzburghers under the conduct of Mr Vat have finished their Sea-Voyage, So happy & in So Short a time that every One wonders at it. 'Tis impossible to Express in Words all manner of Joy and Pleasures we have had in receiving them in Our Place Ebenezer.

- John Martin Bolzius, February 6, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 219)

John Vat (#57) was the leader of the second embarkation. His history was already long intertwined with the region; in the previous decade he had been an agent for Jean Pierre Purry, promoting the scheme for his Swiss settlement. Now in Georgia, he was suffering from what he described as "a great Cold in my Head and Eyes." (CRG XX, p. 223) Bolzius made apologies on his behalf in a February 6 letter, explaining "Mr Vat presents to the Gentlemen of the Society, his most humble Duty and Respect, not being as yet able to write to them, himself, by Reason of his Infirmities upon his Eyes." (CRG XX, p. 221) "I could hardly read or write any thing," Vat explained. But when he had recovered enough to write to SPCK secretary Henry Newman, he described the second transport's migration from Savannah to Ebenezer one month before.

On the 11th January, we left Savannah Town, and got on Board three Periwagoes, the Smallest of them with the Sick being Gone directly, for the landing Place at 4 Miles English distance from this town, over Purrysbourg, and Ebenezer River. We came with the two larger Periwagoes the 12th to Abercorn; and on the 13th of the same Month by land, being 12 or 14 miles, to this town of Ebenezer.

- John Vat, February 10, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 224)

Two in the number had already died by the time he penned his letter. Sebastian Glantz (#15) never even made it to Ebenezer. "One man died at Purrysbourg, before he could be brought to our Place of Abode," Bolzius remarked. "The Child that was Christen'd at Gravesend, died likewise a few days after their Arrival." (CRG XX, p. 219) Vat confirmed that "Sebastian Glantz [died] the 13th January at Purrysbourg, and the Child born on board the prince of Wales, whilst the Ship was in the Thames, died here the 23d January." (CRG XX, p. 226-7) The child in question was Margaret Schopaker (#49); in fact the Schopaker (#45-49) family would lose three members by April, including head Ruprecht and leaving only widow Ursula and daughter Agatha.

The 16th, Jan [1735]

... For the most part the newly arrived Salzburger have their troubles with diarrhea and swollen feet, just as the first who came with us to this country did.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 37)

Several couples acquainted on the *Prince of Wales* married within weeks of arrival, with no fewer than four marriages between fellow passengers in the first eight weeks. The widow Leak's daughter Catherine (#71) wed John Dun (#122) on February 20, 1735. Though Percival later remarked in the *LES* that he "afterwards run away." Whether he fled from the marriage in addition to the colony remains unclear. But the first marriage between *Prince of Wales* passengers occurred between two Salzburgers, shortlived though it might have been:

The 16th, Jan [1735].

... Two unmarried persons among the newly arrived Salzburgers announced to me that they intended to enter the state of holy matrimony. The man's name is Andreas Resch, from the district of St. Veit; the woman's is Sibylla Schwabe, from the district of St. Johann.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 37)

"After having made thorough inquiry into their circumstances, and having instructed them from God's word in the proper meaning of their intentions, I promised to marry them as soon as possible," Bolzius concluded. But seven months later Resch would disappear into the woods in search of Mrs. Schweighofer and Mrs. Eischberger, never to return and leaving his widow in limbo, unable to remarry for the next three years.

By springtime, Bolzius noted: "Among the last group of Salzburgers there are a few very skillful men who are used for various necessary jobs and useful matters."

The 16th, May.

... Especially two of them, [#41 Stephan] Rotenberger and Nicolaus Riedelsperger [#35], can make nearly everything they see if only they can get the necessary tools.

- p. 89

Remarking of Riedelsperger, Bolzius wrote: "The latter is especially good at handling animals and is very useful to us for that reason."

Though Hans Muggitser (#27) was still alive in 1739, he had parted company with the Ebenezer community by then. Bolzius recorded the particulars of Muggitser's new profession earlier in the year:

Saturday, the 10th of February [1739].

... Muggitser is back again to collect the money for things he has sold. He has engaged himself as an overseer of black slaves in Carolina, which is a very evil profession. Ordinarily, only such people are used for this task as can be quite merciless with these poor slaves. It may be assured that [Stephan] Riedelsperger, who left our place some time ago by very crooked paths, has also taken on this type of work.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 6, p. 19)

Bolzius concluded: "In this manner he and Muggitser will fare very badly with respect to their souls." Riedelsperger, who had come with the first transport on the *Purrysburg*, had left Ebenezer the year before:

Monday, the 17th of April [1738]. Stephan Riedelsperger has taken a very angry departure from us and has dragged his wife, the Valentin woman [Catherina Valentine, of the 3rd transport], who was at first of a docile nature and agreeable disposition, with him on his disorderly paths.

- vol. 5, p. 84

In his February 15, 1737 *Diary* entry, Bolzius noted that Thomas Geshwandel, Leonard Rauner and Georg (or Jerg) Schweiger, “all men of the first transport,” as he observed, “have drunk themselves into a stupor with rum furnished to them by [Stephan Riedelsperger], whom they had helped with the building of his house.” (*Urlspurger*, v. 4, p, 24.) Riedelsperger spent most of 1737 away from Ebenezer, employed in odd jobs between Mary Musgrove’s estate, Savannah and Savannah Town at Fort Moore, another example of what William Stephens would later refer to as the “to and fro” people of Georgia.

The habit of Salzburgers becoming lost in the woods remained a hazard, as proven quickly by Veit Landfelder (#20), a man Bolzius described as “of the same simple nature as the lost Resch.”

The 18th of February [1736]. Yesterday before dark Landfelder got lost in the woods, although he had gone in only a short way in order to get hay. Signals were given at once with shooting, and some people went after him with torches. But last night they could not find him and found him only this morning.

- vol. 3, p. 47

“He had already gone beyond three swamps and canebreaks and was in such confusion that he did not hear the shooting and did not see the people who were approaching him,” Bolzius concluded.

Not all bound for Ebenezer were Salzburgers, and Bolzius did not necessarily hold them in high regard. “Bach is a good-for-nothing, and all previous work with his soul has been in vain... he has been kept from Holy Communion,” Bolzius wrote in April of 1737. Gabriel Bach (#1) was one of the group who was “not a Salzburger but was admitted to the 2nd Transport in Memmingen. There were four of these in all; two, that is, Sanftleben (#43) and Zant (#58), have adjusted very well; but Bach and also Muggizer (#27) have remained as they were.” (vol. 4, 48-9)

Bach retains the dubious distinction of being the first Georgian to be scalped by Native Americans, an event which would arise from the Spanish hostilities in 1740. Bolzius, unfamiliar with the practice of scalping, refers to him as “beheaded,” but Bach had joined Oglethorpe’s regiment just shortly before.

Wednesday, the 4th of June [1740].

Gabriel Bach, who left us for the Ogeechee and took up military service, was attacked by Spanish Indians, shot, beheaded, and almost completely skinned. Because he was bold and knew well how to get around in the woods, Mr. Oglethorpe regretted losing him.

- vol. 7, p. 148

“This Bach,” Bolzius explained, “is one who came... with the second transport and always kept company with disorderly people rather than good order with the congregation.”

Henry Bishop (#6) came over as servant to Bolzius on a seven-year indenture. “We agreed that it should be proposed to the Common Council that Henry Bishop, a youth of the Charity School, should be sent servant to Mr. Balstius, one of the Saltsburg ministers in Georgia,” Percival wrote in his October 7, 1734 *Diary* entry. (vol. 2, p. 128) The son of Thomas Bishop, a London butcher, he was barely able to speak German as he stepped on the *Prince of Wales*. Nevertheless, Bolzius was impressed with the lad and remarked of him the next year:

Bishop has a quiet docile disposition and is loyal and diligent in all things, yet rather shy and timid. He attends divine services regularly and gladly, and he understands German rather well even though he does not yet speak very much.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 194)

“For the Young Man, that was Sent to our Service by the Providential Care and Goodness of the Society, we return our humble thanks,” Bolzius wrote to Henry Newman on February 6, 1735, “assuring his Soul’s and body’s welfare Shall be our Special Business.” (CRG XX, p. 219) He remained Bolzius’ faithful servant throughout the remainder of the decade. Despite proving susceptible for a short time in 1735 to the mischievous influence of fellow servants Nicolas Carpenter and John Robinson the young Bishop proved a valued servant and member of the Ebenezer community. “He marry’d a German in 1740,” Percival noted in the *LES*. Following the end of his contracted service Henry Bishop remained in Ebenezer and became completely assimilated into its culture. As Bolzius wrote in a September 27, 1739 diary entry: “The servant Bishop, who was sent from London five years ago for my service, will receive his freedom after the present harvest and, with Mr. Oglethorpe’s approval, he will begin his own household.” (*Urlsperger*, vol 6, p. 225) And in the following spring he noted:

Tuesday, the 8th of April [1740]. This morning two couples were married, namely Johann Jacob Kieffer with Anna Elisabeth Depp... and Henry Bishop with Sibylla Friederica Unsel.

- vol. 7, p. 85

Bolzius described Sybilla Unsel as a young woman “who until now has been in the service of my dear colleague [Gronau] and still has three sisters in our village. The youngest is still in the orphanage, and the two oldest have been married in the community for some time.” (p.85-6) She was the third of four orphaned daughters who had been a part of the Ebenezer community since 1737:

The 7th of November [1737]

... For some time we have had with us four daughters of the schoolmaster Unsel, who died in Purysburg.... The two youngest girls have been accepted among the number of orphans.

- vol. 4, p. 192

The Unsel family—husband, wife and brood of daughters—came to the region in 1734. Bolzius referred to Unsel in 1738 as “the old schoolmaster who came to Purysburg four years ago with his wife and four daughters.” (vol. 5, p. 10) But all five women were left stranded and quickly scattered in the wake of the schoolmaster’s death; as Bolzius noted:

Friday, the 29th of July [1737]. About two years ago an old German schoolmaster named Unsel, who may still be known to Court Preacher Ziegenhagen, came to Purysburg with his wife and daughters. He died not long thereafter, before we had occasion to meet him. His widow and two

of his daughters went into service at a place near Savannah; and shortly thereafter she travelled with her youngest daughter to Charlestown, where she recently died. The third daughter, also young and uneducated, lasted another year at the aforementioned plantation; but her master and mistress left the country, leaving her behind without any means of support or payment. She has now come here and would like to be prepared for Holy Communion; and, since she is utterly ignorant, we cannot but accept her.

- vol. 4, p. 142

“Her oldest sister,” he concluded, “is married here but not in a position to support her.” This oldest sister was Eva Regina, who married Georg Schwieger of the first transport (*Purrysburg* #40) in 1735. Second daughter Anna Justina married Franz Herenberger of the third transport (*London Merchant* [2] #29). While third daughter Sybilla would eventually marry Bishop of the second transport, fourth daughter Barbara, in the meantime, was taken away to Pennsylvania, following her mother’s death in 1737. As Bolzius observed, their mother, “who died a few months ago in Charlestown, did not know how to manage them.” (p. 192)

The 9th of September [1737]. The deceased Mrs. Unsel’s youngest daughter had been brought to Charlestown by her mother, where she fell into a certain woman’s hands after her mother’s death. Said woman had taken her to Pennsylvania, where she would by all accounts have been brought up in wild and improper circumstances.

- vol. 4, p. 162

“God, however, has so arranged it that she will now be returned to our care and supervision,” he observed. With her return shortly thereafter, all the girls had been gathered within the Ebenezer umbrella by 1737, and with Barbara’s marriage on November 26, 1754 to Johann Rentz, all four of the Unsel daughters had intermarried into the Ebenezer community.

Noting that “Some of the first and last transport are now Sick,” John Vat wrote, “we are in hopes, by Mr Zwiffler’s Care, Some of them will do well again.” (*CRG XX*, p. 227) Andreas Zwiffler had come on the first transport (*Purrysburg* #44) and had served as Ebenezer’s medic since the beginning, outside of the short period when he was lost in the woods. In a May 6, 1734 correspondence, Bolzius had remarked of Zwiffler’s early zeal: “Mr. Zwifler proves very true in his profession and helps us and the Salzburgers as best he can with medication and other necessities.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 1, p. 168)

But as an apothecary, any further medical skills were mostly made up on the spot, as he himself admitted. “God blessed my limited medicine,” he wrote to friends in Augsburg.

I learned by myself "Balbiren," and also to bleed people, for which God so led my hand that I was fortunate and made no mistakes. I have opened the veins of more than 20 people, including both of the pastors [Bolzius & Gronau], who willingly placed themselves in my hands.

- Andreas Zwiffler, May 14, 1734

(within *Urlspurger’s Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 186)

As Bolzius candidly admitted a year later, some of “his suggestions were more harmful than helpful, as had been the steady complaint even of the first Salzburgers at the very beginning.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 2, p. 152) Bolzius wrote in September, 1735 that Martin Hertzog “vomitted blood after taking one of his [Zwiffler’s] emetics and has been miserable ever since and seems to have an internal injury.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 2, p. 149)

The 18th, Sept [1735]. A few weeks ago Mr. Zwiffler caused many people in the community a great annoyance.... Recently he swore most dreadfully that he would no longer care externally for the people who did not wish to take his internal cures, and the --- [devil] might take him if he did.

- vol. 2, p. 151

But as Bolzius observed: “Some of them [the sick] have become stronger and healthier after discarding his medicines.” (p. 149)

It seems to me that in the case of his cures, as in the case of his bloodletting, cupping, and bandaging, there is much external damage. He has never studied surgery, but he wishes to learn it now by practicing on the Salzburger; and as I myself have experienced, has occasionally turned out badly.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 2, p. 152)

He concluded: “If he only now wishes to learn the art of medicine by practicing it (for he is no more than a druggist by profession), then he can cure many more to death.” Zwiffler remained the community's doctor until he moved away in March, 1737.

In the wake of his “great Cold” in his “Head and Eyes,” John Vat followed up his letter to Henry Newman of “the 10th of Febry last which I Suppose to be in yor hands long before this Time,” with a May 30 missive, crediting Zwiffler for his recovery. For “Days afterwards I was so ill & brought so low that on the 15 of February when Mr Causton Mr Jones and Capt Dunbar were here I could hardly Stand upon my Legs; which Weakness continued for Several weeks. But upon taking proper Medicines of Mr Zwiffler and [I recovered] Some strength, altho the Defluction upon my Eyes held on.” (CRG XX, p. 359)

A native of Biel, Switzerland, John (or Jean) Vat, leader of the second transport, was an even bigger mixed bag to the Ebenezer settlement than the untrained Andreas Zwiffler.

1537. Vatt, Jo. - Conductor of the Saltsburgers; embark'd 31 Oct. 1734; arrived 28 Dec. 1734. German. He twice conducted the Saltsburgers, but afterwards proving troublesome to the ministers and people there, he was not sent back on his last return to England in 1737.

“We find in him great honesty and wise reflection, and we enjoy his company with profit,” Bolzius remarked of Vat on January 17. (*Urlsperger*, vol. 2, p. 37) But even still, there were whispers of Vat's conduct during the voyage:

The 15th, Jan [1735]. A man by the name of [Andre Godfrey] Dietzius [#114], who came across the sea with the Salzburger, wrote me a longwinded letter and violently accused Commissioner Vat therein of having deprived the Salzburger on the sea journey of much of the provisions and benefits that were destined for them.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 2, p. 36)

“However,” Bolzian scoffed, “it is obviously all false.” Remarking that Vat “is a very honest man,” he noted that all the Salzburger of the second transport seemed to look to him, and that he seemed to have their best interest at heart:

The 24th, Jan [1735]. The newly arrived Salzburger are insistent with the Commissioner [Vat] that they want to be settled at a place with fertile soil. He is making every effort to persuade Mr. Causton and other officials to grant the request of the people, particularly since everyone who sees our region expresses a very poor opinion of it....

The 25th, Jan [1735]. The Commissioner has gone to Savannah because of said matters.... He is a very honest man who avoids no effort or discomfort and even makes his weak health even weaker through many kinds of rough work just to further the people’s good.

- p. 39

While the ministers retained their spiritual authority in Ebenezer, Vat was ostensibly intended to manage secular affairs... but Bolzian viewed Ebenezer as a benevolent theocracy where nothing was secular. Not surprisingly, the relationship between the ministers and the commissioner quickly soured. By September 24, Bolzian wrote: “Today Mr. Vat made it clearer than usual how much he dislikes me and my dear colleague [Gronau] and how much he wishes to harm us.” (p. 156) Remarking of “the Commissioner’s treachery,” Bolzian observed on September 29 that, “with no good reason he is more hateful to the first Salzburger than to the last.” (p. 164)

At first he behaved very well and was able to give a good appearance to all the things about which the people complained on the voyage. Therefore we gave him credit for much good and gave him much good testimony in the diary.

- p. 157

But his conduct on the *Prince of Wales* had proven almost as erratic and changeable as Captain Fry’s from the first transport. “The good people are greatly amazed how it is possible for the man to have changed so completely,” Bolzian wrote. (p. 178)

Just as he [Vat] had been so friendly to the people from Augsburg to London, he proved himself just as merciless towards them, especially towards the children, at sea. When we first heard such complaints, we did not wish to believe them because of his good public conduct and appearance.

- p. 165

During the “trip as far as London, he conducted himself in such a way that they had to praise him and could not have asked for any other or better commissioner. But as soon as they went to sea he sided more and more with the Englishmen than with them and was severe and unmerciful towards them.” As Bolzian claimed he was told: “He dispensed the medicine... and other necessary things either not at all or in very limited quantities.” As Bolzian concluded, Vat’s behavior repeated the same pattern following his arrival at Ebenezer: “And he has continued in that even among us, especially recently, whereas he had at first acted better and had taken some trouble in caring for the people.” (p. 178-9)

In refusing some families provisions and the construction of Gronau’s fireplace, he “brazenly told our Salzburger that he had more power and authority in Ebenezer than Mr Causton,

likewise that his commands were to be looked on as the commands of the Trustees.” (p. 184)
Referring to Vat’s intention “to rule despotically in Ebenezer,” Bolzius took the high road.

If he is confirmed in his intentions and his present procedure of being the ruler of the people and of treating the people roughly and obstinately, then we must be patient and be a good example to the others in submissiveness and obedience.

- p. 176

In London, the Trustees were confused by the conflicting reports of Ebenezer given by Bolzius and Vat, two correspondents painting widely diverging pictures of the Salzburger settlement:

Monday, 14 [April, 1735]...

Mr. Vernon and I went to see Mr. Oglethorp to confer with him upon some letters lately received from Ebenezer, from whence Mr. Baltius, one of their ministers, has wrote to Mr. Newman the satisfaction all the Saltsburgers take in their settlement, but Mr. Vat, who conducted the second company of Saltsburgers, wrote a contrary account, complaining of the unfruitfulness of the soil, the shortness and species of provision allowed those people, and difficulty of bringing up boats to their settlement.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 168-9

“It is observable,” Percival concluded, “that Mr. Baltius, who has been there a year, makes no complaints, but Vat, who was but just arrived there, makes many, and Baltius’s letter is dated but four days after Vat’s.” Vat would continue to lose support within the community until abandoning the settlement in the summer of 1736. But in the meantime, he maintained the storehouse at Ebenezer and remained a thorn in the sides of the two ministers.

Shortly after arriving in Georgia, Bolzius remarked on April 19, 1734: “A certain gentleman who lives among the Indians, not far from Ebenezer, has sent a gift of seed grain even though he does not know us but has only heard of us.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 1, p. 77)

His name is Mr. Augustine, a nobleman from Wales who settled at Westbrook after Mr. Oglethorpe’s arrival in Georgia. He has built a house approximately 8 miles from Ebenezer.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*, endnotes
(within *Urlspurger’s Detailed Reports on the Saltsburgers*, vol. 1, p. 200)

Walter Augustine in the *LES*:

39. Augustin, Walter - A grant of 500 acres was made him 24 Sept. 1735. He joyn’d the Colony from Cats Isld. in Carolina, and settled with 4 servants up the river 6 miles from Savannah. Quitted before Jan. 1738/9.

“The Land in Georgia [is] becoming to Grow valuable by reason of our Settlement [and] several [gentlemen] have applied to me for grants,” Oglethorpe had written as early as his June 9, 1733 correspondence to the Trustees. Promising to recommend these gentlemen for 500 acre grants, Oglethorpe listed first among them “Mr. Walter Augustine, who has long been in the Country and behaved well in the Indian War.”

He with four men is already settled upon a Lott Six miles distante the Town up the River. He has built a house and Cleared Seven Acres of Land which he has planted with Indian Corn, a little Barly, and other European Grain which comes up finely.

- James Oglethorpe, June 9, 1733 (CRG XX, p. 24)

Augustine proved incredibly ambitious in his Georgia stay: “Augustin found a Water passage to Eben-Eazer & conducted the Scout Boat within three Miles of the Town.... The good people were much rejoiced to See him,” Causton wrote in January of 1735. (CRG XX, p. 170) But many of his projects proved simply too ambitious (or costly), including his soon-to-be infamous sawmill and the attempt to clear a road from Savannah to Darien, a distance of “90 miles.” Alarmed by this, the Trustees wrote to Oglethorpe “They earnestly desire Sr. that You will put an immediate stop to the making of the said Road, which will be an Expencc vastly too great for them to bear.” (CRG XXIX, p. 138) While Oglethorpe seems to have been impressed with Augustine, assuredly, Sir Francis Bathurst (*Prince of Wales* #104) was not. “His whole Famiely being 7 in number lived alltogether upon my stores,” Bathurst complained to Oglethorpe by February of 1735. (CRG XX, p. 233) “He run me in Debt to ye store house... without my knowledg.”

Sir Francis Bathurst was Fifth Baronet of Lechlade and brother to Lord Allen Bathurst, an acquaintance to Percival in London. Having fallen on financial hardships, at 49 Sir Francis and his family (#104-109) sought a new start in Georgia and came on the *Prince of Wales* as freeholders on their own account. Percival, who had sponsored his application, noted in his February 20, 1734 *Diary* entry:

The Board desired me to tell my Lord [Allen] Bathurst that Sir Francis Bathurst should have fifty acres allowed him for each servant he carried, and that his son being sixteen years old should be allowed for a servant. I acquainted the board Sir Francis had two daughters to carry, and that my Lord would give Sir Francis a hundred pounds.

- v. 2, p. 32

Ultimately granted 200 acres, he was placed at Walter Augustine’s “settlement” at Westbrook, but it proved to be a mismatch. “Wee had Som words which were very High,” Walter Augustine later explained to Oglethorpe. (CRG XX, p. 216)

Haveing Recd yours of Date ye 28 Octr with ye Request of ye Honbl James Oglethorp Esqrs Orders and Directions for ye Boarding and Care of Sir Francis Bathurst whome I waited upon ye 28th of Decembr following and Conducted to my Habitation on ye 3d of Janu and have Entertained him to this Date untill Sr Francis began to be a Litle unruly.

- February 6, 1735

“I was ill stationed by being placed wth Augustin,” Bathurst wrote simply to the Oglethorpe, “for wch good sr I no ways blame you, for I much doubt whether you was acquainted wth ye Villains actions.” (p. 233)

“I owe ye villain nothing,” Bathurst wrote to Oglethorpe, complaining of Augustine’s mistreatment. “He is looked upon as a great knave as any in ye Colony and a man whose word will not go for a pair of shoes.” (p. 234)

He kept me and my Family worse than I ever kept my Dogs in England, upon my complaint to his wife and him about it he threatened to beat my Teeth down my Throat, and to send me to ye Logg house at Savanna and told me I was not in England but in America.

- February 17 1735

“My 2 Eldest Daughters are married,” Bathurst boasted. Daughters Elizabeth (#106) and Martha (#107) evidently fell in love during the Atlantic passage; February, 1735 saw two weddings as Elizabeth married Francis Piercy (#74), and Martha married William Baker, a boatswain from the *Prince of Wales*. But even this didn’t stop the feuding between Bathurst and Augustine.

“When one of his Daughter was maryed to Mr Wm Baker Meat [mate] and Botswaine of ye Prince of Wales, he [Bathurst] fell out with me on ye acct[.] Charging me with his Ruin and I telling him I thought Shee was very well off,” Augustine wrote.

[He] Runs up to me and gave me a Hunch or two and a Slap in ye face, all wch I took very patiently as not willing to give Room to be blamed... [I] forbad him my Habitation and now am building him a place on his own Land.

- p. 216

“He compelled us all to lye one night in ye woods,” Bathurst countered. By July, 1735, Thomas Causton remarked of the Bathurst situation:

Sir Francis Bathurst and his Lady & Son are very well, his two Daughters are Married. He is very well pleased with the Country and lives very Soberly and Contented. He cannot frame himself to Augustines Directions, but manages his own Affairs very prudently.

- Thomas Causton, July 7, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 438-9)

Eveleigh paid a visit to Bathurst home. “It may be in some Measure water tight but I am certain it cant be wind tight.” The Bathurst residence measured 20 feet by 12, “Divided into two parts, one is a Bed Room & the other a Dining Room.” (p. 357) Causton continued: “He has lost all his Servants but one, who is very ill.” Noble Jones: “he has lost by Death two of His three Servants.” (p. 429) Bathurst blamed the man who had sold them to him. “They were both infirm Fellowes as it appears since when I bought them, wch was concealed from me, until nature forced itself out. I had them of John Taylor a vile Rogue yt lives over against ye Brank in Thread Needle streett.” (p.300-1)

But the following year saw the death begin to take his family, stealing not one wife but two. “This is to acquaint you your mother’s Death of the 2d Instant wch is a Great Grief and Loss to us all,” son Robert (#109) wrote to his older sister in East Smithfield, London on April 20, 1736. (CRG XXI, p. 148) Bathurst remarried to the widow Mary Pember, but she died in October. As Causton wrote, Bathurst “has buried his Lady he brought with him, was married to Mrs. Perber, and has buried her also.” (p. 272) As son Robert Bathurst wrote in 1737:

After my Mother’s death, my Father was persuaded to marry again, to an old Gentlewoman of kin to the Duke of Chandois, & was told She had a great deal of money and other such falsities, but on the contrary, She brought us much in debt.

- Robert Bathurst, November 12, 1737(CRG XXII, pt. 1, p. 5)

Robert’s sister Martha died about the same time as their stepmother.

24. [Sept, 1736] Summon'd a Jury Inquest to set on the Body of Miss Bathurst who was accidentally drowned Yesterday at her fathers plantation.

- William Gough, November 13, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 250)

Robert Bathurst was Francis' son, now 18, and his father's pride and joy. Francis wasted no opportunity to boast of his son in every correspondence to the Trustees. "My little son takes a vast delight in working hard, and is out at labour wth my men by sun riseing untill sunsett." (p.234) "My little Son... worke to ye Admiration of all people...." (p. 301) "My Poor little Son does ye work of a man, and is vastly delighted wth ye Country." (p. 319) "His Son is very Industrious," Causton agreed. (p. 272) Robert would outlive his father. "My Father died the 19 Decbr. 1736: and on the 21st Causton sent and took from me a Maid Servant," young Robert wrote in 1737. (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 7) Unfortunately, Robert, as head of the family, had inherited little but the family's standing debt. In 1737 Robert and brother-in-law Francis Piercy snuck out of Georgia. "So after all this ill usage, as I think I may well call it, I left Georgea with my brother in law & Sister Piercy, and on the 30. Septbr. 1737 We came to Charlestown in hopes to better our Selves, leaving a good plantation behind me in Georgea, with no body to take care of it, for Causton said it belong'd to the Trustees," he wrote.

In contrast to his father's 1735 statement that Robert was "vastly delighted wth ye Country," Robert now remarked that, "the Colony... we can call no other than a prison." (p. 8) Several months later the brothers-in-law appeared before the Trustees.

Tuesday, 6 [June, 1738]...

Francis Piercy, former gardener at Savannah, who ran away with young [Robert] Bathurst from thence to Carolina... arrived last Wednesday in London, and this evening came to the Trustees, complaining against Causton for never giving him a receipt for work done, nor making up accounts with him; he said there was still thirty shillings due to him.

- John Percival, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 493

"We asked him how he came to run away from Georgia," Percival continued. "He said he did not run away..."

but having lost his father and mother-in-law (Sir Francis Bathurst and his lady), his wife could not bear the thoughts of staying in the country. That indeed he came privately away, knowing that Causton intended to stop him. That Mr. [Robert] Bathurst, his brother-in-law, came with him, because Causton laid claims to all Sir Francis Bathurst's effects.

"We told him we could say nothing as to his complaints until they were examined, for which purpose he should put them in writing.... He replied he was sorry to see we received him so coolly, which appeared very strange to us," Percival concluded, adding finally: "and the gentlemen thought he was drunk."

Robert appears in the *LES viz:*

81. Bathurst, Robert, son. - He ran away to Charlestown to avoid paying his fathers debt to the Trustees and was killed by the Negroes 9 Sept. 1739.

Run away; dead 9 Sept. 1739.

In June, 1738 William Stephens walked over the lands that had been formerly Westbrook and Bathurst Bluff. The homes of Augustine and Bathurst were overgrown and deserted.

We now walked through the Land that had been occupied by Sir Francis Bathurst, where little had been done during his Life, and since it was wholly neglected; thence we continued our Walk through that Land which Augustin had possessed, but very little of it had been cultivated, and it was all deserted by him, as well as the Saw-Mill, which he attempted to make.

- William Stephens *Journal*, June 28, 1738 (CRG IV, p. 163)

Robert Bathurst, the beloved son of Francis, appears just once more in the record, in South Carolina, in September of 1739:

On the 9th day of September last being Sunday which is the day the Planters allow them to work for themselves, Some Angola Negroes assembled, to the number of Twenty; and one who was called Jemmy was their Captain, they surprized a Warehouse belonging to Mr. Hutchenson at a place called Stonehow; they there killed Mr. Robert Bathurst, and Mr. Gibbs, plundered the House and took a pretty many small Arms and Powder, which were there for Sale.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, September, 1739 (also quoted in CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 233)

Robert Bathurst was one of the first killed in the South Carolina slave uprising known as the Stono Rebellion, on September 9, 1739.

But little did anyone know, in the spring of 1735, that Savannah was about to experience its own uprising.

The Red String Plot

And accordingly, I embarked at Gravesend on [black space, but October 31, 1734] with the Indian Chiefs and about 50 Saltzburgers and as many English passengers, and arrived at Savannah in Georgia [blank space--December 28, 1734] where to my very great surprise I found the affairs of the Colony in the utmost confusion....

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 66

So wrote Savannah's 'first' first bailiff, Peter Gordon, in one of his final surviving entries into his *Journal*, written by a man who quickly became so disenchanted with what he witnessed upon his second stay in Savannah that by February he was gone to Charlestown, "to dispose of Some Goods," (CRG XX, p. 273) and by the following month suspiciously still hadn't returned.

This wth my Duty & my wifes to yor Honr & the Rest of ye Honble Trustees & having this oppertunity I make bold to trouble yor Honr wth this to Acquaint you that we are all Safly Arrived & in good Health.

- John Musgrove, January 24, 1735 (CRG XX, p.197)

On December 28, 1734, John Musgrove, Peter Gordon, Tomochichi and the Indians had returned on the *Prince of Wales*. Joseph Fitzwalter wrote to Oglethorpe, assuring him of the group's safe arrival:

By Mr Caustons Desire I went with a Boat and four Servants to below Augustine Creek and Brought Mr Gordon and Spouse [Katherine] with Indian King Queen and Chiefs with Mr Musgrove and were Saluted with Thirteen peices of Cannon by Mr Caustons Order who Gladly Received them. And the Inhabitants of the Township Expressed them selves with a great Deal of Joy of their Safe Arrivall, and the Indians in Generall was glad to see us.

- Joseph Fitzwalter, January 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 163)

John West remarked: "Ye Enjion [Indians] arifed [arrived] heare all in good health & Expres a Deall of Satisfackion in the Exsepion [exception? reception?] in England." (*CRG XX*, p. 138) Tomochichi himself wrote to the Trustees the next month (or rather, had a letter penned), expressing his satisfaction at being back and boasting of a new alliance.

By the Return of Capt Dunbar [of the *Prince of Wales*] I take this Opportunity to Acquaint you that we Arrived Safe at Savannah on the 28th of December last...

The Savannah Indians are Now with me & they have Now Chose Idaqo to be there [their] King.... Idaqo with All his people Are Agreed to Joyn Me in building on Pipe Makers blough (Bluff) and we Intend to live to Gether.

- Tomochichi, February 24, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 237)

The above letter was penned for Tomochichi by Noble Jones; as he happened to remark in a July 6, 1735 note: "I sent by Capt Dunbar a letter of thanks (which I writt from Tomochachis words) to the Honble Trustees for the many favours they had bestow'd upon him." (*CRG XX*, p. 428)

The Savannah Indians were presenting to the Trustees—*via* Thomas Causton—the gift of some animal skins, but Causton noted almost apologetically, "as they [the Savannah] are few in Number [they] hope the few Skins will be Acceptable."

The new settlement, New Yamacraw, would be established roughly four miles to the west of the old site abutting Savannah, moving from the eastern boundary of the Indian Lands to the western boundary. The move was not a sudden or rash one; it had evidently been planned all along. Percival even noted in his *Diary* in July, 1734 that the Yamacraws were "a small nation seated near Savannah town, but who intend to remove three or four miles further upon lands they reserved to themselves when they resigned the country to us where we now are settled." (vol. 2, p. 114)

But it is also entirely possible that the move—as far from Savannah as was technically possible—was an effort by Tomochichi, ever sensitive to maintaining good relations between the Indians and the English, to lessen the chance of further misunderstandings, an idea whose wisdom was bore out in the wake of the Esteechee and Watson fiascos, which had played out during the trip to London.

As John Martin Bolzius remarked by 1739: "The Indians do not actually live among the Europeans but have built their huts in remote areas. The more the land on the coast is settled by

white people the further they withdraw inland... where they live together in orderly fashion.”
(*GHQ*, vol. 47, p. 218)

On April 2, 1735, six weeks after Tomochichi's announcement, Thomas Causton remarked to the Trustees: “The Indians are at Pipemakers Bluff, and have built a very pretty Town being joynd by the Savannah Indians. They all behave exceedingly well.” (*CRG XX*, p. 306)

Still, there were small divisions. On March 19, 1735 Thomas Christie wrote to the Trustees that “Some of the Indians Especially Salotte and Some others wch are not of the Savannah Indians but a Sort of Strollers Seems to Envy him [Tomochichi] very much.... they say he has Sold them to the English for the presents he has received and what he tells them of the Grandeur & People of our Nation is a Lye to keep them in Awe.... Salotte took a Brand of Fire and went to Strike the Queen [Senauki] but Narrowly missed her.... We have Assured Tomochichi of our Protection and if he found himself any ways in Danger to reside at Yamacraw near us where we Should do everything requisit for his Safety.” (*CRG XX*, p. 271-2) Some of the Indians had grown resentful, believing that Tomochichi had, as Christie observed, made “himself greater than he Should be.”

Meanwhile, to the east, somewhere between the Cowpen and the house of Joseph Watson in Savannah, a rumor began to surface regarding Mary Musgrove, Thomas Causton and the Indian Trade.

Captain Watsone or some body else... has said to Musgrove that in his absence Mr. Causton had agreed with Mrs. Musgrove to give him the Indian trade for which he was to give her £1000 Ster. Some people say also Musgrove is jealous of his Wife with Mr. Causton[,] however this be he has after been heard say that he would shoot Mr. Causton and kill his wife. Mr [John] West & me are doing our endeavours to pacify him which I pray god we may succeed in.

- Patrick Houstoun, March 1, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 238)

On March 10, an angry Thomas Causton wrote: “I had reced Information That [Joseph] Watson and this [Robert] Parker had sent for Musgrave and had perswaded him to be jealous and bear an ill mind to me.” (*CRG XX*, p. 258) Only six weeks before, Musgrove had used high praise for Causton, remarking to Oglethorpe that “Mr Causton is & has been very good to ye Indians & they all praise & Value him.” (Jan, 24, 1735, *CRG XX*, p. 197) Now the whispers of Joseph Watson and Robert Parker had set them at odds, protesting that Watson had been defrauded and imprisoned on trumped up charges because Causton was after Musgrove's trade... and perhaps even Musgrove's wife.

Samuel Quincy wrote to Peter Gordon, in Charlestown at the time: “As for Musgrove he is for some cause or other very much enraged with Causton, some say he is jealous of him with his Wife, others that he is afraid Causton should get the Indian Trade from him & some that during Musgroves absence, his Wife has made away with £1600 Curr. the chief of wch was in Silver & Gold, & that he suspects that Causton has got her Money.” (*CRG XX*, p. 246)

Feeding off these growing tensions and discontent, on March 2, 1735, all hell broke loose.

Writing to Peter Gordon, then in Charlestown, Patrick Houstoun attached as a hastily written P.S. a reference to the event as it broke: “Since writing the above this afternoon there has been a

design discovered of the Irish transport servants.” (CRG XX, p. 238) Or as Samuel Quincy put it, “We had on Sunday last an Affair that threw us into great Confusion.” (CRG XX, p. 246)

The incident, never completely explained in the Georgia record and never fully understood by any of its correspondents, quickly became known as the Red String Plot, a reference to the fact that several suspected conspirators were discovered to be wearing red strings about their wrists. As Causton later wrote, John Vanderplank alerted the town in late afternoon, after having received “Information that a Design was laid for Destroying the Town, and that those who wore a Red String on their Wrist were concerned in it.” (CRG XX, p. 258) Patrick Houstoun, Samuel Quincy, Joseph Fitzwalter, Thomas Christie and Thomas Causton all wrote surviving letters detailing the events of March 2, 1735; and while the Red String Plot remains an unexplained muddle to this day, these various letters may be used to reconstruct an order of events of the day.

The events of March 2, 1735:

Samuel Quincy -

[John] Vanderplant & some other of the Officers were called out of Church, & made acquainted that there were 40, or 50 White Persons & as many Indians with Musgrove at the Head of ‘em, that were entered into a Design to burn the Town & destroy the People, at least some of them. The Alarum Bell was rung....

- CRG XX, p. 246

Joseph Fitzwalter -

Sunday the 2d of March About Four in the Afternoon we had an Alarm....

- p. 252

Thomas Christie -

Whilst I was at my own House a Sunday Evening the 2d of March Inst To my great Surprize I heard the Alarm Bell (Mr Causton being then at Thunderbolt). I Imediately Arm’d my Self and made to the Guard house where I found Mr Vanderplank who said he had Discovered a Plot to Surprize the Town & kill the People and he believed Musgrove and the Indians were concerned in it. Without Speaking any thing more he took a Party of men and went down with them to Musgroves house, It seems Since to Learn of them whether anything was in it [the allegation].

.... I dispatched Mr Fitzwalter to desire Mr Causton home....

- p. 270

Joseph Fitzwalter -

Mr Causton was that Day gone to Thunderbolt and so to Skidaway to see that Settlement, I Sett out from town after five to Acquaint Mr Causton of it, whom I mett with About Midway from Thunderbolt....

- p. 252

Thomas Causton -

As I was coming home Mr Fitzwater coming to meet me, told me what had happened....

- p. 258

Thomas Christie -

[Vanderplank] Left Mr [James] Carwell at the Guard house who at my Request Marshall’d the Freeholders as fast as they came & drew them up regularly so that in a Quarter of an Hour’s time there was near 50 Men in Arms. In the mean time I used all the Diligence I could to Learn out how this Plot was to be Executed and by whom and upon Enquiry found Elizabeth Gray knew something of it....

Elizabeth Grey, the young woman who exposed the plot, was among the numerous servants arriving with the 'Seven Scots', covered in the third volume of this narrative. This contingent, which included Patrick Tailfer, arrived in Georgia in the summer of 1734. She is described simply in the *List of Early Settlers* as:

487. Grey, Eliz. - Servt. to Jo. Baillie; arrived 1 Aug. 1734. Discharged her masters service and marry'd Geo. Sims 10 March 1734-5. Disch. Dead 1740.

"I thereupon took her to my house," Thomas Christie continued, "& began an Examination before Sevl of the best people in Town." (*CRG XX*, p. 270) The plot, as she related it, seems to have been based entirely on a boast by one John Cox. One of those "best people" that Christie brought to hear her testimony must have been Patrick Houstoun, who noted Elizabeth Grey's testimony.

Patrick Houstoun -

The story is... that [John] Coxe a Taylour came to her & desired her to tell Doctor Sym's daughter [Anne] that Mr. Vanderplank's man [Edward Cruise] who was in prison for some days bygone to tell Sym's daughter who was his mistress that this night he was to be at liberty. The girl [Elizabeth] asked how. He said he & 40 or 50 more was in concert to burn the town this night, kill all the white men, save the women, & [John] Musgrove with severall Indians was to join them....

- p. 241

Twenty-three year-old Anne Symes had come over on the *Anne* (#93), the only daughter of George Symes, the oldest of the 'first forty' (#91). She had married a slightly younger man in fellow *Anne* passenger Robert Johnston (#19); although three-to-four years' her junior, the *List of Early Settlers* records his death on July 23, 1734. The nature of her relationship to Elizabeth Grey becomes clear when one realizes the Grey was about to marry Anne's father. The fact that Anne was referred to as Cruise's "mistress" must remain open to interpretation; whether the two had a relationship or he had simply served in her employ the surviving record does not provide enough information to form a conclusion. In fact, Percival's narrative in the *LES* suggest she remarried just three weeks after the events of the Red String Plot, to Morgan Davis, a servant to Roger Lacy.

Edward Cruise, the imprisoned servant formerly in the employ of John Vanderplank, is described in the *List of Early Settlers* as arriving "10 Jan. 1733/4;" he was one of the transport servants. The Irish servants, trouble since their January, 1734 arrival, had been linked to another major incident of unrest.

Grey described the trademark and common sign of the conspirators was a red string tied around the wrist.

Thomas Christie -

[I] Found by her Examination that a Red String was to be a Sign or Token & immediately sent out persons to make a Discovery of any that wore it but found none but the Prisoners hereafter named....

- p. 270

Samuel Quincy -

Search was made for the Conspirators, & some of them were found who wore a mask to distinguish themselves viz. a Red string about the Right Wrist. They were chiefly Irish Transports; none of the Freeholders were concerned....

- p. 246

Thomas Causton -

[They] Apprehended One John Cox a Taylor from Carolina, Piercy Hill, and Edward Cruise, Vanderplank's Transport Servant who had all of them Red Strings on their Wrist as Token of the Design agreeable to the Information....

- p. 258

Patrick Houstoun -

Coxe told all in the plote wore a ride [red] ribbon about there arm[,] which he & severall others taken up [apprehended] had upon there arm when taken....

- p. 241

Thomas Christie -

I was going on with further Examinations but Night coming on & being Inform'd of Mr Caustons coming home, staid to advise with him in this uncertain posture of things....

- p. 270

Despite Houstoun's claim of "severall others," only three confirmed "Red String" wearers were discovered: the aforementioned Cox and Cruise, and Earl Piercy Hill. Thomas Causton, given the clarity of writing on March 10, more than a week removed from the event, blamed Vanderplank's hastiness in ringing the bell, which probably alerted any additional conspirators in addition to the townspeople. "I believe, if they had not been so hasty in ringing the Alarm more discovery might have been made." (p. 258) Christie made a similar assessment on March 19, stating that "if Mr Vanderplank had communicated his cause of Alarm to me I Should have Advised him to have made a proper Search... before the Alarm Bell had been rung." (CRG XX, p. 271) But these were hindsight assessments; Vanderplank was a hot-tempered man who had discovered his own servant at the center of a conspiracy and was so eager to follow the trail wherever it led that he had charged off to John Musgrove's when no one was there. As Patrick Houstoun noted, "Musgrove & all his family & the whole Indians were up at Pipemakers bluff."

Thomas Christie -

Mr Vanderplank soon return'd from Mr Musgrove [in the early evening] finding no body at Home and upon hearing [Elizabeth Grey's testimony] read in my house seem'd very angry... went out in an abrupt manner and cry'd out in the Street he found out what the Plot was [&] we were going to hang his man [Cruise]....

- p. 270

And then, to add to the confusion, Roger Lacy stumbled out of the woods searching for two servants of his who had just gone missing.

Thomas Christie -

Mr Lacy (tho very dark [outside]) had made his way through the Wood to us that Night in pursuit of two of his Servants who were that Evening run away....

- p. 271

Lacy's maid servant—the woman who had reported their absence, and as Christie wrote, "was of a design to go away with them" —was also "found with a Red String on her Arm."

Thomas Christie -

We went to Mr Vanderplank [&] Requested that two Compleat Tythings of Able men might be upon Guard that Night, That three or four of the Cannon might be Imediately Charged & drawn out to Flank the Strand on each side & things put into a posture of Defence....

- p. 270

Patrick Houstoun -

Severalls of us sate up all night. Nothing appeared, but I do not at all doubt but there was something designed....

- p. 241

Thomas Christie -

My Selfe with a great Number of Gentlemen and the better Sort of People being Compleatly Arm'd Form'd a Resolution to Patrole the Town all that Night as Vollunteers. Mr Causton soon came home and Joyn'd us....

- p. 271

Joseph Fitzwalter -

When we Came home the Town was very Still. Mr Causton went to Mr Recorders [Christie] to Know and to Consult the Safty of the province....

- p. 252

Christie wrote that as the evening continued: "We were Considerably Employed to See if all the Servants were at home & a Bed & if not send them to the Guard house. Especially the Irish Transports who... we had no great Oppinion of...."

Thomas Christie -

All was very quiet that Night & the next morning We Sate and made further Enquiry took further Affidavits & Continued the Necessary Orders.

- p. 271

The next morning Tomochichi came to town, along with Mary Musgrove, to soothe the fears of the magistrates and the freeholders. As Christie wrote: "Tomochichi and his People Appears no ways concern'd in it and Seem'd very Surprized at the Alarm Guns, Testified their Fidellity and was Concern'd they had been named in it." Patrick Houstoun noted this as well: "This day Mrs. Musgrove & Tomochechie came to town who denys any such design." (p. 241)

The Indians were innocent, and John Musgrove gave testimony that appears to have cleared him on March 4. As Houstoun wrote the night before: "we shall know more the morrow, Musgrove being to appear himself the morrow to answer the Charge." (p. 241). The case of Lacy's servants was immediately pursued, as Fitzwalter described his action on "Monday in the Afternoon" on March 3:

Mr Causton Mr [Henry] parker and Recorder sent to me in the Gardens to send Francis Henly upp [,] one of the Trusts Servants [,] to Examine him upon Information of Mr Lacy of Thunderbolt of his Servants being in Conspiracy with ye Rest.

- Joseph Fitzwalter, March 10, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 252)

But despite the initial appearances, Lacy's servants did not appear to have had anything to do with the plot, or if they did, no further mention is made in the record. In Ebenezer, word of the attempted insurrection trickled over the next few days, Bolzius noting:

The 7th Mar [1735]. Twice in succession we have had the bad news from Savannah that some servants there, who for some misdeeds had been sent from England to be slaves in this province for their punishment, had plotted with a colonist from Abercorn to burn the city.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 50)

“We cannot thank God enough,” Bolzius wrote, “that we do not know anything about such insolent riff-raff in our place.” The inhabitant from Abercorn he mentioned was Earl Piercy Hill; as Thomas Causton observed two months before in a letter to the Trustees of a new inhabitant at Abercorn: “Piercy Hill has [the widow Barbara] Rivett's Lott, And She is removed to this Town.” (*CRG XX*, p. 170)

On March 10 a grand jury indicted John Coxe, Piercy Hill and Edward Cruise for High Misdemeanors. Tried and found guilty for this lesser charge—but not of treason—Thomas Christie remarked they were sentenced to “60 Lashes each by the hands of the Common Hangman and are to receive 60 more unless any one of them Shall make an Ample Discovery.” That “Ample Discovery” was not forthcoming; if the three had any information they did not share it. “We shall punish the three People under Prosecution with Whiping fine or Imprisonment, And Shew as much favour as we Can to Hill.” (*CRG XX*, p. 261)

Percival lists two additional conspirators found guilty within the pages of the *LES*, though these two are never named by Causton or Christie in the surviving record: Novel (or perhaps Neville) Heslege, a “Boy,” and Mary Hislop, “Servt. To Hugh Anderson.” The *LES* entries for the five:

262. Cox, John - Inmate at Savannah.
[note: in other words, “without lot” at Savannah]
Found guilty of misprision of treason
10 Mar. 1734-5 & whipt 60 lashes.

274. Cruise, Edwd. - Servt. to Jo. Vanderplank; arrived 10 Jan. 1733-4. Whipt 60 lashes for misprision of treason
March 1734/5.

532. Heslege, Novel - Boy. Found guilty of misprision of treason 8 March 1734-5 & broke out of jail.

538. Hill, Earl Piercy - Convicted of misprision of treason 8 Mar. 1734-5 and ran away. He was concern'd in the intended insurrection 1734. Run away for misprision of treason.

539. Hilslop, Mary - Servt. to Hugh Anderson. Whipt 60 lashes March 1734-5 on acct. of the red string plot.

But on the morning of March 3, with cannons still on the Common and Hill, Cox and Cruise caught “red-handed,” as it were, Causton, Christie & Co. seem to have been convinced that there

were “higher-ups” behind the scheme, and if it wasn’t Musgrove or the Indians it had to be someone else. The Red String Plot was over, now the witch hunt was about to begin.

After having cleared Musgrove, Causton wrote of his suspicion “That very Probably some Villainous fellows might be employed to do Mischief and when done, lay it on Musgrove and his Indians.” (CRG XX, p. 258) To Causton, the identity of these villainous fellows was not a mystery... they had already tipped their hand by trying to manipulate Musgrove in the days leading up to the sound of the alarm bell.

Samuel Quincy, writing to Peter Gordon in Charlestown, remarked of breaking news with some alarm: “However here in fresh Matter against Watson, Cotes, Watkins & some others who are to be tryed as Conspirators against the Colony.” (CRG XX, p. 247)

As Causton explained to the Trustees, “On Monday March the 3d...”

... [Robert Parker, Jr.] came to me about an Administration to Mr Sale and I took that Oppertunity (Mr Henry Parker being present) to Reprove him for joyning with Watson in the storeys told to Musgrove; That it was very Ungenerous.... He owned [admitted] he had been with Watson on Such an Occasion, And that he thought Watson was very unjustly dealt by.

On the Discovery of this Conspiracy it was agreed by all the Magistrates here, That Warrants should be Issued to Search Watson, Parker, Coates, Watkins, Peiba and King Clark (These Six being dayly in Consultation [,] frequently guilty of ill Language, and were Seldom Separate) with endeavour to find out further Lights into the Design.

- Thomas Causton, March 10, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 258-9)

On Friday, March 7, the homes of freeholders were searched. The first property to be searched? Joseph Watson. Already in the fourth month of his confinement without trial he wrote to Peter Gordon—the latter a man who, since returning from England, had shown disregard for Thomas Causton and a public sympathy for Watson. Joseph Watson despaired of his life even as his house was nailed up around him. “On freyday Last Mr Venderplank with a Guaard served two Warrents on Me Seasing all my papers,” he wrote.

After serching they naild up my fore dore & Window and Keeps a Sentinall att my back dore with orders to Sufer noe person to come near nor speak to Me att aney distance unless he hears our discourse, or [nor] may I Evse [use] pen inck or paper.... I realey expect Mr Causton will putt me out of this World by fowle practice & have therefore enjoynd Mr [William] Watkins if please God i dye during these Commotions to Evse [use] dilligent Wais of discovering the Cause of my death as he shall judg needful.

- Joseph Watson, March 10, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 253-54)

Thomas Causton defended his actions to the Trustees, though confessing he had found little by the search and siezures.

But it was too Late, for Watson had not a paper of any Sort about him, except one Letter [*note*: the letter quoted above] which he said was to Mr [Peter] Gordon, by which you will see the Encouragement he has lately taken and how ready he is to Embroil the Opinions of the Unguarded people, And more particularly That he supposes himself to be tryed for his Life before he is Charged with any other Crime, than Creating a jealousy in Musgrove.

- Thomas Causton, March 10, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 259)

Watson's tarnished history is well established, and Surgeon William Watkins, an Abercorn grantee who seems to have spent more time in Savannah than he ever did in the former, was about to be convicted as a bigamist. The man referred to as Peiba is in a subsequent letter called De Peiba and identified as a Jew. He probably corresponds to Aaron Depiva, a man who is on Benjamin Sheftall's List, but is curiously not found in the *List of Early Settlers*. The "Roberts Parker," Junior and Senior, of course had been some of Causton's earliest and most vocal critics. Isaac King Clarke, in the meantime, had also come on the *Savannah*. Affected by a chronic lethargy that may have been real or imagined, he was an apothecary who wrote to the Trustees in 1734 begging to be excused from the inconvenience of having to perform guard duty while taking a swipe at the competing services of William Watkins and Samuel Pensyre.

'Tis a great hardship to be subject to ye Guard and tax'd with omission of Duty.
'Tis a greater hardship to be expos'd to ye injuries of Weather...
'Tis a hardship that Others shou'd be sufferd to inroach on that which might tend to my future Support....

Honble Gentlemen my request is this, that an Amendment may be made to what precedes, or that you wou'd grant me leave for my return to England.

- Isaac King Clarke, September 3, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 77)

The Trustees read his letter on January 18, 1735, noting simply:

Saturday Janry 18th 1734/35

Read a Letter from Mr Isaac King Clarke from Savannah with Complaints of his being obliged to mount Guard, of his House not being built, and of Mr Watkins's practicing Physick in Savannah.

- *Journal of the Trustees* (*CRG I*, p. 200)

Ironically, the very same day the Trustees read his letter Samuel Pensyre noted in a correspondence, "As to Mr King Clarck [he] has been So ill Most part of ye time that he has been here, that he has not been Capable of doing any thing." (*CRG XX*, p.180) In response to Clarke's letter and arguments, the Trustees sent him a carefully stated rebuttal:

The Trustees know of no Order given for prohibiting Watkins or Any Other practising Physick; Nor was there any Reason for such Order from the Terms of Your going over.

- Benjamin Martyn, January 25, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 46)

John Coates, in the meantime, was a constable of the town, granted lot 121 at the southeast corner of Broughton and Barnard Streets. He seemed to oppose Causton at every turn—and sometimes openly, as was the case in the earlier-mentioned affair of Paul Cheeswright—it was hardly an ideal relationship in the execution of law. John Coates had arrived on the *Savannah* in December of 1733 (#67), and was summed up in the following terms in the *LES*:

265. Coates, Jo.- Turner; embark'd 11 Sept. 1733; arrived 16 Dec. 1733; lot. 121 in Savannah. He was constable when he deserted to Carolina for debt. A riotous fellow in open court at the Tryal of Watson 20 Oct. 1737. He died there Sept. 1739. Run away

3 Dec. 1737; dead Sept. 1739.

He first appeared before the Trustees on July 25, 1733 and gave such a poor appearance that he stood out among a crew that already gave a bad appearance. Percival lamented after the fact: "It were to be wished we had not engaged them," he wrote of the applicants, observing: "These partners were five in number, of whom Coates and Smith and Salmon, I fear, are beggars."

Coates appeared, and with him a widow, who charged him with a design to defraud her of 12l. We made up the difference between them, she taking his bond to pay her when in Georgia that sum, or if he discharges it before he goes, she will forgive him the six pounds of it.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 392

But even this debt to the widow appears not to have been the only one. On September 5, 1733 the Trustees ordered "That John Coates do not go till he has satisfied Michael Elstone from a Debt due to him." (CRG II, p. 137) On August 22, 1733 the Trustees provided a generous land grant for pursuing their potash industry.

Mr Coates and Mr Smith who were concern'd in the Copartnership for making Potashes attended and deliver'd up the Grant of twelve hundred Acres Which was formerly given to Reyner and Others with the Duplicate thereof to the Trustees.

- *Journal of the Trustees* (CRG I, p. 135)

But a similar outstanding debt quickly put an end to the trip of Coates' would-be partner. "Mr. Piggot attended and petition'd against Robert Smith Junr of Rotherhith going to Georgia, he being bound with him for payment of thirty Pounds." (CRG I, p. 36) A letter was quickly dispatched to Captain Wood to not admit him aboard.

An eyesore showing up regularly at William Stephens' doorstep accompanying Joseph Watson in the fall of 1737, Coates was described by Stephens in the following terms:

Coates... had been a long while one of the principal Fomenters of Mischief, a busy Fellow, always taking upon him in Court to be an Advocate and Pleader for any Delinquent; going from House to House with idle Stories to fill Peoples Heads with Jealousies, and distinguishing himself for a most inveterate opposition to all Rules of Government.

- William Stephens *Journal*, December 3, 1737 (CRG IV, p. 41)

With so much of the town populated with a rogues' gallery, Thomas Christie speculated the Red String Plot that threatened the town on March 2, 1735, seemed to "have had Birth either at Watsons or [Francis] Mugridges house where Generally a parcel of People in bad Circumstances resort." (CRG XX, p. 271) Francis Mugridge had arrived with the 'first forty' on the *Anne*. His house was located on lot 12, on the north end of Derby Ward, facing what is today Bay Street. On the day before the Red String Plot, Robert Parker began a correspondence to Peter Gordon.

I am not the only Person in this Colony that have Demands upon Mr Causton, nor Yet the only one whose Credit He has blasted & whose Ruin he has most Industriously sought... Poor Mugrage [Francis Mugridge] was sent Prisoner to the Log House Yesterday for Demanding what was due him from the Store House.

- Robert Parker, Jr., March 1, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 242)

Causton was indignant at such accusations; he explained to the Trustees that he had imprisoned Mugridge for contempt of court, relating to an action brought against Mugridge by Patrick Houston; the former's inability or unwillingness to show up in Houston's presence had spurred Causton to action.

In late March a cautious Thomas Causton did his best to sum up his conclusions of the Red String Plot, making a conclusion similar to Christie's.

The Red String Conspiracy, which I mentioned to the Trustees proves to have risen at the Widow Bowlings house, where [Francis] Mugridge[,] [Thomas] Tibbitt and some others (too much in Debt) had distinguished themselves by a Red String on their Wrist, as a Signall of a Drunken Resolution to Desert the Colony, upon pretence, that they have no Title to shew for their Lands.

- Thomas Causton, March 24, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 286)

Like the ripple effect in a pool the pall of suspicion had moved over all classes, and like the ripple, it eventually petered out with no appreciable resolution. The exact motive behind the Red String Plot—if there was any motivation; indeed, *if there was even a Red String Plot*—remains unclear. Whether it was a genuine threat to destroy the colony or Savannah's own version of a Salem Witch Hunt will almost certainly never be known. And despite the initial fears of Irish involvement and the suspicious flight of Lacy's servants, with the exception of Cruise no other Irish transports were named, though the same month Vanderplank's other Irish servant, Denis Fowler, was whipped for having sex with Mary Fitzgerald (another Irish servant) in Vanderplank's yard during the church service.

Despairing of the growing sense of lawlessness taking root among the malcontents, Causton remarked: "If any person is committed to Gaol, they lett them out, and if they apprehend any one either by Night or Day, they discharge them at pleasure." One example, certainly, was Francis Mugridge, who was broken out of prison with the assistance of John Musgrove. Quincy remarked in late summer:

There has been no one Mutinous Action in the Colony besides that of Mugridges breaking the Prison, when he was assisted to it by Musgrove, wc [which] certainly was a Fault, tho' ye Cause for wc he was committed, as I have heard it was not just.

- Samuel Quincy, August 28, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 462)

Francis Mugridge was dead by July 1, John Musgrove by June 12, so the event mentioned had probably occurred in the spring, and very likely by the time of Causton's March 24 letter, by which time he let slip that specific remark about jail-breaking. Mugridge, then, would have been in prison for three weeks.

The War of the Magistrates

No sooner had the dust from the Red String Plot begun to die down when Peter Gordon's bizarre trip to Charlestown became even more bizarre with word that he wasn't coming back.

Mr Gordon has been sometime at Charles Town where he went in order to dispose of Some Goods he brought with him from England and it was Stongly Rumour'd that he had a dessign to return back but I am inform'd this Day that we are [not] likely to See him again here.

- Thomas Christie, March 19, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 273)

A cold war brewing between Savannah's top magistrates erupted into a war of accusations in the late spring of 1735. As early as April word had already leaked back to London of trouble across the Atlantic. On April 14 Percival and Vernon, meeting informally with Oglethorpe, first learned of Peter Gordon, the first bailiff, apparently turning malcontent.

Mr. Oglethorp... told us that by the last accounts from Savannah there has been a great deal of murmuring and uneasiness from the time that Gordon, our first bailiff, arrived there with the Indian chiefs, and he is of the opinion this has proceeded from Gordon, who it is suspected is a Papist; this we design to enquire into, as a matter of very great consequence.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 169

For Percival it may have seemed the worst case scenario: A long-suspected Catholic in a trusted position of power, now seeking to disrupt the order of the colony—and as chief magistrate, in no better position to do so.

But in reality, by the time of that April 14 conversation Gordon had fled the New World for the Old. On April 2, 1735 Causton wrote to the Trustees: "I am now informed Mr [Peter] Gordon is Sailed for England, with design to give some Unjust Reflections." (*CRG XX*, p. 307)

Peter Gordon, next-door neighbor to Causton in Derby ward and first bailiff to Causton's second, departed Charlestown for England in March, after having spent only six weeks in Savannah. Patrick Houstoun wrote to Gordon: "I Received yours of ye 15 ult. [February] only a day or two agoe. I am sorry you are going to Brittain so soon. In my opinion you would have done your bussiness much better had you stayed some time longer in this country when you had been wittness to more of the management." (*CRG XX*, p.237)

John West warned Gordon of a false friend in the magistracy, explaining: "I fear that you pott Confeydence in one man heare that will nott prouve as faithfull as you may Expeckt."

Remarking further of this false friend, whose identity was almost certainly Thomas Christie, West recounted one particular conversation:

He Came to me to give him ye best informasion I Could of ye grevonc [grievance] of ye pepell which I Deed, butt after he tould me that he should nott send itt & seem to spack slitting [speak slighting] of you, & thare is nobody soo gratt [great] as mr Costin & him.

- John West, March 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 255)

Nor did Gordon have good relations with Noble Jones any longer. "I always thought him a Man of More Honour than to Enfringe So much on any Mans Right," Jones wrote to Oglethorpe in a July 6, 1735 correspondence. (*CRG XX*, p. 429) Jones was referring to the plan of the settlement printed in England the year before... an illustration based, evidently, on a drawing by the surveyor Jones. We know it today as the Peter Gordon Map.

As the November 4, 1734 *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* boasted: "The new plan presented by Mr Gordon to his Majesty, of the Town of Savannah and the Colony of Georgia, so far as it was

cleared of the woods (dedicated to the Honorable the Trustees) is now printed and published.” The sketch had first been presented to the Trustees during Gordon’s appearance before the Board in a February 26, 1734 meeting. Percival wrote with some enthusiasm: “He also produced a sketch of the town and adjacent country, as it was when he came away in November last, which we ordered to be engraved for the satisfaction of the subscribers to the undertaking.” (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 36)

As Gordon observed, following the presentation of the illustration, the Trustees “ordered me a small present.” (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 65)

“I Understand Mr Gordon Made a large Sum by his prospect of Savannah,” Jones grumbled now, observing that he was now very careful about guarding his depictions.

A hundred pounds it is Said he gott by it, which has Set a Certain Person who has the keeping of the Register book to fall upon the Same practice here, which makes Me Cautious how I Put any Platts in it.

- Noble Jones, July 6, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 429)

Peter Gordon carried with him back to England testimonials from other disgruntled colonists. Percival noted in his *Journal*:

10 May [1735]

Peter Gordon attended as he was order’d and deliver’d a Memorial against Mr. Causton the 2d Bailif, and also Several Letters from particular Inhabitants of Georgia complaining of that magistrates conduct & behaviour.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 85

In his March 2, 1735 letter to Peter Gordon, Patrick Houstoun noted:

Your resolution of going to Brittain I observe gives some uneasiness here. So soon as I gott your letter I made your resolutions known on purpose to give people opportunity to write you, which I believe severalls will do this week.

- Patrick Houstoun, March 2, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 240)

“I am of the opinion,” Houstoun remarked further, “we shall never be happy till a Trustee comes over to putt us once more to the rights.” Gordon brought these testimonials—no fewer than seven letters, including complaints in the wake of the Red Sting witch hunt—to the Trustees and offered his own charges of misconduct and court system gone awry... charges that certainly would have drawn more merit had Gordon not slipped out of the colony illegally and returned without the Trustees’ prior consent or knowledge.

Peter Gordon prefaced the testimonials:

The grievances the People laboured under and complaints they made to Me upon my Arrivall were almost generall by those of credite, and reputation in the Colony....

The next grievance complain’d of is the tedious and frequent holding of the Courts, by which means at least, one third of the labour of the Colony is lost, to the great prejudice and loss of the laborious and working part of the people.

- Peter Gordon, May 7, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 335)

Robert Parker, Sr., for one, had already written to the Trustees in January of excessive “attendance at Court” by many residents; consuming sometimes “10 Days out of 30” in a month. Comparing the prolific Savannah Court to the entire legal history of nearby Purrysburg, he observed it was hardly a surprise that the Court had become Savannah’s largest industry.

It must needs be, when the Recorder has told me, he has granted Thirty Warrants in a Day. When at Purrisborough (to its Praise be it spoken) only one Warrant has been served since its first setting.

- Robert Parker, January 4, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 140)

For his own part Causton wrote to the Trustees of Gordon:

I beg leave to say, That when he arrived, I reced him, as one I wisht for, I mean a person capable of assisting me, with hopes that he would Save me the Trouble of Acting (on every Occasion,) in the Office of Magistrate....

... But to my great Surprize, [he] encouraged Complaints and Raised Discord, As if he came with some great Commission....

But thus it is, He has made a Voyage to Georgia, Staid here about a Month, Encouraged Complaints against the Administrators of Justice, helped Vilifye, Ridicule, and Oppose all former Management, hearing One Side without the other, and then left us; Without letting us know his Sentiments, (or Staying) whereby to prevent those things which he pretended to Complain of.

- Thomas Causton, April 2, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 307)

And Percival, observing as the ball was hit back and forth, noted: “16 July [1735] Letters recd. from Bailif Causton complaining of Bailif Gordon....” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 98)

Gordon wrote within his *Journal* of his good intentions, that upon his return to Georgia in December of 1734, he had found “so generall a dislike to the administration amongst the people, that many of them hade actually entered into one design before my arrival, of sending Mr. Causton, the principle magistrate, and against whom their complaints were chiefly grounded, home to England in irons.” (*Journal of Peter Gordon*, p. 66)

The colorful idea within these “private caballs,” (p. 51) of placing Causton in irons was put aside with Gordon’s return. “This design as soon as they heard of my arrivall they intirely laid aside in expectation that I was provided with full powers of redressing all their grievances.” But as he concluded, “I found that my power was not extencive enough effectually to relieve or redress them.” (p. 66-7)

“Mr Gordon hath hitherto gained the Approbation of ye People,” Elisha Dobree had written to the Trustees as early as January, 1735, shortly after Gordon’s return on the *Prince of Wales*. Gushing with praise of Gordon, he reduced the conflict to a good magistrate *vs.* an evil one.

It were well if all Judges of Provinces & men in Power... to whom the Government of the people... would Endeavour to Copy after Our Late Kings & Queens in their Fatherly Endeavours more to gain the Love & Affection of the People [Gordon] than in Rigid Tyranical way of Government in Using their Subjects more like Slaves than Christians Freemen [Causton].

- Elisha Dobree, January 27, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 200)

Referring to “the Villany of the Present Magistrates of this place,” Robert Parker wrote to the Trustees:

I neede not enlarge upon the perticulers. I presume Mr Gorden has related Enough of yr Actions, and the Letters sent by him are so many Vouchers.... so many extraordinary things Daily Happen. There never was a greater Scene of Male Administration [maladministration].

- Robert Parker, June 3, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 371)

Patrick Tailfer, in his *True and Historical Narrative*, revisited the war of the magistrates, chiming in on the side of Gordon:

Mr. Gordon... being a person of a very winning behaviour, affable and fluent in speech, soon got the good will of every body, and a great many of the people laid their grievances and hardships open to him, which seemed a little to eclipse Mr. Causton; but he [Causton] soon found out an expedient to remove this adversary, viz, by refusing him provisions from the store, which in a little time rendered him incapable to support himself and family, whereby he was obliged, after about six weeks' stay, to leave the place... and some time thereafter, he either resigned, or was dismissed from his office of First Bailiff, and Mr. Causton was appointed in his stead.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 55

Peter Gordon seems to redress any such allegation in his comments to the Trustees, pointing out that, “On the Contrary Mr Causton was so kind to offer me the Arrears which was due to Me from the Stores, which wou’d have amounted to between twenty and thirty pound, but I chose rather to have my affairs... at the expense of my own passage.” (*CRG XX*, p. 338) Nonetheless, relations between the two men were less than cordial from almost the first moment of Gordon’s return, if the following correspondence is any indication. As Elisha Dobree remarked in a letter to the Trustees in January:

Mr Gordons proceedings seem to please the People. His Courteous & good Nature are vertues which often gains the good Esteem & respect of all mankind & was at Church Sunday Last when another was Absent That for Some Reasons might have been there.

- Elisha Dobree, January 15, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 161)

The unnamed “another... Absent” was almost certainly the same man derisively referred to as “our Chief” in the preceding line of the correspondence, a not-so-subtle allusion to Thomas Causton.

The fact that the power structure of Savannah was flawed by 1735 was clear to everyone who was caught beneath it. Robert Parker, Jr., wrote in his March 2 letter to Peter Gordon, “I am sure our prest Bayliff Cawston takes the surest Methods for the Destruction of this Infant Colony wch is now almost Inevitable unless some Speedy Way be found out to Relieve us.” (*CRG XX*, p. 242) In another not so subtle allusion to Causton, Parker took up the issue of an unnamed storekeeper and his newfound extravagance:

(3dly) There is such an alteration of People especially amongst them that have to do with the Store, Mr Oglethorpe Himself would not know them. He has been Witness of their Poverty, but now no Sign remains, [they] never appear wth out their Ruffles, & their Houses are well Furnished wth Plenty of everything to Profuseness.

- Robert Parker, January 4, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 141)

Tailfer offered his own opinion on the other bailiffs of Savannah:

As to Mr. Henry Parker, who was appointed Third Bailiff... he was a man of no education; so that Mr. Causton soon moulded him to his own liking.... As to Mr. [Thomas] Christie, the Recorder, he was easily overruled by the other two; and the same practice was always continued.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 55-56

Henry Parker succeeded John West as third bailiff, after West pled with the Trustees to allow him to step down from the post. West, the formerly imprisoned debtor who had come on the *Anne*, widowed twice in a three-month time period during the Summer Sickness of 1733, had taken a third wife in 1734. Marrying the widow of first storekeeper Joseph Hughes, she was his third wife to be named Elizabeth and his third wife to have come over on the *Anne*. West wrote in appreciation to Oglethorpe only days after the birth of his son, glad to be “Quetting ye bench.”

I mack [make] bould [bold] to trobell [trouble] you with this with my heart full of grateytude & thankfulness for your Deesmesing [dismissing] me of Soo trobellsome & Chargobell [chargeable?] a ofess [office].

- John West, December 30, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 138)

“I thanck god My wife is brought to bead [bed] with a Sone on ye 28 of this” month, he wrote. But his son would not live long.

Fri. 10 [June, 1737] - I buried the only child of a fond parent, who had been snatched away from him in a moment, falling into a well, and being stifled there before those with whom he had been just playing could help him.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 361-2

Having already lost his son Richard in the sickness of the first summer, he had now lost his second son by his third wife as the child fell down a well. Joseph West was born on December 28, 1734, sharing the name of his mother’s earlier deceased husband. John West himself would perish two years later, according to the *LES*, “of consumption.”

Henry Parker would follow a similar rise through the magistracy as Causton, rising eventually to first bailiff upon Causton’s dismissal in the Great Purge in 1738. As to Thomas Christie, his frustration with his post was obvious; complaining of bouts of rheumatism he asked the Trustees to be relieved in increasingly plaintiff letters:

I return your Honnr many thanks for Conferring on me the Honl office of Recorder [but] I most Ernestly Entreat Your Honnr would dispose of that Place to Some more able Person.

- Thomas Christie, December 14, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p. 126)

I cod Wish your Honrs wod give me leave to settle my Improvemts in Town.... I shod by that means be able in a more conspicuous manner to convince yor Honrs how much I had at heart the welfare & service of the Colony.

- Thomas Christie, May 28, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 356)

And finally:

I cod now heartily wish the Trustees wod relieve me in my Office.

- Thomas Christie, July 31, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 455)

But unlike John West, it was clear the Trustees were unwilling or unable to spare him. Realizing he was not going to be relieved, apathy set in, and ultimately frustration. In short, unable to resign he settled instead into resignation. By 1737 William Stephens, introduced to Christie, found him honest but beaten.

Tuesday [November 22, 1737]...

Mr. Christie, the Recorder... had executed that Office (he said) from the Beginning, during so many Years, that it took up almost his whole Time, for which he had no other Recompence than to bear the Brunt of all the Clamour, and was esteemed among the Disaffected, no other than Mr. Causton's Tool; that he had often sought for Leave to quit it, but was persuaded otherwise.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 33)

Causton, a party to the conversation, countered at once:

Mr. Causton replied that it was well known he himself was the Butt which all the Fury was shot at; and that the Recorder had not so much Reason to complain on that Score.

“From what had passed, and more that fell from them,” Stephens concluded, “I perceived there was grown an inward Coldness betwixt the two, though it was not visible to outward Appearance.”

It wasn't as though other eager candidates weren't clamoring for the job. “I have been Employed to Assist the Recorder [Christie] & to his Satisfaction have performed what time would permit,” Elisha Dobree wrote in a January 15, 1735 correspondence to the Trustees. (CRG XX, p. 159) Dobree, who was probably one of the authors in the cabal known as ‘Anonymous,’ began writing to the Trustees in early 1735 on a regular basis, offering to be a weekly correspondent. Applying to the Trustees for any official position in the colony by the spring of 1735, Dobree remarked: “I was the first Merchant Adventurer here but thro ye Knavery & Ill management of [Francis] Lynch... have been Reduced to Such a Degree that it had been well for me if I never had any thoughts of this Colony.”

Elisha Dobree arrived June 30, 1734, and had the poor misfortune to do business with a sketchy character named Francis Lynch. On July 27, 1734, Benjamin Martyn instructed Thomas Causton that as an apparent man of means, Lynch needed not remain a dependant on the Store. “As soon as the September Corn is in, it is the Opinion of the Trustees, that Mr. Lynch and his numerous Servants should be continued on the Store for maintenance no longer.” (CRG XXIX, p. 33) But even at the time this was written Lynch had already skipped town. Dobree bewailed his fate in a March 28, 1735 correspondence: “He [Lynch] is gone Lately from this Place to some parts of Carolina with an Intent never to return here again.” (CRG XX, p. 293) Granted either lot 51 or 71, Francis Lynch is described in the *List of Early Settlers* only as: “Lynch, Fra. - Arrived 22 Nov. 1733. He ran away from his creditors.”

“As for Trade Mr Causton hath Ruind my Credit abroad by Inserting Last Summer an Advertisement in the Carolina Gazette,” Dobree complained. The advertisement, he claimed was...

intirely false as to the words of my Intent to Defraud my Creditors, wch he never was yet able to prove. He Seized on my Estate without Law or Reason and to this Day not one farthing Dividend hath yet been made. Tho. I might have made my Creditors intirely Easy much before now & still Continued my Trade had he not run out as he did in Ruining & making me a Beggar at once.

- Elisha Dobree, March 28, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 292)

Shortly after his arrival in 1734, Dobree had found himself publickly blasted and his reputation stained by Thomas Causton, who published the following advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* three weeks consecutively:

Advertisements.

Savannah
in *Georgia*

At a Court holden the 11th Day of
July, 1734.

Before THOMAS CAUSTON, *Bailiff*.
THOMAS CHRISTIE, *Recorder*.

WHereas Messrs. *Yeomans & Escott*, and Messrs. *Beale and Cooper*, and other Merchants in Charles Town in the Province of *South Carolina*, Creditors of *Elisha Dobree* late of *Charlestown* aforesaid Merchant, have complained to this Court, That the said *Elisha Dobree* has secretly withdrawn himself from the said Town, and brought with him the greatest part of his Effects into this Province: And that, without the Assistance of this Court, they and the rest of his said Creditors would be in Danger of loosing their respective Debts. AND whereas it appeareth upon the Examination of the said *Elisha Dobree*, this Day brought before this Court, that the said Complaint is true.

It is therefore ordered, That all the Effects, Servants, Debts, Books, Papers and ready Money should be immediately seized and assigned to the use of all such Creditors who should within three Months duly prove his, her, or their respective Debts; to the Intent, that the same be sold, and the Money arising therefrom be equally distributed amongst such of his said Creditors. Reasonable Charges attending the same being first deducted.

Tho. Causton.

Tho. Christie.

- advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, July 27, 1734
reprinted in the August 3 and August 10 issues

By January, 1735, defrauded by Lynch, broke and in debt to the Trustees Store, Dobree complained bitterly to the Trustees of Causton's act.

I take the Freedom to Inform your Honr Board of Some matters relating to this Province wch may not have been writ by any person from hence. But before I begin I beg Leave humbly to Represent the great Damage I Suffered & Still am like to Suffer by Mr Caustons Advertisement in the Carolina Gazette wherein it looks as my Design in coming here was with an Intent to defraud my Creditors. The Discredit & Ill Character of Persons thus Advertised is a Barbarous way of Murthering a Man in his Reputation the Loss of which is one of the greatest Loss a person can Suffer in this World.

- Elisha Dobree, January 15, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 159)

Stating further, “I Challenge all the World to prove that my Intent was to Cheat My Creditors & to this very day neither Mr Causton nor any others have been able to prove any thing like it against me,” he began working off his debt at the Store and assisting Thomas Christie. In his words, his creditors regretted “that they ever gave full power to Mr Causton to do what he did,” because now his business was unable to make restitution.

Tho out of 12 persons that I ow’d in Charles Town not above two or three desir’d him to Use me as he did & I may Say that to this very day he has little Comfort for what he did, but I would rather think that he has remorse now of having Ruined an Innocent man.

- Elisha Dobree, January 15, 1735 #2 (*CRG XX*, p. 162)

The relationship that developed between Dobree and Causton lives in the record as a peculiar one. “As to my Effects Seized here wrongfully without Law Court of Justice or Jury, I have tamely Submitted to every thing that has been required of me,” he noted. Though Causton had seized his effects and blacked his name in the nearest newspaper, Dobree went to work for Causton and commonly rendered him assistance and advice. “Mr Causton asks often my Advice wch I always give him Bone Fidae. Tho when I think on ye harm he has done me I think I act the part of a Superior Soul.” (p. 163) He also took occasion to write unflattering commentary behind Causton’s back; his possible association with ‘Anonymous’ notwithstanding, in his own hand, with his own pen, and in his own name in a January 27, 1735 correspondence to the Trustees he referred to Causton’s “Rigid Tyranical way of Government in Using their Subjects... like Slaves.” (p. 200)

Eager for some opportunity to remove the smear from his name, he offered his services and talent to the Trustees. Realizing one of his talents to be writing, on February 13, 1735 he proposed a journal: “If I thought it would be Acceptable to Your Honl Board I would write you weekly as Journal of the Occurrences here.” (*CRG XX*, p. 231) His offer, however, was received with indifference as the content of his letters proved less than pleasing.

30 April [1735]...

A letter from Elisha Dobre was read, complaining the Tho. Causton Bailif had used him ill, that he endeavour’d to monopolize the [Indian] trade, and would make Strange Accompts up.

5 May [1735]...

Order’d a letter in answer to his former letters, and exhortation to pay due obedience to the Civil Power.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 83-84

In short, the Trustees were happy to have correspondents, but were particular about what they wished said and who they wished to say it. Benjamin Martyn penned the response letter referred to above, stating in part:

The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia have receiv'd several Letters from you, wherein You complain of the Proceedings which were taken by the Town Court in Savannah relating to Your Creditors, and the Advertisement which was publish'd in the Carolina Gazette about you....

The Trustees entirely approve of said Proceedings... and therefore the Trustees expect to hear no more Complaints from You relating thereto....

You desire the Trustees to bestow some Place in the Government upon you, the Trustees order me to tell you, that the best Plea for their favour will be a ready Obedience to the Government settled there.

- Benjamin Martyn, May 12, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 71-2)

Though many of his undertakings—mercantile trader, mail post operator, sometime-correspondent and (later) clerk of the stores at Frederica—met with less success than his enthusiasm, Elisha Dobree, at least, tried. And tried. And tried again. In January, 1735 he wrote optimistically: “I am now Assisting Mr Causton in the Publick Store in Stating the Accounts in the manner he would have em,” but he added, “wch I find in a very Confuse[d] manner... troublesome & difficult to State & Adjust.” (*CRG XX*, p. 159)

But by July he noted, “I was dischargd [from] the Store.” (p. 437) The same month he was suggesting another venue. “I have often be told there was a Store of Indian Goods to be Open'd here. I could wish The Honl Trustees would please to Employ me in it.” (p. 443) In an almost amusing post script, he suggested other positions he might qualify for:

P.S. If there be no Store here for Indian Goods I beg the Honl Trustees would Favour me with an Employ in any of the Following

Secretary of the Indian Trade

Wharfinger

Vendue Master

Register

Naval Officer

Notary Public

Accountant for the Estate & Effects of Widows & Orphans &c

Clerk of Assembly

Province

Council

Surveyor's Office

Post Master

Overseer of The Public works.

] - Or Some Employ in
Either of these

- Elisha Dobree, July 9, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 443)

Dobree was a man of boundless ideas but whose ability to commit is less clear, right down to a family he had left across the Atlantic. As early as October 17, 1734, he wrote to the Trustees: “I beg your Honnle board Assistance to my poor Family in London in Such a manner as may bring them quickly here.” (p. 85) On January 29, 1735 he brought it up again: “I beg that you would be pleased to Assist My Family in coming over to me.” (p. 207) By March: “My Family must Certainly be in the most deplorable Condition. I beg that you would please Assist them with

Necessaries for their coming over.” (p. 292) Whether or not he had received any response from the Trustees, in December of 1736 he wrote to them again on the matter: “I beg you would please to Facilitate the Embarkation of my Family.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 282) And again, in February of 1737: “I beg you would do Something for my Family & Enable them to Come here.” (p. 346) For almost two and-a-half years he had asked the Trustees to help facilitate his family’s passage. But when in 1737 the Trustees asked his wife if she wanted to join him in Georgia, she passed up the free trip, Percival noting: “she declined to go, alleging he was a whimsical man and not able to maintain her and her three children.” (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 379)

Elisha Dobree, as listed in the *LES*:

329. Dobree, Elisha. - Arrived 30, June 1734; lot 13 in Savannah; lot 21S in Frederica. He came from Carolina & bought the widow Sams lott in Savannah, but afterwards settled at Frederica where he was clerk of the stores until the Trustees shut them up at Michlemass 1739. Quitted Savannah for Fred.

Dobree may have had a short attention span, but his greater sin, in the eyes of the Trustees, was not being in the good graces of their civil authority in Georgia. Dobree was an arbitrator in the Watson case. It was a no-win, because even as Watson “raised Reflection on... the Arbitrators,” (*CRG XX*, p. 175) neither was Dobree going to be well regarded on the other side, associating him with the undesired contingent. To the Trustees, anyone speaking ill of Thomas Causton or supporting troublesome factions was not to be trusted. Dobree wasn’t alone; even the colony’s minister, Samuel Quincy, wrote by August: “I very much suspect, by a Letter I have recd from a Friend, that several honest People lie under the Imputation of Conspirators, or being joined wth Conspirators Who wd abhor any such thing.” (*CRG XX*, p. 462-3) Ironically, Quincy himself had already been labeled a malcontent and found his letters unwelcome at the home office.

I am very sorry that my Acct of Mr [Joseph] Watson’s Tryal shd be displeasing to the Gentm. It was not wrote out of any Prejudice to the Person complained of [Causton], or Delight that I take in saying ill-natured things.

- Samuel Quincy, August 28, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 462)

Quincy had written to Peter Gordon in March, remarking that “it is highly necessary to set the Proceedings of our present Ruler in their true Light.” (*CRG XX*, p. 246) His was one of the letters Gordon had taken to the Trustees. “It is surprising,” Quincy wrote to Gordon in the same letter, “that a Man should have so much implacable Malice, that no Methods are left untried to Compass his [Watson’s] destruction.”

And then there was the rum.

... it is notoriously known by every one that, notwithstanding your Honours frequent prohibitions of Rum, ‘tis sold out there under the Name of Gold & Company.

- Robert Parker, Jr., March 3, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 245)

The issue of Causton knowingly selling rum or looking the other way in a colony where it was prohibited remained an issue in play as well. Causton's insistence that "As to Rum. There has not been one drop in the Store since Mr Oglethorpe's going hence," (*CRG XX*, p. 261) seems disingenuous.

There was an Information pretended to be sent to your Honnours by one Robert Parker Junr, Letters wherein he Says it is Notoriously known that Rum was Sold out of the Storehouse in the Name of Gould & Compa.

- Thomas Christie, March 19, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 272)

The claim that James Gould, Thomas Causton's clerk, was selling rum out of the Store seems oft-repeated enough and by enough sources that it probably had veracity. Thomas Christie, though, found himself similarly accused of the practice. "As to the Complts of [Joseph] Whatson & others agst me for selling of Rum.... Yor Honr will be soon convinced that they are the Effects of Malice," he wrote on July 31, 1735. (*CRG XX*, p. 455) Six months before he had written to Oglethorpe, "I have Set up a Brew house wch Seems to be the only way to bring the people off from Drinking Spirituous Liquors." (*CRG XX*, p. 124) Whether justified or not, this brew house seemed to have formed the basis for allegations of liquor. The Trustees, however, were not amused, countering in a scolding reply:

It is with great Concern that the Trustees have received information that Mr. Christie the Recorder by himself or his Agent is a Dealer in Rum; And they are surpris'd, that a Magistrate, who must have perceived the many pernicious Effects of Rum should act so contrary to the known Sentiments of the Trustees.

- Harman Verelst, May 15, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 58)

"The Trustees have been Informed that at a hh.d [hogshead] of Rum has been Retail'd at Abercorn; which should not have been suffered," (p. 62) Verelst similarly chided.

In fact, by the late spring of 1735 numerous parties were suddenly accused of engaging in the practice, and the list continued to grow as each exposed seller began exposing others even worse. 'Anonymous,' in his June 5, 1735 expose of Thomas Causton, remarked to the Trustees:

I shall only add--that Gould his [Causton's] Chief Clerk in the Store, has for a Long time Openly Sold Rum in Deffiance of ye Trustees orders, & that he [Causton] has Fined Mr Amatis for Selling a Small matter more than he knew what to do & has Countenanced ye said Gould in that Trade.

- Anonymous, June 5, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 376)

Paul Amatis, the disenchanted silk expert who had come on the *Anne*, penned a letter to the Trustees the day after 'Anonymous'' letter. Remarking "Since my Arrival in this Colony I have Seen many things Transacted Contrary to the Interest of the Trustees & ye Colony," Amatis had found himself fined "Seven Pounds" for selling rum on May 19, 1735. "But for me to pay it & no others; there Seems Partiality." He bitterly wrote:

The Following Persons are known Publickly to Sell Rum & Still Continue, Except Mr [Thomas] Christie who Imediately Left off.

Mr Edward Jenkins
Mr John Fallowfield
Mr Patrick Houstoun
Mr James Gould, Chief Clerk of your Store.

Mr Christie
Mr John Ambrose & others wch I cant now Remember.

- Paul Amatis, June 6, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 379)

Samuel Mercer jumped into the tattletale pool as well.

Mr Christy our Recorder doth Sell Rum as well as other Liquors by Retail Even by Qrts.... Mr James Gould whome Mr Causton Emplys to write in the Stores that Doth Sell Rum and allso other Liquors which Mr Causton is very well Acquainted that he doth, as allso one Mr [Patrick] Houston and one Mr [Edward] Jenkins and Severall which Doth the Same too many to Speake of present.

- Samuel Mercer, April 25, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 325)

Patrick Houstoun, one of those accused by both, rather than denying the charge, admitted it in a letter to Peter Gordon; decrying that if others were going to profit off the enterprise there was no reason why he should not too.

I hear some people has wrote to the Trustees I sale rum. I own [admit] I sale it & till the Recorder [Thomas Christie] and people in the store sold it I sold none; but seeing them make a trade of it I thought I had as good reasone to make bread as anybody else.

- Patrick Houstoun, March 1, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 239)

Mercer continued his April correspondence to the Trustees, “a great many people doth Believe that your Honrs never gave any Such orders as for Rum not to be Sould in this place.” (*CRG XX*, p. 326) Houstoun went one further, claiming, “I am positive it will never be in the Trustees power to hinder the drinking of rum.” (*CRG XX*, p. 239) As if to rebuff any such charge, the Trustees had already inaugurated legislation on April 3.

Whereas in and by an Act Confirmed Enacted and Ratified by the King Most Excellent Majesty in Council the third day of April 1735 (Intituled an Act to prevent the Importation and Use of Rum and Brandies in the Province of Georgia) It is amongst other things Enacted That from and after the Twenty fourth day of June 1735 all Rum and Brandies Spirits or Strong Waters either mixt or unmixt which shall be Imported or brought into the said Province contrary to the said Act in whose Hands or Custody or in what Place soever they shall be found shall and may be forthwith publicly staved and split in the Presence of [Thomas Causton].

- Common Council declaration (*CRG XXXII*, p. 175)

As Martyn explained to Samuel Eveleigh in a May 1, 1735 letter: “The Trustees cannot allow the use of Rum in Georgia, as it is found to be destructive to the Lives and Morals of People; They have therefore made a Law against the Use of it.” (*CRG XXIX*, p. 67)

Undoubtedly, entrusting Causton to the staving of alcohol seemed to many like entrusting the henhouse to the fox, but it appears in the paper trail that Causton’s involvement in the rum trade did not continue beyond the spring of 1735. In a September 8, 1735 correspondence to the Trustees he remarked: “The Prohibition of Rum is pursued by the Magistrates with all possible diligence.” (*CRG XX*, p. 470) History would record Thursday, April 3, 1735, as the date on which the Trustees took their final steps to formally declare their utopian designs for the colony of Georgia.

23 April [1735]..

Three laws, the 1. for maintaining Peace with the Indians of Georgia; the 2. for preventing the importation of Rum and Strong liquours into the Province; and the 3d for prohibiting the use of Negroes there having been approved and past by his Majesty and Council, the Same were order'd to be printed.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 83

Six years later, Patrick Tailfer, in dedicating his introduction to the Trustees, would refer to this act in his facetious *True and Historic Narrative*:

Thus have you *Protected us from ourselves...* by keeping all Earthly Comforts from us: You have afforded us the Opportunity of arriving at the Integrity of the *Primitive Times*, by intailing a more than *Primitive Poverty* on us.... And that we might fully receive the Spiritual Benefit of those wholesome Austerities; you have wisely denied us the Use of such Spiritous Liquors, as might in the least divert our Minds from the Contemplation of our Happy Circumstances.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 4

“The Orders against Retailing Liquors, [and] landing of Rum... are wholly neglected,” Causton observed. Although he was ultimately able to squeeze a conviction of John Penrose and Mary Hodges for liquor sales, “twas by an absolute Charge upon the Consciences of the Grand jury,” that he was able to get it. He felt powerless. “I have reason to believe many carry on that Trade,” but “I have no presentments of that kind or proofs to Convict them.” (*CRG XX*, p. 285)

By 1739 little had changed. Robert Hows reported to Percival that “the Rum Act is not at all regarded, but if any man has but a shilling, he lays it out in that liquor,” even to the exclusion of “shoes and clothes.”

That from high to low the magistrates drink it, and are unwilling to enquire what others do in it, but that it is this that makes so many idle people there, even the servants not caring to work above three hours, running to public houses, and spend the rest of the day there.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 66

“One Scott, a Gunsmith, a notorious Dealer in Rum, was this Day charged upon two Affidavits with retailing that Liquor, and bound over to the Court,” William Stephens wrote in his February 8, 1738 *Journal*. (*CRG IV*, p. 78) But two weeks later John Scott was released by a jury that refused to find him guilty. “The Jury were directed to find him guilty: But they brought in their Verdict to acquit him; which was so barefaced and scandalous a Proceeding, they were sent out again, and their Verdict not accepted: But they returned a second Time and persisted, so that this hopeful prosecution was defeated.” As Stephed lamented, “the People here will not yet easily think Rum-selling a Crime.” (p. 90-1)

“How fatal this Excess of Rum-drinking is likely to prove among the common People,” Stephens wrote. “And how ineffectual all Means have hitherto been found, for suppressing the Sale of it by unlicens'd Persons in all the bye Corners of the Town.” (p. 389)

Two of Stephens' servants came back to him hammered following a “Saturday Night's Debauchery. And it appeared, that in the Space of so short a Time, they had visited no less than four Houses, and bought and drank Rum in them all; which was the less to be wondered at, when it was so notoriously known, that those private Rum-Shops were become as common among the People, in Proportion, as Gin-Shops formerly at London.” (p. 122)

In the spring of 1735, as these first serious hints of trouble arrived at the Georgia Office in Westminster, Percival looked at the sea of letters confronting him and was vexed. The Savannah settlement was a playground without a teacher. The colony had been subjected to an attempted uprising, the magistrates were fighting, and half of the town—including the chief magistrate and the recorder—were all accused of engaging in illicit activities. He seemed dumbfounded.

Wednesday, 30 [April, 1735]...

Letters were read of insurrections suppressed, wherein divers of the inhabitants were concerned, to murder the rest and carry the women and children to Fort Augustine; the conspirators wore red ribbons on their arm under their shirts. Some of them are committed for it, and we ordered they should be detained till a special commission was sent to try them. Young Parker was one of them, also Hill, Watson, who is to be tried for killing the Indian, etc.

Received letters also from Daubray [Elisha Dobree], complaining that Causton, our bailiff, has used him ill, and insinuating that he will make strange accounts up, and that he endeavours to monopolize the trade. Informations also sent that Christy, our Recorder, retails rum, a liquor forbid by our laws.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 172

Percival came to a quick conclusion with the very next line: “All these things show the necessity of sending a Governor over.”

As he followed up in the same day’s *Diary* entry: “Also Amatis, our silk man, who wrote divers complaints against Fitzwalter, our gardener.”

The Trustees’ Garden was going to need weeding.

Midnight in the Garden

The Presents for the Indian Nation are all now delivered.

- Thomas Causton, July 7, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 439)

When Tomochichi returned from England on the *Prince of Wales* the previous December he had brought with him gifts intended for the Upper and Lower Creek Nations. At last, in June, 1735, these gifts were presented to delegations of both in Savannah. Patrick Mackay, Georgia’s Indian liaison, had gone upcountry to escort the Upper Creeks. But the Lower Creeks refused to tarry, so on June 9, “The day was come, which was appointed for their Publick Reception and delivery of the Presents,” to the Lower Creeks. Causton described the ceremony:

As there was likely to be near 150 Indians I thought it necessary to make the best Appearance we could. I therefore Ordered Mr [Thomas] Young to Erect an Open Shed on the West Side of Johnson Square, with proper Benches and Tables for their Reception and Sorting out of the Presents. And as many People as could be got together, to be under Arms. We had on this Occasion near 200 Men under Arms, who behaved very well. The Manner thus: A Pettaigua took ‘em on Board at Tomochachi’s house, and hoisted an Union Flag at the Main Mast head, and Landed them at Musgrove’s old House; The Master of the Pettaigua then brought the Flag to Mr [John] Vanderplank, who hoisted it in the Middle of the Square.

The Body of the People.... Drew up in two Lines to make a Lane for the Indians to go up to the place of Reception. When the Indians came to the publick Landing 47 Cannon were fired.

- Thomas Causton, June 20, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 400)

The gifts “were delivered accordingly, And the Indians were Reconveyed to Tomochachi’s house in the same order that they came.” As Causton observed, “The next two Days were Spent in taking down a Talk, which is a Relation of the Rise and some Particular adventures of the Cussitaws, which they desired might be written on a Buffaloe Skin and Presented to Your Honours.” (CRG XX, p. 401) Percival acknowledged the receipt of this curious package later in the summer.

27 Aug [1735]...

The talk with the Upper [Note: Lower] Creek Indians Sent us wrote on the inside of a buffaloe Skin. It gives a curious Acct. of the traditional history of those nations, which Says they came originally out of the Earth, and they end thus: *Some Men may have more knowledge than others, but let them remember the Strong and the weak must one day become dirt alike.* They acknowledge Tomachachi to be one of their nation, and of the ancient Line, and promise to do the Same by Toonaway his Gr. Nephew when he Succeeds him.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 103

The fanfare with the Lower Creeks concluded, Causton remarked, “I now knew exactly what Tomochachi designed for these of the Upper Nation.” (CRG XX, p. 401) Patrick Mackay arrived on June 18, and the Upper Creek delegation arrived on the 22nd, according to Causton. But there were simply too many. Mackay had taken a liberty in inviting more of the nation than Tomochichi had intended. As Causton explained: “Tho’ Tomochachi had invited some of the Upper Nation he did not intend to have so many of them.” (p. 399) “Mr Mackay had again disappointed his [Tomochichi’s] Intentions.”

When faced with pressure from Mackay, who “urged an Enlargement of the Presents” to the Upper Creeks—in other words, *more stuff*—Causton made a Solomonesque decision; Causton, like his mentor Oglethorpe, excelling in Indian relations even to the exclusion of all other talents.

I told them, that the coming of these Indians was no more than to receive Such Goods as Your Honours had Enabled Tomochachi to give them, That in the Distribution of these, he had given One half to the Lower Nation and reserved the other half for this. And if these should at this time receive anything more than the other, It would be apt to create a jealousy in the first.

- Thomas Causton, June 20, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 402)

Causton’s decision seems to have gone well. Two weeks later, on July 4, 1735 Samuel Eveleigh visited Savannah and noted:

Since my arrival at this place the Lower & Upper Creek Indians are arrived here to whom has been given the presents from the Trust, they have here been civilly Entertained & the former are gone away very well satisfied & I do suppose the latter will do the same.

- Samuel Eveleigh, July 4, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 421)

All but lost in the carefully crafted goings on was the fact that two of the colonists under Arms during the ceremonies almost got into a duel... the earliest challenge to a duel on record in Georgia. Thomas Gapen and Joseph Fitzwalter, color bearers who in the words of Causton

above, “behaved very well” during the June 9 arrival of the Lower Creeks, fell into an altercation. Though Causton mentioned nothing of it, and may not have even known the details, Thomas Gapen, one of the would-be duel participants, wrote to the Trustees unabashedly explaining the particulars and the perceived insult committed by one Joseph Fitzwalter, the Trustees’ Gardener.

I humbly hope your Honrs will Please to Excuse me in Mentioning it, but as a Difference has been wherein I may be represented to your Honrs in a Different manner, and my Conduct Blamed, by a false Representation of the fact. The Town Appearing under Arms on Sunday the 8th of this Inst I was appointed by the Magistrates and Commanding Officers Some days before, to bear the Colours and Appear’d that day with them in my Place, the whole Battallion being drawn up in Johnsons Square, to Muster. The next day being Monday the 9th Inst the Battallion being drawn up to receive the Creek Indians, Mr Fitzwater was Likewise Appointed that day to bear the other, and Although he was the younger Officer Claim’d the Senior Post which I was resolv’d to maintain. And to End the Dispute at that time, we agreed to meet the next morning and try it by Point of Sword. Mr Fitzwater did not think proper to face me, being willing to Sleep in a whole Skin, therefore I Posted him for a Coward at the Standard post in the Square. This Gentlemen is the whole truth of the affair as Capt [William] Thomson and Mr [John] West were Eye Witness of, and I most Humbly beg Pardon of the Honble Trustees for breaking through any Law, which they have Appointed relating to Duels, and hope they will please to forgive me rashness, and your Honrs shall always hear of my great Duty and Regard to your Orders, for the Welfare and Security of the Colony.

- Thomas Gapen, June 13, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 391)

Thomas Gapen was a butcher who arrived on the *Georgia Pink*, August 29, 1733 (#32), and whose profession might intimidate anyone wishing to “Sleep in a whole Skin,” as Gapen so creatively phrased it. But the fact that he had a hot temper seems clear from Percival’s description of him in the *List of Early Settlers*:

479. Gapan, Tho. - Farmer; embark’d 15 June 1733; arrived 29 Aug. 1733; Lot 116 in Savannah. Fyn’d thirteen pence half peny for assault 16 Mar. 1733-4. Also fyn’d for letting a prisoner out of custody 23 May 1735. He practiced the butchers trade but finally ran away for debt. Run away 6 Feb. 1736-7.

Joseph Fitzwalter (*Anne* #39) took over the Hutchinson Island clearing first overseen by the late Will Wise. He boasted in a January 16, 1735 correspondence: “Since Wises Death I have had the Management [of] the Servants over the land.... The Vistoe [vista] from the Town to the other Side of the Island is Cutt Through and Looks Extream pleasant.” (*CRG XX*, 164-5) Though a capable and consistent correspondent to the Trustees, he was a temperamental man himself. Chosen as the Trustees’ Gardener, he came on the *Anne*, and by 1735 he was newly married. As Elisha Dobree wrote to the Trustees, “Mr Fitzwalter your Gardner was this week married to an Indian Woman.” (p. 293) In April, just two months before he and Gapan got into their dustup, Fitzwalter had married the niece of the late Indian warrior Skee. Fitzwalter wrote to the Trustees, acquainting them of his marriage to the young Native American woman, whose English name was Molly:

The 8th of Aprill last I was Married by Mr Quincey to Tuscanies Eldest Daughter niece to Skee and Talofaleche. Tomicheche was the person gave her in Marriage, present [were] the Queen[,] Mr [Samuel] Montaguet and Lady[,] Mr Causton and spouse[,] Mr [John] West and spouse and Severall others of this province. The Indian chiefs of Upper and lower Cricks Express themselves with a great Deal of Satisfaction.

- Joseph Fitzwalter, July 5, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 427)

“It is to be hop’d That Time will wear her of the Savage way of Living,” Fitzwalter concluded. Bolzius alluded to this historic, first union of a Georgia colonist and “a heathen,” however indirectly, in his May 21, 1735 journal entry in reference to another prospective union:

He [an unnamed Englishman] intends to associate even more closely with these heathen people by marrying an Indian woman. Just recently a gardener in Savannah has done the same thing.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 91)

The fact that the marriage proved evidently unsuccessful, and that Fitzwalter’s self-admitted attempt to wean her from her “Savage way” quickly failed, is apparent in Percival’s observation a few years later in the *LES*, she “ran from him.”

Deprived of happiness with Molly, the unlucky Fitzwalter remarried to Penelope Wright, veteran of the *Anne* (#111), sometime after her husband’s December 1737 death, and just before he would find himself fired as Gardener.

Bickerings with Gapan and Molly aside, history would better associate Joseph Fitzwalter with an equally—if not more—dysfunctional personal relationship with fellow gardener and silk expert Paul Amatis. Amatis, described by Percival as an “Italian silk man,” had come on the *Anne* (#1), a last minute replacement on the manifest for William Gainsford. As Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees from the *Anne*:

When Mr. Nicholas Amatis arrives I would desire the Trustees to advise with him what Measures are farther proper to be taken and to excuse his Brother’s going away before his arrival.

- James Oglethorpe, November 18, 1732 (*CRG XX*, p. 4)

Paul’s brother Nicholas, following on the *Peter and James*, arrived in July 1733 and was to serve in a subservient role. As Percival remarked in a January 17, 1733 *Diary* entry: “We build great expectations on these two brothers.” (vol. 1, p. 309) Also on board the *Peter and James*, and to assist in the silk manufacture, was the Camuse family. As the Trustees wrote in late February, 1733:

This Evening Mr. Amatis’s Brother attended the Common Council. He arrived last week with Giacomo Ottone, and Jacques Camuse, who has brought with him a Wife and three Boys. They are to attend the Common Council again next week, who propose at that time to some agreement with them.

- Benjamin Martyn, February 21, 1733 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 8)

In the meantime, Paul Amatis, following his arrival on the *Anne*, had quickly set up shop in Charlestown, cultivating Georgia’s Mulberry trees there. Georgia’s silk enterprise began in South Carolina.

Advertisements.

THE Trustees for establishing the Colony
of *Georgia* in *America*, being greatly desirous to encourage the raising of Silk in the Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia*; Hereby we give Notice, that they are willing to give 3 *l.* Currency for every Bushel of good Silk Balls, that shall be brought to Mr. *Amatis* in Broad street, *Charlestown*, and all the same shall be paid in Ready Money of this Pro-vince, on the Delivery of the Balls.

- advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*, May 12, 1733
reprinted in the May 19 and May 26 issues

As Samuel Eveleigh wrote in his second correspondence to the Trustees in the midst of these subscription advertisements:

Mr. Paul Amythis took a Small House and Garden in this Town [Charlestown] in which he has planted a quantity of Virginia and white Mulberry Trees nigh 3000 of which grows very well.... Some time since I carried Mr. Amythis over the River to my Brothers plantation where Grew some white Mulberrys and he doubts not of getting three Thousand Mulberry Cuttings from them. Hes now very Busie feeding his Wormes some of which have worked themselves into Balls and he proposes a second Crompt....

- Samuel Eveleigh, May 18, 1733 (*CRG XX*, p. 22)

By August of 1734, some 15 months later, there were large improvements in the Charlestown proto-garden. "I was yesterday at Mr. Amatis's Garden which I found Clean and in good order," Eveleigh wrote. "He has Sowed a great quantity of Mulberry Seeds and believes he shall have One Hundred thousand trees. The Grape Vines there flourishes Extraordinary well." (p. 71)

Amatis himself wrote to the Trustees in January of 1735. His transcriber and translator in Savannah, making his correspondence to the Trustees possible, was that most active of characters, Elisha Dobree. "This being my first that I write to you," Amatis took the opportunity to confirm the assurance of "more than one hundred thousand trees." (p. 152) Amatis was in the midst of transporting the plants to Savannah, a process he had begun the previous September. As he wrote to Oglethorpe from Savannah: "I arrived in this city the 8th of last September with the whole Camuse family." (p. 210) He boasted to the Trustees, "It is very certain that one has never seen so beautiful a tree nursery as you will have in your garden in Georgia." In addressing his immediate plans for silk he referenced the shipment he had just placed on board the *James*.

I shall commence to raise, or rather feed, the silk worms in three weeks, so that I can make a little trial in Georgia like that which I made here last year, and which I sent you by Captain Yoakley..

- Paul Amatis, January 12, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 152)

By the time of his January writing Amatis was moving items as quickly as he could; Charlestown merchant Isaac Chardon had no orders for accepting Amatis' bills. As he observed discreetly to the Trustees: "I have been obliged to incur [some debts] for establishing your manufacture of

superfine silk.” In a word, the Carolina proto-garden was broke, and the whole garden was stealing away to Georgia before it incurred more debts. “I am obliged from today to cease and undertake nothing else,” in Charlestown. “I have entirely quit this garden,” he concluded, noting, “except a quarter that I have yet to pay for.”

Gentlemen, have the goodness to inform yourselves in what condition the garden was at the end of August, and in what condition it was at the beginning of January, so that you might see that, if I have spent money, my only purpose was solely that I might be able to put all things in good order so as to transplant 30,000 plants that I carry with me from this garden.

- Paul Amatis, January 12, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 153)

“I am counting on setting out in three days to return to Savannah with two perioguas loaded with trees and plants,” he promised. (p. 152) And with the proto-garden in Charlestown finished, he declared: “I may have more time to be able to put your garden in Georgia in good order during the whole time that I shall remain in Savannah.”(p. 153)

But there was a problem. In Savannah, Fitzwalter had spent the last two years as master of the garden. As long as Amatis remained in the garden in Charlestown and Fitzwalter in the garden in Savannah, there had been no problem; but as Amatis began combining his garden to Fitzwalter’s, the two men quickly began to clash. Thomas Christie remarked on December 14, 1734 that “Mr Amatis & Mr Fitzwalter have had Some Differences together concerning their Authority wch we have had Some Difficulty to Reconcile.” (*CRG XX*, p.124)

Amatis was displeased to find the Savannah garden without form. He wrote to Oglethorpe: “Sir, I am, obliged... in spite of myself to say to you that I have found on my arrival here the garden in disorder, and that since your departure almost nothing has been done.” (*CRG XX*, p. 212)

Even worse, he found all the Trust servants intended for the Garden, were being misused and employed in trivial pursuits.

But the bad management that has been shown here, in a few words, the pleasure of hunting, fishing and other pleasures, have employed the larger part of the servants. And ever since I have arrived in this city they are employing nearly all the servants that were meant for the garden to be going after window panes, making of prisons, running after society, and other things for the service of the public.

- Paul Amatis, January, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 212)

In theory, there were to be ten servants dedicated toward the care of the Trustees’ Garden. In reality, there were no more than two. “I have but two Servants and that they are taken from me from time to time.” (p. 423) As he observed: “The Honle Mr Oglethorpe assured me when he was last at Charles Town that you had Ten Servants here,” maintaining the Garden. (p. 408) But “Mr Causton (by your orders as he tells me) hath taken away Since the End of Novr Last from the Garden Six of ye Servants,” and according to Amatis, half of the remaining servants had evidently spent the early summer planning their escape.

There was then but four Left. One is run away on board of the Men of War at Charles Town either Capt Anson or Capt Lloyd & Sailed for England. Another is gone Since Last Week, but where we do not know; he went with Diver [diverse] other Servants belonging to the Freeholders of this Town.

- Paul Amatis, June 6, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 380-1)

“I beg you please to send more Servants,” he concluded.

I must Acquaint your Honnors that I ought to have Always Two men Constantly to Water the Garden. I doubt not but you know that to have Such Large Garden as ten Acres taken care off & Improv'd, There must be an Assiduous Care & Necessary Persons & Therefore it Requires Four Domestick Servants at Least for two years Longer, for there must be a great deal of work done.

- Paul Amatis, July 5, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 424)

Fitzwalter, looking out at the same garden, perhaps not surprisingly, did not see the same picture of distress. “The Garden I have made great Improvements in,” Fitzwalter wrote to Oglethorpe in January of 1735. Orange trees, olive trees, cotton crop all flourishing, he boasted. And the foodstuffs were coming up in endless bounty. “As for the Kitchen Garden Every thing thrive as well as ever in Europ.... Wheat, Barly, Rye, Oates, Tares, Beans, peas, Rye grass, Clover, Trafoil, Singue foil, and Lucern Seeds, never Seen finer than this Country produce.” (p. 164)

But he couldn't help but make complaint of the strange man sharing the garden, bringing his Carolina stock over the five-month span between September, 1734 and February, 1735. “Mr Amatis hath been hear and at Puries Burgh Since the beging of September, and is not for planting of any thing of Kitching Stuff [kitchen stuff—“foodstuff”] att all in the Garden, which I always Aprehended was to be Carried on Both by Your Honnour and Trust and Likewise Botany.” Instead, “Mr Amatis is More for the Merchant than Any thing Else.” In other words, instead of the garden producing food, Amatis was using the garden for purely commercial purposes. Worse, Fitzwalter complained he had been kicked out. Amatis “was for Displacing me out of the Garden,” Fitzwalter lamented, as if to say, *me*—“who had gone through the Heat Burden of All the improvements in it.” (p. 164)

Two very independent figures had been thrown into the garden with no clear instructions of authority and completely differing ideas of what the garden was intended to be; it was a situation rife with conflict.

“I have very good reasons for turning out Mr Fitzwalter from the Garden which I will Shortly give the Trustees in person,” Amatis replied, hoping to go for England shortly. (p. 314) But he did not return to England. Noting “Mr Chardon has allowed several of my notes to go to protest,” he instead would have to contend with those in Charlestown in February. “In that time I hope to finish the transplanting of all the trees which I have in the garden, but I must go principally to have my accounts passed with him.” (p. 186-7)

As Fitzwalter noted by March, “Amatis went to Charlestown in order to send up some Trees which Came the latter End of February himself[,] wife and Brother [Nicholas] with a Generall Remove of plants.” (p. 251)

Now fully established in Savannah, Amatis wrote proudly to the Trustees of a garden rapidly taking shape under his care, but was holding back some of his plants while Fitzwalter was a factor.

It is very certain that it is through my work that the garden has been put here within less than a year in its regularity and beauty; for the plants, I have enough which are already quite valuable; for the garden, I am in a position to have it well cultivated.

- Paul Amatis, January, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 213)

“But for the principal plants,” he continued, “I have resolved to keep them yet another year where they are until you have decided if Mr Frichevater [Fitzwalter] ought to be master of the garden, as he says he is, since he has insulted me two different times, and I have carried my complaints of these things to Mr Causton and other gentlemen.” (p. 212)

Amatis didn't trust Fitzwalter with his plants. “I cannot bear that he make use of half of the plants injured, ruined and given away without my consent.”

You have only to inform yourself... which of the two [of us] has done his duty for the advantage of the colony. I can assure you, Sir, that I take no pleasure in this said garden unless I have an order from Messrs the Trustees to give me full power to be chief in every thing that concerns the garden.

- Paul Amatis, January, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 213)

As to Amatis, Fitzwalter countered to the Trustees, “what ever I do; in his fitts he Destroys.” (CRG XX, p. 253) Fitzwalter also broached the subject that despite his time as Gardener... he had never actually been paid. “I Should be very Much Obligated to Your honnour and the Rest of the Honnerable Trustees To Order me the payment of my Salery that I Agreed with Your Honnor for,” he wrote on January 16. (p. 165) And again, March 10: “The Sallery though fixed and Agreed by your Honnour, I have had no Order for payment, though Mr Causton is my very good friend.” (p. 253)

Friendship with Causton was a different kind of currency, and one that Amatis did not share. He remarked by June of 1735 of “the Spite & Malicious Endeavours of Mr Causton to Teaze and Perplex me.” (p. 408) He had been left out in the cold, literally. Upon relocating to Savannah from Charlestown Causton had refused him a lot. “I am here as a passing stranger,” Amatis wrote. “I have emplor'd Mr Causton and the other gentlemen to have a little compassion for one of the first forty,” but he was “obliged to change my home from time to time.” (p. 213-4)

Also, as Amatis admitted: “I am No Free Mason.”

Francis Piercy, who would also share the title of the Trustees' Gardener before running from the colony with his brother-in-law Robert Bathurst in 1737, wrote excitedly in a February 16, 1735 correspondence to Oglethorpe of his entry into the Freemasonry. “To morro I am going to enter my Selfe in to ye noble and onarabil Sosiaty of free masons by ye Carreckter I bare to brothers gardnars Mr brownciohm [William Brownjohn] and fichwallter [Fitzwalter] and all ye hole Sosiaty was fond of my Coming.” (p. 233)

Causton and Fitzwalter were freemasons. Whether or not he was correct, Amatis saw a pattern of fraternal bonds among Savannah's freemasons that might have extended into daily life. In discussing various liquor convictions during 1735 Amatis could not help but observe that some of those convicted were treated less severely than others. “The reason Some of the above Gentlemen do not pay a Fine is because they are Intimate to Mr Causton,” the suggestion, “because they are Freemasons.” (p. 379)

Amatis' suspicion of the Freemasons is one of the crucial clues associating him with the cabal known as 'Anonymous,' which had made similar suggestions in its complaint to the Trustees in June, 1735. Nonetheless, feeling a bias against him and witnessing these friendly clicks around him in early 1735, Amatis was clearly feeling at a disadvantage. "I Live a Solitary Life like a Monk," he protested to the Trustees. "I am no Free Mason, nor a Member of any Clubb. I frequent No Dancing, neither do I Encourage any Caballs." Of the Garden, he assured them: "I am there from Sun Rising to Sun Setting Meals Excepted." (p. 448)

With Causton not authorized to grant him a lot—or at least protesting that he was not authorized—and likewise refusing authority to step in and resolve the feud between the gardeners, the battle over the garden escalated into the spring. Amatis continued to charge that Fitzwalter was giving away all the valuable plants to friends and acquaintances while Amatis found himself brought up on charges of gunplay. In March, Amatis threatened his "Rival" with a firearm. As Fitzwalter remarked:

I went as usually Early [into the garden] to place my Men to their Business, and about Nine in the Morn Amatis and his Brother Came with a Gun. They did not Shoot but Threatened me very much, but I was not to be frietned. I have Since asked Mr Amatis his Resolution, and still he persists that I have no Business at all in the Gardens, though placed into it by your Honours and the Honourable the Trust.

- Joseph Fitzwalter, March 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 252)

Fitzwalter, a Constable, remarked, "I have Taken Care to Bind Amatis over to the peace." The following month, Amatis responded directly to the magistrates:

I am obliged (tho contrary to my Inclination) to read [write?] these few Lines with an Intent to Deffend my Character against the wicked Designs of Mr Fitzwalter who certainly has no other View by bringing me into Court than to cover and hide his Mismanagement and great Faults in relation to the Trustees Garden....

I further declare that Mr Fitzwalter has Insulted me in the Garden & acted Contrary to my orders & given away Severall Plants & Trees out of the Publick Garden without the Trustees Leave or mine. I therefore Oppose his having any thing to do there....

- Paul Amatis, April 5, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 314)

In May, Amatis was arrested a second time, this time for the sale of rum. "The 19th Inst Mr Causton fined me Seven Pounds Currency for Selling Some few Galls of Rum." (p. 379) It "Suffers me to be Daily Insulted by Such Person as he," Amatis wrote of Causton. (p. 425) He related the minor circumstance which left him a convicted rum vendor:

That I having a Small Quantity of Rum for my Provisson & finding it was more then I could Spend & being as I thought on my departure for London I thought it was no Crime to dispose of what I did not want, Seeing it was Publickly Sold by many others.

- Paul Amatis, June 6, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 379)

As the two gardeners waited for a decision from the Trustees the hot war cooled into a standoff. By the summer, Fitzwalter had absented himself from the garden. "This is to Acquaint Your Honnours That I am Disapointed by Mr Amatis in Carrying on the Business your Honnour Ordered," he wrote to the Trustees on July 5; "disappointed" in the above case meaning,

prevented. The gulf between the two men's interpretation of what the garden was supposed to be remained an unbreachable divide. "I always Apprehend[ed] the Ground [of the Garden] was for Carrin on Botany and Kitchen physick, as baby Nussary of plants." He plainly admitted that he knew nothing of silk, but countered that Amatis knew nothing of anything else. "As for the silk Business I Know nothing of, But, I do Assure Your Honnors as for a Tree, plant, or Any other Vegitable Mr Amatis is a Stranger as much as him that never Knew any thing of the art of Gardening." (p. 426)

Grateful to have Fitzwalter excluded from his domain, Amatis also found an opportunity to be vindictive, accusing the former now of neglect. On June 30, Amatis wrote: "Tis about Six Months Since Fitzwalter has done any Service in your Garden and I dare him to Shew that he has done the Value of Five Pounds Sterling Service there. I thought Considering his Pay, he might have Endeavoured to have done something for it." (p. 410) Ironically, Fitzwalter still had not been paid. One week after Amatis' letter he wrote a third time to the Trustees: "I hope your Honnours Don't forget the Ordering of the payment of my Salery." (p. 427)

But just as Amatis finished his gloating letter another warrant arrived for his arrest. He was apprehended this time on a warrant for his debts to Isaac Chardon.

Fined for selling rum, facing a debt collection and finding no satisfaction amongst the Trustees, a disgruntled and disheartened Amatis wrote:

Je ne reste pour le present dans Cette Colonie que come L'oiseau Sur La Branche prest a Senvoler dans L'Endroit ou il trouvera plus de Repos.

- July 5, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 425)

Translation: "I remain for the present in This Colony only as The bird Upon The Branch ready to Fly away into The Place where it shall find more Repose."

Already in transit, though, were the Trustees orders, confirming Amatis' authority in two letters wrote on May 12, 1735. To Amatis: "The Trustees direct that You should have the chief Management of the Garden." (CRG XXIX, p. 70) To Fitzwalter: "The Trustees do direct that whilst Mr. Paul Amatis is in Georgia he shall have the chief Direction of the Garden, and that You do obey such Orders as You shall receive from him." Also: "The Trustees have order'd Mr. Causton to pay you the Salary which is due to you." (p. 69) On the bright side, he was finally getting paid.

After months of battle, it was a complete vindication for Amatis, but no sooner had he received the news than he had to announce to the Trustees bad news. He had lost his entire staff. He had been forced to fire his brother, and not only that—the Camuses, also in conflict with Amatis, were threatening to leave Georgia. He wrote to the Trustees on August 15, 1735: "My Brother Nicholas Amatis having Acted Contrary to My Orders & against your Interest & mine I have been Constrained to discharge him of your Service.... The Family of Camuse behaves themselves very Ill toward me. I am obliged to make em come before the Magistrates to make em prove what they have written against me & I hope the Magistrates will punish them as they deserve." (p. 459-60) Truly, he had wanted the garden for himself, but was now left *by* himself.

Paul Amatis mostly disappears from the record after his difficulties in 1735, so what, if anything, he was able to achieve over the next year remains unknown. His friend and translator Elisha Dobree left in early 1736, excitedly moving to Frederica and chasing after yet another career choice. Percival's description of Amatis in the *LES* suggests that he "took a disgust and settled chiefly at Charlestown." He died in December of 1736. He had married a woman, in the words of Percival, "who had been his maid servant." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 243) Wife Catherine bore him a son, also named Paul. After Amatis' death she remarried one Thomas Neale and the family made at least some attempt to cultivate their Savannah lot—"now improving the House Lott," John Brownfield wrote on May 17, 1737 (*CRG XXI*, p. 465)—before moving away to South Carolina.

In London, the Trustees were subjected to bizarre stories of Amatis' behavior before death, some of which were allayed by Elizabeth Stanley upon her return to England. Percival noted in a March 16, 1737 *Diary* entry that she told him:

that the report of Amatis' burning all the worms and machines before he died, because the magistrate would not allow him a priest in his sickness, is entirely false, for she was with him when he died, and demanded no priest, and his wife, who is a Protestant, and was a maid servant, gave up to the magistrate all the machines and eggs.

- John Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 370

"She also added that though Amatis be dead and his brother run away, yet the silk affair goes on and will succeed." But whether or not Percival believed such an optimistic assessment after three years of confusion and the death of the primary silk expert he did not say.

Writing in the *List of Early Settlers*, Percival summed up the brothers Amatis thusly:

22. Amatis, Paul - Italian silk man - embark'd 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3; lot 14 in Savannah, Brought from Piedmont to introduce silk in Georgia, but took a disgust and settled chiefly at Charlestown, where he died. Dead Dec. 1736.

21. Amatis, Nics. - Italian silk man; embark'd 4 April 1733, arrived 21 July 1733. Brother to Paul; brought from Piedmont for the same purpose, but proved an idle troublesome fellow and quitted the Colony. In Aug, 1735 his brother discharged him. Quitted Aug. 1735.

Fitzwalter continued in the employ of the Trustees as Gardener, but what exactly he did there after 1735 is unclear from the surviving record. In a January 19, 1738 letter to the Trustees William Stephens remarked of "one Fitzwalter (a Freeholder) who was formerly Gardener under Amytis, with whom he could not agree, & therefore left it, & has lived a rambling life since." (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 77-8)

This leads me to the Garden, where I wrote you in my last there was no great appearance of much care taken; the late gardener Peirce being run away; & Mr. Anderson (who has the Inspection) not much heeding it, till he recd your farther pleasure thereupon.

- William Stephens, January 19, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 78)

The Anderson mentioned above was Hugh Anderson; a gentleman of substance who had arrived in 1737 and was the very first source quoted at the beginning of this book. Percival noted of him in the *LES* that he “was made Inspector Genl. of the Public garden and mulberry plantations: but spending his substance in building, and falling dangerously ill,” he was left spent and frustrated by his experiences in Georgia. “Poor man,” Stephens wrote of him in 1738, “he & all his Family have been very long (some Months) in a very weak & sick condition.” (p. 229) Stephens’ sympathy for Anderson, though, would fade in the years that followed... and with the publication of the book that Anderson would write with Patrick Tailfer. Safe to say, the Trustees’ Garden did not escape the gaze of their scathing narrative.

To carry on the manufactures of silk and wine, a garden was planted with mulberries and vines, which were to be a nursery to supply the rest of the province: But this was as far from answering the proposed end, as everything else was; for it is situated upon one of the most barren spots of land in the colony, being only a large hill of dry sand: Great sums of money were thrown away upon it from year to year, to no purpose.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 60

“And now,” the authors concluded in 1741, “after so great time and charge, there are not so many mulberry trees in all the province of Georgia, as many one of the Carolina planters have upon their plantations.”

When Stephens referred to the Trustees’ Garden again in August, 1738, his assessment was blunt: “I think tis grievously neglected.” Of Fitzwalter: he was equally blunt. He “deserves certainly the Character of an Idle Fellow.” (p. 229)

He could never stick long to any thing commendable, he perseveres in the same loose way of Life; which I apprehend he’ll not easily break from now; having married the Widow of one Wright, who had a License for keeping a Publick House, where he naturally takes most delight.

- William Stephens, August 26, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 229)

“But I ought to beg pardon for offering such an insipid Tale,” he concluded, “when I should remember that Collonel Oglethorpe (as we hope) is near us, who wants neither Will nor Power, to rectify worse abuses than this.” (p. 230) Stephens was well aware that even as he wrote, Oglethorpe was on his way back to Georgia with Fitzwalter’s dismissal signed by the Trustees. Fitzwalter was another casualty in the Great Purge of 1738, as Stephens noted in his *Journal*, “his Dismission, being judged not needful, and to save Expencc.” (*CRG IV*, p. 214) Anderson, too, was dismissed in the Great Purge, but at least he had a writing hobby he could fall back on.

As for Fitzwalter, after his firing he disappears from the Georgia record.

435. Fitzwalter, Joseph - Age 31; gardiner; embark’d 6 Nov. 1732; arrived 1 Feb. 1732-3, Lot 8 in Savannah. He marry’d Molly an Indian d. of Capt Tukance 8 Aprl. 1735 who

ran from him. A Rambler. He went over 1. Constable of Savannah. He was Publick gardiner till 1736. Mr Oglethorpe removed him for insufficiency 21 Oct. 1738.

Making Money with the Mellichamps

In the late Spring of 1735 Bolzius, in Ebenezer, noted a surprise in the mail.

The 30th, May [1735]

... One of us had sent a fifteen-pound note to Charlestown for the purpose of buying some things there; but the postman brought it back with the news that the note had been declared invalid in Carolina because it had been made by a counterfeiter in Savannah. This report was confirmed by a man who brought us provisions from Savannah.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 95-6)

This invalidating of the money in their purse came as an unpleasant surprise to Bolzius, who lamented, "I still have five of such fifteen pound notes." Bolzius explained the vagueries of currency in the Carolina colony.

One great inconvenience in this country is that paper money is used, of which the smallest is 5 shillings, or, in English money, 8 pence. English copper coins, called half-pence, which could be used for small change, are very rare; and in Carolina they are not accepted at all.

- vol. 2, p. 90

As he explained, the German settlers at Ebenezer were especially susceptible to fraud: "The Salzburgers are in a bad position in regard to... paper money because most of them cannot read the printing on those pieces of paper and cannot distinguish one piece from the other." (p. 90)

Bolzius had received the money from Samuel Montaugut, who seemed just as surprised as Bolzius that the notes were not genuine. As Samuel Quincy explained to Henry Newman, "Mr Montagute having an order to pay Mr Bolzius a Sum of Money, and not being well acquainted with the Carolina Currency [he] had recd Counterfeit Bills."

Which false Bills, [Montaugut] not knowing them to be Such, he paid to Mr Bolzius, to the number of 8 or 9 £15 Bills which amounts to £16 or 18 Sterl. money. This loss is like to fall upon Mr Bolzius; for he having kept the Bills by him 3 Months, not Suspecting that they were bad; when he would have return'd them Mr Montagute absolutely refus'd to take them, because of the distance of time.

- Samuel Quincy, July 4, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 419)

"Our Magistrates have given it as their opinion that Mr Montagute ought to make the Bills good," Quincy concluded. But, he noted, "they cannot oblige him, because he belongs to Purrysbourg and is not under the Jurisdiction of their Court."

“We have had Sad doings here with Counterfeit money,” Walter Augustine commented on July 17, 1735. He himself was a victim. “I had no less than 33£ and am ye Loser of 18 £ without remedy.” (*CRG XX*, p. 446) Well into the summer of 1735 the counterfeit bills continued popping up, plaguing the Savannah settlement and anyone who was stuck with the bills when they proved fake. The culprit of the enterprise, in the words of Augustine: “Ould Malishamp.”

The Mellichamp family arrived in Savannah in the spring of 1734. Listed as “arrived 15 Mar. 1733-4,” in the *List of Early Settlers* as colonists who came on their own account, it is possible they arrived on the *Purrysburg*.

The Mellichamp family:

William Mellichamp
Sarah Mellichamp (*w*)
Lawrence (*s*)
Thomas (*s*)
Jonathan (*s*)
Charles (*s*)
Elizabeth (*d*)
Frances (*d*)
Thomas Creah (*ser*)
John Cross (*ser*)

Patriarch William Mellichamp is described in the following terms in the *List of Early Settlers*:

813. Mellichamp, Will. - Gent.; arrived 15 Mar. 1733-4. Fyn'd 200£ 0.0 for devising to get unlawfull possession of goods 12 July 1735. Kept to bail but fled. Run away for forgery.

“By Repeated Advices from Carolina we were informed that some of their money Bills have been counterfeited, and that William Mellichamp and Lawrence his Son, were guilty, being detected at Wineyaw and fled,” Causton reported to the Trustees. (*CRG XX*, p. 450)

But not just William Mellichamp and Lawrence; the circle of suspicion quickly widened to include Thomas Mellichamp and Richard Turner.

We had information, by People here; that Richard Turner and Thomas Mellichamp (another Son) were likewise guilty; and that Turner had made a Rolling Press for that purpose. We took Severall Examinations on Oath, which amounted to a Strong Suspition, but no direct facts; therefore admitted them both to Bail.

- Thomas Causton, July 25, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 450-1)

Turner had arrived on the *Savannah* in December, 1733 (#119). His capsule in the *LES* is lengthy and colorful:

1528. Turner, Richd. - Sawyer & carpenter; embark'd 11 Sept. 1733; arrived 16 Dec. 1733; lot 135 in Savannah. Fyn'd 3.10.0 for defraud in work 27 Sept. 1734. Also fyn'd 200.00 for unlawfull imprisonment & devising to get unlawfull possession of goods 14 July 1735. Kept to bail but ran away and cheated his creditors 29 Dec. 1737. On 11 Jan he returnd and was imprisoned. In 1739 he shipt himself for the Islands: and his wife lives in open adultery with Mr. Christie Recorder of Savannah. Run away 29 Dec. 1737.

“This morning arrived here Mr Abercrombie & Mr Chardon. The former Comes to be Present at the tryall of yonge Millichamp and Turner, Accused for Counterfeiting the Currency of Carolina,” Samuel Eveleigh wrote to Oglethorpe on July 7, 1735. (CRG XX, p. 436) The case was so large it had ushered in the involvement of South Carolina’s Attorney General, James Abercromby (1708-1775). He had been unwilling to enter the fray on the issue of seizing the *James* at the beginning of the year, but the scope of this crime demanded his involvement, and he came to Savannah. As Thomas Causton explained:

That as this Affair might occasion Some Reflections on the Colony, we thought it necessary to pursue the Guilty in the Strictest manner; And as it concerned Carolina very particularly, we judged it necessary to desire Mr Abercromby’s advice concerning the Prosecution. He came to us, and managed a Charge against Richard Turner and Thomas Mellichamp before the Grand jury, and then returned back.

- Thomas Causton, July 25, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 451)

The jury was presented with three charges against William Mellichamp and Richard Turner, but with “William Mellichamp being fled we tryed Turner.” Turner, however, was not the mastermind, and as such was acquitted of the first two charges, which included knowingly producing counterfeit bills. Found guilty on the third charge of making the rolling press and utensils, “supposed to be a Misdemeanor, he was fined 200£ Sterling and committed to Goal till payment was made.” Worried that he would be the only one punished, Turner offered evidence against his associates.

When this fine was laid And the Comitment Executed, Turner found, he was like to pay dear for his Enterprize, and his Employers be Acquitted. He and his Wife made a more full Discovery, So that a Grand jury being Sumoned they have Indicted William Mellichamp and Thomas Mellichamp for forging the Names and writing of the Subscribing Commissioners to severall money Bills.

With Turner singing like a bird, Tommy Mellichamp followed his father’s example and quickly disappeared into the woods. “Thomas Mellichamp upon Intelligence of this, also fled.”

Warrants were issued “upon these Indictments to Seize on the Lands and Effects of William and Thomas Mellichamp to your Honours use; In Case they shall be found Guilty of the Fact or Outlawed,” Causton wrote. William Mellichamp made bold to write to the Trustees,

acknowledging that the scandal had “lessened me and my Sons in some of your Honrs Esteem.” Remarking of the “ill natur’d aspersion which has been thrown on my whole Family since I left America,” he pled for the return of his property and “my Salt Pans there” in order to “maintain my poor distressed Wife and Children.” (CRG XXI, p. 15)

His request fell on deaf ears. A few weeks after fleeing Thomas Mellichamp was discovered hiding in South Carolina.

We hear that Tho. Millichamp is taken in Carolina in [Mr.] Underwoods Barn together with One Morgan of Charles Town who was lately up here with Cyder & Rum. They were taken with sevl Counterfeit Ordrs & Bills on them together wth all their Utensils & engraving Tools & are now in Irons in Charles Town Gaol [jail] in ordr to be tryed.

- Thomas Christie, July 31, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 456)

Thomas Causton wrote on September 8: “Thomas Mellichamp whom I mentioned in my Last to be Indicted for forgery and fled from hence is taken in the fact and all his Implements with him.” He concluded the Mellichamp saga: “He was taken in Carolina, and is in the Charles Town Goal.” (p. 469) Causton might have thought the matter closed there, but Thomas Mellichamp was a young man obsessed with Causton’s niece... and like a bad (counterfeited) penny, would turn up later.

Richard Mellichamp arrived in Georgia six months after the rest of the listed family, but his luck proved no better in the summer of 1735, though through no fault of his own. Listed in the *LES* as arriving in Savannah “21 Oct. 1734,” he came to Savannah, just four days after the listed death of James Willoughby. Willoughby was a peruke maker who had arrived on the *Georgia Pink* (#69), while his wife Hannah followed four months later on the *Savannah* (#123), but by October 17, 1734 James was dead, leaving Hannah and three children. On August 31, 1735 Richard Mellichamp married the widow Willoughby... only to discover shortly thereafter she was already secretly married. Secretly pregnant, too.

The mastermind of the scheme was William Watkins, the surgeon who came over on the *Savannah* (#34) in December, 1733 and settled in Abercorn. In the summer of 1734 Watkins had taken over the care of the mortally wounded Ebenezer slave when the Salzburgers doctor disappeared in the forest. The following year, on April 2, 1735, Thomas Causton remarked to Oglethorpe that “the Abercorn people shew great industry in planting (except Watkins) who is never there.” (CRG XX, p. 305) In fact, he was never there by April of 1735 because he had secretly married to the widow Willoughby... without having bothered to consult his wife in England about the matter.

Willoughby quickly conceived a child. Realizing that “he should liable to be troubled, and therefore dared not own it,” a panicked Watkins devised a scheme to cover up the pregnancy situation. Thomas Causton recorded the event for the Trustees.

... Att our last Court William Watkins of Abercorn was prosecuted for Misdemeanors and the late wife of James Willoughby [Hanah] for Bigamy. The Case thus, Watkins in April had procured a person unknown (in the absence of Mr. Quincy) to marry him to the widow Willoughby, In consequence of which she proved with Child; Soon after this he rec’ed advice by Letter & Message that his wife was alive and well in England; And [as] he had not made his Marriage

publick, he proposed to her that as he had a wife in England... as she was with Child, the world would soon discover it, and believe she had played the Whore, Therefore, [he] persuaded her to marry Richard Mellichamp.

On August 31, Watkins' plan came to fruition as poor dupe Mellichamp and Willoughby "were married by Mr Quincy Watkins being present." But... "Mellichamp soon discovered her being with Child, and his own misfortune in marrying her."

Watkins and the woman were at Richard Turners one night, when Mellichamp came in and desired her to go home, but as she was not willing, he said, that he would sell such a Wife for a Groat at any time, declaring he believed she loved Watkins better than he; One in the Company jocularly said he would give a Shilling for her, several others bidding by way of Auction she was declared to be sold for five pounds Sterling; Mellichamp seemed Satisfyed, and the woman declared she would go with the buyer and behaved Imodestly. One [John] Langford then in Company at their desire conveyed them to his Lodging, where they were bedded in publick, and the five pound paid and Accepted of..

To be clear... Hannah Willoughby had been widowed in 1734, but by the fall of 1735 was married to two men at once, one of them secretly... and the secret marriage was to a man already married to someone else... which begs the question—despite all the scheming between the two—was she even legally married to Watkins at the time she wed Mellichamp if Watkins was already married? In other words, did *his* bigamy cancel out *hers*? Such technicalities aside, when Mellichamp threw up his hands and offered to be rid of her in a house full of men, the bidding began. Sold to a third man for five pounds sterling, she was promptly taken to bed, and with her encouragement. As acknowledged in the *LES*, John Langford, the winner of the auction, was "convicted of keeping a bawdy house, 9 Oct. 1735."

Causton sought indictments "against all Partys." The jury chose to punish everyone but Mellichamp, whose embarrassment undoubtedly trumped the fact that he had done nothing wrong.

... the Grand jury found Misdemeanor against Watkins and Langford only, and drew up a Presentment of their own, and Charged the woman on the Statute of Bigamy; They were all tried and found Guilty. Watkins was whipt (unpittied) on a Muster day at the Carts Tail round the Town and remains in Gaol for want of Surety. The woman is held in Gaol, as being with Child... Langford was very Instrumentall in the discovery of the whole matter and gave a Clear Evidence therefore was only bound over for his future good behaviour.

- Thomas Causton, November 20, 1735 (*CRG XXI*, p. 57-58)

Causton concluded: "Mellichamp being a Sufferer was acquitted." Percival described Watkins & Willoughby as follows:

1594. Watkins, Will. - Age 44; Surgeon; embark'd 11 Sept. 1733; arrived 16 Dec. 1733. Sentenc'd 100 lashes for marrying a 2d wife his first living and to give security to return to Abercorn his settlement 9 Oct. 1735. Also convicted of adultery & sentenc'd to imprisonment 3 Dec. 1736 where he lay 2 years & then ran away.

Ran away 1737.

1633. Willoughby, Hanah, w. - Embark'd 11 Sept. 1733; arrived 16 Dec. 1733. Imprison'd for marrying Ri. Mellichamp, Willm. Watkins her 1. husband being alive and she with child by him, and then leaving Mellichamp and by his consent bedding a third man who bought her for a shillin.

The blatant and cynical bigamy of Watkins makes one almost appreciate the kinder/gentler bigamy of fellow physician Samuel Pensyre (*Georgia Pink*, #81). As seen previously, after learning of Oglethorpe's disapproval of his situation, Pensyre had written an impassioned letter to the former in early 1735 explaining his complicated marriage. Having been married for ten years, "and Happy for Seven years, Butt She got acquainted with... Drinking." He was now very pleased with Tamara, his second wife, though not divorced from the first. "Meeting with this woman Now at present in Georgia with me, Seeing her of Good Behaviour, and Sober woman... we Concluded both to go to Georgia." But he made it clear that if Oglethorpe was so patently offended by the current situation Pensyre would be willing to bring his slightly suicidal wife (she "bought one ounce of Liquid Laudnum and took on purpose in order to Destroy her Self") to Georgia for a super-uncomfortable threesome... a gesture that strikes any contemporary reader as insulting to Tamara, who had given birth to at least two (and possibly three) of his children.

Butt if yr Honor will have her come to me, I Shall Receive her—I Cannot say willingly receive her, by Reason I know very well that She will never Keep her Self from Drinking—...Butt in Case that She Come I will send this current woman away, although She has two fine Boys.

- Samuel Pensyre, January 7, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 145-6)

But as Pensyre warned Oglethorpe, his legal/suicidal wife had a temper. "When Shes Drunk She is also mad." One might suppose Oglethorpe wouldn't have feared such feminine wiles, as he was soon to deal with the Real Housewives of Frederica.

Pensyre's abandonment of Tybee and Watkins' similar abandonment of Abercorn meant that by 1735 there were no fewer than five Georgia physicians in Savannah; four were identified in the *LES* and elsewhere as "surgeons"—Samuel Nunez (*William and Sarah "Maxi" #56.*), Samuel Pensyre (*Georgia Pink*, #81), William Watkins (*Savannah*, #34) and Patrick Tailfer—as well as one "apothecary"—Isaac King Clark (*Savannah*, #64). An additional physician would arrive in the guise of one Patrick Graham in 1736 (*Two Brothers* [3], #9)... but he fell in love with one of his patients and retired from medicine after their marriage in 1740. While complaining it was "almost impossible" to live at Tybee, Samuel Pensyre ultimately did not live much longer in Savannah... dying on or about June 12, 1735. Watkins and Clark were malcontents caught routinely hanging out in the company of Joseph Watson; Watkins abandoned the colony in 1737, Clark abandoned in 1738. Even Andreas Zwiffler (*Purrysburg*, #44) left Ebenezer in 1737; Nunez ultimately fled the colony in the Spanish threat of 1740 and Tailfer in 1741... by which time the colony was once again without a physician.

The Escalation of Punishments

In March of 1737, John Wesley learned of the suicide of a despondent man whose hopes of finding a future in Georgia had fallen apart. The “Capt. W” below is a reference to Captain Robert Williams, brother-in-law to Patrick Tailfer. As Percival described Williams in the *LES*: “He had a grant of 500 acres 11 May 1733, and went from Bristol.” The young man who took his own life was convinced to go to Georgia by Williams, who then impressed by him into indentured servitude.

In 1733 David Jones, a saddler, a middle-aged man, who had for some time before lived at Nottingham, being at Bristol, met a person there, who after giving him some account of Georgia, asked whether he would go thither; adding, his trade (that of a saddler) was an exceedingly good trade there, upon which he might live credibly and comfortably. He objected his want of money to pay his passage and buy some tools, which he should have need of. The gentleman (Capt. W.) told him he would supply him with that, and hire him a shop when he came to Georgia, wherein he might follow his business.... Accordingly to Georgia they went; where, soon after his arrival, his master (as he now styled himself) sold him to Mr. Lacy, who set him to work with the rest of his servants in clearing land. He commonly appeared much more thoughtful than the rest, often stealing into the woods alone. He was now sent to do some work on an island three or four miles from Mr. Lacy’s great plantation. Thence he desired the other servants to return without him, saying he would stay and kill a deer. This was on Saturday. On Monday they found him on the shore, with his gun by him, and the fore part of his head shot to pieces. In his pocket was a paper book; all the leaves thereof were fair, except one, on which ten or twelve verses were written, two of which were these (which I transcribed thence from his own handwriting):

Death could not a more sad retinue find;
Sickness and pain before, and darkness all behind!

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 344-5

Sadly, David Jones does not appear in Percival’s *List of Early Settlers*.

On 14 May 1735 Capt. Yoakly of the *James*, sailed for Georgia with 30 passengers, viz. 15 Males and 15 females, of whom 18 were Trust Servants besides their 6 children. Of these Trust Servants 3 men were English; the rest were Germans. 29 of the 30 went on the Trust acct.... 1 Servant belonging to Richard Mellichamp in Georgia.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 85-6

The *LES* does not record an arrival date for this fourth arrival of the *James*, but Isaac Chardon wrote from Charlestown on July 25 that the *James* “came off our Barr ye 20th Instant.” (*CRG* XX, p. 454) And by July 24 Paul Amatis was already answering a letter brought over by the ship... “I Received yesterday with a great deal of Pleasure your Letter of 12th May per Capt Yoakley who Arrived at Tybee the 21st Inst.” (p. 447) Bolzius, too, noted the arrival of the servants:

The 1st of August [1735].

... A ship arrived in Savannah which brought a number of Swiss men and women who are to be servants for the inhabitants of the city.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 113)

“I return your Honours Thanks for the Servants, sent by this Ship,” Causton wrote to the Trustees on July 25. (CRG XX, p. 452)

It is interesting to note that in 1733 the Trustees sent a total of just six Trust Servants to Georgia. “In April 1733 Six were sent from England,” Percival noted by the end of the year. Factoring in the 40 Irish Transport servants who had pulled into harbor in late 1733 or early 1734, Percival noted by 1734 “at this time we had 46 Trust Servants in the Province.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 55) Now this would change.

In even the following (incomplete) reconstruction of the ship’s muster the overwhelming number of Trust Servants on board marks a turning point. In all the subsequent arrivals documented in the *LES* throughout the second half of the decade Trust Servants represent an increasing presence, and an increased reliance by the Savannah settlement on people who were destitute and/or severely troubled.

A reconstruction of the James (4) muster

arrived off Tybee July 21, 1735

James Yoakley, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers*, CRG XX, CRG XXIX and John Wesley’s *Journal*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Savannah

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Anne Bliss | 4. John Thompson |
| 2. George Muir (son of James *1) | 5. Austin Weddal [lot 230, 6th ward] |
| 3. Will Pitches [lot 223, 6th ward] | 6. Margaret Weddal (w) |

<u>Trust Servants</u>	<u>term of service</u>		<u>term of service</u>
7. Agatha Bandle *2	5 years	18. Barbara (d)	6 years
8. William Buley	?	19. Catherine (d)	11 years
9. Nicolas Carpenter	11 years	20. Margaret (d)	2 years
10. H. Friederick Christer	5 years	21. Dorothy (d)	n/a
11. Maria Christer (w)	5 years	22. Christian (s)	n/a
12. Adail Hait Hoffman	10 years	23. John Robinson	9 years
13. Thomas Lee	10 years	24. Caspar Schumaker	5 years
14. Elizabeth Malpas	?	25. Christiana (w) *2	5 years
15. Andrew Michel	5 years	26. [?]	
16. Margaret Michel (w)	5 years	27. [?]	
17. Mary Phizzel	5 years	28. [?]	

Additional James passengers arriving on their own account included, but were not necessarily limited to:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| 30. [a Mr. --?] Adams | | 35. Christian Dasher (<i>ser</i>) |
| 31. Margaret Bovey | [lot 33, 1st ward] | 36. Peter LaFosse (<i>ser. to Ri. Mellichamp</i>) |
| 32. Rebecca Bovey | | 37. Stephen Marauld [lot 229, 6th ward] |
| 33. William Cooksey | [lot 9, 1st ward] | 38. Michael Schwitzer (<i>ser. to Ja. Haselfoot</i> *3) |
| 34. Sarah Cooksey (<i>w</i>) | | |

*1 - James Muir arrived on the *Anne*

*2 - Agatha Bandle was mother to Christina Schumaker

*3 - Haselfoot arrived on the *Friendship*, August, 1734

Two and-a-half years had passed since James Muir came on the *Anne* (#73), and two years had passed since the death of his wife. Now his eldest son George (#2) finally made the voyage to Georgia. As Verelst explained to Causton, “The Trustees have Given George Muir his Passage in this Ship, he goes to his Father.”

They have also by this Ship sent Ann Bliss [#1]. She is a Nurse and to assist the Sick under your Direction; and She is to have one Year’s Provision upon the Store.

- Harman Verelst, May 15, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 62)

Causton acknowledged the arrival of the ship midway through his July 25 letter to the Trustees and discussed a few of its passengers.

Mr John Thompson [#4] (who came per Yoakley) seems to like this place, but is resolved to live by the Law, therefore is gone to Charles Town having first sold his Serv.

There is one Adams [#30] per profession & Butcher; he came per Yoakley, and is desirous of a Lott; and he stays here in hopes of your Honour’s Grant which he says he has wrote to Mr Hathcote for.

- Thomas Causton, July 25, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 453)

Margaret and Rebecca Bovey (#31 & 32) almost certainly did not arrive unattended, but other members of the family simply do not come down to us in the surviving record. Their father is referred to fleetingly within an entry in Percival’s *Diary*:

Wednesday, 16 [April, 1735]...

We referred to the petition of Prat, who desires to sell his lot to Mr. Bovey.

- John Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 170

Thomas Pratt had come on the *Anne* (#84), and was back in London by the next year. His lot was in Derby ward (lot 33), which indeed is where the ladies lodged, but the only member of the family listed in the *LES* is Margaret. Sister Rebecca is not found in the *LES*, but instead only in John Wesley’s *Journal*, where she was given a singular distinction: “I never saw so beautiful corpse in my life,” he exclaimed. (p. 246) “Hearing the younger of the Boveys was not well, I called upon them,” he wrote on July 1, 1736. (p. 239-40) “Dr. Tailfer soon after going by, she [Margaret] desired him to step in, and said, ‘Sir, my sister, I fear, is not well.’ He looked earnestly at her, felt her pulse, and replied, ‘Well, madam, your sister is dying!’” (vol. 1, p. 244-5) So much for bedside manner. She passed away on July 10, 1736, less than a year after having

arrived, and as Wesley noted: “Almost the whole town was the next evening at the funeral.” (p. 246)

But the majority of the passengers from this fourth arrival of the *James* was composed of Trust Servants. Causton found the following note delivered by Captain Yoakley:

By this Ship several Servants are sent and you herewith receive a List of them, with the Terms they are Contracted for; and to whom the Trustees have appointed the Use of them, and on what Conditions; the Men are bound for five years who on their Arrival are to have five Acres each in part of their twenty Acres set out; It being agreed they shall be allowed one day in a week to work on their own Land; and the remaining fifteen Acres to each is to be set out as soon as conveniently may be afterwards.

- Harman Verelst, May 15, 1735 (CRG XXIX, p. 62-3)

“The Boys that come over are bound to the Age of Twenty four, and when they are nineteen their Lands are to be set out as above mentioned,” Verelst concluded.

Michael Schwitzer (#38) came as a servant for the term of five years, appointed to James Haselfoot, who had arrived in Georgia the year before, on the *Friendship*. As Verelst noted, “This Servant Mrs. Haselfoot paid the passage for and Mr. Haselfoot is to maintain and provide for him.” He was indentured “for 5 Years from the 10th. of May 1735, being bound to the Trustees. You must take a Recognizance from Mr. Haselfoot of Five Pounds Sterling” for the recognition of the contract between Haselfoot and the Trustees. (p. 63) Mrs. Haselfoot had written to the Trustees in desperation the month before the departure of the *James*, seeking their assistance.

Gentlemen

I hope you will forgive this trouble, but hearing there is a Ship soon to go to Georgia, I beg your Honours will Indulge me in what concerns Mr Haselfoot my Husband. He went to Georgia in April last... & was to carry three Servants wth him, but cou'd get none to go with him. He has wrote to me to send him two servants & to come myself.

- S. Haselfoot, April 23, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 323)

But, she admitted, “I am at a loss being a woman how to get him two servants, wch I would send by Capn Yoakley... if your Honours wol'd instruct me what I must do to have these servants it wou'd be a great favour.” Curiously, only one servant was sent on the *James*, probably reflective of her further remark that “My Circumstances are very narrow, & I cannot assist Mr Haselfoot as I wou'd.” (p. 324)

Servants Nicolas Carpenter (#9) and John Robinson (#23) were placed in the employ of the ministers of Ebenezer, Bolzius and Gronau, but both quickly proved troublemakers. In thanking the Trustees for their efforts in sending the boys, Bolzius attempted to put a positive spin on the situation. “For the two boys, the Trustees were pleased to send to our service, we return many thanks,” he wrote, while observing at the same time:

They are not so well-natured & obedient as [Henry] Bishop, but we hope, they will be brought to good order by the holy word of God & other good means.

- John Martin Bolzius, September 1, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 465)

Henry Bishop was Bolzius' servant from the *Prince of Wales*. Barely five weeks after the arrival of the *James*, Bishop remarked to his family in England of Bolzius's displeasure of the two new charges: "My Master Told me he hear'd I had a Brother... which he told me he should be very Glad to have come live here with me in his House, for he had Lately 2 Boys sent from London wch can neither write nor read, and they are sad, reprobate boys." (August 26, 1735, *CRG XXI*, p. 66) But instead of Bishop's good nature rubbing off on the newcomers, as Bolzius might have hoped, it seemed the opposite as Bishop continued in their presence. Bolzius singled out Robinson, Gronau's servant, as the worst.

Of the three boys who were sent to us some time ago from London by our benefactors the one that belongs to my dear colleague [Robinson] is the naughtiest and is inclined to every wickedness. In addition he is very sly and cunning and all the more dangerous because he has little to do at his house and is moreover very harmful for my two boys, particularly for Bishop.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 194)

"Bishop is very attached to him," Bolzius lamented.

The other boy, by the name of Nicolas Carpenter, is not worth much, to be sure, but he does have a flexible and at the same time cheerful and clever disposition and would be capable of much good work, if he feared the Lord.

- vol. 2, p. 194

By the spring the situation had failed to improve, as Bolzius noted in his May 5, 1736 diary entry. "The English boy Robinson, who was sent to my dear colleague a short time ago from England, is being taken to Savannah at the present opportunity... at our request."

Nothing could be accomplished with him here unless there was always an overseer and driver near him. It looks the same with the other boy, Nicolas Carpenter. I cannot use him for the kind of work for which he was sent to me; therefore I am handing him over to Mr. von Reck until I have spoken to Mr. Oglethorpe on his account.

- vol. 3, p. 126

A month later, Carpenter was sent away too.

Tuesday, the 15th of June.

... I... sent the English boy Nicolas Carpenter, who had been sent up here for my service, back to Savannah, because he refuses to live an orderly life here since, on account of my office, I cannot keep after him and cannot give him the kind of work that suits him. Oglethorpe is taking him on and will know how to use him.

- vol. 3, p. 156

Bolzius concluded the matter: "Bishop would have become naughty in the company of these two boys if I had not separated them in time." (p. 126)

William Buley (#8) and Elizabeth Malpas (#14), almost as though erased by Percival, do not appear anywhere in the *LES*. Thomas Christie wrote to the Trustees of the couple in the summer of 1735. Found guilty of "a dissolute life," Malpas was subject to a punishment typical of servants by that time. Whipping—rarely executed on freeholders—was almost as pervasive with servants in Georgia as it was with slaves in South Carolina.

One Wm Buley of Clear Market & Elizh Malpas... who lived since with Capt Lingham... & came over with this last Embarkation as passengers in Capt Yoakly Ship [the *James*' fourth arrival] as Man & Wife & She being convicted of lyeing between two fellows naked & leading a dissolute life was Ordd Sixty Lashes at the Cart tail & to be carrd through Bull street & back again wch was Executed accordingly & the Man who brot her over as his wife is Ordd to give Security & bound over to his good behaviour during his stay in the Colony.

- Thomas Christie, July 31, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 456)

Michael and Mary Welsh, similarly, do not exist in the record but for ill deeds and lashes, found in unflattering comments in the *LES*, but nowhere else.

1245. Welsh, Michl. - Idle vagbond. Sentenc'd to be whipt for stealing 31 May 1735.

1246. Welsh, Mary - Idle vagabond. Sentenc'd 39 lashes for the same 31 May 1735.

“The English servants were good for nothing,” William Horton told Percival while in London in 1740, “but the German servants industrious.” (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 136) This was hardly the first time Percival had heard of the shortcomings of the servants. Peter Gordon was even more frank in his assessment in 1735. “The common run of white servants that transport themselves to ovr Colony's [colonies] abroad by the help of ovr agents for that purpose are generally the very scumm and refuse of mankind...”

... trained up in all sorts of vice, often loaded with bad distempers and who leave their native country upon no other motive but to avoid the worss fate of being hanged in it.

- Peter Gordon, *Journal*, p. 57

In fact, these complaints regarded the servants came to Percival many times over the 1730s. “Mr. Stephens also wrote that the Servants were in general a Sad crew, that of his 10 he never had above 5 work at a time,” he observed in May of 1738. “Some whores, other thieves, others Sick, So that their work paid not for their food & Cloathes.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 367)

“Correction” was the term William Stephens used to describe the method of punishment. Upon being found guilty of “stealing out of a Chest on board the Vessel he belonged to,” in January, 1739, the unnamed sailor “received due Correction at the Whipping-Post.” (*CRG IV*, p. 259, 262) Similarly, the following week two runaway servant boys were promptly given “a little sharp Correction; which possibly being done in private, may have better Efficacy than to be whipped openly.” (p. 263)

But Stephens was plagued with one servant “that no Correction would mend.” Thomas Roberts “proved so egregious a Rogue, that now I despaired of ever seeing any good of him.”

He was naturally so wicked, lying and thieving... that I was not safe in my House, for he was an accomplished Thief, and confessed he had been in the Hands of publick Justice in London. Wherefore being quite tired with his Villany, I desired the Magistrates... to send him to the Log-

house, and confine him there a little while, till it might be considered, what farther Measures to take; which was done.

- William Stephens *Journal*, January 12, 1739 (*CRG IV*, p. 261)

Nor was his other young servant any better. One month later “Edward Haines, a Boy Servant of mine, was at my Request committed by the Magistrates as an incorrigible Rogue.” (p. 281) By the next month, when a third servant ran away, Stephens remarked, “For any Good that ever I could expect from him, [I] concluded, that he were better lost than found.” (p. 308) As he lamented: “the Plague of idle and roguish Servants was grown universal.” (p. 291)

By the end of 1736, Causton had written to the Trustees, requesting their policy of appropriate punishments for the catalog of illicit behaviors now rampant in the colony.

I must Desire your Directions what will be proper judgment to give in Petty Larceny[,] Whoredom, Adultery, or any Offences which are generally punisht by the Laws of England with Whipping Imprisonment or fines or Burning in the hand.... [If they are to suffer] Imprisonment they are therefore rendered useless to the Colony and their families may Starve.

- Thomas Causton, December 14, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 288)

And, as he noted, “If by whipping or burning in the hand, those seem too Ignominious for a freeholder.” The Trustees, possibly alarmed by the topic of whipping freeholders, replied:

Sir

The Trustees have received You Letter of Novr. 26 and likewise that of December 14. and they have ordered me to tell you, that they expect You will now go on in sending them regularly a State of the Colony by every Ship.

- Benjamin Martyn, March 7, 1737 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 175)

Remarking that “I have had bad Sucess with Servants,” Noble Jones, too, complained of ongoing issues with the help:

I have Now left but two & those have been Sick & as Soon as well are Always in Some Contrivance. They have Rob'd Me & others & Run away but I have them both Now but am forc't to Keep one of em with a Chain on his leg.

- Noble Jones, July 6, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 429)

Samuel Eveleigh seemed more and more surprised by the Irish with every visit:

You cant Imagin what Uneasiness ye Irish Convicts gives him [Causton]. There was no less than five of these Whipped one Morning when I first came here for Theft & Running away & Some of them very Severely, I think too Severe, and yet they are so incorrigible that Fair & Foul means will not reclaim them.

- Samuel Eveleigh, May 16, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 344)

Eveleigh wasn't the only one concerned that punishments for trifles were getting out of hand. Thomas Causton described an incident with a troublesome servant under John Vanderplank named Denis Fowler. Fowler was one of the ‘bad forty’ who had arrived on the Irish transport vessel in late 1733 or early 1734. One will note in particular Causton's final line:

Denis Fowler one of the Trustees Servants (plact under Vanderplank) was accused before me of lying with [James] Carwalls Wench in his Masters yard before a Great Boy in the time of the Divine Service. I Ordered him to be Whipt, And (the Officer) declared that the Honestest Fellow in the province was going to be whipt.

- Thomas Causton, March 24, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 285)

The “Officer” in question was the Trustees’ silk expert Paul Amatis, and the incident in question occurred on the afternoon of March 3, 1735. As Joseph Fitzwalter explained the same incident, “Two of the Servants of ye Trust where whiped at the Common whipping post for being Terdy of Severall Crimes.”

Mr Amatiss seeing them whiped through [threw] himself into a passion saying it was not in any ones power to do Any thing to Them, and said further he would go for England Directly and if any person had Any Greivance to Come to him.

- Joseph Fitzwalter, March 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 252)

“Which words was very wrong Spoke,” Fitzwalter concluded, given that the Red String Plot had broken the evening before... or as Fitzwalter put it: “Especially at a Time were [where] we Expected those Servants to Rise... and Two [to] Cutt us off.”

Amatis was unapologetic. “I have Seen many things Transacted Contrary to the Interest of the Trustees & ye Colony,” he wrote to the Trustees. (*CRG XX*, p. 379) By June he was accusing Causton of misusing the Trust Servants dedicated to tend the garden, taking six for his own purposes. And those that remained were running off. “There are at present but two Servants Employ’d in your Garden,” he wrote to the Trustees. (p. 448) And “with So few tis Impossible to do any great matters.” But who could blame the two escapees, given the flogging that the remaining two were subjected to just a few weeks later for killing swine on Amatis’ orders.... “Yesterday... having Removed to another house to be nearer to your Garden I took two of your Servants to help me in moving my Goods,” he began in his June 30 complaint to the Trustees, when Causton...

Immediately fixes... on the two Servants on a Pretence of not coming when he Sent for them, and for Killing Some Hoggs in your Garden... wch Accordingly they did in Obedience to the order I gave them... Those Hoggs having destroyd abundance of young Trees, Plants Melons &c.... Mr Causton Imediately (& I beleive without any Tryal) Ordered the two Servants to be Ty’d to Trees one of them was unmercifully Whipt with 101 Lashes wch made him utter Such Cries & Groans that I could not bear to hear him. The other had 21Lashes, was a Poor Sickly Fellow who was not yet Recovered of a Feaver & Could hardly Crawl.

- Paul Amatis, June 30, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 408-9)

“So much Barbarity & Cruelty wch I never was Acquainted with, & wth wch I did not think that an English man could be So Tyranical to Inflict,” he remarked. Threatening to “Retire to Purrysburgh,” Amatis remarked of Causton’s punitive habits:

I perceive the Colony will Greatly Suffer under the Administration of a Man who Seems to think no pleasure so Great as Punishing with the Utmost Severity but Shews no Delight in any Kind Actions.

- Paul Amatis, June 30, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 409)

Robert Parker, Sr., the earliest and most outspoken critic to write to the Trustees, offered his own list of grievances against Causton, though careful to never actually use his name. Echoing and perhaps inspiring Peter Gordon's complaint that "The too frequent Courts... are a great hardship upon the People," he further remarked of a colony locked in a downward spiral of escalating corporal punishment:

(2dly) The Punishments come next into Consideration, wch in a New Colony in my Humble Opinion ought to be used very tenderly & as seldom as Possable, but at Savannah they are frequent & Shocking, even to the Disgust of Neighboring Provinces.

- Robert Parker, January 4, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 141)

"I have seen a women Sit in the Stocks for 3 Hours when it Rain'd hard," he wrote, for a crime that "had Mr Oglethorpe been here, had not been taken Notice of."

Patrick Tailfer, in his *True and Historic Narrative*, related a mysterious incident involving "Mr. Odingsell, who was an inhabitant of Carolina, and had been a great benefactor to the infant colony of Georgia, having given several head of cattle and other valuable contributions, towards the promoting it."

This person having come to Savannah to see how the colony succeeded, after he had been there a few days, being abroad some time after it was night, as he was going to his lodgings, was taken up in the street for a stroller, carried to the guard-house, and threatened with the stocks and whipping-post; the terror and fright of which (he being a mild and peaceable man) threw him into a *high fever* with a *strong delirium*, crying out to every person who came near him, that they were come to carry him to the whipping-post; and after lying two or three days in this distracted condition, he was carried aboard his boat in order to be sent home, and died in the way somewhere about Daufuskee Sound.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 57-8

"Everything these fellows write is with gall," Percival argued in his notes. "Capt. Odingsells was a very good benefactor even so late as April 1734, and no doubt was received as all other strangers were with great sevility; however it be," Percival countered, "the Trustees never heard this story concerning him." (notes within *Tailfer*, p. 57-8)

But this was untrue; the Trustees had been informed of this story before; in his January 4, 1735 letter, Robert Parker seems to tell the same story:

One Poor Gentleman wth the Terrors & Frights of Whipping Stocks &c went Distracted in Town thro the Terror. He went away but Died before He reacht Port Royall. He was one that had been a Good Benefactor.

- Robert Parker, January 4, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 141)

Odingsells was of Edisto; as the Trustees recorded in their Account Book: "The Inhabitants of Edisto... Sent Sixteen Sheep to the Colony," (CRG III, p. 91) in March, 1733.

In truth, Savannah's corporal punishments had never been slight, but they seemed to reach new depths of severity as time progressed. As early as March, 1734, John Martin Bolzcius wrote of a punishment so excessive an Indian stepped in to plead for mercy.

The 25th [March, 1734]. Today an execution of judgment was held here in Savannah. A man from this place had been accused and convicted of sodomy, and inciting others, for which he was to receive three hundred lashes under the gallows. He received the first hundred today. People here are very serious about punishing infractions.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 67)
(Unedited version in vol. 3, p. 314)

The 27th. The previously mentioned malefactor was to get his second 100 lashes, and more than 50 of them had been given to him. But when an Indian saw this he felt pity for him, ran around the malefactor in a circle and cried: "No Christian, no Christian!", that is, "This [act] is not Christian." And since the lashing did not cease, he embraced the poor sinner and offered his own back to the lash. This caused the judges to end the affair and to remit the rest of the rascal's punishment.

- vol. 1, p. 67

The whippings and punishments in Savannah contrasted greatly with what one would find in Ebenezer, where despite the hard-line religious orthodoxy Bolzius and Gronau exercised in their community, punishments were virtually unknown. When in October of 1737 a woman brought complaint of her husband to Causton, Bolzius wrote that Causton "relegated the matter to our judgment and disposition. Therefore I sentenced the man to chopping wood for our school for three days as punishment." (v. 4, p. 179)

Following the servants disembarking from the fourth arrival of the *James* in July, 1735, more servants were sent by the Trustees in August, with servants and their families comprising half the manifest of the second *Georgia Pink* embarkation.

On the 6th August 1735 embarked on board the Georgia Pink Capt. Daubuz 15 Males & 12 females, in all 27 [Charity colonists] of whom 10 were Trust Servants including their 4 children: these were Grisons.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 101

A reconstruction of the Georgia Pink (2) muster

arrived in Savannah, November 27, 1735

Henry Daubuz, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers* and *CRG XXIX* (ages from *CRG XXIX*)]

(All research, *Jefferson Hall*, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Savannah *₁

1. Peter Joubert [lot 231, 6th ward]
2. Mary Joubert (*w*)
3. Mary Pember
4. Elizabeth Nichols (*ser*)
5. Edward Seymour [lot 232, 6th ward]

6. John Smith *₁
7. Mary Smith (*w*)
8. William (*s*) ("aged 6")
9. Mary (*d*) ("aged 6 Months")

<u><i>Trust Servants</i></u> *1	<u><i>term of service</i></u>	<u><i>term of service</i></u>
10. Daniel Fayssoux	5 years	19. John (s) (“aged 12”)
11. John Giovannoli	5 years	20. Margaret (d) (“aged 8”)
12. Maria Giovannoli (w)	5 years	21. John (s) (“aged 5”)
13. John (s) (“aged 3”)		22. Katherine (d) (“aged 2”)
14. Segher[or Scher] (s) (“aged 2”)		23. Thomas Oakes (“aged 15”) 6 years
15. Henry Meyer *1	n/a	24. Anthony Salice 5 years
16. Katherine Meyer (w)	n/a	25. Katherine Salice (w) 5 years
17. Anne (d) (“aged Seventeen”) n/a		26. Maria Katherine (d) (“aged 4 ”)
18. Daniel (s) (“aged 14”) n/a		27. Anthony (s) (“aged 3 ”)

Additional Georgia Pink passengers arriving on their own account included, but were not necessarily limited to:

28. Nathaniel Polhill	32. Grace (d)
29. Sarah Polhill (w)	33. Nathaniel (s)
30. Anne (d)	34. ? (ser)
31. Edward (s)	35. William Woodrofe

*1 - Henry Meyer, John Smith and families settled soon after in Frederica

Mary Pember (#3) and Edward Seymour (#5) were cousins. Arriving as a widow—a presumably well off widow—Pember was granted 50 acres; she later married to become Francis Bathurst’s second wife. But as Robert Bathurst later noted, she appears to have brought the family further into debt before abruptly dying in October, 1736. Nathaniel Polhill (#28) had intended “to carry 3 Servants with him,” Martyn wrote to Causton, but “He could get but one to go over now with him; therefore let him have 50 Acres of Land set out in part with a reserve for 100 Acres more adjacent.” (CRG XXIX, p. 80)

This second transport of the *Georgia Pink* was marked by a heavy concentration of not only servants... but of children—as many as 17 under the age of 18, almost half the manifest—and as Causton noted to the Trustees shortly after the vessel’s arrival, many of them were *sick* children:

Capt Daubuz arrived here on the 27th November with all the Passengers in good health, and they all praise his Tenderness and Humanity towards them, he had ten Children, which had the Small Pox in the Passage; every One of them recovered.

- Thomas Causton, December 7, 1735 (CRG XXI, p. 63)

Writing of the Meyer family (#15 - 22), Causton noted: “One of the Grizon’s wife had a Daughter born, which was this day Baptized.” The woman in question was Katherine Meyer, giving birth to her seventh child (*at least...* Percival notes in the *LES* that they had 8 by the time he penned their entry). The Meyers were Grisons, from the Alps, representing another one of Georgia’s diverse ethnicities, intended as servants for the forthcoming Frederica settlement. Percival wrote of this group of “Swiss Grisons, for servants,” (vol. 2, p. 186) in his *Diary*.

Wednesday, 6 August [1735].... We had the Grisons with us who were to set sail this day for our new town in Georgia, but scrupled some of the conditions on which they are to enter our service, the principal of which was that their wives were not to have lands promised them. We told them we should do by them as by others, but not break rules. Some were contented to go, others not, and they that go are to embark this night; we promised them five acres in present and fifteen more when their time of service is out at furthest, or as soon as possible before; and that their tools should be given them at the expiration of their service.

- vol. 2, p. 190

Henry Meyer and his family were on a short-term of contracted service, until, as Martyn explained, “Mr. Oglethorpe’s arrival.... till then he [and the mature members of his family] may be employed for the benefit of the Trust in Consideration of his Maintenance.” (CRG XXIX, p. 79) But in a follow-up just two days later, Martyn reversed this position, stating that the family “must not be Employed to labour for the Trust, but be maintained, as other Freemen are, for he is to Joyn the People Mr. Oglethorpe brings.” (p. 81)

The Salice family (#24-27) was suspected of having Catholic leanings, as Martyn’s August 9 letter, shoe-horned in on the *Georgia Pink*, warned that “I have received Directions to desire you would keep a watchfull Eye over the behaviour of Anthony Salice (who comes by this Ship) one of the Servants bound to the Trust, and in particular to Observe if any Inclination should arise in him for corresponding with either the French or Spaniards.” (p. 81)

Thomas Oakes (#23), at 15 years of age, was contracted out to a six-year term. As Percival noted in the *List of Early Settlers*, he was “Made over by the Trustees to Tho. Young.” Thomas Young was one of the ‘first forty’ (*Anne* #114); shortly after his marriage to Mary Box (*Savannah* #8) in July, 1734 and the arrival of his grandson, Thomas Egerton via the *Prince of Wales* (#68), Young had written to the Trustees, remarking that “I have No Servant at all to Look after my Bussness.” (CRG XX, p. 154) The Trustees rectified this, but as William Stephens later noted, Thomas Oakes proved to be more trouble than he was worth and ran away often enough that the Trustees recalled him five years into his six years’ service.

Monday [November 20, 1738]..

The Trustees in their last Letter directing me to enquire what Grounds there was, for abusing his Apprentice one Oakes, whose Father was one of the King’s Coachmen; I sent for the Boy, and examined him closely thereon... assuring him not only of Protection here, but also if there appeared good cause for it, I told him I had Power to discharge him, and send him home, whereupon he should be bold, and tell me the Truth without Fear.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 231)

“But the Boy assured me, that he never sent any such Complaint.”

And as to his Master’s Usage, he told me, it was very good; that he never failed of a Belly-full of good Food, such as his Master himself eat; that he had Shirts and Cloaths as good as any in the Town of his Equals in the Service... but only wanted a better Coat for Sundays.

He had run away, as he admitted, “more than once, but never would again; and was very well contented now.” But three weeks later, Oakes was gone again.

December 13, 1738...

Thomas Young the wheelwright, acquainted me, that his boy Oakes (whom by the Trustees Order I had examined lately) notwithstanding his acquitting his Master of any ill Usage, was run away from him again.

- p. 246

But as Stephens noted, Oakes “did not leave him till his Master had first equipt him with a new Coat for Sundays.”

SATURDAY [December 13, 1738]... Thomas Young’s Boy the Wheelwright, who lately run away from his Master, together with another who was a Servant to the Widow Brownjohn, were both taken at Fort Argyle, and brought home; upon which the Magistrates committed them to the Logg-House.

- p. 248

As Percival noted in the *LES*, Oakes was “Idle and orderd home to his father in England Dec. 1740.” Oakes was previously discussed in the first volume of this narrative, demonstrating that not all servants were destitute; Oakes came from a family of prominence and means, but his behavior was no better for it.

Servants were frequently on the run. “Yesterday morning I received a letter from Savannah to the effect that we should retain an escaped servant if he should happen to pass through here,” Bolzius wrote from Ebenezer in a November 28, 1737 entry. Clearly uncomfortable with such a responsibility, he followed up this observation that, having been in Savannah the week before, he had witnessed *even more* servants pouring into Savannah.

Captain Thompson has brought a whole boatload of male and female indentured servants from Scotland; and, while I was in Savannah, all adult persons among them were sold for 10 pounds sterling, for which they must serve for 14 years.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 206)

This shipment, by the *Two Brothers*, was an emigration that William Stephens did not seem to like. In 1738 he sent a letter complaining of the servants arriving by this ship. In particular he had comment about one woman “of the Highland Breed, brought over by Capt Thomson.” In brief, he remarked: “It appears what She had been doing on her passage; for She is pregnant.”

& the Author of it happend to be a man of her own Country, who brought over half a Score Servants with him in the same Ship, & is settling to cultivate other things in Georgia.... See wt Luck I have wth Wenches.

- William Stephens, February 27, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 101)

“I hope for better with the other Sex,” he wrote optimistically. But that was not to be either.

“Those people who are brought into this colony as indentured servants behave very badly for the most part and cause all sorts of disorder when they have the chance,” Bolzius wrote by 1739. (*Urlsperger*, vol. 6, p. 201)

In December, 1737, only a month after the arrival of the Scottish servants, arrived yet another vessel, this one with German servants, a fact which at first clearly excited Bolzius.

Wednesday, the 28th of December [1737]....

A few days ago a boat full of Germans from the Palatinate came to Savannah, the passage for whom was provided by the Honorable Trustees, in return for which these people and their children are bound to work as servants for a number of years. These people heard of us and our teaching in Ebenezer and therefore requested Mr. Causton to arrange for us to preach God's word to them and give them Holy Communion.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 227)

Bolzius' initial excitement was tempered as he came into contact with them and realized very quickly: "Some of them are quite coarse and rude people who will cause much anger in Savannah." (p. 228)

The German contingent had become so large that in 1738 Bolzius and Gronau began the practice of journeying to Savannah once every four weeks to preach to the German servants there. Every fourth Sunday would find one or the other in Savannah, conducting services. There, Bolzius noted, the servants "complain much to us how ill they fare in regard to their food, clothing, and conditions of work." (*Urlsperger*, vol. 6, p. 108)

Bolzius' early premonition of their trouble-making capacity proved correct. In fact, in 1739 many of the German servants dared to go on strike. Described by Stephens as early as April, 1738 as "a slothful and mutinous Crew, always complaining of too much Work, and too little Victuals, that they were daily growing more and more troublesome," (*CRG IV*, p. 117) by January, 1739 he noted, "Diverse of the German Servants... under the Pretense of not having Justice done them, declared they would not work till their Demands were satisfied." (p. 267) The strike lasted three days, and the only punishment the magistrates imposed was "working three Saturdays," to make good for time lost. If that seemed lenient, the magistrates made it clear that "the next Act of Disobedience which any of them should be guilty of, would certainly be reckoned for at the Whipping-Post." (p. 268) It's called... Correction.

By March 1739, they were still at it, causing trouble and carrying weapons, which itself was in defiance of the law. One servant died as a result of head trauma after a Constable beat him for refusing to surrender his gun. "A German Servant who was committed to the Log-House, was found dead there this Morning," Stephens noted in his March 2, 1739 *Journal* entry. "This fellow happened to be espied Yesterday with a Gun on his Shoulder, in the Street openly." Causton and Henry Parker called him over, "but he walked off, without taking any Notice of one or the other." As Stephens noted, the servants often pretended not to hear or understand orders, a "certain Index of that incurable Stubbornness which generally prevails among them."

Mr. Parker, therefore, sent the Constable Mr. Fallowfield, to follow him, and take his Arms away; pursuant to which he went, taking one or two with him to assist; but the Fellow resisting and struggling, and by clubbing his Piece, attempting to knock down any of them who stood most in Opposition, some Blows passed.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 292-3)

Stephens did not witness the "some Blows," but they must have been severe. Placed in jail for resisting arrest, the next morning, "the Posture the Body lay in, when found dead, [was] flat on his Face, and a great Effusion by Vomiting also appearing."

Two weeks later, more issues, as the servants began signing a petition. “Divers of the German Servants having again combined to be troublesome, and signed a Paper which was to be delivered to the General [Oglethorpe] when here, complaining of being hardly dealt with.” As Stephens concluded: “The Ringleaders were picked out, and sent to the Log-House.” (p. 301)

Even Bolzius found himself exasperated by much of the crew. As much as he loved preaching the gospel, Bolzius found this process of preaching in Savannah every four weeks tedious and unrewarding. “Among the German people to whom I preached the word of the Lord both morning and afternoon, there is nothing but envy, hatred, persecution, faithlessness, and voluptuousness, drunkenness, and rowdiness,” he concluded after a particularly trying Sunday on August 27, 1739.

In large part, the man and woman servants are treated right barbarously, against the will and intentions of the Lord Trustees; but then this may well be a judgment on these people, the majority of whom are entirely godless and impertinent. Those in the service of the Lord Trustees are well treated, but are mainly dishonest and selfish, so that the Lords suffer many losses in their affairs.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 6, p. 192-3)

“It may well be,” Bolzius concluded, “that this was the last sermon I will preach for them.” Gronau covered in September, while Bolzius gave his swan song to the Savannah Germans on October 21. “On Sunday I preached to the German people for the last time,” he wrote. “Despite all public and private admonition, the people continue in their profane and, in part, frankly godless behavior.” (p. 255)

1736 - 39

“Surely God is over all!”

THE RISE OF THE MALCONTENTS & FALL OF THE MINISTERS

And now to make our subjection the more complete, a new kind of tyranny was this summer [1736] begun to be imposed upon us, for Mr. John Wesley, who had come over, and was received by us as a clergyman of the Church of England, soon discovered that his aim was to enslave our *minds*, as a necessary preparative for enslaving our *bodies*....

Nor indeed could the reverend gentleman conceal the designs he was so full of, having frequently declared, that he never desired to see Georgia a *rich*, but a *religious* colony.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 67-8

Though not a fan of Thomas Causton, Tailfer & Co. were neither impressed by John Wesley, whose aims at creating a religious awakening were at odds with Tailfer’s hope of creating wealth. The comment above regarding Wesley was not entirely unlike the comment that Percival offered to that one anonymous gentleman of means in 1733, “that the design of our charter was in settling our Colony to provide for the necessitous poor of our country, and not to make men of substance richer.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 1, p. 370) Whether in the secular interest of creating a haven for the honest poor or offering a haven for religious pursuit, these two aims which molded Georgia belied the problem inherent in colony in the 1730s—there was no interest in supporting infrastructure that could grease the wheels of economic development. In fact, there was a deliberate and very consistent aversion to the idea. Georgia could “provide for the necessitous poor,” as Percival put it; it could be a “religious colony,” as Wesley insisted, but both seemed predicated on doing so to the exclusion of the idea of profit or wealth.

Upon receiving the Tailfer book and reading the authors’ line above about Wesley’s enslavement of bodies and minds, Percival was indignant. He scrawled in rebuttal on the same page: “Here is a fresh scandal cast on the Trustees as if they sent Mr. Wesley over to enslave the people.” But within the same scribbling, Percival also admitted candidly: “Had he [Wesley] not left the colony of his own accord, the Trustees would have recalled him on account of his behaviour.” (p. 67)

Percival remarked further of the “Scotch Club” that had authored the book (and of their church habits):

These Scotch Dissenters who did not attend the church service could find no inconvenience from Mr. Wesley’s prayers. They had amusements they liked better. Patrick Tailfer one of these authors with some of his crew, did on a Sunday whilst others were at church, break into the Publick garden, threatened to beat the gardiner who was a german, and made destruction there.

- Percival notes within *A True and Historical Narrative*, p. 68

The Seven Scots and the Growing Crisis of Credit

In 1739, Bolzius observed:

There are many Scots in this country, and the preacher in Savannah recently told me the reason for this, namely, that there was little to live on in Scotland, and therefore one is likely to meet Scotsmen seeking a living all over the world, although they pass as Englishmen because of their English tongue.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 6, p. 50)

As early as October, 1734, Samuel Eveleigh, arriving at the Bluff and greeted by "Mr Causton and the other Gent of that place," noticed something new in Savannah....

...Seeing Some Gentlemen at a Distance with laced Hatts on, I askt who they were. They told me they were Scotch Men; for that no other wore laced Hatts (but the Gentn of that Nation) on that Bluff.

- Samuel Eveleigh, October 19, 1734 (*CRG XX*, p.87)

Whether he realized it or not, Eveleigh had already noted their arrival into Charlestown harbor a few months before. "16th May. Yesterday arrived Capt. Paul Capt. Greg from Leith with 67 Passengers and a Vessel from Dublin with Servants." (p. 57) Samuel Quincy wrote to Oglethorpe in a June 20 correspondence that "Since your Departure from Charles Town I am informed there is a Vessel arrived there from Leith in Scotland with 7 Gentlemen and about 60 inferiour Persons, Servants and Dependants with Design to settle in Georgia." (p. 59) As Quincy noted: "My Friend writes me Word that some People there have endeavoured to dissuade them from going further but that he believes he shall prevail with 6 of the Gentlemen with their Servants," to continue on to Georgia.

Patrick Tailfer and his fellow Scotsmen crossed the river in Georgia in the summer of 1734, with servants in tow. Indeed, the Scots had brought with them a small army. As they themselves noted in their March 15, 1735 letter to the Trustees, "we were obliged to Freight a whole Ship." (p. 265) These seven Scotsmen who arrived in the summer of 1734 brought approximately 60 servants in their employ, 46 of whom can be found in the pages of the *LES*. One will note Elizabeth Grey among the number; discharged from service within months, in 1735 she married George Symes (*Anne #91*) and gave testimony exposing the Red String Plot.

Servants of the Scottish emigration of 1734 (servants as listed in the LES):

John Baillie

Elizabeth Grey	John MacDonald	Walter Ord
John Thompson		

Andrew Grant

Robert Bell	Jane Malcome	John Purdee
John Rutterford	James Scot	John Scot
Charles Steward		

Patrick & James Houstoun

Andrew Bell	James Calvin	Thomas Dawson
George Dempster	John Duncan	Thomas Frazer
Rachel Fyffe	John Pouvroy	Martha Pouvroy
Thomas Ready	James Ross	Alexander Rottray
Archibald Sinclair		

Will & Hugh Sterling

Will Byers	Robert Furzer	Archibald Glen
Archibald Grant	George Johnson	David Kinard
Anthony Macbride	Henry Macbride	Daniel MacFarlane
Jane MacGregor	Will MacIntyre	Duncan MacPherline
John Polwart	Hugh Ross	Alexander Taylor
Andrew Todd	James Trumbull	

Patrick Tailfer

William Douglass	John Hope	Elizabeth James
George Johnson	Rachel Ure	Thomas Wilkee

Andrew Grant and the Sterling brothers attempted a settlement at Sterling Bluff, but as Percival noted of the three, Sterling Bluff came to nothing.

467. Grant, Andrew - Gent.; arrived June 1734. A grant of 400 acres was made him 18 Oct. 1733 which he took up on O'geeky river but neglects it & lives inmate at Savannah. The place was call'd Sterlings bluff, and he and Will Sterling quitted it before Sept. 1737. He went to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards, and was a factious man. In England Jan. 1741/42. Quitted 30 Aug. 1740. Come to Engl. Jan. 1741-2.

1113. Sterling, Hugh - Gent. - Arrived 1 Aug. 1734. 14 Nov. 1733 he had a grant of 500 acres. Hugh & William settled at Sterlings Bluff on the Ogy-kee river, but after some years cultivation abandon'd their improvmts. to live in Savannah, where they wasted their substance; they quitted before Sept. 1737. Dead 1740.

1114. Sterling, Will. - Gent.; arrived 1 June 1734. 14 Nov. 1733 he had a grant of 500 acres. On 26 May 1739 he & Andrew Grant wrote they had lost 906.2.9 by cultivating with white ser-

vants and desired consideration for it.
Went to Carolina for fear of ye Spaniards. Quitted 30 Aug. 1743.

Tailfer, too, had a grant at Sterling Bluff, but unlike the other three, made no attempt at settling there. It was too far away, he complained, and his servants had fled from him or been impressed. As Benjamin Martyn noted of the Scots' emigration, "twelve of their Servants, after they were embark'd for Georgia, were inticed from them on Board the King's Ships at Portsmouth." (*CRG* XXIX, p. 27) Tailfer put a good face on his situation, explaining he was in Savannah. "I am now in a manner settled in this Town," he wrote in his first letter to the Trustees on March 15, 1735.

Honoured Sirs,

Having obtain'd a Grant from you for Five Hundred Acres of Land in the province of Georgia, I came here chiefly with a Design to settle upon it, but having had the misfortune of Losing Nine of my Servants a few Days before we embrak'd, & four more at Portsmouth... I am rendered incapable to pursue that Design untill I get more Servants over, having only three Men a Boy & Woman Servant left. Upon which account I have rented a House in this Town & Practice my Business here as Physician & Surgeon.

- Patrick Tailfer, March 15, 1735 (*CRG* XX, p. 266)

"I should have employed my Servants in Clearing & Cultivating my Land," he concluded, but "... it would have been needless for me to endeavour to do any thing to the purpose with three Men." As Tailfer noted, progress was being made at Sterling Bluff without him, under Grant and the Sterlings. "Some of our Company who had a Sufficient number of Servants, have settled there & made great improvements considering the time."

As Percival remarked of the seven Scots by 1741, "there were but three of them who attempted to cultivate, William and Hugh Sterling and Andrew Grant, and they staid but 2 years on their land: that they had not patience to continue because their crops were damaged by the bad seasons, which affected all America." (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 174)

As Samuel Eveleigh wrote to the Trustees by May of 1735: "Sterling informs me that he has Seventy Acres of Corn planted at his Bluff and good quantities at other Places, but its a General Observation that the most Industrious People are fixt & Setled on the worst Land." (*CRG* XX, p. 344)

Land proved—again—to be an issue. In the offices of Westminster the Trustees were parceling out land they had never seen an ocean away. The distance of the land from Savannah also proved an issue. "The Land assigned us Lying on the South side of Okeechy River, Thirty Miles from the Mouth of the River & about Seventy from this place," Tailfer wrote to the Trustees from Savannah. (p. 267) In a separate letter, Grant, Sterling, Tailfer and Houstoun wrote as a group to the Trustees, remarking that "the land allotted us is very remote from this place, being at least Seventy miles Distance." (p. 265) And in another letter: "being settled at a great Distance from this Town to the Southward, it is a very great inconvenience for us to procure from time to time such things as we stand in need of." (p. 188)

Honoured Sirs

We beg leave to lay the following particulars before you. When we obtain'd grants from you for Land in the Province of Georgia, we never in the least doubted but we should have the same privileges & encouragement that other people had. We expected as soon as we arrived here, to have received provisions for our Servants for Twelve months, Tools for Building & Clearing the Land, Nails for our Houses & other necessary Iron-work, Arms & Ammunition &c.

- Grant, Sterling, Tailfer & Houstoun, March 15, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 265)

“But contrary to our expectation we were refused every thing.” The group had made a similar complaint to Peter Gordon two months before. “We had a very discouraging Character of this place given us at Charles Town,” they wrote of Savannah.

We, having obtain'd grants for Land, from the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, & according to these Grants having engaged Servants & brought them at our own Expence into the Colony, Expected to have the same encouragement as other Settlers, such as provisions for ourselves & Servts for one Year, Tools for Building our Houses & for Clearing & cultivating the ground, Nails & other Necessary Iron-work, Arms & Ammunition &c. but when we arrived here, contrary to our Expectation, We could receive none of them.

- Grant, Sterling, Tailfer & Houstoun, January 21, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 187)

“Mr Causton told us, that he had orders not to give us any thing, but he would allow us Credit for Twelve Months provisions.” And yet, “it was with a great deal of Difficulty we could even procure three month's provisions And a few other things, & not even those without paying for them.”

“Credit,” John Brownfield would remark later, “has proved very hurtful to those who have received it.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 139)

In January, 1735 Elisha Dobree had written to the Trustees, urging the encouragement of “moneyed men,” to the province, who could “contribute greatly to the Prosperity... without which I would have but little hopes of this Place.” (*CRG XX*, p. 207) In May of 1735, Thomas Christie, too, had made the plea for moneyed people. When the Trustees were confused by his meaning, he tried to clarify: “When in my letter to yor Honrs I spoke of monyd People I meant that the place was now Convenient & fitt to Entertain People of the best of Circumstances.” (p. 356) But with the failure of such endeavors as Walter Augustine's mill, and the sinking of these seven promising Scots into the streets of Savannah, these hopes were failing. As Brownfield summed up of the Scots: “For they quitted all thoughts of Labour upon finding that Goods could be had without.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 139)

Tailfer politely petitioned the Trustees for a house lot in Savannah. “I... beg you would Grant me a Lease of one of your own Lots, upon the same Conditions as you do to others, & if you think proper to do it, I shall Build a good House upon it & make what other Improvements are necessary.” (p. 267) Patrick Houstoun, too: “I think the Trustees may give me [a] lott... & if I gett it I shall build a house upon it to beautify the town.” (p. 238) And while Andrew Grant never formerly petitioned to the Trustees for a house lot in Savannah, to what degree he had any involvement at Sterling Bluff by late 1735 is unclear. By October, 1735 he was ensconced in town and in a business with David Douglass; Thomas Causton referred to a bill for “One hundred pounds Sterling,” requested by “Messs David Douglass and Andrew Grant Merchants in this Town.” (p. 477) Grant was described as “a shopkeeper in Savannah,” by Percival in March of 1741. (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 202)

David Douglas was a man suspected of causing trouble as early as the Red String Plot. In his March 19, 1735 letter to the Trustees, Thomas Christie placed him on the naughty list, a neighbor of Joseph Watson who may have hindered the investigation into the conspiracy in its opening stages. He played snitch to Watson, alerting him of the coming of the law.

... we Judged it for the Safety of the Province to make out a Warrant to Search [Joseph Watson's house] for Papers there but it Seems by some unaccountable means we found afterwards by Mr Douglas his Neighbour who has nothing but a thin deal Partition between him & Watsons that our Resolution was carried to him before the Constable came there and no doubt of it but all the others.

- Thomas Christie, March 19, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 271)

The Sterlings, too, ended up in town, virtually abandoning Sterling Bluff and renting Thomas Christie's house by December of 1737. "Christie had let his own Dwelling-House to the Sterlings," Stephens noted in his December 7 *Journal* entry. (*CRG IV*, p. 45) Though the Scots weren't necessarily granted the town lots they sought, they found that they didn't need to be granted lots by the Trustees. After arriving in the Great Embarkation in 1736, John Brownfield wrote of the conditions he found in town... conditions that were not conducive to a thriving community. As one might guess, the Scots in question figure half way through his description of what was going wrong.

On 6 March 1735-6 Mr. Jo. Brownfield Register of the Province wrote the Trustees yt. at his arrival at Savannah he found the Town at a very low Ebb, and overstock'd wth. goods of Trade. That the people were harrast with executions for debt & imprisonment. That these means were chiefly used by a number of Scots Gentlemen (these were the Stirlings, Tailfer &c who afterwards made Such noise for negroes and change of Tenure of Lands) who arrived there Soon after Mr. Oglethorp went for England in 1734, and instead of cultivating their land fell into Trade, and thereby.... when they had engros'd most part of the Trade, advanced their prices, and by fair outward pretences drew abundance of people into debt, Soon after which, they threaten'd to Serve executions in order to get houses and lands morgaged to them, and Succeeded with a few weak men.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 141

The Scots did not invent the practice; as early as February, 1735, Elisha Dobree wrote to the Trustees that "Few of our Freeholders are for Improvmt & Chuse rather to Let their Lotts to others than Improve the Same themselves." (*CRG XX*, p. 217) Many chose to sub-lease their properties while others, overwhelmed by debt, were unofficially foreclosed upon. The ownership of the Savannah lots by 1735 was already hopelessly confused. Samuel Quincy made a similar report to the Trustees.

18 August. [1736]...

Mr. Quincy... gave us a very unsatisfactory Acct. Of Savannah. He Said the people employ'd themselves in building their houses in order to Set others to advantage, & neglected cultivating their lands, So that he did not believe the first Settlers would be able to maintain themselves, but must Still live at the Trustees charge on the Stores, altho they have been 3 years there.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 196

Mortgaging and foreclosures were just symptomatic of the larger issue of credit. As Percival echoed John Brownfield's sentiment: "That giving Credit proved hurtfull to those who received

it.” (p. 141) The Trustees were already trying to contain the damage. On June 23, 1736, the Trustees ordered a letter “to Mr. Tho. Causton Bailiff.... That he prevent as much as he can the peoples running in debt by putting them on labour, and not letting them Supply their necessities by Credit. That he Send particular Accts from time to time of the Settlers, and their progress and behaviour.” (p. 171)

This exposed a fundamental underlying flaw in the Trustees’ design... the Trustees’ Store, which had been designed as a crutch for early settlers, or in the words of Paul Amatis, a resource offered “in order to Ease them [the colonists] in their Infancy & Enable them to Continue here with Comfort & Satisfaction,” (CRG XX, p. 380) had become a welfare system for a colony that was simply unable, even as late as five years later, to stand on its own. The early Savannah settlement was stagnating into a welfare society.

My provisions are now stopt, att ye Store. I can no longer improve my lot, it must turn to its old wild nature againe, & I must turn porter in ye Streets to get bred for me, & my poor charge, if ye Honrble trustees, are not pleased to grant me a second year’s provisions.

- Robert Potter, December 17, 1734 (CRG XX, p. 129)

Robert Potter had come on the first arrival of the *Georgia Pink* (#58), in August of 1733. Similarly, fellow passenger John Graham (#34) wrote a plaintiff letter on January 22, 1735 to Oglethorpe that "beeinge Cotte of [cut off] ye Store and havinge nether money nor Servants hes med us uncapable of Cleringe our lands." (CRG XX, p. 189)

In 1735, with the Great Embarkation about to get underway, the Trustees set down the provisions made for each family, from tools like a musket and a hammer, to other necessities, like 30 pounds of salt, and perhaps most importantly, “12 Pounds of Soap.”

The Trustees intend this Year to lay out a County, and build a new Town in Georgia. They will give to such Persons as they send upon the Charity; viz.

To every Man. A Watch Coat.
A Musquet and Bayonet, to those who have them not
of their own.
An Hatchet.
An Hammer.
An Handsaw.
A shod Shovel, or Spade.
A broad Hoe.
A narrow Hoe.
A Gimlet.
A drawing Knife.
And there will be a publick Grindstone to each Ward
or Village.
He will also have an Iron Pot, and a Pair of Pothooks.
And a Frying-pan.

And for his Maintenance in the Colony for One Year, he will have
300 Pounds of Beef, or Pork.
114 Pounds of Rice.
114 Pounds of Pease.
114 Pounds of Flour.

44 Gallons of Strong Beer.
64 Quarts of Melasses for brewing of Beer.
18 Pounds of Cheese.
9 Pounds of Butter.
9 Ounces of Spice.
9 Pounds of Sugar.
5 Gallons of Vinegar.
30 Pounds of Salt.
12 Quarts Lamp-oil, and Pound of Spun Cotton.
And 12 Pounds of Soap.

- Trustees' Account Book (CRG III, p. 407)

“The first Forty are to be continued on their present allowance to the first of Februry. next,” Martyn wrote on July 27, 1734 (CRG XXIX, p. 34), in a letter which would arrive on the third visit of the *James* during the Purrysburg Great Embarkation. The letter generously guaranteed a full second year of provisions for the colonists of the *Anne*. The Trustees' policy from the start was to allow one year's provisions for its Charity colonists... this was intended as prop to aid the colonists until they could subsist on their own. But as time went along—and both industry and agriculture failed to produce bounty—the charity of the Store was becoming stretched, and the Trustees' offerings from the Store became less generous. By the time the *Prince of Wales* set sail three months after the previous letter, evidence of impatience began setting in.

“The Trustees desire to know how soon any of the Persons in Your List can subsist themselves wholly or in part,” Benjamin Martyn wrote to Thomas Causton.

The Trustees think it proper that the Tibee and Skidoway People should be kept on the Store for another Year, and that they might be encourag'd to stay where they are, the Trustees have sent them Shoes and Cloaths.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 28, 1734 (CRG XXIX, p. 37)

“I understand by Mr Causton that The Honble Trustees have thought Fitt, [to] Allow the People of Skidoway, another Years provisions,” Thomas Mouse wrote to Oglethorpe from the Skidaway settlement on January 23, 1735, three and-a-half weeks following the arrival the Trustees' orders, “for which Great favour, your Honours have mine and my Familyes Humble Thanks.” (CRG XX, p. 195)

Remarking that “As the Trustees believe, Your Humanity will always induce You to take a proper care of those who are really in want, they trust to Your Judgment in disposing of the Stores to no Others,” Martyn added:

The Orphans, who have no other means of supporting themselves, and have no Friends to take care of them, are by the Trustees Orders to be put on the Store, till they are of Age to be put out apprentices.

- Benjamin Martyn, October 28, 1734 (CRG XXIX, p. 38)

But by 1736, annoyed with the lack of progress of industry or harvest of the people, the Trustees began clamping down on the free ride, sending orders to Causton that....

The Trustees now send you positive Directions That no Person whatsoever shall be continued on the Store after the Expiration of a Year's Maintenance, without particular Order, unless in Cases

of absolute Necessity. And where such Necessity shall require any further Continuance beyond the one year Covenanted for; You are to send a particular Acct. of the Persons Name & Circumstances.

- Harman Verelst, April 2, 1736 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 128)

In a February 10, 1737 letter, John Brownfield noted that even those “who have had the benefit of Three Years provision & more Servants than the people in general are Masters of; fall yet very short of supporting themselves by their Improvements.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 325)

It may be thought very Extraordinary that the people who have been so long supported by your Honrs Bounty are incapable of maintaining themselves.

- p. 323

By 1737, the Trustees were so frugal that they even wanted to know what became of those bushels of corn Samuel Eveleigh had written of at Sterling Bluff two years before. Harman Verelst wrote to Thomas Causton: “The Trustees desire to know whether you took from Mr. Stirlings and Mr. Baillie at the Ogeeche, the Corn that grew there; And if You did not, the Reason for not doing it.” (*CRG XXIX*, p. 210)

And by 1738, the Trustees demanded to know how on earth those Scots were remaining self-supporting. Benjamin Martyn wrote to William Stephens on February 27, 1738: “The Trustees desire to know how the Stirlings and that Knot of People are supported, since they live in such an idle Manner in the Town and take no Measures to support themselves by cultivating their Lands.” (*CRG XXIX*, p. 281-2) But by this point, their “crop”—if you will—had become their servants. More profitable than corn, their servants had become their commodity. In hiring out an army of servants, they had found a successful trade.

And as for Dr. Tailfer, he never has been at any labour or expence about land in so many years as he has lived here; but letting out such Servants to Hire as he brought with him, during their Servitude, together with his practice, soon put a pretty deal of money in his pocket; by which means he has lived, and dressed in a superiour manner to any of this place...

- William Stephens, January 2, 1739 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 368-9)

“And,” Stephens concluded, he “has vanity enough to set up for a Dictator among those he converses with who generally give way to his overbearing Discourse.”

As Percival noted by 1741, “They spent their money extravagantly in Savannah, and lived on their servants, whose hire being expired, they were not able to engage new ones.” (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 202) And they hired their servants out, evidently, at a comfortable profit margin. “They got more by hiring their servants out at 25 shillings a week, than they were worth when they went over,” but as Percival noted of the Scots’ spending habits, “their extravagant spending 15*l.* or 16*l.* of a night at the tavern in balls and Freemasons’ feasts, was enough to ruin richer men than they.” (p. 174) As early as 1735 Robert Parker had written to the Trustees complaining about the extravagance of the freemasons. ‘Anonymous,’ too was not a fan.

On June 25, 1739, William Stephens observed one of the festivities, the train led by Tailfer.

Monday. This being the Grand Anniversary of the Free Masons every where (as it is said) the Brethren with us would not let it pass without due Observance.... From Church they marched in

solemn Order to Dinner at a publick House, the Warden Dr. Tailfer (who likes Pre-eminence as well as any Man) attended by four or five with Wands, and red Ribbands in their Bosoms, as Badges of their several Offices, took Place foremost; but the train that followed in white Gloves and Aprons, amounted to only about Half a Dozen more; which some, who are apt to burlesque the Order, turned into Ridicule.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 361)

John Wesley seemed fascinated by the behavior of some of these malcontents, even taking some amount of time to study the indiscretion of Patrick Tailfer, who had dragged across the Atlantic Rachel Ure, a girl he had impregnated, then discarded once he wed Captain Robert Williams' sister Mary. Accused of selling the girl to an Indian trader, his audacity reached new heights. His defense before Oglethorpe against such a heinous act was simple... he had not sold her to an Indian trader.... She was a *gift*.

Nov. 12, *Fri.* [1736] - By a careful inquiry of many persons, I came to the full knowledge of a strange piece of history. Mr. T[ailfer], a surgeon of Edinburgh, debauched the only child of one Mr. Ure, a lawyer, his distant relation. He then persuaded her to sign a writing which she had never read, and to go with him to America. She did so, partly out of fear of her father, but chiefly out of love for him. When she came hither, having been brought to bed in Carolina, he treated her as a common servant; and not only so, but beat her, and that very frequently to such a degree that the scars made by the whip a year before were plainly visible at this time. The fault commonly was that 'the child [their baby] cried when he had company.' After he had kept her thus for about two years, and she had borne him a second child (the first being dead), he married, and sold her to one of the Indian traders.

When I met him and her before Mr. Oglethorpe, he allowed the facts and defended them; only he said he had not sold her, but made a present of her to the Indian trader. Mr. Oglethorpe after a full hearing determined that she should be set at liberty.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 296

As one of the servants accompanying the Scots in their voyage from across the Atlantic in 1734, the *List of Early Settlers* says little of the Rachel Ure. But references within John Wesley's *Journal* suggest that thereafter she was placed as a servant within the parsonage house.

1203. Ure, Rachel - Servt. to Patrick Tailfer; arrived 1 Aug, 1734; quitted; dead 1741.

Tailfer's abuses of his servants was a recurring issue. Abuse grew to allegations of murder at the end of 1735, when his servant William Douglass was found dead in suspicious circumstances. The *South Carolina Gazette* eulogized Douglass in the following terms in their account of the investigation into the affair: "The Deceased young Man is universally lamented, he had a liberal Education, was bred a Surgeon, and remarked by every one in the Place for his singular Modesty and good Behaviour."

On *Sunday* the 9th of *November* last between the Hours of 11 & 12 in the Forenoon, was found the body of *Wm. Douglass*... Servant to Doct. *Patrick Tailfer* of *Georgia*. He was found lying in a Hutt near his Master's House, the Owner of it being from home. Several Marks of Violence were observed to be upon his Body, which gave a Suspicion that he was murdered; and the Inquest, who were summoned, upon the Occasion, thought proper to call in the Assistance of a Surgeon to examine the Body. Accordingly, *William Watkins*, an able Surgeon, and two other sufficient Men, bred Apothecaries, were sent for.... Upon the whole, *Mr. Watkins* the Surgeon, and the two

Apothecaries gave it as their Opinion, upon Oath, that the Deceased came to them, two Days before he was found dead, and complained that his Master had then given him his Death's Wound, and shew'd them his Head very much bruised.... Twelve or thirteen more Witnesses deposed many things relating to the cruel Usage of the Master, and that the Deceased had frequently shew'd them Wounds given him by his Master.... Among these was a young Woman Servant to the said Tailfer, who had herself been inhumanly used by him, as appeared by several Marks and Bruises on her Face, Arms and other parts of her Body.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, December 27, 1735

The newspaper concluded: "A Warrent was then issued for apprehending him [Tailfer], and he was taken up; but immediately *admitted to bail*. The next Day a Court was called and a Grand Jury was impannelled, who after a long Debate, brought in a Bill presenting *Patrick Tailfer* Guilty of Man slaughter." Upon Tailfer's petition the trial was postponed, and as the paper remarked, "there the Affair stands at present." The issue disappears from the surviving record after that, but prosecutions of freeholders for the murder of servants were few, and convictions even fewer.

One example was John Brown. "From Highgate we had News brought, that Mr. Brown, an Inhabitant there, in one of his drunken Fits, with little or no Provocation, had taken his Gun loaden with drop Shot, and a Ball, and shot his Servant," William Stephens wrote on January 5, 1738. (*CRG IV*, p. 63) Twenty five year-old John Brown, Esq. had a grant made to him in Highgate of 100 acres on October 2, 1735. Arriving on his own account, he probably came with the Great Embarkation, but the *LES* does not provide an arrival date. In 1738 he was prosecuted for killing his servant, and was one of the few to be actually found guilty of manslaughter. The servant in question was named Priest. There is a "Will Priest" listed in the *LES* as a servant initially belonging to James Burnside, whether or not it is the same is not clear.

Tuesday [August 22, 1738]. The Court was opened this Day, when Mr. Brown's Trial came on for killing his Servant; wherein he behaved as usual, with a particular Air of Indifference, and often interrupting very unseasonably, and improperly, the Course of Proceeding; on which he was admonished to take Care how he behaved.... The King's Evidence which absconded, not appearing, he grew the more confident, that no Proof could be made of his shooting with an ill Intention; and two Surgeons agreeing in a great Measure, that had the Patient been a healthy Man, the Wounds in all Likelihood would not have been mortal, though they could not but say, that undoubtedly they occasioned his dying so soon; the Jury brought in their Verdict of Manslaughter; which in most Peoples Opinion was very favorable.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 188)

What the punishment was is not specified, but it most likely resulted in a fine. The death of a servant at the hands of a freeholder in 1730s Georgia was a corporal offence at worst, and often had more to do with the victim's potential after service than any treatment they were subjected to during service.

Though Tailfer and the other six Scots profited from their servants... they never made it any secret that they were not satisfied with *white* servants. Working at cross-purposes with the Trustees almost from the beginning, the Scots' first letter urging the introduction of slavery into the province was penned just as the Trustees' anti-slavery legislation was arriving in Georgia. In an undated correspondence from May or June of 1735 Tailfer and others wrote their first plea to the Trustees advocating slavery in Georgia. As Percival noted: "About last June, Patrick Tailfer

(a proud busie fellow) wrote a long letter for the introduction of Negroes into the Colony, which arrived 27 Aug. 1735.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 103) The more aggressive posturing of the Scots supplanted the polite prose of Samuel Eveleigh, representing a natural evolution of discontent in the province. Eveleigh, in his correspondence, remarked:

I take notice that The Trustees have passt an Act against the Importacon and Use of Negroes in their Province... But [I] do assure you here... without Negroes Georgia can never be a Colony of great Consequence....

- Samuel Eveleigh, September 10, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 473)

Percival lamented in his *Journal* that on “10 Sept. Mr. Samuel Eveleigh wrote our Secy. word that he had left Georgia to settle again at Charlestown, being dissappointed in his expectations, which was to be allow’d the use of Negroes.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 106) At the same time, the other Scottish settlement, the ambitious crossroads of John and Patrick Mackay and *Prince of Wales* Captain George Dunbar known as Josephs Town, began petitioning for slaves as well.

3 Sept. [1735]...

2. The Scots Settled at Josephs Town having apply’d for liberty to use Negroes, we Shew’d them the Act which his Majesty was pleased to pass whereby they are prohibited.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 104

By the end of 1737 virtually all the Scots from both of these disaffected settlements had eschewed their properties for life in town. On January 19, 1738, William Stephens wrote a long missive to the Trustees about the changing character Savannah. “I took notice,” he observed, “of a different Sett of Men in this Town, who live mostly here, being Landholders at some miles distance.” This combined group of Georgia elite “complain of their Losses in improving land.”

The chief of these are, Mr. Robert Williams a Setler at Grantham; Mr. Patrick Mackay[, a settler at] Joseph Town; Mr. Andrew Grant, [a settler] at Ogychee; the two Brethren Hugh & William Sterling, [settlers from Ogeechee]; Patrick Tailfer, [settler] at the River Ness: all Scotchmen, except Williams.

- William Stephens, January 19, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 71-2)

Captain Williams may not have been a Scott by heritage, but he was family to Tailfer by marriage... as well as sentiment. As Stephens continued: “Patr Mackay shews no Inclination at all (as I apprehend) to proceed on his Settlement at Joseph Town, wch, after 2 or 3 years working on, he seems to have wholly given up. He has a Plantation on the Carolina side of the River, on the other side of Hutchinsons Island, opposite to Savannah; where he has a considerable Number of Negroes.”

This was no surprise to the Trustees, who in December of 1738 had sent a letter stating that “as to Captn. Mackays Use of Negroes, the Trustees direct that the Act for prohibiting the Use of Negroes be duly put in Execution.” (*Harman Verelst, CRG XXIX*, p. 248) But their threats were empty; though Mackay lived in town, his slaves were in Carolina. As Stephens explained, because Mackay’s plantation had...

... no convenient house upon it, he has built a small one on a Town Lot here, which he holds in his Son’s name; where he lives, being commodious for him; near his Plantation; & by such a Situation and way of living, has an opportunity among the Company he keeps, of inculcating into others, the

Disadvantage they labour under, in comparison of the advantages found by a different Tenure, & allowance of Negros.

- William Stephens, January 19, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 72)

“Andrew Grant (influenced ‘tis to be supposed by such Doctrine) has quitted his land at Ogychie, & brought away all his Servants; tho’ he has no employment for ‘em in Town.” And the Sterlings....

The two Brothers Sterlings have done the same; & their Servants lie on their hands here in Town; where they rent a house, and bake bread, or turn their hands to what else they can, rather than work farther on their Lands..

- William Stephens, January 19, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 72)

“Patr Tailfer has never yet thought his land worth regarding; but making what Profit he could of his Servants, by letting them out to Hire, & practicing Surgery & Physick in Town, has made money at an easier rate.” As Stephens concluded his discourse of the group: “These men... being generally of a superiour Rank to the Ordinary Freeholders; make an appearance in Dress, and their course of life, very different from them.” (p. 73)

This was it. This was the group of Scots and Disaffecteds that would slowly coalesce into what Stephens would refer to as the Scotch Club, the most organized and dangerous opposition the magistracy—and the Trustees—would contend with. The Robert Parkers, Paul Amatis, Samuel Quincy and Elisha Dobree—those were kids throwing rocks. The Scotch Club would become an insurrectionary network.

By the following month, Stephens was still casting a wary eye on the developing clique.

What remains principally an Eye Sore with me at present, is to see the same Knot of Scotch Land holders... continue undissolved: the Names of those of most Significance among them I mentioned in my last; they adhere closely together and seldome fail meeting at a Tavern every night, 8, or 10, or more; where they always sing the same tune; & whenever Strangers come to Town, some of these soon get acquainted with ‘em, who too often (I fear) go away under bad Impressions of the Colony.

- William Stephens, February 27, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 94)

“I am apprehensive,” Stephens further remarked to the Trustees, that they “may be the occasion of great mischief, by their exclaiming against the Tenure of their Lands, & the Losses they sustain for want of Negros; unless we can happily sooth ‘em into better temper. Those are the 2 Topicks of their discourse at all times and places; which influences others to think alike with ‘em.” (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 42)

Thomas Jones arrived in 1738 as Thomas Causton’s successor as Storekeeper. In January of 1739 he attended one of their meetings, where his allegiance was tested. He wrote to Oglethorpe:

Last Sunday Mr. Henry Parker with Seven or Eight of his new Confederates (the Scotch) went to dine at Oxted.... [The next day] I went that Evening to [Edward] Jenkins’s expecting to hear Somewhat of what had been contrived at their Meeting--I found there a full Assembly (16 in Number). They were for a long time Silent till at length Dr. Tellfier [Tailfer] began the Complaint of their injurious Treatment by ye Excellency and the Trustees, he was Seconded by [David]

Douglas & others. Then Capt. Stewart (of ye Charles Transport) Stood up & drank, Damnation to all Rogues, which was much applauded, they asked me whether I would not drink the Health, I reply'd That unless they would name those they called Rogues and explain what they meant by Damnation, I should not do it, having never been used to Cursing[. T]hey then dropt it, & fell into their Silent Mood.

- Thomas Jones, January 14, 1739 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 2, p.17-18)

Feeding off the fuel of the power vacuum, this malcontent community was a steadily burning ember in 1736 and 1737. Taking up where the early malcontents had left off, this malcontent community knew how to bide its time and grew stronger from the effort. As they quickly realized, waiting for Oglethorpe to right the ship was a false hope.

Mr. Oglethorpe staid in Georgia until November 1736, most of which time he spent to the southward, and then embarked for England, leaving Mr. Causton with the same authority he had formerly invested him with, and in the same power he then exercised, and the colony under the same difficulties and hardships.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 66

Disappointed by Oglethorpe's nine-month return in 1736—and his apathy toward Savannah thereafter—the malcontent community was held at bay in 1736 and 1737 instead by the thin thread of a unified front between Thomas Causton and John Wesley.

Six Ministers in Six Years

Sat. 7 [May, 1737] - I took a walk to Hampstead, a litte village of ten families about five miles south of Savannah. But I found no one there with whom I could talk, they not understanding mine, nor I their Dutch. From thence I went to Highgate, a mile west of Hampstead, having the same number of families. But neither could I converse with these, who spoke French only, except one family.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 354-5

By this point Wesley had spent months instructing Margaret Bovy and Sophy Hopkey in French, only to realize now that he was unable to carry on a conversation. Learning it was one thing, being conversational, as he observed, was something entirely different. The passage could seem an allegory of John Wesley's frustrated ministry in Georgia.

By late 1737, faced with the looming prospect of losing John Wesley, an exasperated Percival hit on one hard truth bourne of experience after four long years... "for nothing is more difficult than to find a minister to go to Georgia who has any virtue and reputation." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 451)

Georgia's ministry during the 1730s was a revolving door through which the mighty bumped shoulders with the mundane. With Georgia still in the planning stages, the Reverend Henry Herbert had volunteered his services to the Trustees in the fall of 1732.

Wednesday, 1 November [1732]...

Mr. Herbert, son to the late Lord Herbert of Cherbury, goes voluntary chaplain to the colony for a time, till we can procure or be able to give a salary to some other clergyman.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 295

Arriving on the *Anne*, he immediately fell victim to poor health. In their 1733 letters to Oglethorpe, the Trustees were careful and consistent in their solicitations for the health of both men.

January 24, 1733 to Oglethorpe -

The Trustees Sr. hope you have enjoy'd a perfect Share of health, as well as Dr. Herbert.

- CRG XXIX, p. 6

February 21, 1733 to Oglethorpe -

The Trustees Sir desire their Services to You, and Doctor Herbert.... they are Sollicitous for Your Welfare.

- p. 8

March 31, 1733 to Oglethorpe -

The Trustees desire their Services to you, and Dr. Herbert.... and that Your Health continues perfect.

- p. 10

But Herbert was already gone; the minister had been in Georgia for only three Sundays. He left Georgia on February 21, 1733; he spent most of the next three months in South Carolina. "I have been ill for some time," he wrote to the Simmond brothers on March 27, 1735, "and am but just now recovering." (CRG XX, p. 18) His evaluation proved to be premature, as he died on the *Baltic Merchant*, June 15, 1733, in transit back to England.

Wednesday, 27 [July, 1733]...

Mr. Simmonds told us he had no account of the death of Mr. Herbert, the clergyman, on his return from Carolina, but we are afraid it may be true, the news being positive that he died on the 15th of last month.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 1, p. 388

Georgia's second minister, and the first to be intended as permanent for the settlement, Samuel Quincy, had been hired by the Trustees on December 21, 1732, while the *Anne* was still en route to the New World. "A young man of modest appearance," Percival described him in his *Diary*. (vol. 1, p. 303) "He has a wife and child." No stranger to the New World, "he was educated at the College in New England, from whence he came to London and... went to Cambridge."

Highly recommended, he came on the *Peter and James* (#16), arriving on Georgia soil in July of 1733, and proved almost immediately a disappointment to the Trustees. Percival may have considered Quincy negligent; it is true the minister spent much of the spring and early summer of 1734 in New England. As the Salzburgers arrived in Savannah in March, 1734, the leaders of the emigration were given the spacious parsonage of Quincy, who was not at home.

The 12th [March, 1734].

... We, the Commissioner, and Mr. Zwiffler were put up in the house of pastor Quincy, who had gone for several months to visit his parents in New England and whom we had met recently in Charlestown.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Travel Diary of the Two Pastors*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 1, p. 59)

Samuel Eveleigh remarked in an October 19, 1734 correspondence: “I heard Mr Quincy preach two very good Sermons, but the place was indifferent.” (*CRG XX*, p. 90) By the end of 1734 the Trustees had become restless with his complete lack of contact.

Sir...

The Trustees are surprized they have never, in all this time, heard from you of the State of your Parish.

- Harman Verelst, December 13, 1734 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 43)

Apparently, Quincy was unaware (or uninformed) of the Trustees’ desire to Causton “that not only Mr. Christie but Mr. Quincy be desired” to keep a journal, as expressed in their November 22, 1733 letter. Quincy was left unaware of their desire due to his absence over much of 1734—and more importantly—his poor relations with Thomas Causton. As Elisha Dobree noted:

As to Religious Affairs here I am Sorry to Observe that out of all the Inhabitants not above thirty most Commonly Assist as Divine Service & of Late Seldom or ever can we See there our Chief [Causton].

- Elisha Dobree, January 15, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 161)

Troubled by Causton’s behavior and the potential of a cold war between the ministry and the civil government, the Trustees made their position clear in a letter to Causton:

The Trustees hope that all the Magistrates and Persons in any Authority do set a good Example to the rest of the People by a constant Attendance at Divine Worship, by regularly keeping the Sabbath.

- Harman Verelst, May 15, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 61)

In the meantime, Quincy scrambled, replying to Verelst in June: “I had the Favr of a Letter from you dated 13 Decr. 1734, but did not receive it till the latter end of May.”

You inform me, Sir, that the Honble Trustees, desire I wd send to them the same Accts of my Parish as I am obliged to send to ye Society for Propagating the Gospel. I shd not so long have delay’d these Accts but that I did not know till very lately my Duty in this Matter.

- Samuel Quincy, June 28, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p.406)

“Therefore I was ignorant,” Quincy explained, “till lately in Conversatn wth one of the Missionarys from Carolina, he inform’d me that I was obliged to write twice a Year.”

But the damage had been done. Four days after Quincy penned the above—but six months after Verelst’s letter—Percival had decided he had had enough. He observed coolly of Quincy in a July 2, 1735, *Journal* entry, “he seems to Slight us.” (p. 96) The same day he noted in his *Diary*: “Mr. Oglethorp, Vernon, Towers, Dr. Hales, La Roche and I dined at the Cider House, where we discoursed further of our affairs. We were all of a mind to dismiss our minister at Georgia.” (vol. 2, p. 184)

Quincy, in the meantime, unaware of the Trustee cabal that had formed against him, apologized a second time in his August 28 letter:

I did my Self the Honr of Writing to the Board by Capt Tompson in Answer to one I recd from you, we was abt 6 Months from the date of it before it came to hand; I Shd not otherwise have been guilty of such unpardonable Rudeness as to have delay'd Writing so long.

- CRG XX, p. 462

Despite his belated efforts to make good, in all likelihood nothing could have saved Quincy's ministry in Georgia. He had openly supported Causton's adversary Peter Gordon and publicly sympathized with Causton's nemesis Joseph Watson. He had become a Malcontent by Association.

He has long appeard unfit for his Employmt. He is in League with the Malecontents of our Province, and writes us no account of himself, of the place, or of the performance of his duty.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 96

In September Percival noted that colonist John West reported "that Mr. Quincy the Minister does not attend his duty as he ought, and the religious disposition of the people So cool, that Some Sunday, there are not 10 at Church." (*Egmont Journal*, Sept. 17, 1735) Quincy countered: "The Excuse of People for not Coming to Church, is the Want of a convenient Place of Worship."

As to the Number of Hearers, I reckon abt 20 that are pretty constant.... indeed if they were at all zealous to perform this Duty, the Place wd not hold them; for it will not contain more than 100, & we might reasonably expect, according to our present Numbers, not less than 300. As for Communicants I have had sometimes 5 or 6, & last Easter Sunday there were 14, & on Whitsunday 12.

- Samuel Quincy, June 28, 1735 (CRG XX, p.407)

On August 28 Quincy penned notice of his intention to leave Georgia.

I desire the Favr of you Sir, to inform the Honble Trustees, that I find it will not suit well with my Affairs to stay longer here than next Spring, & therefore beg their Leave to return Home in that Time. I have wrote several Letters to my Wife, & sollicitd her to come over wth her Family; but find her very unwilling to it, & desirous that I shd return.

- Samuel Quincy, August 28, 1735 (CRG XX, p.463)

Upon Elizabeth Stanley's return to England in March of 1737, the Trustees eagerly took the opportunity to interview her of the goings on within the colony. "The church is too small," was her immediate assessment. "We asked her," Percival wrote, "how the inhabitants did when Mr. Quincy was absent from his parish. She said he was frequently absent, and then a Presbyterian minister came and supplid his place," a reference, however abstract, to John Wesley. (*Percival Diary*, vol. 2, p. 371)

The month following John West's assessment, on October 10, 1735, the Trustees officially revoked the authority of Samuel Quincy "for performing the Duty of Clergyman in the Town of Savannah." (CRG XXIX, p. 88) Wesley Hall was promptly confirmed by the Trustees. But...

Tuesday, 14 [October, 1735]....

[Hall] has failed us, and we knew nothing of it till a few days ago.... he was ordained for the very purpose to go to Georgia a few weeks ago, in order to succeed Mr. Quincey, who was last Friday removed by a Board of Trustees, and this Hall was to succeed him, wherefore at the same time a resolution passed the Board to recommend him to the Bishop of London that he might have the

50*l.* per annum that was granted by the Society *de propaganda fide* to Quincey. But having after his ordination married, his wife and her relations persued him not to go.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 200

With Hall's withdrawal the position instead eventually fell upon Hall's new brother-in-law and would-be traveling partner, John Wesley, whose 21-month stint ultimately plunged Savannah firmly into the cold war it had narrowly averted under Quincey. After Wesley, George Whitefield arrived on May 7, 1738, *via* the *Whitaker*, but left "for a Season" (*CRG IV*, p. 79) on August 4, 1738, not returning until January 11, 1740. In his absence he asked James Habersham, his trusted confidant, fellow passenger from the *Whitaker* and Sunday school teacher, to officiate church services. Habersham continued in that capacity capably during Whitefield's absences, even if William Stephens made light of his "affected" delivery. From Stephens' *Journal*:

Sunday. Mr. Habersham read the Church-Service, and Sermons, Morning and Afternoon; wherein he was so fond of aping the Gestures and Manner of some of our late Teachers, that even in reading the Lessons out of the Bible, whether historical or not, he affected a vehement Emphasis, frequently in the wrong Places too, and turning himself to and fro in several Postures toward different Parts of the Congregation, many People looked on it as ridiculous....

- Oct. 26, 1740 (*CRG IV sup*, p.15)

Of course, this was still preferable to the services of the "infamous" Edward Dyson, a chaplain of the Independent Company and "gadfly minister" of the region who often led services in the absence of Wesley, and later Whitefield.

Sept. 6, *Mon.* [1736] - Many complaints being made of what had been done in my absence by Mr. Dison, chaplain of the Independent Company, who had now been at Savannah several weeks, I went to his lodgings, and taxed him... with endeavouring to make a division between my parishioners and me, by speaking against me before them both as to my life and preaching.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 270-1

Dyson had gotten off on the wrong foot, but it never got better. In an August 28, 1738 letter, Patrick Grant remarked of some "bad usage I recd from Mr. [Bailiff Henry] Parker, who was then intoxicated with Liquor he having Sett all said day drinking in Company with one Mr. Dixon [Dyson], a person of a Most infamous Character And a Notorious Drunkard tho a Clergiman." (*CRG XXII pt 1*, p. 241) Patrick Grant arrived in the Great Embarkation, which will be addressed in the next chapter. As a part of the Scottish emigration of the *Prince of Wales* (2), (#65), he was one of the few to settle in Savannah rather than Darien or Frederica. As John Brownfield wrote on March 18, 1736: "I have this Week let a Hutt on Mr. Calloway's Lott for Four Pounds per Ann: to a Gentleman named Grant who came over with Capt. Dunbar." (*CRG XXI*, p. 107) Grant ran afoul of Henry Parker for choosing not to participate in jury duty and complained to the Trustees of being thrown in jail for two weeks "without the benefit of the light of the Sun Moon or Starrs." (*CRG XXII pt 1*, p. 239) The case he refused to participate in was the trial of John Brown, Esq, for the killing his servant, seen in the previous. He remarked to the Trustees that he had received a worse punishment than the accused.

Though Edward Dyson outlasted Wesley, he found himself no better regarded by Whitefield, and his choice in companions began to raise eyebrows. William Stephens looked on disapprovingly: "Another of his greatest Intimacy of late was, Capt. [Joseph] Watson, a vile, busy Mischief-maker among the People," he observed. "And as to his Principles of Religion, [he is] much of

the same Stamp with that Arch-Deist [William] Aglionby, lately deceased---Two worthy Companions for a Priest of the Church of England!” (CRG IV, p. 199) Dyson not only continued to lead the odd (and “odd” is the word for it) church service despite Whitefield’s expressed wishes, but one morning in September of 1738 actually dared the congregation to stop him.

Sunday. The Service in the Morning was read (as before) by Mr. Habersham; but in the Afternoon Mr. Dyson being in Town, whose Character was grown infamous by reason of a scandalous Life, and frequent Debauchery; for which Reason Mr. Whitfield had left behind him, when he went away, a Short Letter, which had been delivered to Mr. Dyson, forbidding him in any Manner, to officiate in the Church here; which if he did, he might expect to hear farther from him: Notwithstanding this, Mr. Dyson took upon him to exercise his ministerial Function, after first asking who would hinder him; to which Mr. Habersham only replied, that he had nothing to say more than what Mr. Whitfield had wrote, which he expected would have been observed. Some few went out of the Church, and many who staid were much offended, especially such as knew how notorious he was grown.

- September 10, 1738 (CRG IV, p. 198-9)

“Even at this present Time he had taken up his Lodging at a Jew’s,” Stephens concluded, adding, “one of the most profligate in the whole Place.”

Whitefield made complaint of Dyson to the Trustees. Percival wrote in his December 13, 1738 *Diary* that Whitefield issued “a complaint against Mr. Dyson, minister to the Independent Company (and now to Mr. Oglethorp’s regiment) that he is a drunkard and marries people at Savannah without license of the magistrate in kitchens and cellars, some of whom have wives or husbands living.” (vol. 2, p. 512)

By May, 1739 Hugh Mackay similarly brought complaint to Percival against “the regiment chaplain Mr. Dyson, who is a drunken man.” (vol. 3, p. 61)

Dyson died in September of 1739. As William Stephens noted in his *Journal*:

Monday. Early this Morning died the Reverend Mr. Edward Dyson, Chaplain to General Oglethorpe’s Regiment. He had been absent upon Furlow some Time; most Part of which he passed away at this Town, where he sickened a while since, and a Pleuretick Fever carried him off at last.

- September 17, 1739 (CRG IV, p. 414)

The secrets of Edward Dyson continued following the man’s death, when it was learned by William Stephens that he had a slave “whom he had kept in a clandestine Manner to and fro betwixt the two Provinces” of Georgia and South Carolina. (CRG IV, p. 523) Dyson’s slave was put up for auction and was purchased by Captain Thompson, of the *Two Brothers*. “The rest of the Day produced nothing extraordinary,” Stephens noted, but as to the slave auction:

the General [Oglethorpe] sent orders to Mr. [Thomas] Jones to sell him; wherein consulting me, I was of the Opinion it should be at publick Sale by Auction: In Pursuance of which, publick Advertisements being fixed up Yesterday, that the Sale would be this Morning; it was so; and among several Bidders, Captain Thompson advancing highest, he bought him for 23 l. 5 s. Sterling.

- William Stephens *Journal*, February 29, 1740 (CRG IV, p. 523-4)

As in the case of John Wesley, who had intended to become missionary to the Indians, George Whitefield was eager to pursue other interests and did not regard his installation as Georgia's minister as permanent. Neither did the Trustees, who in July, 1738, chose the Reverend Will Norris as Wesley's official replacement.

Wednesday, 28 [June, 1738]...

We appointed Mr. William Norris to be minister in Georgia, upon his being ordained priest and deacon, and caused a letter to be wrote and signed by our secretary to the Bishop, desiring his Lordship to ordain him, and assist him in obtaining from the Treasury the usual allowance made to ministers sent abroad.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 496

The letter they sent to the Bishop of London:

The Trustees of Geogea met on wednesday last to appoint a Minister for Savannah the principal Town of that Province, and with great pleasure and unanimity made choice of Mr. Norris on perusal of his Testimonial....

- John Percival, July 1, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 190)

"I have ordained Mr. Norris Deacon, and am ready to ordain him Priest on Sunday next," the Bishop replied on July 3. (p. 191)

The newly ordained Reverend Will Norris arrived on the shores of Georgia in October, 1738, on a boat filled with yet more German servants brought in by Captain Thompson.

Sunday [October 15, 1738]....

In the Evening arrived Capt. Thompson in the Two Brothers, with a great Number of German Servants, and as a Passenger Mr. Norris, appointed by the Trustees to supply the Place of a Minister, in the Room of Mr. John Wesley, who went for England last Winter.

- William Stephens *Journal* (*CRG IV*, p. 212)

But in only the first of many misfortunes, Norris arrived at the peak of confusion; stumbling into a colony which had seen a complete shakeup of civil authority only weeks before. To make matters even more awkward, Oglethorpe—whose ship had beaten Norris' by only a few weeks—apparently knew nothing of Norris' appointment. Norris wrote to the Trustees of his inauspicious arrival:

On the 15th Octobr in the Even I landed here.... But the unhappy Situation of ye Colony at this Time, & the Reception so disagreeable to the Assurances of the Hon. Trustees, which his Excellcy the Genl gave me, seem'd both fataly instant to obviate the good Intents & Purposes of my coming & continuing here. His Excellcy. not having any Letters from the Hon. Trustees recommending me to his Protection & Favour, looked on himself, I believe, as less concerned in the Interest of my Cause.... His Excellen. moreover told me that Mr. Whitefield had made Savannah his Residence, & at his Departure substituted Mr. Habersham in the Ministerial Office, in which he was expected to continue 'till Mr. Whitfields Return, & whom by the Letter of my Licence I was judg'd neither to supercede or vacat in their Cure.

- Will Norris, October 15, 1738 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 289-90)

The situation failed to improve much. He quickly quarreled with Habersham, then Whitefield, and by December was accused of misconduct by a servant girl, as an allegation was made that "he was lascivious, and addicted to Women." (*CRG IV*, p. 255) He protested his innocence and

seems to have been generally believed... until he proved himself a magnet for similar accusations. In 1740 he went for a time to Frederica, to officiate there, only to be chased back by a servant girl in February 1741, claiming him the father of her bastard daughter. Elizabeth Penner was the product of the illicit union; her mother, the servant whom Norris had evidently impregnated, was the wife of a Christopher Penner, a tailor and Trust Servant identified by Percival in the *List of Early Settlers* simply as “Infirm and unable to labour.”

Rounding out Percival’s comments on the other parties:

1092. Noris, Will., A.M. - Minister in Georgia; embark’d 24 June 1738; arrived 15 Oct. 1738. He did not answer what was expected of him, he quarrel’d with Col. Oglethorpe & the officers, and behaved very malapertly, he also neglected his duty. A German wench his servant laid a child to him, but cleared him on oath before a magistrate; afterwards she again swore it to him. Quitted for England 26 June 1741.

1137. Penner, Eliz. - Was servt. to Col. Stephens till Feb. 1739/40, when not behaving well, she was sent to Col. Oglethorpe at Frederica, where she being in the service of the Revd. Mr. Norris, she return’d with him to Savannah and Jany. 1740/1 was delivered of a bastard which she lay to him.

961. Penner, Eliz. - Age 2; bastard of Mr. Norris; born in Georgia.

But nothing could match the glorious highs and tumultuous lows of the ill-fated 21-month Georgia ministry of John Wesley.

John Wesley arrived in Georgia and found an instant soul mate in Thomas Causton. Enjoying a relationship that had decidedly not been present with Quincy, Causton’s authority was strengthened. As Tailfer put it, this union between the two created a formidable authority.

All Jesuitical arts were made use of to bring the well concerted scheme to perfection... spies were engaged in many houses, and the servants of others bribed and decoyed to let him into all the secrets of the families they belonged to; nay, those who had given themselves up to his spiritual guidance (more especially women) were obliged to discover to him their most secret actions, nay even their thoughts and the subject of their dreams.... Complain we might; but to no purpose; and Mr. Causton and he went *hand in hand*.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 70

“But,” Tailfer concluded, “the merciful providence of GOD disappoints frequently those designs that are laid deepest in human prudence.” To which Percival scrawled in the margin: “What a

solemn observation is here upon a ridiculous fact!" And in his own poetic solemnity, Percival summed up the authors in reaction to Tailfer's remarks of a "well concerted scheme:" "The only schemers are these fellows, who make mountains of mole hills, and pass their dreams on the world for realities." (p. 70)

John Wesley came to Georgia in the Great Embarkation, the most ambitious financial and logistical undertaking that would be attempted in the two-decade existence of the Board of Trustees. He arrived with other luminaries—his brother Charles, Benjamin Ingham and a cadre of Moravians—all on the same ship... a virtual eighteenth-century Great Awakening arriving at the shores of Georgia in February of 1736. Wesley would flee the colony less than two years later a fugitive. His exit would bring about the collapse of the magistracy.

The Great Embarkation

"Mr Oglethorp arrived here on the Sixth of February in very good health to the Inexpressible Joy of all the Inhabitants," Thomas Causton wrote to the Trustees on March 10, 1736. (CRG XXI, p. 125)

It had been nearly two years since Oglethorpe had last been in Georgia; 21 months that had strained the magistracy almost to the breaking point.

The Trustees' accountant Harman Verelst wrote to Thomas Causton by the Summer of 1735: "The Trustees are very sensible of the great fatigue you have had in the administration of Justice." As a show of appreciation, "The Common Council of the Trustees have ordered you Forty Pounds Sterling being a Reward for your Service as Storekeeper since Mr. Oglethorpe left Georgia And Ten Pounds Sterling more for your Service as second Bailiff." They admitted that Peter Gordon had proved a disappointment.

they hoped that by Mr. Gordon's return to Georgia it would have eased you in some degree of the burthen; but in that have found themselves dissappointed by his not having assisted you in enforcing the Trustees Orders & quitting their Service without Licence.

- Harman Verelst, July 18, 1735 (CRG XXIX, p. 76-7)

But, he concluded: "Mr. Oglethorpe will soon be in Georgia."

One week after Verelst penned Isaac Chardon wrote from Charlestown to Causton:

we are now daily to expect a happy Sight of our good friend Mr Oglethorpe (whom I pray and wish may be our Governour so well as yours)

- Isaac Chardon, July 25, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 454)

Robert Johnson, the governor of South Carolina so invaluable to Georgia's earliest days, had died in the spring of 1735, following an intense illness.

Sr. This comes to Advise you That his Excellency about six day's Since was taken very ill, and So has continued Ever Since. And the Last Night, ye Docrs and Several Other's about him, were

of the Opinion he would not live till the Morning. Hee's gott a Violent Flux, which goes from him imperceptable. He has for many Years past been Subject to Melancholly.

- Samuel Eveleigh, May 1, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 322-3)

Eveleigh's fears that the illness had been brought on by antagonism by critics "which (I believe) will in A Short Time put an End to his Life," proved to be prophetic when the governor passed away two days later, on May 3.

CHARLESTOWN, May 10

On Saturday last between twelve and one o' Clock died, after a long and lingering Sickness, His Excellency ROBERT JOHNSON Esq; Captain General, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over this his Majesty's Province, and was decently interred on Monday last in a Vault near the Altar in Charlestown Church. His Pall was supported by the Gentlemen of Council, and his Corps was attended to the Grave.... The principal Mourners were his Excellency's two Sons and two Daughters, his Brother in Law Thomas Broughton Esq; our present Governor, and his Family. His Excellency died in the 59 Year of his Age, and in the 5th of his Government.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, May 10, 1735

News soon reached Ebenezer—and Bolzius—who lamented the loss.

The 19th May [1735]. We have received definite news that the Governor of Carolina, Robert Johnson, recently died in Charlestown. He had been highly esteemed by everyone because of his many admirable qualities, and this province of Georgia too has lost in him a great patron.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 90)

Throughout the summer of 1735 the rumor was rampant that Oglethorpe would be appointed in his stead as governor of South Carolina. Across the Atlantic, Percival quickly apprehended the rumor, though he showed tact enough not to bring it up to Oglethorpe unless the latter brought it up first.

Wednesday, 25 [June, 1735]...

... I had the pleasure to find that Mr. Oglethorp designs to return with the next embarkation to Georgia, and it was told me that Governor Johnson being dead, of which news came by the last ship, he [Oglethorpe] will be sent Governor of Carolina, but as he said nothing of it himself I asked him no questions.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 183

In much of Carolina the rumor was met with dread and suspicion. From his plantation at Westbrook, Walter Augustine wrote to John Brownfield: "It is generally believed in Carolina (now Governour Johnson is Dead) yt Esqr Oglethorp will Come in Governour whome in Carolina it will be much feared in ye post." (July 17, 1735, *CRG XX*, p. 446)

But as Percival learned some time later, the governorship was something Oglethorpe never seriously considered: "The Governmt. [of South Carolina] was offer'd to Mr. Oglethorp, but he absolutely refused to accept it." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 95) Despite many entreaties over the next two years—as Johnson's brother-in-law Thomas Broughton held the seat as acting governor—Oglethorpe resisted the idea. By 1737, Sir Robert Walpole "asked him why he would not take upon himself the government of Carolina?"

Saturday, 7 May, 1737...

Mr. Oglethorp replied, for the reason he told him before, because he would not lose his seat in Parliament, and added that it was sufficient for the safety of Carolina and Georgia that he accepted the chief command of the military force with the regiment, but he would go over on no other terms.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 401

And again, on page 185: He “absolutely refused to accept of being made Governor of Carolina, which would have vacated his seat in Parliament, a thing desired by the Ministry, that they might render Haslemere a Government borough.”

Most of the people in Savannah, in the meantime, were not so concerned with the political vagaries in London or Carolina as they were the situation in their own back yard. Throughout 1735 letters to the Trustees had been filled with pleas for the return of a Trustee—*any Trustee*—to Georgia.

Robert Parker wrote to the Trustees:

We feel the Wants & I Dayly Hear the Cry of the Multitude, for being without a Worthy Head, which doubtless will soone be supply'd out of Your Laudable Body.

- Robert Parker, January 4, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 141)

Robert Parker, Junior:

And give me leave Gentlemen to assure You that unless we have one of Your Honourable Board in Person to Reside amongst us our Ruin is unavoidable from the Narrow self interested Views of our Prest Bayliff & Storekeeper Tho' Causton.

- Robert Parker, Jr., March 3, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 244-5)

So said Samuel Eveleigh, too:

I could wish you could prevail with Mr Oglethorpe Again to come over. (His presence is certainly very Necessary.) That he may finish what he has So well begun.

- Samuel Eveleigh, January 20, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 178)

And Bolzius: “We are longing very much for the arrival of Mr. Oglethorpe.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 21) On the opposite side of the Atlantic, plans for Oglethorpe’s return—and a major embarkation—were under way. The *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* recorded the news out of London as the transport quickly grew in scope during the summer of 1735:

June 9 -

We are told that near 1000 more people will be sent in August next to Georgia....

July 14 -

We hear that Mr. Oglethorpe is about to return in the Symmons Captain Cornish, who will soon sail with goods and passengers for Savannah to see the settlement of that Colony to compleatment....

August 11 -

A great many more families are to embark in a few days for Georgia, and for another new Colony which is ordered more southward, near the gulph of Florida. 'Tis assured Mr Oglethorpe will go thither suddenly....

The last correspondence was in reference to the *Georgia Pink* [2], the ship laden with servants which had arrived in November of 1735. In many ways this second arrival of the *Georgia Pink* was the forerunner to the Great Embarkation, but the reporting within the newspaper also displays some confusion as to whether or not the southward settlement constituted, essentially, an entirely different colony. In many ways it did become a new and separate colony.

Its beginning came in June of 1735. Three months after the Red String Plot and just about the same time that Richard Turner and the Mellichamps were running off sheets of counterfeit currency—the same month that saw the Trustees' Garden a battleground between its gardeners and the Seven Scots pen their first demand for slavery—the Trustees decided to produce another colony.

Wednesday, 11 [June, 1735] - I came to town and stopped at the Georgia Office. We were only a Board of Trustees, viz. Mr. Thomas Towers in the chair, Mr. Oglethorp, myself, and Mr. Smith. We made some proceeding in the rules to serve for the present year for sending over persons to Georgia. We design such as we send this year shall form a new town on the Alatomaha river.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 181

“We propose to call it Prince's County and the town Fredericia in honour of the Prince,” Percival wrote the next month. “It will stand about 140 miles by sea from Savannah town and 70 by land.” (p. 185)

On June 25, 1735 “An Embarkation [was] voted, design'd for a new Town and Fort on the mouth of the River Allatahama the Southern Boundary of our Province.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 94) On July 24, “Mr. Oglethorpe acquainted the Trustees that he intended to go over with this embarkation.” (p. 99) On August 13, it was “resolv'd that a Town Court & Civil Judicature be erected for the new Settlement on the Allatahma, that it be in the Same form as the Town of Savannah, and that the new Town bear the name of Frederica in honor of the Prince if he will approve it.” (p. 101)

The 1735 Charity arrivals to Georgia (compiled from *CRG XXXII* and *Egmont Journal*) remained sporadic and small, as the year before. The *Two Brothers* had more than a hundred aboard, but as it was a Purrysburg emigration, only ten of its number were intended for Georgia.

Georgia colonists

Departing England...	January 23, 1735: <i>Two Brothers</i>	(10 Charity Passengers)
	February, 1735: <i>Dolphin</i>	(3 Charity Passengers)
	May, 14, 1735: <i>James</i> [4]	(30 Charity Passengers)
	August 6, 1735: <i>Georgia Pink</i> [2]	(27 Charity Passengers)
	August, 1735: <i>Allen</i>	(12 Charity Passengers)
	September, 1735: <i>Peter and James</i> [2]	(1 Charity Passenger)

The above amounts to 83 Charity colonists to Georgia between January and September, 1735. Only by including the 374 listed in the Great Embarkation at the end of the year do the 1735

numbers begin to approach first-year totals. Passengers of the "Great Embarkation," arriving in January and February, 1736:

October, 1735: *Simmond* (112)
October, 1735: *London Merchant* [2] (129)
October, 1735: *Prince of Wales* [2] (180)

That the new Scots on the *Prince of Wales* would play a major role in the southward settlement was a decision made early on in the process. As Percival noted in his *Diary* entry of July 9, 1735: "As a Committee of Embarkation we drew up several directions for buying shoes, swords, printing advertisements, and prepared instructions to Captain Mackay and Mr. Dunbar to furnish us with a hundred Highlanders to go over." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 185)

Friday, 7 [November, 1735]...

We had also an account of 166 whole heads ready to sail in the *Prince of Wales*, Captain Dunbar commander, all Scots, making in all 180 souls, of which number we had contracted to be on the Trustees charge 130. Thirty-six of the others had taken grants, and were to pay their own passage.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 202

In the end there were simply too many servants; the Trustees ultimately balked at paying the freight for 31 of them. Even had two other ships not taken part, the *Prince of Wales* by itself would have been an enormous emigration, topping out at between 170 and 180 persons. Representing the Scottish contingent of the Great Embarkation, some of its passengers would take lots in Savannah (Patrick Grant [#65], lot 166 in Savannah; Donald Stewart [#165], lot 207 in Savannah), but the bulk of the *Prince of Wales* community would form the backbone for the southward settlements at Darien and Frederica.

A reconstruction of the *Prince of Wales* (2) muster

arrived off Tybee, January 10, 1736

George Dunbar, Captain

[compiled from Percival's *List of Early Settlers*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

Charity colonists:

Trust Servants

1. John Bain ("of Lochain")
2. Will Calder
3. John Denune
4. James Gordon
5. William Macbean
6. George Macdonald
7. Hugh Macdonald ("of Tar")
8. Alexander Mackay ("of Lange")
9. Angus Mackay ("of Tonge")
10. Angus Mackay ("of Andratichlis")
11. Bain Donald Mackay ("of Tar")
12. Donald Mackay ("of Tar")
13. George Mackay ("of Tar")
14. John Mackay ("of Tonge")
15. Niel Mackay ("of Tar")
16. William Mackay (24, "of Tar")

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 17. William Mackay (18, “of Tar”) | 23. John Morchison (“of Kildruth”) |
| 18. Adam Mackintosh (“of Lange”) | 24. Hugh Morrison (“of Tonge”) |
| 19. Catherine Monro (<i>w</i>) | 25. Alexander Murray (“of Rogart”) |
| 20. John Mackintosh (“of Inverness”) | 26. Donald Shearer (“of Tonge”) |
| 21. Angus Macleod (“of Apint”) | 27. Robert Sutherland (“of Leath”) |
| 22. Hector Monro (“of Rogart”) | |

As is typically the case with the second half of the *LES*, the records of those who came on their own account are far more confused than the first half of the book, which lists those who came on the Trustees’ account. As a result, reconstructing the muster for who came on the *Prince of Wales* on their own account is a messy and imprecise affair, as one is forced to try to eliminate redundancies and sort out servants. Please note that more below were servants than are indicated.

Additional Prince of Wales passengers arriving on their own account included, but were not necessarily limited to:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 28. James Anderson | 57. Will. Kennedy (<i>ser</i>) |
| 29. ? (<i>wife</i>) | 58. Elizabeth Kennedy (<i>w</i>) (<i>ser</i>) |
| 30. James Miller (<i>ser</i>) | 59. Murdow Mac-Inver (<i>ser</i>) |
| 31. John Baillie | 60. John Dunbar (“of Inverness”) |
| 32. Kenneth Baillie | 61. Hugh Forbes (<i>ser. to Hugh Sterling</i> *1) |
| 33. James Baillie (<i>ser</i>) | 62. Donald Frazer (“of Inverness”) |
| 34. William Bain | 63. Donald Frazer (“of Kingussie”) |
| 35. Joseph Burges | 64. John Glass |
| 36. Margaret (<i>w</i>) | 65. Patrick Grant |
| 37. Alexander Cameron | 66. Donald Frazer (<i>ser</i>) |
| 38. ? (<i>wife</i>) | 67. John Grant (<i>ser</i>) |
| 39. Colin Campbell | 68. Archibald Macbean |
| 40. Alexander MacMurrwick (<i>ser</i>) | 69. Catherine Cameron (<i>w</i>) |
| 41. Alexander Chisholme (“of Inverness”) | 70. Alexander (<i>s</i>) |
| 42. Margaret Chisholme | 71. Duncan Macbean |
| 43. Donald Clark (“of Dorris”) | 72. Donald Macdonald |
| 44. Donald Clark (“of Tongie”) | 73. Alvine Wood (<i>w</i>) |
| 45. Barbara Grey (<i>w</i>) | 74. Farquar Macgilivray |
| 46. Alexander (<i>s</i>) | 75. James Macgilivray |
| 47. George (<i>s</i>) | 76. Jannet MacIntosh (<i>w</i>) |
| 48. Hugh (<i>s</i>) | 77. Patrick (<i>s</i>) |
| 49. Will (<i>s</i>) | 78. Donald (<i>s</i>) |
| 50. Angus (<i>s</i>) | 79. Jeanne (<i>d</i>) |
| 51. Barbara (<i>d</i>) | 80. Benjamin MacIntosh |
| 52. Hugh Clark | 81. Catherine (<i>w</i>) |
| 53. Robert Crookshanks | 82. Lachlan (<i>s</i>) |
| 54. George Cuthbert (“of Inverness”) | 83. Elizabeth (<i>d</i>) |
| 55. John Cuthbert (“of Draikes”) | 84. Jannet (<i>d</i>) |
| 56. Donald Frazer (<i>ser</i>) | 85. George MacIntosh (“of Durnes”) |

86. John MacIntosh (“of Dornes”)
87. Catherine (*w*)
88. Will (*s*)
89. Alexander (*s*)
90. Beatrix (*d*)
91. John MacIntosh (“Age 15”)
92. John MacIntosh (“21; of Dorris”)
93. John MacIntosh (“Age 24”)
94. John MacIntosh (“Age 50”)
95. John Moor MacIntosh
96. Margaret (*w*)
97. Will (*s*)
98. Lachlan (*s*)
99. John (*s*)
100. Phineas (*s*)
101. Margaret (*d*)
102. Rainold Macdonald (*ser*)
103. Donald MacIntosh (*ser*)
104. Roderick MacIntosh
105. [-?] Mackay (“of Scourie”)
106. Alexander Chisholme (*ser*)
107. William Gun (*ser*)
108. William Mackay (*ser*)
109. Alexander Macoul (*ser*)
110. John Murray (*ser*)
111. Alexander Sutherland (*ser*)
112. [-?] Mackay (“of Strothie”)
113. William Mackay (*ser*)
114. Angus Macleod (*ser*)
115. Donald Macleod (*ser*)
116. George Macleod (*ser*)
117. Hugh Macleod (*ser*)
118. John Macleod (*ser*)
119. David Miller (*ser*)
120. Charles Mackay (“of Tar”)
121. James Mackay (“of Durnes”)
122. Barbara McLeod (*w*)
123. Donald (*s*)
124. Barbara (*d*)
125. Jeanne (*d*)
126. James Mackay (“of Tar”)
127. John Mackay (“of Durnes”)
128. Jannet (*w*)
129. Hugh (*s*)
130. Will (*s*)
131. John (*s*)
132. Elizabeth (*d*)
133. Mary (*d*)
134. John Mackay (“of Lairg”)
135. Alexander Mackimmie
136. Allan Maclean (“of Inverness”)
137. John Maclean (*ser*)
138. Simon Maclean (*ser*)
139. Alexander Maclean (“of Inverness”)
140. George Maclean (“of Ardelack”)
141. Hugh Macleod
142. Norman Macpherson
143. Robert Macpherson (“of Alvie”)
144. John Maclean (*ser*)
145. James McQueen (“of Inverness”)
146. Robert MacIntosh (*ser*)
147. Alexander Monroe (“of Inverness”)
148. Margaret (*w*)
149. Isabel (*d*)
150. Alexander Monroe (“of Dornoch”)
151. Donald Monroe
152. John Monroe (“of Alnit Rossit”)
153. John Monroe (“of Kiltairn”)
154. Robert Monroe (“of Dornoch”)
155. William Monroe (“of Dornoch”)
156. William Monroe (“of Durnes”)
157. Elizabeth (*d*)
158. Margaret (*d*)
159. Hugh Morrison
160. Alexander Murray
161. James Ross (“of Waffin”)
162. John Sinclair
163. John Spence
164. John Macbean (*ser*)
165. Donald Stewart (“of Inverness”)
166. Jeanne (*w*)
167. John (*s*)
168. Anne (*d*)
169. George Main (*ser*)
170. David Stewart
171. Alexander Tolmie
172. Kenneth Bain (*ser*)
173. Hugh Watson *2

*1 - Hugh Sterling arrived in the first Scottish emigration in August, 1734

*2 - Watson in the *LES*: "murd.[ered] at sea June 1739."

As Causton wrote to the Trustees on January 20, 1736: "Captain Dunbar with the Scots Highlanders arrived here the tenth instant.... Captain Diamond in the *Peter and James* from Ireland arrived also on the tenth Instant and waits at Tybee for Mr. Oglethorpe's Orders, having some Passengers from Purrysburg." He also noted: "Captain Dickes in the *Allen*, from Bristol arrived also the same day." (CRG XXI, p. 73)

A total of three ships arrived on January 10, 1736. The *Prince of Wales* contained the Scots, the *Peter and James*, under George Diamond arrived "with provisions from Ireland," while the *Allen* under Dicker arrived with "servants from Bristol." Percival confirmed in his *Diary* that "all three ships came into Savannah, though from several parts, in one day." (vol. 2, p. 246) The *Peter and James* contained a cargo of roughly "650 barrels of beef and 200 firkins of butter from Cork," Ireland, which the Trustees had ordered on August 13, 1735. (p. 191) Though a difference arose in the final cost of these provisions, the Trustees "ordered Mr. Simonds' account to be allowed, because... the agreement we required the beef and butter should be of the best sorts, which merchants do not in the common course send, which yet out of ignorance we were not acquainted with." (p. 202)

In his same January 20 correspondence remarking of the arrival of the first three ships, Causton further noted: "Mr. Oglethorpe is not yet arrived..." (CRG XXI, p. 73) The first half of the Great Embarkation preceded Oglethorpe's arrival by weeks. "All the Scotch who came with Capt Dunbar are gone to the Alatomaha," John Brownfield wrote by the time the *Simmond* finally arrived. (CRG XXI, p. 113) By February 15, Percival noted that Dunbar "had three weeks before carried his Scotsmen" to the south. (*Diary*, vol. 2, p.259) "The first place settled by the embarkations this year to the southward of Savannah is called Darien," Percival wrote. (p. 316) It was "so named by Captain Dunbar," who had decided to not to let the dust gather while waiting for Oglethorpe's arrival. As Bolzius would later note, "In Darien, a newly built town... close to Frederica, there are said to be nothing but Scotsmen, who also have a Presbyterian minister, by the name of MackCloud." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 6, p. 50) The minister in question was Hugh Macleod (#141).

Bolzius was mistaken in his general assumption, alluded to previously, that the Scots in Georgia shared "their English tongue" with the English colonists; many of the Highlanders from the *Prince of Wales* did not speak English, and were in many ways as foreign and distinct a group as the Salzburger of Ebenezer and the French Swiss of Purrysburg.

The second half of the Great Embarkation did not encounter smooth sailing.

Francis Moore, in his *Voyage to Georgia*, noted that the two ships traveling together (the *Simmond* and the *London Merchant*) were 220-ton vessels, and the man-of-war that was to accompany the two was called the *Hawk*, captained by James Gascoigne. Gascoigne himself may have been a 'man-of-war', as he was described in the *LES*: "A grant of 500 acres made him 24 Sept. 1735, on which he lives being turn'd out of the Kings service for cruelty to his seamen 1738."

Percival wrote of the manning of the vessels at Gravesend. "Tuesday, 14 [October, 1735]. - I went to Gravesend to meet Mr. Oglethorpe there and assist in mustering the people that go with

him to Georgia,” he declared in his *Diary*. (vol. 2, p. 200) He noted with some disappointment: “We expected the *London Merchant*, commanded by Captain Thomas, would have been at Gravesend, but he was not yet come down.” The next morning, with still no sign of the *London Merchant*, they made a general accounting of the passengers present for the *Simmond*.

We only mustered the passengers on board the *Symonds*, Captain Cornish commander, a ship of about 250 tons, and 19 sailors. On board this ship goes Mr. Oglethorp, Mr. Johnson, son to the late Governor of Carolina, and the two Westleys, brothers, both clergymen. The youngest is to be private secretary to Mr. Oglethorp, as also Secretary of the Indian trade, and to act as minister of the new settlement at Frederica. The elder goes with the design to penetrate into the Indian country and try to convert them.

- John Percival, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 200

But already, the wheels had been set in motion that would derail John Wesley’s missionary hopes, as Percival noted with his very next line: “A third clergyman was to have gone, but he failed us, and we knew nothing of it till a few days ago. His name is Hall; he was ordained for the very purpose to go to Georgia a few weeks ago, in order to succeed Mr. Quincey.”

But these English vessels of the Great Embarkation—the *Simmond*, the *London Merchant* and the *Hawk*—were delayed for seven weeks by weather. Departing Gravesend on October 20, by December 2, Harman Verelst wrote to Thomas Causton that “Mr. Oglethorpe has been detained by contrary winds above a month.” (*CRG XXIX*, p. 107)

We were detained at Cowes by contrary winds, till the 10th of December; for though we twice broke ground, and once sailed as far as the Yarmouth road, yet we were forced back again. This delay was not only very tedious to the people, but very expensive to the Trust; since there were so many hundred mouths eating, in idleness, that which should have subsisted them till their lands were cultivated.

- Francis Moore, *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 8

Indeed, Percival noted with increasing frustration this inability to get the Great Embarkation out of England as October led into November, and November into December.

October 29 -

Report was made that Mr. Oglethorp with the two ships fell to the Downs on Monday last [Oct. 20].

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 201

November 7 -

We had an account that Mr. Oglethorp was at Cowes and intended to sail for Georgia Wednesday last, 5th inst.

- p. 203

November 12 -

Advice came from on board the ships that Mr. Oglethorp was still at Portsmouth waiting for Captain Gascoign, who is at Spithead. This gives us great trouble, for he will arrive at the new settlement too late for the planting season, and so we shall have two years’ provision to furnish the passengers with instead of one. We also pay demurrage almost 100*l.* per month, and the wind is still against them.

- p. 203

December 3 -

Mr. Oglethorp still at Cowes in the Isle of Wight detained by contrary winds.

- p. 208

December 6 -

Mr. Verelst called to tell me that Mr. Oglethorp had been detained till the 20th November on account of an officer of Portsmouth who did not dispatch with that diligence he might and ought to have done the King's sloop, Captain Gascoign, who attends him to Georgia, on which account he was obliged to make a remonstrance to the Admiralty Board, and that officer is dismissed. This was very unfortunate, for thereby he lost a week's fair wind. He sailed, but was forced back again by the westerly wind, but now it is this morning come to the north, we hope he is sailed again.

- p. 209

December 10 -

A letter from Mr. Oglethorp, dat. 3rd Dec. from Cowes, that he had been ill of a fever, and the people of board were sickly, and lamenting the loss of a fair wind.

- p. 212

December 17 -

A letter from Mr. Oglethorp, date 8th instant, advising us that he that day was sailed from Cowes.

- p. 214

Even that December 8th letter proved incorrect. It wasn't until December 10 that the *Simmond*, the *London Merchant*, the *Hawk* and a bottleneck of some forty other vessels waiting out the contrary winds, set forth.

On the 10th of December the wind at E.S.E. and a moderate gale, we, in company with the *Hawk*, the *London Merchant*, and about forty sail more, who had been forced to stay by the long continuance of contrary winds, stood out for sea.

- Francis Moore, *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 9

John Wesley, too, recorded the joyous moment: "Wed, 10 [December, 1735] - [About eight in the morning] we sailed from Cowes, and [at three] in the afternoon passed the Needles." (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 127)

They had now spent as much time waiting in the queue as they would sail the Atlantic. Just under two months later, the *Simmond* at last reached its destination. It had been a rough passage, the ships encountering violent storms, which occasioned many shrieks among the English (*Wesley Journal*, p. 142: "A terrible screaming began among the English.")... and much singing among the Moravians. Excerpts from John Wesley's *Journal*:

January 17: "Many people were very impatient at the contrary wind. At seven in the evening they were quieted by a storm." (p. 138)

January 23: "In the evening another storm began. In the morning it increased so that they were forced to let the ship drive." (p. 140)

January 25: "At noon our third storm began. At four it was more violent than any we had had before." (p. 141)

January 29: "About seven in the evening we fell in with the skirts of a hurricane. The rain as well as the wind was extremely violent, the lightning almost without intermission." (p. 143)

January 30: "We had another storm..." (p. 144)

The tempests behind them, the *Simmond* and the *London Merchant* arrived off Tybee to calm skies. Passenger Benjamin Ingham (#71) noted their arrival in America. “On Tuesday we found ground, on Wednesday we saw land; and on Thursday afternoon, 5th of February, we got safe into Tybee-road, in the mouth of the river Savannah, in the province of Georgia, in America.” (Benjamin Ingham *Journal*)

From the Wesley *Journal*:

Thurs. 5. - Between two and three in the afternoon God brought us all safe into the Savannah river. We cast anchor near Tybee Island, which gave us a specimen of America. The pines, palms and cedars running in rows along the shore, made an exceedingly beautiful prospect, especially to us who did not expect to see the bloom of spring in the depth of winter...

Fri. 6. - About eight in the morning I first set my foot on American ground. It was a small uninhabited island, but a few miles extant, over against Tybee, called by the English Peeper Island. Mr. Oglethorpe led us through the moorish land on shore to a rising ground, where we all kneeled down to give thanks to God... When the rest of the people were come on shore, we chose an open place surrounded with myrtles, bays and cedars, which sheltered us from both the sun and wind, and called out little flock together for prayers.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 146-9

Oglethorpe took a boat for Savannah the same day, while the *Simmond* remained anchored off Tybee and Wesley found reassurance in his new surroundings. “The clearness of the sky, the setting sun, the smoothness of the water conspired to recommend this new world and prevent our regretting the loss of our native country.” (p. 146)

John Brownfield (#58) gleefully reported to the Trustees:

May it please your Honours

The two Ships Simond & London Merchant anchored in Tybee Road on the 5th of Febry after a Passage of Eight Weeks in which time we had the good fortune to bury no Person[;] Two of our Women were brought to bed[;] William Allen’s Wife on board the Simond & Mrs. Bradley on board the London Merchant. We left the Hawk Sloop soon after our departure from Cows (she not being able to keep up with us) & every day expect her in.

- John Brownfield, March 6, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 137)

A reconstruction of the *Simmond* muster

arrived off Tybee, February 5, 1736

Joseph Cornish, Captain

[compiled from Percival’s *List of Early Settlers* and *CRG XXIX*]

(All research, *Jefferson Hall*, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Frederica

1. Edward Addison

2. Mary Addison (*w*)

3. Edward (*s*)
4. Mary (*d*)
5. William Allen
6. Elizabeth Allen (*w*)
7. William Davis
8. Samuel Davison
9. Susannah Davison (*w*)
10. Susannah (*d*)
11. Thomas Hawkins
12. Beata Hawkins (*w*)
13. Walter Foley (*ser*) *1
14. Catherine Harling (*ser*)
15. William Heddon
16. William Forster (*ser*)
17. Thomas Hird
18. Grace Hird (*w*)
19. Frances (*d*)
20. John (*s*)
21. Mark (*s*)
22. Phoebe (*d*)
23. Thomas Clyat (*ser*)
24. Francis Moore
25. Mary Moore (*w*)
26. John Hughes (*ser*)
27. Mary Seabry (*ser*)
28. William Moore

settled at Savannah *3

55. James Billinghamurst
56. Francis Brooks [lot 174, 5th ward]
57. John Smalley (*ser*)
58. John Brownfield [lot 175, 5th ward]
59. William Barbo (*ser*)
60. Thurston Hosker (*ser*)
61. John Cawtrety
62. Charles Delamotte
63. Martha Delgrass *4
64. Lewis (*s*)

Moravian settlers for Savannah

75. Mathias Barisch
76. John Buner
77. Gottlieb Demight
78. Regina Demitifin
79. John Andre Dober (*morav. school master*)
80. Ann Catherine Dober (*w*)
81. Jacob Franks

29. Anne Harrison (*ser*)
30. Robert Patterson
31. Mary Patterson (*w*)
32. Samuel Perkins
33. Catherine Perkins (*w*)
34. John Walker (*ser*)
35. Thomas Proctor
36. Elizabeth Proctor (*w*)
37. James (*s*)
38. John (*s*)
39. Susannah (*d*)
40. Thomas (*s*)
41. William (*s*)
42. Deborah Collins (*ser*)
43. Ambrose Tuckner
44. Martha Hassel Tuckner (*w*)
45. William Hassel (*son to Martha*)
46. Elizabeth Hassel (*d*)
47. John Welch
48. Anne Welch (*w*)
49. James (*s*)
50. John (*s*)
51. William Taverner (*ser*) *2
52. Charles Wesley
53. Willes Weston
54. Richard White

65. Solomon (*s*)
66. Sarah Arnold (*ser*)
67. Lewis Delieg (*ser*) *5
68. Benja. Goldwyre (*ser. to J. Wardrope* *6)
69. Samuel Hodgkinson
70. John Smith (*ser*)
71. Benjamin Ingham
72. John Robinson
73. James Cole (*ser*) *7
74. John Wesley (*minister*)

82. Rosine Haberechten (*w. of Godfried* *8)
83. David Jagg
84. Juliana Jaskin
85. Martin Maack
86. Michael Meyer
87. Austen Neizar
88. Jurgan Neizar

- | | |
|---|--|
| 89. David Nitchman (<i>moravian minister</i>) | 96. Judith Tolschig (<i>w. of John *8</i>) |
| 90. Friedrich Riedelin | 97. Michael Volmar |
| 91. Catherine Riedelin (<i>w</i>) | 98. Adolf Vonstermsdorf |
| 92. Gotfrid Ruscher | 99. Anne Waschlin (<i>mother to George *8</i>) |
| 93. Mathias Seidbolt | 100. David Zeizberger |
| 94. David Tannerberger | 101. Rosena Zeizberger (<i>w</i>) |
| 95. John (<i>s</i>) | |

<u><i>Trust Servants</i></u>	<u><i>term of service</i></u>	<u><i>term of service</i></u>
102. Charles Carter	?	104. John Cousins
103. William Chance	?	105. John Ridley

-
- *1 - *CRG XXIX*: Foley was "set on shore because of the Itch"
 - *2 - Taverner in the *LES*: "He ran distracted on ship board"
 - *3 - Presumed a Savannah settler unless listed specifically elsewhere in the record
 - *4 - Returning Georgia colonist Martha Delgrass had originally come on the *Savannah* in 1733 as the wife of Peter Fage
 - *5 - Lewis Delieg is recorded in the *LES* as a servant, but to whom is unclear
 - *6 - Joseph Wardrope arrived on the *Friendship*, August, 1734
 - *7 - *CRG XXIX*: Cole "set on Shore for Stealing"
 - *8 - Godfried Haberechten, John Tolschig and George Waschlin all arrived on the *Two Brothers*, March, 1735

Additional passengers on the *Simmond* paying their own account included (but were probably not limited to) the returning Georgia patriarch Oglethorpe, William Horton and Richard Lawley, both of the latter bound for Frederica. John Levally, Sr., his wife Anne and daughter Mary, also bound for Frederica, are recorded in the *LES* as having paid their own passage, but while it is suggestive they came on the *Simmond*, son John Levally, Jr. clearly came on the *London Merchant*, while the younger man's family followed on the *Two Brothers* on the *Charity*; the Levally family may have been parceled out over three ships. Also aboard the *Simmond* was "one Mr. Tanner." Percival described him 18 months later in his *Diary* as "a young gentleman of Surrey and neighbour to Oglethorp, who for amusement went with him on the last expedition to Georgia, and had been employed by him on several services while there, particularly among the Indian nations, where he passed four months in driving away the Carolina traders." (vol. 2, p. 406)

As observed by Percival, another passenger—at least initially—was "Mr. Johnson," son of Robert Johnson, the late South Carolina governor. As the vessels sat in English waters, John Wesley observed disapprovingly of the young man.

Mon. 27 [October, 1736] - Mr. Johnson complained to Mr. Oglethorpe that having the public prayer in the great cabin was a great inconvenience to him. He said he could not bear to stay in the room when so many people were in it, and that he could not stay out of it while they were there, for fear of catching cold.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 114

As the vessels continued sitting in harbor for a duration almost equal to the voyage, Johnson became increasingly frustrated, finally leaving the ship by the first of December.

Mr Johnson was more and more impatient of the contrary winds; and at last, on Monday, December 1, despairing, as he said, of their [the winds] ever being fair while he stayed in the ship, he left it and took a boat for Portsmouth in order to return to London.

- p. 124-5

“In the afternoon we held a public prayer in the great cabin,” Wesley concluded, “one of the many blessings consequent of his leaving us.”

The *Simmond* also contained aboard a large number of Moravians. Indeed, between the Moravians, Benjamin Ingham and the Wesley brothers, the *Simmond* essentially carried the Great Awakening to the New World. But all that promise aboard would drift away from Georgia soon after arriving. Within two years not one of the three ministers would remain. Charles Wesley (#52) would be the first to leave, after only four months. Drafted into secretarial work for Oglethorpe, a task for which he had no talent and even less enthusiasm, Charles resigned in July, 1736. Oglethorpe endorsed his return to England, but with the condition that he not announce his resignation to the Trustees until Oglethorpe was back in England, so that the latter might have some say in picking his successor.

1608. Wesley, Cha., A.B. - Embark'd 14 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6. Mr. Cha. Wesley took the oath of Secy. for the Indian trade 19 Feb. 1735-6 but quitted the Colony & ret. To England July 1736. Quitted July 1736.

Benjamin Ingham (#71) would have some success in learning the Creek language and creating a mission house/school for the Indians by the fall of 1736. He went to Pennsylvania in February, 1737, and from there back to England to recruit more resources to his endeavor. Percival, learning the news of his departure from Captain Dunbar, was startled that it was the first he had heard. “Mr. Ingham, on whom we so much depended for converting the Indians, and who was so zealous, is come for England on a sudden motion.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 411) “He [Dunbar] told us also that Mr. John Wesley, our other minister, had been at Charlestown, for what cause he did not know.” In May of 1737 Wesley had been in conference with the ministers of South Carolina, specifically, trying to stop Purrysburg’s minister from marrying Wesley’s parishioners. But between Ingham and Wesley, Percival sounded like a displeased mother: “It is very strange that since their departure from England neither of them have written to the Trustees, though undoubtedly they have several times to others.”

724. Ingham, Ben. - A.M. Missioner to the Indians; embark'd 14 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6. He return'd to England to bring over more missioners, but never went back. A Methodist. Quitted 26 Feb. 1736/7.

John Wesley’s talents proved invaluable to the Georgia colony, serving as minister to essentially the entire hundred miles of coastline, and providing a spiritual authority that—combined with Causton’s civil authority—ushered in a short period of relative calm in Savannah. But it was not to last, and he himself would be chased away in December, 1737. With the departure of Wesley, Ingham then abandoned his intention of returning.

1609. [Wesley], Jn., A.M. - Brother of Cha.;
Minister at Savannah; embark'd 14
Oct. 1735; arrived Feb. 1735-6; run
away 3 Dec. 1737.

And then there were the Moravians. On January 22, 1737, Percival wrote in his *Diary*: "I saw a letter from Mr. Ingham, one of our Georgia minister, which says that these people of Count Zinzendorf's are the most pious and perfect Christians he ever saw or read of since the Apostles' time." (vol. 2, p. 333) The Moravian contingent aboard the *Simmond* was a sizable one (#75-101); their presence in Georgia had begun modestly, early the year before.

7 Jany. [1735]...

Ten Moravian brethren appear'd [before the Georgia Offices], desiring to go to Georgia: They are Subject to Ct. Zinzendorf a nobleman of that persuasion, and his Steward came over wth. them to See them embark'd.... We promis'd their Master Should have a Grant of 500 acres, and their Minister a garden and Plot to build on in Savannah. And that for their encouragement, when they had improved their masters land, or were out of their time, they Should have a Grant of 20 acres each. That they Should go over when the Swiss did.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p.72-3

As Percival noted: "They are to be follow'd by more."

On January 7, 1735 an agreement had been "made with Captain Thompson of the Two Brothers, for transporting to Purrysburg 200 Swiss & German Protestants at the King's expence, he having orderd 1200£ for that Service" Percival wrote. King George "was pleased that our Board Should take the care of their embarkation." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 72) The Trustees had been asked to orchestrate the embarkation for Purrysburg in this, yet another instance of cross-promotion between Purrysburg and Georgia. It was a mutual advantageous opportunity not unlike one that had occurred the year before. In 1734 the third arrival of the *James* had carried a handful of Georgia colonists within Purrysburg Great Embarkation; and now in 1735 the Trustees placed their Moravian vanguard upon the *Two Brothers*.

"On the 23d Jany. 1734-5 The 122 foreigners mention'd... Set Sail for Savannah on board the Two Brothers." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 75) The vessel arrived at Charlestown by Sunday, March 23, 1735.

The ten who arrived in Georgia on that transport in the spring of 1735 were just the vanguard of the Moravian emigration that would continue the following year on the *Simmond*.

The Moravian Vanguard on the Two Brothers, 1735

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers and CRG XXIX*]

In addition to the 112 colonists (24 families) intended for Purrysburg, the Trustees also placed aboard the Two Brothers the following ten Moravians for Georgia:

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Gothard Demuth | (watchmaker) | 5. Friedrick Riedelin | (shoemaker & mason) |
| 2. Gotfried Haberechten | (weaver & dyer) | 6. Peter Rodolph Rose | (hunter) |
| 3. George Haberland | (mason) | 7. Ant. Seifart | (musician) |
| 4. Michael Haberland | (carpenter) | 8. Aug. Got. Spangenberg | (minister) |

9. John Tolschig

(*gardener*)

10. George Waschlin

(*carpenter*)

Remarking of the Moravian minister's reluctance to take occupancy of the *Two Brothers'* Great Cabin for the voyage, one correspondent at Gravesend noted: "Mr. Spangenberg was unwilling to go into ye Great Cabine. He loves to be with his Nine friends, where they can be by themselves & understood."

They had been above 3 Months in London [waiting for passage to Georgia], & because they would not go begging in ye Streets, they pawned all their Cloaths to the ye value of 9 £.... Two of them have as much money as their Passage comes to, & are willing to pay it as Soon as ye Trustees are pleas'd to accept of it.

- James Horner, January 27, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 202)

Like the Jewish continent that had arrived on the *William and Sarah* two years before, the Moravians were granted lots in town and maintained their distinctive culture within the 1730s Savannah settlement. By July, 1735 Causton wrote to Oglethorpe that "Mr. Spangenberg had his Town Lott set out immediately after his Arrivall. They are very Industrious, have planted three Acres of Corn & Peas which thrives very well." (*CRG XX*, p. 440) Indeed, the Moravians, overall, proved to be the most "cost effective" sect of the Georgia colonists. On May 31, 1738 Percival wrote:

One of the Moravians lately come over from Georgia to settle accounts with us for moneys advanced them for their settling, came and gave a very good account of their proceedings. They are so far from being any further expense to us, that they are now repaying the money we lent them.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 491

Weeks later, he noted that the Moravians were essentially in the black.

Wednesday, 28 [June, 1738]....

The Moravians who owed the Trust 296*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* had discharged 293*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*, part thereof, by labour for the Trust, and there remained only 3*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.*, which balance we remitted them, and their bonds were delivered up.

- p. 496

In 1736 Charles Wesley reported back to Percival "That the most laborious, cheapest workers and best subjects in Georgia are the Moravians, who have among them also the best carpenters." (p. 313) Indeed, as previously noted, the Trustees employed two Moravians to catechise to the African-Americans in Purrysburg, Percival being especially pleased that they could get two for the price of one. "We could not expect to have found one English clergyman who would have undertaken this work, whereas for the value of 30*l.* we here have found two men who will pursue the affair." (p. 345)

But the Moravian brethren would not take up arms, a sticking point with the Trustees. As Percival observed: "Though they be a very religious and painstaking people, yet that principle of not fighting is a very bad one in a newly erected colony." (p. 413)

Also previously noted was John Wesley's interest in the Moravians, which waxed and waned during his time in Georgia. "Mr. Wesley is much pleased if I visit him when I come to

Savannah, as I did today,” Bolzius wrote in June of 1737. Bolzius, on a day trip from Ebenezer, came to the door and found him singing Moravian hymns.

He diligently sings German hymns from the Herrnhut [Bolzius’ term for the Moravians] hymnal, and he much praises the advantages of our [German] church over the others in view of this treasure of songs.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 117)

The Moravians, certainly, offered a more attent ear to Wesley than many of the English in Savannah. As Bolzius noted: “Since his own congregation offers him so little opportunity for edification, he often visits the Herrnhuters and attends their prayer meetings, where he has learned to read a good amount of German.” (p. 102)

Wesley had spent time with Spangenberg following the arrival of the *Simmond*. “In the afternoon, the boat not yet being come which was to carry Mr. Spangenberg and his people to Savannah, we took a walk on the shore,” he wrote in his February 9, 1736 *Journal* entry. “I asked him many questions.... The substance of his answers was this:”

‘The village of Herrnhut contains about a thousand souls, gathered out of many nations. They hold fast the discipline, as well as the faith and practice, of the apostolical Church. I was desired by the Brotherhood last year to conduct about fifteen of them to Georgia, where two lots of ground were assigned to them near the town of Savannah, and another in the country; and with them I have stayed ever since.’

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 154

Bolzius, whose hard-line orthodoxy Lutheranism clashed with the decidedly more liberal canon of the Moravians, did not share Wesley’s admiration of the community. In fact, despite sharing a common language, the Salzburgers and the Moravians shared little else with one another during their time in colonial Georgia. Bolzius regarded the community with outright suspicion, and if his words are correct, so did others in Savannah by 1737. Bolzius noted that Wesley “confirmed news I had previously heard, i.e., that the Herrnhuters now in Savannah intended to move to Pennsylvania in the fall. They complain that they suffer much at the hands of the English, and that they are hardly considered as Christians by them.” (p. 93)

Certainly the bizarre case of Anne Hows casts a pall. One will recall that in 1739 Robert Hows opted to dispose of some of his “large family” as he chased after George Whitefield, drafting his daughters into servitude to the Moravians, where Martha soon died. Later found abused and malnourished—“inhumanely mangled,” in the words of Stephens (*CRG IV*, p. 395)—Anne was removed by the Court and given to her grandmother.

“We do not strive to bring over others to our Persuasion, but to leave every Man to his own Opinion,” the Moravians wrote to Thomas Causton in a February, 1737 letter addressed from “The Germans.” In explaining their refusal to take up arms, they wrote:

If our remaining here be burdensome to the People as we perceive it begins to be, we are willing by the Approbation of the Magistrate to remove from this place, by this Means any [misunderstanding]... will be avoided, & Occasion of Offence cut off from those who now reproach us that they are obliged to fight for us.

- “The Germans,” February 21, 1737 (*CRG XXI*, p. 456)

In fact, the Moravians, like so many others, would not leave Georgia until the gloom and threat of 1740, but their intention was clear by 1737.

After arrival of the *Simmond* in early 1736 Oglethorpe wrote of foreign colonists in Purrysburg and Georgia numbering 1200; if indeed this was the case then foreign Protestants outnumbered the English by nearly two to one. Significant embarkations of English freeholders to Savannah all but disappeared after the *Prince of Wales*' 1734 landing; for all intents and purposes the Savannah settlement seems to have been regarded as complete. Trust servants and foreign Protestants now made up the bulk of the embarkations after 1734. Even this ambitious Great Embarkation—the biggest transport seen under the Trustees—could be divided essentially into three camps—Salzburgers, Moravians and Scots; with the former settling in Ebenezer and the latter establishing Frederica. Outside of completing the Moravian emigration begun the year before, the Great Embarkation, despite its number, contributed very little to the Savannah settlement.

Oglethorpe summed up for the Trustees what he found at his arrival. The mouth of the Savannah River was a parking lot of vessels... and all with their meters running.

Gentlemen,

I am arrived here, where I found, ye Prince of Wales Capn Dunbar, ye Peter & James Cpn Diamond ye Two Brothers Cpn Thomson & the James Cpn Yokeley on demurrage. I begun by hastening the discharge of them. The first was Capn Dunbar's; That being the largest Expence I mustered the People, & find they amount to One hundred Sixty three whole Heads, which is three less than the Muster on the 20th of October, before Provost Hassock at Inverness; One of them having run away, & two having been set ashore because they would neither pay their Passage, nor indent as Servants of the Trust.

- James Oglethorpe, February 13, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 448-9)

The *London Merchant*, the third major vessel of the campaign, contained the Salzburgers. As Percival noted in his *Diary of Captain Thomas and the London Merchant*, "He has on board Mr. Vanreck's Germans and divers English." (vol. 2, p. 200) The *Egmont Journal* makes record of 59 Salzburgers on board this, the third transport of the Salzburgers.

A reconstruction of the *London Merchant* (2) muster

(aka, "the third Salzburger transport")

arrived off Tybee, February 5, 1736

John Thomas, Captain

[compiled from Percival's *List of Early Settlers*, *CRG XXIX* and Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports*]
(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

[1739 ✓] - Salzburger still alive on May 19, 1739 (*Urlsperger*, vol. 6, Appendix iii)

[d.--] - Salzburger dead before 1739 (*Urlsperger*, vol. 6, Appendix iii)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Ebenezer

1. Andreas Bauer	[d. 1736]	31. Catherine (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]
2. John Gottlieb Christe	[1739 ✓]	32. Martin Lackner	[1739 ✓]
3. Johann Cornberger	[1739 ✓]	33. Anna Leihoffer	[1739 ✓]
4. Leonhard Craus	[1739 ✓]	34. Martin [Joseph] Leitner	[1739 ✓]
5. Barbara Craus (<i>w</i>)	[1739 ✓]	35. Barbara Maurer	[1739 ✓]
6. Gertrude Einecker	[1739 ✓]	36. Friedrich Mueller	[1739 ✓]
7. Joseph Ernst	[1739 ✓]	37. Anna Christina Mueller (<i>w</i>)	[1739 ✓]
8. Anna Maria Ernst (<i>w</i>)	[1739 ✓]	38. Johann Simon (<i>s</i>)	[d. 1737]
9. Susanna (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]	39. Johann Paul (<i>s</i>)	[1739 ✓]
10. Karl Floerl	[1739 ✓]	40. Johanna Margaretha (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]
11. Hans Floerl	[1739 ✓]	41. Johanna Agnes Elisabeth(<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]
12. Anna Maria Floerl (<i>w</i>)	[1739 ✓]	42. Anna Maria Magdalena (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]
13. Andreas Griminger	[1739 ✓]	43. Thomas Ossencker	[d. 1736]
14. Sabina Griminger (<i>w</i>)	[d. 1736]	44. Anne Cath. Ossencker (<i>w</i>)	[1739 ✓]
15. Catherine (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]	45. Johann Pletter	[1739 ✓]
16. Abraham Gruning [moved to Frederica 1736]	[1739 ✓]	46. Peter Reuter	[1739 ✓]
17. Franz Haberfahner	[d. 1736]	47. John Michael Rieser	[1739 ✓]
18. Maria Haberfahner (<i>w</i>)	[d. 1736]	48. Anna Maria Rieser (<i>w</i>)	[d. 1737]
19. Susanna (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]	49. Gotlieb (<i>s</i>)	[1739 ✓]
20. Magdalene (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]	50. Hans Schmidt	[1739 ✓]
21. John Jacob Helfenstein	[d. 1736]	51. Catherine Schmidt (<i>w</i>)	[1739 ✓]
22. Ann Dorothy Helfenstein (<i>w</i>)	[1739 ✓]	52. John Jacob (<i>s</i>)	[d. 1736]
23. Maria Frederica (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]	53. John Spielberger	[1739 ✓]
24. Johann Friedrich (<i>s</i>)	[1739 ✓]	54. Rosine (<i>mother</i>)	[1739 ✓]
25. Maria Christina (<i>d</i>)	[1739 ✓]	55. Catharina Valentine	[1739 ✓]
26. John Jacob (<i>s</i>)	[1739 ✓]	56. Ernest von Reck (<i>br. to Philip</i>) [to Germany]	
27. Jeremiah (<i>s</i>)	[1739 ✓]	57. Christopher Muller (<i>ser</i>)	
28. Johannes (<i>s</i>)	[1739 ✓]	58. Philip von Reck *1	
29. Franz Herenberger	[1739 ✓]	59. Mathias Zettler	[1739 ✓]
30. Susanna Holtzer	[d. 1737]		

settled at Frederica

60. William Abbot		75. Henry Lascelles	
61. Richard Hart (<i>ser</i>)		76. Henry (<i>s</i>)	
62. Levi Bennet		77. John Levally, Jr. *2	
63. Anne Bennet (<i>w</i>)		78. Thomas Loope	
64. John (<i>s</i>)		79. Agnes Loope (<i>w</i>)	
65. Samuel Lee (<i>ser</i>)		80. Daniel Parnel	
66. Henry Buckley		81. John Roberson	
67. John Calwell		82. Hanah Roberson (<i>w</i>)	
68. Constance Calwell (<i>w</i>)		83. William (<i>s</i>)	
69. Daniel Cannon		84. Henry Talbot (<i>ser/appr</i>)	
70. Daniel (<i>s</i>)		85. Mary Truby (<i>ser</i>)	
71. Joseph (<i>s</i>)		86. James Shepherd	
72. Daniel Griffith		87. George Spencer	
73. John Humble		88. Mary Spencer (<i>w</i>)	
74. Joanna Humble (<i>w</i>)		89. Mary (<i>d</i>)	

90. Walter Avery (*ser/appr*)
91. David Stabler
92. Thomas Walker

93. Mary Walker (*w*)
94. Sarah (*d*)

settled at Savannah *₃

95. John Auchtenleck	110. John Farrel (<i>ser</i>)
96. Elizabeth Baldwyn	111. John Finlay (<i>ser</i>)
97. William Bradley * ₄	112. John Foulds (<i>ser</i>)
98. Elizabeth Bradley (<i>w</i>)	113. Thomas Hardman (<i>ser</i>)
99. James (<i>s</i>) [lot 56, Savannah]	114. Abel Jackson (<i>ser</i>)
100. Jane (<i>d</i>)	115. Anne Privet (<i>ser</i>)
101. Martha (<i>d</i>)	116. Abraham Putwellee (<i>ser</i>)
102. Richard (<i>s</i>)	117. Jane Rogers (<i>ser</i>)
103. Robert (<i>s</i>)	118. ? (<i>son</i>)
104. William (<i>s</i>) [lot 186, Savannah]	119. Robert Rose (<i>ser</i>)
105. Amos Barber (<i>ser</i>)	120. Elizabeth Wheeler (<i>ser</i>)
106. John Barker (<i>ser</i>)	121. Peter Wright (<i>ser</i>)
107. ? (<i>wife</i>)	122. John Flower
108. ? (<i>child</i>)	123. John Robinson * ₄
109. Mary Darber (<i>ser</i>)	

*1 - Philip von Reck was returning to Georgia; he had led the first Salzburger embarkation

*2 - John Levally, Jr.'s parents and sister are listed on their own account, aboard either the *Simmond* or *London Merchant*, while his wife and son sailed on the *Two Brothers* (2)

*3 - Presumed a Savannah settler unless listed specifically elsewhere in the record

*4 - Will Bradley, one son and John Robinson were off the vessel when it departed Cowes and were left behind to find passage on another ship

Technically, John Robinson (#123), Will Bradley (#97) and one of his sons can only be considered passengers of the *London Merchant* through December 10, 1735. From the *Simmond*, Francis Moore remarked as the weather finally permitted departure: "The London Merchant lay by a little for three of the passengers, who happened to be gone to Portsmouth when the wind came fair; but it was all to no purpose, for they not coming up in time, were left behind." (*Voyage to Georgia*, p. 9) The three returned to London and surprised the Trustees at their office:

24 Dec. [1735]...

Mr. Willm. Bradley who was Sent to instruct our people in Agriculture appear'd, and acquainted us he had lost his passage on board the London Mercht. by going from Cowes to Portsmouth to Seek for a Midwife, there being 6 women on board who will ly in in a month, and nobody to assist them. That a few hours after he left the Ship the wind turn'd fair, and it Sailed away without waiting his return. That there upon he hired a Ship & follow'd but could not overtake her, so was obliged to put into Plymouth, from whence he and his Son and another person were to come to London in the Stage coach. He desired his expences might be allow'd him, and that we would pay his and his Sons passage, there being a Ship to go to Carolina within a week, which we judged reasonable.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 123

“The Committee had agreed that twenty Pounds should be paid them for their said Expences, and that they should be sent Passengers to So Carolina by Capt. Piercy’s Ship at five Pounds per Head, and that Watch Coats and Bedding should be furnished them for use in their Passage.” (CRG II, p. 143)

Captain Piercy’s ship in question was the *Samuel*, a vessel which made regular passage to Charlestown but which Harman Verelst had already hoped he could... “persuade the Captain to Touch off Tybee Island, which I intend to Endeavour.” (CRG XXIX, p. 97) Verelst explained the situation to Oglethorpe:

Sir

The Trustees received your Letter dated the 10th of last month with the agreeable News of your Sailing; and soon after rec’d an Accot. of Mr. Bradley and Son and Mr. Robinson being left behind; and of their being forced to Plymouth by endeavouring to overtake the Ship London Merchant; from whence they came to London.

- Harman Verelst, January 9, 1736 (CRG XXIX, p. 113)

Oglethorpe was told to expect them instead “on board the Ship Samuel Captain Hugh Piercy, which they now come by.” But as Oglethorpe predicted in a December 3, 1735 letter, “it is impossible for Percy to touch at Tybee,” (CRG XXI, p. 49) and indeed, Bradley and Robinson disembarked from the *Samuel* at Charlestown on April 8, 1736.

In the meantime, the concern of pregnant passengers delivering during the voyage was well-founded, a situation heightened by the seven-week delay at Cowes. By the end of the voyage Francis Moore boasted that “not one soul died from the time we left the Downs to our arrival in Georgia. Instead of lessening our number we increased it, for on the passage there were four children born.” (*Voyage to Georgia*, p. 11)

Peter Wright (#121), among the cadre of Bradley’s servants, died within three months of arriving in Savannah. Interestingly, he may have had a premonition of his own death, as John Wesley noted in his *Journal*.

Sun. 28 [March, 1736] - A servant of Mr. Bradley’s sent to desire to speak with me. Going to him, I found a young man ill, but perfectly sensible. He desired the rest [others present] go out, and then said, ‘On Thursday night, about eleven, being in bed, but broad awake, I heard one calling aloud, ‘Peter! Peter Wright!’ and, looking up, the room was light as day, and I saw a man in very bright clothes stand by the bed, who said, ‘Prepare yourself, for your end is nigh’; and then immediately all was dark as before.’ I told him, ‘The advice was good, whensoever it came.’

- John Wesley *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 187

“In a few days he recovered from his illness,” Wesley noted; “his whole temper was changed as well as his life, and so continued to be till, after three or four weeks, he relapsed and died in peace.”

In regards to the Salzburgers, this third transport, as with the first, was led by the young and charismatic Philip von Reck. And just as in the case of the two previous transports, not all aboard recruited for Ebenezer were Salzburgers. As Bolzius noted: “Along with the Salzburgers, Commissioner von Reck is bringing a number of other German people whom he has (*ratione pietatis*) has given good recommendations.” (*Urlperger*, vol. 3, p. 40) Or, as Bolzius stated more bluntly in edited comments:

[February 20, 1736] We regret that Mr. von Reck has taken up several people into the transport not only underway from Augsburg but even here in this country, from whom we already promise ourselves not much good. In Frankfurt he picked up Gottfried Christ [#2], a baptized Jew, and Muller, a clock maker with five children [#36-42]. In London the transport was joined by Helfenstein, a Swiss with six children [#21-28], likewise by Grunig [#16] from Basel, who has also been in Herrnhut [...in other words, *associated with Moravians*] and who claimed to have had mystic trances and to have heard voices on the ship.

- John Martin Bolzius, "*Secret Diary*"
(*Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 53, no. 1, p. 92)

Allusion has been made previously to Bolzius' view of Ebenezer as his benevolent theocracy; truly, his invitation list was small. While he cheerfully noted in January of 1736 that "Some of the German people in Purrysbug have let us know already that they would like to live among the Salzburgers," his very next line rejected the idea out of hand.

However, we are not yearning for these people. Instead, we shall protest to Mr. Oglethorpe not to send to our congregation such Protestants who, to be sure, profess the gospel but do not wish to become pious.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 19)

Now a month after his above quote, he was faced with the very situation he had rejected, lamenting: "We will probably have to keep the people who have already been accepted, because we wish to avoid even the least occasion for a misunderstanding with Mr. von Reck," but, "my dear colleague had the purpose of warning Mr. von Reck in a most friendly manner against being too hasty in accepting strange people into our congregation." (*GHQ*, v. 53, n. 1, p. 93) These additions included the above-mentioned Frankfurt family by the name of Mueller (#36-42). Patriarch Friedrich Wilhelm Mueller's entry in the *LES* is simple and inaccurate.

1062. Muller, Fred. Will. - Watch maker;
embark'd 20 Oct. 1735; arrived Feb
1735-6. Saltsburger settled at Ebenezer;
living 13 March 1738/9.

Despite Percival's description of Mueller as a "Saltsburger," he and his family were not, which led to doubts about how well Mueller and his family would acclimate into the community at Ebenezer. Bolzius wrote the following on April 10, 1736:

The watchmaker Mueller, who came to the third transport in Frankfurt, intimated very clearly to me that he could not harmonize with the simple Salzburgers and their kind because they had little courtesy and manners in associating with people. He had noticed something about someone that seemed suspicious to him. For that reason he inveighed against the entire community of Salzburgers with a very rude judgment. He is a conceited gossiper and, like the others of his type, thinks he is better than the plain and honest people in the community. I do not yet see how he will fare. He has a large family; and since he himself cannot work on the boat and in other communal things, the people are supposed to render service to him and his family by bringing up provisions.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 104)

In August, after a benefaction of ten cows to the community, Mueller claimed the best for himself "because he has a lot of children." But by this point Bolzius muted his criticism of him,

remarking: “Otherwise this man behaves himself in an orderly way, and his two little girls, who are sent regularly to school, are beginning very well.” (August 14, 1736, p. 193) Whatever early issues, they were evidently smoothed out. Though son Johann Simon died in 1737, the rest of the family was still alive and well in Bolzius’ census of Ebenezer in 1739.

Another non-Salzbunger was Swiss tanner John Jacob Helfenstein (#21). Accompanied by his wife and six children, by September of 1736 it was clear the elder Helfenstein was dying. Bolzius wrote that he “appears to have a consumptive sickness.” Bolzius lamented: “Mr. von Reck did not do well in London to persuade such a feeble old man with such a large family to support to come into this wilderness. He is a tanner, and he was told how well he would be able to practice his profession here; and, now that he is here, farming should be his best profession, but he is not suited to either because of his age and physical weakness. His children are still un-reared, except for the daughter, who is already sixteen.” (p. 212) A month later he was dead.

Saturday, the 23rd of October. Helfenstein, the tanner whom Mr. von Reck brought here with the third transport, died this afternoon. He has been sick as long as he has been here because of his age and the troubles on the ship and since then.... He leaves a widow and six small children in the direst poverty.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 232)

The Helfensteins and the Muellers were the largest families on the third transport, and while they successfully settled into life with the Salzburgers, that was not to be the case with some of the other non-Salzburgers of the *London Merchant*. “They speak rather coarsely and cause me a lot of grief and trouble,” Bolzius lamented, blaming von Reck. “He made too many promises.” (*Urlsperger*, vol. 3, p. 97) Indeed, many from the third transport held grudges against von Reck for their misadventure. Bolzius recorded that Joseph Ernst (#7) “denounces Mr. Von Reck, who persuaded him to come here; otherwise he would have had a good existence in Germany.” (p. 267) Thomas Ossenger (#43) was harboring “a bitter and secret vexation and hatred against Mr. von Reck.” (p. 162) John Michael Rieser (#47) “grumbles much and calumniates Mr. Von Reck most often and most rudely for leading him into this misfortune.” (p. 257)

Rieser had arrived with his wife and her young brother Mathias Zettler (#59), but Bolzius quickly deemed Rieser as an unsuitable guardian for the boy. “He and his wife live in a disorderly way,” Bolzius wrote. (p. 257) “We have a right bad man in Michael Rieser, who not only treats his wife as the worst servant girl (but very secretly) but also gets into squabbles very easily with other people. God will help us to control such vexation.” (p. 264)

Sunday, the 12th of December [1736]. I had Michael Rieser come to me and first discussed with him the condition of his brother-in-law Zettler, whom I shall take from him this week and place under [Ruprecht] Kalcher’s [*Prince of Wales* #17] supervision.... He [Rieser] has great anger, which would have broken out against his neighbors (who are not the best either), if we and our dwelling were not so near him. His hut is almost opposite ours, and we can understand almost every word that is spoken there.

- p. 259

Bolzius was disappointed in general with the third transport. “We hear many complaints that various things, especially melons and gourds, are being taken from the gardens,” he wrote in August, 1736. “Also a Salzburger announced that during the night his and his comrade’s meat was stolen from the kitchen that stands on a public road and is open on all sides. We never heard

of any disorders like that before the arrival of the third transport. There are people among them who have planted nothing themselves and cannot get along with their provisions. Because they are poor and in part incapable of working, they cannot buy anything; and perhaps for this reason they fall into temptation.” (p. 192)

Bolzius identified the troublemakers early on. “There is no harmony among those whom Mr. von Reck picked up along the way, and the one always complains about the other. These are Grining [#16], the watchmaker Mueller, the tanner Helffenstein [#21], Ernst [#7], etc.” (March 9, 1736, p. 76) “Even the old Austrian woman, Mrs. Spielberger [#54], and her son [#53] have a very poor reputation.” Remarking that “There is such a confusion among the people of the third transport that I am becoming worried and alarmed at the annoyances that I take care of,” Bolzius wrote by April 1, 1736:

There are many malcontents among the people Mr. von Reck brought along.... [#53 John] Spielbiegler and his old mother [Rosine, #54], as well as [#7 Joseph] Ernst, are evil-natured people who, if they remain thus, can scarcely be tolerated among us for long.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 97)

Spielberger became intoxicated during a boat trip to Savannah, a black mark Bolzius was quick to record. “Spielbiegler is supposed to have gotten drunk recently on the trip to Savannah on rum that he obtained from Purysburg,” Bolzius observed. “I shall do with him whatever conscience and office demand.” (p. 97) When confronted about the incident, Spielberger “looked for many excuses to justify his behaviour. For example, he said he was not so drunk that he didn’t know what he was doing, that he could still row, etc. There was another reason he fell out of the boat into the water, etc. He could not hold very much, etc. He did not know what kind of rum it was.” (p. 111)

Oh, Spielberger, just stop. You had us at... *there was another reason I fell out of the boat....*

A July 23, 1738 entry found Bolzius still grumbling about the Spielbergers: “Spielberger and his mother are surely incorrigible in every way.” (*Urlsperger*, vol. 5, p. 164)

But it was Joseph Ernst, a “beerbrewer” from Bavaria, who would end up consuming countless passages in Bolzius’ *Daily Register* over the next several years. “In short, he is a very miserable man,” Bolzius observed in a December 28, 1736 entry. (*Urlsperger*, vol. 3, p. 267) Joseph Ernst, to Bolzius, seemed like the heir to Ebenezer’s former troublemaker George Roth. Ernst, he asserted by May, 1736, was an “evil man who already made a lot of trouble and threatened with shooting and beating (just like the wicked Rott).” And: “He and his wife are acting just like the two Rott people.” (*Urlsperger*, vol. 3, p. 135)

Just six weeks after he had pegged Ernst as one of the third transport’s chief troublemakers, he wrote: “Today a man by the name of Ernst from the third transport unleashed his malice in such a manner that we had not a little fright over it.... I immediately inquired from three Salzburgers who were working in this region about all the circumstances. Otherwise, he would have denied everything and extricated himself by his cunning and empty talk.”

Thursday, the 13th of May [1736].

... Mr. von Reck had given the watchmaker [#36 Friedrich] Muller a large wood-saw belonging to the congregation. This Ernst demanded it from the watchmaker with mild words first and then with great crudeness. Since it was refused him, he went with force into the hut, shoved the watchmaker's wife [Anna Christina, #37] aside, took the saw forcibly; and since the wife was holding one end of the saw, ripped it from her hands and hit her with it in such a way on one side of the head that her ear was almost cut in pieces.

- p. 134-5

Remarking, "we would gladly be rid of the man," Bolzius expressed his wish that "I hope that Mr. Oglethorpe will remove him from our congregation."

Tuesday, the 8th of June [1736].

... God be praised for all His fatherly care. E., who recently committed an evil deed in the community, was sent to prison in Savannah at the command of Mr. Oglethorpe, to whom I had to report the sad story.

- p. 152

Held on charges of assault throughout the summer, he was found guilty, but returned to Ebenezer in mid-August. His punishment, however, did nothing to curb his behavior, and Ernst earned a tongue-lashing every year in Bolzius' diary, like it was an annual event:

1737 -

Sunday, the 6th of February. Ernst and his wife are very evil people who annoy their neighbors and others in many ways. As long as they receive kindness and favors from others, they know how to dissemble and play the hypocrites; but, once their unpleasantness, malice, and wickedness are uncovered, they not only offer much in the way of explanations and excuses but become quite coarse and impudent in their replies. It is said that as regards lying, cursing, fighting, etc. the wife is even worse than her husband.

- vol. 4, p. 16

1738 -

Friday, the 17th of March.

... Today we took up the case of the ill-behaved Ernst, who had not only attacked a Salzburger family with scandalous words but had even uttered wicked threats. He denied both in his usual way, because no witnesses were present. Meanwhile, he was warned sincerely against carrying out his threats and was shown that, if any harm were inflicted or any trick played on the Salzburger and his wife, the strongest suspicion or blame would fall on him.

- vol. 5, p. 62

He concluded: "The man will probably behave like this until the country, or our Ebenezer through God's judgment, spues him out."

1739 -

Tuesday, the 21st of August.

... Those who must deal with Ernst still have much trouble with him, and we ourselves cannot get along with him... His wife, who is not worth much either, is afraid... it seems he has threatened her to kill her or to beat her to a pulp and then to run away.... He also threatens others (as he has done me), and therefore nobody wishes to be his neighbor.

- vol. 6, p. 189

"Perhaps we shall be rid of him one day," Bolzius lamented.

1740 -

Tuesday, the 29th of January.

... Now we see nothing but malediction and misfortune in every corner of his hut; and everything is deteriorating because of his continuous quarreling, discord, and even fighting with his wife. Therefore, we cannot prophesy any good outcome for him unless he repents.

- vol. 7, p. 25

In the same day's entry, Bolzius noted: "The English boy [Henry] Bishop told someone in my house that he had heard this [Ersnt] cursing a pious Salzburger yesterday while chopping wood...."

This caused him [Bishop] to sigh and to marvel that God could witness such wickedness and insolence: if God wished he could punish him with his own ax. He [Ernst] had not even finished with his disgraceful speech before he chopped a serious wound on his left hand, through which he is now hindered in his work.

- p. 26

The wound Ernst gave himself seems to have never healed correctly as it proved susceptible to infection and was eventually gangrenous. The remaining entries relating to Ernst document his steady decline....

Friday, the 13th of March [1741]. For some time E. has had several bodily misfortunes and the greatest poverty in his house. He came to me and showed me his hand, in which he has a hidden injury so he cannot use it and suffers much pain.

- vol. 8, p. 97

Friday, the 21st of August [1741].

... [Ersnt] came to me... and told me the diagnosis he had to hear from the bone-setter and surgeon in Purysburg concerning his hand, namely, that it was entirely putrid and that there was nothing to do but amputate it before gangrene or cancer set in, and he had resolved to have this done.

- p. 366

But Bolzius urged caution, remarking with derision of the barbaric methods of surgery he had come to witness in Purysburg. "In Purysburg they like to use all kinds of violent Negro-cures before necessity demands, and therefore I advised him to seek better advice before taking this brutal and extreme step."

Nonetheless, the operation was performed, and Ernst's "hand" was apparently amputated at the armpit.

Tuesday, the 15th of September [1741].

... This morning my dear colleague [Gronau] traveled to [see Ernst] at the surgeon's plantation near Purysburg and returned from there this evening.... Besides the pain of his amputated hand, the patient had a dangerous catarrh.

- p. 405

"I had the boat rowed home and visited the still dangerously ill Ernst, whom my short consolation made very happy," Bolzius wrote on October 20, while noting: "The Purysburg surgeon has given him a bottle of medicine which may cause more harm than good." (p. 458) And finally...

Friday, the 20th of November [1741]. Ernst died last night between eleven and twelve o'clock as fast as you can snuff out a light.

- p. 500-1

For five years Ernst had proven a disturbance in Ebenezer and a potential threat to individual Salzburger, but when he repented in earnest, Bolzius was pleased to attend him. "It seems that God is bringing this rough man to humility, to quietness, and to a salutary meditation," Bolzius observed. (p. 248) On his deathbed he was pleased to receive sacrament, worried that the few drops of wine he could imbibe would not be enough to wipe away a lifetime of misdeeds.

Because he could only receive a few drops of wine (since he can drink only a little bit), he asked me whether it would be enough. I satisfied him by quoting the little verse: "Thy blood, the noble juice, has such strength and power that even a little droplet can cleanse the entire world."

- p. 500

New Ebenezer & the Disgrace of Vat and von Reck

Tuesday, the 25th of May[1736]. Today my dear colleague moved from [old] Ebenezer into his new hut.... It stands in our Lord's hands whether we will spend our short lives in these huts or whether we will journey further according to God's will.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 3, p. 146)

The first course of action, as far as Bolzius and many of the Salzburger were concerned and as Oglethorpe returned to Georgia soil with the Great Embarkation, was a relocation of the Ebenezer settlement. "The Saltzburger are mightily discontented & I cannot find ye real Reason of it," Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees. (CRG XXI, p. 104) As Percival noted: "The Salsburger were not pleas'd with their Settlement at Ebenezer, and therefore obtain'd leave from Mr. Oglethorp (tho much against his grain) to remove lower near the mouth of Ebenezer River, opposite to Purrysburg." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 152)

[On February 8] the Baron Von Reck and the two Saltzburg Ministers came down from Ebenezer, with the Request of the People to be removed from the Fords, where they now are... Mr. Oglethorpe set out for Ebenezer on the 9th in the Scout Boat.... He arrived that Night.

They conjur'd Mr. Oglethorpe with Prayers and even Tears to give them leave to abandon the Town that is already built, and that the rest of their Country men might fly with them... he yielded to their entreaty, but declared to them that it was against his Judgment, yet order'd a Town to be marked out for them in a Place they desired.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, March 18, 1736

In November of 1735, Bolzius had written glowingly of a turkey shot at Red Bluff.

The 4th Nov [1735]... A Salzburger made us a present of a turkey which weighed fourteen pounds. He had shot it on Red Bluff where he and other Salzburger had been gathering a great many acorns. There are many such turkeys in this country, also a large number of ducks. This Red Bluff is a high bank on the Savannah River, near the mouth of the Ebenezer river.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger*, vol. 2, p. 196)

Bolzius concluded of Red Bluff... "This is the place to which the people wish to be transferred for a number of reasons."

In April of 1735, Causton wrote. “Mr Vatt very much desired to have his People Settled on a Red Bluff which is near the Entrance of the River Ebenezer.”

[He] gave as a Reason, the Barrenness of the Soil where the Town now Stands; The Danger of Starving the People for want of Produce, and the ill Reputation the Country would gain, if the people should write to their friends, that they were Seated in a Barren Soil. This Bluff is about 8 Miles from the Town.

- Thomas Causton, April 2, 1735 (CRG XX, p. 304-5)

Though several were adamant about another site, known as Indian Hut, Bolzius was convinced their future would be found at Red Bluff.

A little further downstream towards Purrysburg there is another high bank which the Salzburgers call Indian Hut. The land there is also good, but Red Bluff is said to be better.

“The name Indian Hut does not come from the fact that Indians actually live there,” he explained.

Rather, the first Salzburgers to go there built a hut of posts, as the Indians do, and they had no other way of distinguishing this spot from other places and, consequently, this high ground has been called Indian Hut ever since that time.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 2, p. 196)

But Indian Hut lay within lands promised to the Creeks, and Oglethorpe could not consider the site as an option. “Mr. Oglethorpe cannot be moved to give the Salzburgers even a foot of land across Ebenezer Creek,” (vol. 3, p. 247) Bolzius noted. The creek formed the boundary of English lands, leaving Red Bluff as the alternative.

The 10th of February [1736]. Last evening my dear colleague returned, and Governor Oglethorpe came with him because he wanted to inspect the land to which we would like to move. He would prefer us to remain here and therefore needs all kinds of persuasive arguments; but, as we are continuing with our petitioning, it seems that his thinking is being guided by God toward our wishes.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 38)

“The Governor is very fond of us both and has promised to take good care of our community.” Bolzius wrote optimistically. “The 11th of February. Yesterday evening I, Boltzius, returned under God’s protection from the so-called Red Bluff, where I had gone in the company of Governor Oglethorpe and a few of our Saltzburgers.” (p. 38) Though Oglethorpe’s preference for the Salzburgers to remain at their old site was clear, he grudgingly approved of the new site.

But Oglethorpe had another issue he wanted to discuss with the ministers. Bolzius and Gronau had not been the only ones intent on creating a new Salzburger town site. Oglethorpe had been formulating a plan in his head as well, and he caught them off guard as he offered to separate the two ministers and relocate one of them to preside over a possible new Salzburger settlement in Frederica.

As Bolzius noted on February 11, 1736, “It was Mr. Oglethorpe’s intention to settle this third group at some other place, on the Altamaha River,” and not at Ebenezer. “He asked me what I

thought of that.” This possibility alarmed Bolzius. With Bolzius and Gronau as the only ministers among the Salzburgers—and the two proving inseparable (as best friends, colleagues and brothers-in-law to one another)—placing the third transport elsewhere proved unthinkable to Bolzius.

I answered briefly: as I believed that these people... had emigrated for the sake of the Word of God, it would be contrary to the purpose of their emigration and voyage to Georgia to leave them without a pastor: for the two of us [Bolzius & Gronau] would and could not separate, etc.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 40)

“Upon this Mr. Oglethorpe decided to add this third group to our congregation.” With that answer came a very busy week, as some Salzburgers left to create New Ebenezer just as the refugees from the third group showed up at Old Ebenezer.

The 16th of February [1736]. Some people went to Red Bluff today, by water and by land, in order to build a shelter for the new arrivals and to make preparations for a number of things. Their eagerness to work the new land, without all fear of the fatiguing task, is really quite remarkable.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 45)

The 17th of February [1736].

... This evening after seven o’ clock most of the new people, accompanied by Commissioner von Reck, arrived in Ebenezer by way of Abercorn.

- p. 46

Like almost everything else about 1736 Georgia, the arrival of the third transport was poorly handled. The third group was entirely destitute and completely without tools, livestock or resources, dropping on the doorstep of Old Ebenezer as the whole community was preparing to be uprooted. Percival was less than pleased with Oglethorpe’s decisions regarding the Salzburgers, noting “that the last embarkation of them under the Conduct of Mr. Von Reck which were to Settle at Frederica were gone to Settle with their Countrymen which carry’d 50 Stout Men away from his defence of the South, So that Mr. Oglethorpe had with him only 200 effective men.” Now “only the Scots” would be near at hand. (*Egmont Journal*, p. 152) Worse, as Oglethorpe noted, not only had he “lost ye Assistance of 50 Men able to bear Arms” in the Southern Province, but the change in plans “shall be at a monstrous Expense for carrying up ye Stores to them.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 104) In other words, their provisions had gone to Frederica... a fact not lost on von Reck. Of tools, he wrote to Oglethorpe the following month—“we have none.” Cooking? “We can cook nothing, being in need of pots and dishes.”

I take the liberty of showing you by writing, the pitiful condition to which we have been reduced, without food, without tools, without houses, and without land, destitute of everything that is most necessary for this miserable life.

- *CRG XXI*, p. 129

“In a word, our condition is so miserable that time fails me very much to describe it.” Bolzius recorded the lack of necessities that plagued this third group. “Some people of the third transport either have no beds and covers at all or are very incompletely supplied,” he wrote in an April 30, 1736 *Diary* entry. “On the whole, this transport has been very bad off in many areas and some would have forfeited their health and lives if we had not come to their aid with care and succour from our poor box.” (*Urlsperger*, vol. 3, p. 120)

Oglethorpe wrote back to von Reck from Frederica: “The Stores, ye Shipping, ye Expences of the Province are now removed to ye Southerd Frontiers; therefore had your Saltzburger come down directly to me with the Ships, It would have been a great pleasure to me to have had them under my Eye that I might have supplyd them with the same care as usual.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 134)

“The third transport still has to pay for the mistakes that Mr. von Reck made,” Bolzius wrote bitterly. “Only ten families have received cattle; and the others have no hope of receiving cows or pigs or poultry as the first and second transports have received and as one gives to all colonists in Carolina; and this occurs only because they did not go to the new city.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 247)

“It is true that we had decided to go south,” Von Reck admitted in his reply to Oglethorpe, adding: “We are ready and we always have been ready to follow your commands if you wish us to go south.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 130) Von Reck, sick at the time of his March, 1736 writing, offered Oglethorpe a concession. “If God grants me back my health, I will go there if you wish, with 30 men, to take part in the affair, after the planting season.”

He further remarked that Mr. Vat “is not what he ought to be. His words are good... but his actions do not correspond to them.” Vat, the conductor of the second transport and custodian of the Ebenezer storehouse, continued his pattern of not playing well with others. Shortly after came the sequel, as an angry Vat wrote to Oglethorpe: “I heard by Mr. Von-Reck that he had... broke open the Storehouse... and taken all the Provisions he found therein.” (p. 135) Oglethorpe wrote dryly to Henry Newman that “Mr. Vat has retired from the care of the Stores at Ebenezer, having... complained of Mr Vonrecks having broke open the Store house & dissipated the Stores.” (p. 132)

“I apprehend much from the Youth of Mr. Von-Reck & ye Age of Mr. Vat,” Oglethorpe concluded. Bolzius remarked of von Reck: “We help him as best we can... since Mr. Vat is against him in everything.” (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 55) Or as Vat grumbled after a confrontation with the trio of von Reck, Bolzius and Gronau: “It is not in my Proper to be thus used by Schoolmasters and School Boys.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 137)

By the end of May, 1736, New Ebenezer was complete enough that the ministers relocated. But Vat didn’t care to move to New Ebenezer, despite the fact that he himself had been noisily haranguing for land change since his arrival. “He has a great aversion against our new place,” Bolzius wrote by June 23, 1736. (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p.163-4) In truth, Vat seems to have been done with an Ebenezer of any name, Old or New. “Thursday, the 8th of July [1736]. Mr. Vat has had everything that was in the store-house in Old Ebenezer, including his own things, brought here in the large boat; and he arrived here himself today. The good souls in the community are afraid that he wishes to cause harm, confusion, and discord through an unfair distribution of some things.” (p. 174) Instead, he was surrendering his authority. As Bolzius observed the next week: “Today Mr. Vat delivered the things from the store-house and is now ready, God willing, to leave us tomorrow.” Having arrived on the *Prince of Wales* in December of 1734, Vat took his leave of the Salzburger community on July 15, 1736.

As to von Reck, true to his word, he joined Oglethorpe in the Southern Frontier later in the spring. "Mr. von Reck is still in Altamaha with his brother and the people they took with them and is helping to build a fort there," Bolzius noted in a June 7, 1736 entry. (p. 152) But his promise of the 30 men had proved lofty; he went instead with two. Just one week after Bolzius' entry above he noted von Reck's unexpected return to Ebenezer. *June 14* - "This morning Mr. von Reck arrived here again unexpectedly.... He could not describe how dangerous and difficult the circumstances were in which he and the two people he had taken with him had been; and he has had his fill of such journeys and work." (p. 156)

Oglethorpe wrote that von Reck "took two men into pay whom he calls Soldiers & intended to raise more without any Orders from me, & takes it very ill that Mr Causton should refuse pay for them." (CRG XXI, p. 104-5)

Declaring his work to the south done, von Reck abandoned a granted lot in Frederica and chose instead to live in Ebenezer. "The reason he came back is probably because Mr. Oglethorpe did not wish to use him in the way he wished to be used, namely in the position of a commander." Bolzius further observed von Reck's change in character: "He is now very malcontent and dissatisfied with Mr. Oglethorpe." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 3, p. 156) But Bolzius wasn't pleased to have von Reck in New Ebenezer. Celebrating the news of Vat's departure, von Reck gleefully fired his gun into the air and blew on his bugle, behavior that confused and irritated Bolzius. As the latter noted in his July 16, 1736 entry, the bugle and commotion caused "much vexation" among the sick people. (p. 176) And von Reck's joy at Vat's departure seemed petty.

By July 30, 1736 Bolzius noted that von Reck's "conduct among us is very impudent, selfish, and offensive. Consequently, his credit has fallen in the community, as he himself has noticed." Brash, young and ostentatious, the young baron was the antithesis of what the humble Ebenezer settlement was intended to be. "He complains a great deal about the two of us because we cannot approve of his deeds or let him run over the people." (p. 180) A week later, things got out of hand.

Friday, the 6th of August [1736]. Yesterday toward evening, in anger, Mr. von Reck caused a great scandal in the community because of a trifling matter.... An Indian had brought some honey to our place. He then took the Indian into his hut. A woman of the congregation also wished to buy some of the honey, but Mr. von Reck soon sent her away very sternly. However, because she thought she had as much right as Mr. von Reck to buy some of the honey from the Indian, she turned to him and grasped the skin on the floor in which the honey was. Thereupon she was thrust out of the door by Mr. von Reck with force; and her other hand, which was already injured, was so jammed in the door that she screamed as loudly as she could. He drove her further and shoved her to the ground and struck her in the back with his fist on the public street. Her husband came running up; and, hearing what had happened from his wife's words, he told Mr. von Reck that he would suffer according to English law for treating his wife publicly that way on the king's highway. Mr. von Reck then called for his pistol and ran into his hut himself and fetched his sword to shut the man's mouth and chase him away. He did all this with so much shouting that I could hear it all the way from my hut. The husband saw his excessive anger and that he was entirely beside himself. Therefore, before Mr. von Reck could get to him with his sword, he and his wife took off hastily; but I shall report this matter to Mr. Oglethorpe because the wife, who has a suckling child, has received a new injury on her breast while the old one has not yet healed.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within *Urlspurger's Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 3, p. 185-6)

The Indian and his son “then came into the woman’s house and expressed his sympathy with gestures and indicated that if such a thing had happened among them, their king Tomochichi would have such a man bound.” In a bizarre conclusion to the altercation, von Reck went outside and began blowing his bugle again. “Instead of having later contemplated his scandal in quiet and regretted it, he, along with his servant, blew on a bugle, perhaps to signify that he had performed a heroic action and had triumphed over a woman.”

In the wake of the honey incident, von Reck had lost all credibility within the Ebenezer settlement. The following week he fell sick and announced to Bolzius that “he was entirely useless here, and therefore he would resolve to go completely out of the country and to spend his life somewhere in tranquility.” (p. 192) In what must have been an awkward visit to Savannah the next month, Bolzius encountered both Vat and von Reck as they were preparing to leave Georgia and all three stayed as guests within the parsonage house. “Mr. Vat was so friendly and helpful toward me... that I was amazed. He is going to London with... Captain Thomson.” The vessel was the *Two Brothers*, and the very same ship that would take Oglethorpe back to England, as he finished his brief 1736 stay in Georgia. “Mr. von Reck arrived here still sick,” Bolzius wrote on Monday, September 27. “He is resolved to go to Charlestown with his brother on Thursday and, having collected some strength, to go from there to London and Germany.... He will doubtlessly make a lot of calumnies about us and our congregation; but he will more and more reveal his nakedness and his false intentions to those who can distinguish between light and dark.” (p. 219)

As Bolzius returned to Ebenezer in September of 1736, it was with the knowledge that he and Gronau were now the undisputed figures of authority within the Salzburger community. The ministers would live out their lives within the huts and woods of Ebenezer. While New Ebenezer ultimately represented an improvement, it still wasn’t perfect. As Bolzius wrote candidly in May, 1736: “We no longer have the congregation so close together as in Old Ebenezer, rather each family lives on the house lot assigned to it, with few exceptions. The streets are still full of trees, and the squares that belong to the public are covered with such high grass that frequent visits are tiring for us.” (p. 148) The quality of the land, too, remained an issue. Some garden lots were fine, but others suffered from the same sandy soil that plagued the first town... and having already allowed the Salzburgers to move the town, Oglethorpe drew a line in the sandy soil on the idea of marking out any additional garden lots. In his characteristic stubbornness, he refused to acknowledge such a harsh reality as bad land, only bad farmers. Instead of creating flexible boundaries he insisted instead the composition of the garden lots be arranged within the precision of his straight lines. “It would not be proper if the gardens lay here and there and the trees remained in other places,” Bolzius paraphrased him as saying. As Bolzius remarked by the end of 1736, Oglethorpe “would not give us any hope that those Salzburgers who have received poor land for their gardens might expect any better in its place, rather he said that all land is good and that the people just do not understand it.” (p. 245) Meanwhile, poor Thomas Pichler’s house lot lay in a ditch. “Pichler [*Prince of Wales* #29] and his wife came to me and complained of the location of their house,” Bolzius wrote on August 18, 1736. “To the right side and into the city runs a deep and usually dry ditch, into which the back part of Pichler’s house-lot extends. The surveyor put the house lots of several people in this ditch.” (p. 197)

Homes in holes aside.... “The industry of this people is quite surprising,” Wesley wrote upon visiting in August, 1737.

Their sixty huts are neatly and regularly built, and all the little spots of ground between them improved to the best advantage. One side of town is a field of Indian corn; on the other are the plantations of several private persons—all which together one would scarce think it possible for a handful of people to have done in one year.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 375

By 1739 New Ebenezer, and indeed, the Salzburgers’ move to Georgia, seemed a wise choice. “Now that we have become accustomed to this land, the Salzburgers like it better than their former homeland,” Bolzius wrote by 1739. “They can work all winter in their fields, and it is particularly convenient that they can use the river to transport their things... whereas in other countries as for example in Pennsylvania, everything has to be transported by horse and cart from one place to the other. Also, the river is navigable in both summer and winter.” - (*Ullsperger*, vol. 6, p. 15) “True, it is hotter here than in our former country,” he observed later, “but not as hot as we had been warned on our arrival; and now that we are accustomed to this land, it is entirely bearable.” (p. 43) The settlement would flourish under Bolzius and Gronau; in many ways they *were* the Ebenezer settlement. Though Gronau would pass in 1745, Bolzius would preside over the community for another two decades, passing at last on November 19, 1765, just shy of his 62 birthday. Together they had contributed a combined 43 years to the welfare of the Ebenezer settlement... and in the process created the Georgia colony’s most successful foreign Protestant community.

England’s Newest Poor... the Georgia Board of Trustees

And *still*, the Great Embarkation wasn’t over....

The *Two Brothers* was commissioned to carry further supplies and passengers. Harman Verelst explained to Oglethorpe the agreement they had made with Captain Thompson:

He is Instructed to make the Island of Tybee, and send to Savannah Notice of his Anchorage off that Island, and there to wait four days without Demorage to deliver his Lading in such a manner as you shall direct.

- Harman Verelst, c. November 28, 1735 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 100)

These instructions were complicated by the fact that the *Two Brothers*, unhindered by the bad luck which plagued the *Simmond & London Merchant*, would overtake those two to reach Georgia before them. “The two Brothers arrived about three Days before we did & now lyes 2 Miles from Savannah,” *Simmond* passenger John Brownfield wrote to the Trustees on February 11. As he noted, looking around: “Within a small distance... we have here a formidable Fleet.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 112) Arriving off the Georgia coast on February 2, 1736, following a nine-week voyage, three of the four days demurage was wasted just waiting for Oglethorpe to arrive.

On the 2d December, 1735 Capt. Thompson of the *Two Brothers* Sailed for Georgia wth. 11 Males & 4 females, in all 15, of whom 13 went at the Trustees charge.

A reconstruction of the Two Brothers [2] muster

arrived off Tybee February 2, 1736

William Thompson, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers and CRG XXIX*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(w) - wife, (s) - son, (d) - daughter, (n) - niece or nephew, (ser) - servant

Charity colonists:

settled at Frederica

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Jacob Faulcon | 5. Frances Stabler (w. of David *1) |
| 2. Jeremiah (s) | 6. Susannah (d) |
| 3. Sarah Levally (w. of John *1) | 7. Michael Wilson |
| 4. John (s) | 8. Alkey Wilson (w) |

settled at Savannah

- | | |
|---|---|
| 9. John Barnard (n. of Will. Bradley *2) | 12. Sarah Penhelt (ser. to Th. Christie *4) |
| 10. Benjamin Brownjohn (brother to Wm.*3) | 13. Leonard Whiting (ser. to W. Brownjohn *3) |
| 11. John Hughs (n. of Will. Bradley *2) | |

returning to Georgia

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| 14. John West *5 | 15. Elizabeth West (w) *5 |
|------------------|---------------------------|

Additional Two Brothers passengers arriving on the account of William Horton and settling at Frederica:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 16. John Breara (ser. to Horton*6) | 17. Richard Jochain (ser. to Horton*6) |
|------------------------------------|--|

*1 - John Levally, Jr. and David Stabler sailed on the *London Merchant* (2)

*2 - William Bradley, intended for the *London Merchant* (2), eventually sailed on the *Samuel*

*3 - William Brownjohn arrived on the *Georgia Pink*, August 29, 1733

*4 - Thomas Christie arrived on the *Anne*

*5 - Returning Georgia colonists John West and Elizabeth West (formerly Hughes) had originally come on the *Anne*

*6 - William Horton sailed on the *Simmond*

This second voyage of the *Two Brothers* to Georgia was essentially the fourth vessel of the Great Embarkation, as it carried many who, for whatever reason, had been unable to join the *London Merchant*.

John Hughs (#5) took up passage on the *Two Brothers* after he found himself left behind by the *London Merchant* at Gravesend, the third member of the Bradley family left behind by the ship. Frances Stabler (#9), in her final trimester as her husband boarded the *London Merchant* in

October, delivered daughter Susannah (#10) in November, and by December both were well enough to travel. Similarly, the Levally family (#6, 7) had been split due to health concerns. The Trustees' Accountant Harman Verelst addressed both families in his inventory note to Oglethorpe:

The Passengers on board him [Capt. Thompson] on the Trust Accot. are as follow[s]:

Frances the Wife of David Stabler lately lain in and her Daughter with her.

Sarah the Wife of John Levally Junr. and John his Son who were left behind at Gravesend because of the Small Pox which the Son had who is now perfectly well.

- Harman Verelst, c. November 28, 1735 (CRG XXIX, p. 100-1)

Also aboard, though not recorded in Percival's tally number, were the returning *Anne* colonists John and Elizabeth West, who had come to England *via* the *Two Brothers* in July of 1735 and now returned by the same ship. As early as March 10, 1735, while Peter Gordon still sat in Charlestown, West had written to him of his intention to make a return trip to England. "I beg of you if you Doo goo [do go] for England that you would be soo good as to intreete ye Trosttess in my behalf to give me Leborthey for Coming for England nex Spreng or as Soon as opoteunaty shall pormett me after that time, for I wood nott Doo aney theng that should be Contrary to thayor will." West had unfinished business to attend to, and was interested in attaining "Sume of my Contorey men," Bristol men, for servants. (CRG XX, p. 138) In fact, West spoke so highly of Bristol men that his praise seemed to have interested Oglethorpe. "One of my reasons is that I want too Com for England for is to gett me sum Sarvents of my own Contorey. I want also to settell maney afayors with my realeasions in bristoll." (p. 255) He sailed for England, evidently, on July 8, 1735, as Elisha Dobree remarked in a July 9 correspondence that "Yesterday Sailed hence Cap. Thompson & with him Mr West & his Wife." (p. 444) In a November 26, 1735 letter, Harman Verelst wrote to Ogelthorpe that West "is now at Bristol getting Servants for himself." (CRG XXIX, p. 97) He did return with servants, they just weren't on the *Two Brothers*. As Verelst was finishing his November 26 letter he noted: "Mr. West and his Wife are come to Town to take their Passage on board the Two Brothers for Georgia since I begun my Letter, & his Servants are to follow him from Bristol." (p. 104)

The *Allen* was one of the three ships that had arrived on January 10; it pulled into port "with servants from Bristol," and carried not only West's servants, but others he had recruited on behalf of Oglethorpe. As Velelest wrote to Oglethorpe in that same November 26, 1735 letter, West "has Directions for the fourteen you agreed to Pay £ 6.5.0 each for in Georgia." Percival noted the embarkation of the Bristol servants, but evidently confused the time periods, as his undated annotation was dropped into his *Journal* within the August entries, three months earlier. "About the same month Capt. Dicker of the Allen, carry'd 12 persons from Bristol." (*Egmont Journal*, p. 101) It's unlikely that Dicker made so quick a turnaround with so similar a number of servants, so Percival was almost certainly in error in the placement of his annotation.

But with his responsibility fulfilled and buoyed by a new gentleman's grant and his new servants, West may have felt himself wealthier than he was on the return voyage aboard the *Two Brothers*, as he extended himself too far. Finding himself unable to pay to Thompson the 45 £ for passage and other expenses accrued, West, newly endowed by the Trustees with a 500 acre

lot, offered his old 50 acre lot to Captain Thompson as swap trade (which the Trustees just as quickly disallowed when they learned of it).

But the Trustees, too, had overextended themselves. The massive costs of the Great Embarkation were crippling. Even as early as 1734, the Trustees had flirted with the reality of defaulting their payments. “Our cash is now reduced very low,” he confided to his *Diary* in a June 19, 1734 entry.

We shall be aground unless the Parliament give us more money, for we have (as appears by a letter of Mr. Oglethorp’s, wrote about January last) 437 mouths to feed.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 111

In March, 1735 Parliament approved a significant remuneration, thanks in part to the participation of the Prince of Wales. Percival was delighted. “Parliament had given us last year ten thousand pounds, and we had received six thousand more by gatherings in churches and private gifts,” as he explained. Frederick Louis (1707-1751), eldest son of George II, “said he was a well wisher... to our particular Colony, and had sent some of his servants this day to the House to serve us.” (p. 160) With the lobbying of the Crown’s agents, Parliament was able to secure 26,000 pounds for the Board of Trustees. After the award, Percival was congratulated by the Prince.

Tuesday, 25 March, [1735] - This morning I visited Lord Grantham, son Hammer, brother Percival, and then went to Court, where the Prince congratulated me on the 26,000l. given for the support of Georgia. “I know it must please you,” said he, “because you are always desirous of doing good.” I replied that men come into the world for that purpose, to which he answered, “So they do.”

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 165

It was this endowment which made the Great Embarkation possible. In gratitude, the Trustees named the new settlement made possible by the gift, Frederica, in honor of the Prince’s efforts. But with the Great Embarkation established over the next year, the Trustees had essentially leveraged all of their capital. “Resolv’d to Send no more persons on the charity till the Trustees are enabled by a new Supply [of funds] from Parliament,” Percival noted in December of 1735. (*Egmont Journal*, p. 121) But between the establishment, the expenses already accrued and bills yet to come in, the cost was estimated to be more than they were likely to receive from Parliament in the 1736 budget. Though the Trustees estimated their costs reaching 20,000 £, Percival confided to his *Diary* the evening before their petition was to be brought before Parliament, “we fear they will give us but 10,000l, which will greatly straighten us.” (*Diary*, vol 2, p.239) His prediction proved true when Lord Baltimore presented the petition to the House of Commons on February 27, 1736. With the petition granted a month later “with some noes to it,” as Percival noted (p.250), the Trustees were faced with the disturbing situation of not being able to support the Frederica settlement. “We all agreed that ‘tis impossible to proceed on the new settlement at Allatahama,” Percival wrote after a meeting with some of the Trustees on March 29, 1736. They immediately ordered a letter drawn up instructing Oglethorpe “to quit his design of a new settlement, but to settle the new people either on the Ogechee River or at Savannah.” (p. 251)

Benjamin Martyn broke the news to Oglethorpe in a letter dated April 1:

As the Money now Granted is so small a Sum... the Trustees... are of Opinion that the New Settlement, which was designed to be upon the Alatomaha cannot be thought of without a further Supply from Parliament, of which there is not only no assurance, but a Certainty of an Opposition; and consequently, that all those Expences and Charges that are relative to the new Settlement must for the present be laid aside.

- Benjamin Martyn, April 1, 1736 (CRG XXIX, p. 125)

In short, having already sent the emigration, three months later they tried to undo it... the Trustees sought to put the toothpaste back into the tube.

But it was already too late. For not the first time, the Trustees had penned a letter that was already irrelevant, and by the time it reached Oglethorpe weeks later was little more than a footnote in the noise of saws. Not that this deterred the Trustees. Even as late as June, 1736, Benjamin Martyn, their ever-faithful mouthpiece, continued their pleas. "And here Sr. the Trustees have order'd me... to repeat their Desire, that you will remove the People from the Settlement of St. Simons, and settle them at or near the Savannah."

The Trustees Sir do consider, that your having settled the People at St. Simons has already been attended with a pretty great Expence; But they rather chuse to drop that Design, than prosecute it at an Expence that cannot be ascertain'd...

- Benjamin Martyn, June 10 & 17, 1736 (CRG XXIX, p. 138-9)

But the Trustees were pragmatic by this point, offering him a more practical option before the close of the letter: "If therefore upon this Account You shall judge it necessary to continue the Settlement at Frederica, the Trustees desire that, to avoid any further Expence, it may not be increased by the addition of any more People than what are already settled there." (p. 139-40)

"The greatest frugality in the world will be absolutely necessary," Percival noted of the Georgia expenses. (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 252) Martyn explained to Oglethorpe not to expect any more "Men from Switzerland and Germany," in short, no more servants.

As there are already more People than the Trustees know well how to support, they cannot think of sending any more on the Charity without further Supplies from Parliament.

- Benjamin Martyn, April 1, 1736 (CRG XXIX, p. 125)

And indeed, with the exception of only a handful of Charity colonists on the *Two Brothers* by the summer, no one was else was sent on the Trust. The Trustees remained financially strapped for the entirety of 1736.

Friday, 10 [September, 1736]...

Captain Dunbar attended to make us an offer of 150 Swiss, which he goes to Holland to carry to Carolina, but if we thought it for our service he believed they might be prevailed on to go to Georgia. We thanked him, but acquainted him we were too low in cash to attempt sending over any more persons at present.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 299

Sustaining even the existing population was a concern. Percival's ire at Oglethorpe's incessant drawing on the Trustees when he had cash in hand become more and more pronounced in the pages of his 1736 *Diary*:

May 5 -

We also had a bill of 100*l.* sent us, drawn by Mr. Oglethorp, which we were sorry to see, because our stock is low, and he has 5,000*l.* in bills and money with him, and if he draws on us notwithstanding, we shall quickly be run aground, he not knowing how low we are in purse.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 268

May 19 -

... we took into consideration two bills drawn on us by Causton, our bailiff, for 400*l.*.... There were also bills to the value of 700*l.* drawn by Mr. Oglethorp, which, the time of payment not being due, we postponed the consideration of them. We were in hopes that as Mr. Oglethorp carried with him 1,000*l.* in money and 4,000*l.* in bills, he would not have drawn on us, but if he continues to do so we shall soon be out of cash and our credit destroyed.

- p. 274-5

June 2 -

We were all extremely displeased that Mr. Oglethorp having carried over that sum, should not employ it there, but draw upon us. And we ordered an advertisement to be put into the newspaper here and the newspaper of Carolina that having bills at Georgia to answer expenses, we should not pay any other bills drawn upon us here. This is highly necessary, for else we shall be drawn upon without end, neither Mr. Oglethorp nor the magistrates of Georgia being able to know the state of our cash.

- p. 278-9

July 21 -

We reflected on the ill situation of our affairs, great drafts and little money to answer them.

- p. 291

August 18 -

We were frightened with the account writ us of bills drawn on us by Mr. Oglethorp, now lately to the value of near 2,700*l.*, a great part of which is for provision. We were surprised at this, seeing he carried with him so many thousand pounds in bills.

- p. 295

Not even the expense of sending dogs to Georgia—"Charity dogs," if you will—escaped the Trustees' scrutiny in 1736:

September 8 -

A bill being drawn on us for the expenses of a couple of dogs sent by Mr. Jeffrys of Bristol to Mr. Oglethorp, which with eight shillings and fourpence for postage of letters, came to 13*l.*, we ordered Mr. Verelst to write back to Mr. Jeffrys that we cannot pay it till we know if those dogs are gone on the Trust account, or on Mr. Oglethorp's private account.

- p. 297

One of the casualties of the Trustees cash shortage was Samuel Eveleigh's pocketbook:

August 4 -

... we unanimously agreed not to pay Mr. Oglethorp's bill on us drawn the 11th May, 1736, for 500*l.*, payable to Mr. Eveleigh's order, being for arms and duffils bought by Mr. Oglethorp's order at Charlestown to prevent the Spaniards buying them.

- p. 293

Cash poor as they were, the Trustees found further justification for denying Eveleigh's bill by cloaking themselves in a literal interpretation of Parliament's funding. "The reason... for not accepting the bill is that the disbursement was for services without the bounds of our Colony as apprehended, and we could not answer such a misapplication of moneys given by Parliament for the service of the Colony only." (p. 293)

By January, 1737, the Trustees' accountant Harman Verelst gave the sobering news that they were down to their final 928 £. Hoping for 30,000£ in their 1737 petition, they were instead forced to pare it down to 20,000 £, and instead of the "some noes" noted by Percival the year before, on March 16, 1737 "there were many noes" (p. 370) heard in the House of Commons to their petition. But after putting off so many expenditures in the previous year, by now even 20,000 wasn't enough. As Percival noted of a man named Simpson who appeared before the Board in May, 1737: "We told him we sent none this year on the poor account." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 409) The flood of Charity Colonists sent by the Trustees that had characterized the years 1732 to 1736 now came to a standstill as they struggled to feed the mouths already in Georgia, and more importantly, as Georgia proved unable to feed itself.

By 1738 the House of Commons voted 8,000 £. As Percival noted, "one of our Common Councillors, seconded it, and nobody opposed it, only there were a good many noes, which I observe annually increases." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 269)

"Snatched as a Brand Out of the Fire"

On November 23, 1736, Mary Musgrove's last surviving son Edward, apparently known as "Ned," died. "In the evening... I buried Mrs. Musgrove's only son," John Wesley observed. (*John Wesley Journal*, vol. 1, p. 298) She "would probably have been quite lost in grief," he wrote, "but that God diverted her from it by the pain of a violent rheumatism." Mary Musgrove had four sons by John Musgrove and had seen all four buried. John himself, had been taken suddenly in the summer of 1735.

Poor Johnny is Dead of a Fever; As he was a Constable we buried him in a Millitary manner.
- Thomas Causton, July 7, 1735 (*CRG XX*, p. 439)

"Mr Musgrove is very Ill & Like to Die," Elisha Dobree wrote to the Trustees on January 27, 1735... before adding Musgrove's trade to his ever-growing wish list of job requests. "I should gladly Accept of Some of his Trade were yor Honnr pleased to grant me Lycence for the Same." (*CRG XX*, p. 200) John Musgrove died on June 12, 1735. Remarking that "This is a great loss to this colony," Bolzius noted in his June 18, 1735 *Diary* entry that "Musgrove, the interpreter who went to London with the Indians the last time, died during the last few days." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 2, p. 102) Mary Musgrove married a second time in 1737. John Martin Bolzius recorded her misadventure, remarking of Wesley that "the preacher there [in Savannah] is so scrupulous in incidental matters:"

Saturday, the 12th of March [1737].

... Mrs. Musgrove and her betrothed... came to be married here; but we could not accede to this request since our spiritual powers do not extend to the English population.... She finally seemed to get over her irritation, in particular as I promised her to take the matter up with Mr. Causton next Monday.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 33)

William Stephens, who had never known John Musgrove but did know husbands number two and three, summed up her second husband in the following terms:

A few Years since, after her late Husband Musgrave's Death, she thought fit to marry this Man, a hail, lusty, young Fellow, an Englishman, and her Servant: Such a Promotion from Obeying to Commanding, had the usual Effect, which seldom fails; and he soon grew vain, dressing gaily (which ill became him) and began to behave insolently.

- William Stephens *Journal*, February 22, 1740 (CRG IV, p. 518)

Jacob Matthews "insolent" behavior reached new highs (or lows) under the influence of alcohol. Mary's second husband was apparently as big a drinker as the first one. Stephens recorded one event in early 1740 during which a drunk Matthews came to fisticuffs over a pair of oxen he abruptly and arbitrarily decided was his. Why Matthews had determined the oxen were his seemed to puzzle Stephens... who had probably not been drunk in some time.

[February 14, 1740]

Jacob Matthews... got very drunk, and... picked a Quarrel with one of the Trust's Servants, who was attending a Waggon drawn by Oxen, for the publick Work; asking him how he dared to drive his Oxen? and, without farther Words, knocked him down with his Fist; when Mr. [Thomas] Jones, being near, interposed, and asked him what he meant, by thus abusing a Servant of the Trust, who he was bound to protect? telling him, he must expect to answer it in another Place: Whereat Matthews, cursing and swearing, told him he would beat him too; and immediately coming at him, in Spite of two or three with-holding him, gave him a Blow in the Face, and a Kick in the Belly: After which he was huddled away by some of his Friends, put into his Boat, and so sent off to his Dwelling up the River.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 512)

John Martin Bolzius wrote in 1739 a vague reference that in 1735 would apply only to Joseph Watson, but in 1739 could only apply to Matthews: "The people who dwell and trade with them [the Indians] live sinfully and without God and even encourage the Indians in all vices." (*GHQ*, vol. 47, p. 218)

On March 14, 1737, two days after he had declined Mary Musgrove's request to marry, Bolzius noted that she learned that three other Savannah couple had just been married in Purrysburg. She and Matthews made a bee line for Purrysburg.

Monday, the 14th of March [1737]... the aforementioned Mrs. Musgrove and I embarked on our journey by boat to Savannah; but, when she learned in Purrysburg that three other couples from Savannah had been married by the French preacher in Purrysburg and since she felt that this privilege was due also to her, she stayed in Purrysburg.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 34)

The French minister in Purrysburg was Henri Francois Chiffelle. Arriving in Purrysburg's Great Embarkation of 1734, he filled the vacancy that had been left the year before by its first minister, Bignon. The November 16, 1734 *South Carolina Gazette* heralded his arrival: "Coll. Purry is lately arrived from England at Purrysburg in the Ship *Simmon* Capt. *Cornish*, with 260 Switsers Protestants and their Minister Mr. *Chieffelle*." He was a man whom even Bolzius regarded with disdain. January 31, 1737: "Many complain of the preacher at that place, who is quite careless in the exercise of his functions and too much interested in the things of this world." (*Urlspurger*, vol. 4, p. 13) February 21, 1737: "The preacher there is most negligent with respect both to his sermons and the performance of his other duties and causes much vexation to everybody by his conduct." (p. 26) Whatever his personal character, he fit the bill for any young couple impatient to be wed.

John Wesley would not have married Mary Musgrove in the spring of 1737... nor would he have married the three couples who had gone two days before to Purrysburg. As Musgrove and Mathews headed upriver on March 14, Bolzius boarded a boat and headed down river to Savannah, where he found Wesley agitated with the weekend's weddings.

Mr. Wesley was much amazed at the stand taken by the preacher in Purysburg and addressed a letter to him in which he expressed his surprise and suggested that he would do better to abstain from such functions which are not part of his duties. He also intends to write to the bishop in London in this respect.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within *Urlspurger's Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 35)

"In particular, it is most improper and irresponsible that said preacher should have performed the ceremony in French whereas none of the couples understands the French language."

But Wesley's issues with the weekend ceremonies went far deeper than the language spoken. Born on June 17, 1703, he was one of 19 children of Samuel and Susanna. Either the 13th, 14th or 15th child (sources vary), he was, nonetheless, the second of the couple's three sons to reach maturity, and two of those three boarded the *Simmond* in 1735. John Wesley arrived off the coast of Georgia in February of 1736, already labeled a strict "Methodist" by Percival.

Mr. John Wesley A.M. was and is Still fellow of St. Johns Coll. In Oxford. He and his brother Charles likewise in orders are of the New Sect call'd Methodists, Strict adherers to the Church of England, but Enthusiasts, with Some mixture of Quakerism, and fancy themselves led by the Spirit in every Step they take.

- *Egmont Journal*, p. 107

The two Wesley brothers had appeared before the Trustees on September 17, 1735. "Mr. Burton informed us that two gentlemen, one a clergyman, bred at the University, and who have some substance, have resolved to go to Georgia out of a pious design to convert the Indians," Percival wrote in his *Diary*. (vol. 2, p. 194)

The next month found Wesley boarding the *Simmond* with much enthusiasm.

1735. October 14, *Tues.* - About nine in the morning, Mr. Benjamin Ingham [#71], of Queen's College, Oxford; Mr. Charles Delemotte [#62], son of a sugar merchant, in London, aged twenty-

one who had offered himself some days before, and showed an earnest desire to bear us company; my brother Charles Wesley, and myself, took boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 106-9

He scribbled "Saw Land" in his February 4 Diary notes, and wrote in that day's *Journal*: "About noon the trees of Georgia were visible from the mast, and in the afternoon from the main deck." (p. 145) As he first made contact with the Georgia coast, he had high hopes of becoming a missionary to the Indians, but every move he made would suck him into a more permanent role in Savannah. While the *Simmond* was anchored off Tybee, his first visit to Savannah came on February 19. "We waited upon Mr. Causton, the Chief Magistrate of Savannah," he wrote in his *Journal*. What they discussed in their first meeting is lost to history, though Wesley noted briefly of the exchange in his diary: "good time." (p. 166) He essentially remained on board the *Simmond* until February 25, traveling to and fro in the meantime. "At our return the next day (Mr. Quincy being then in the house wherein we afterwards were), Mr. Delamotte and I took up our lodging with the Germans," he wrote on February 25. (p. 169) The Germans in question were the Moravians, many of whom he had spent time with on the voyage, and who had just been escorted into town by Spangenberg.

"We had now an opportunity, day by day, of observing their whole behaviour," he wrote excitedly. "For we were in one room with them from morning to night, unless for the little time I spent in walking. They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humour with one another." (p. 169)

On March 7 he gave his first service: "*Sun. 7.* - I entered upon my ministry at Savannah by preaching on the Epistle for the day, being the 13th of the First of Corinthians." (p. 176) He found good relations with the outgoing Samuel Quincy, but the overlap between the two was brief. The following week, as Quincy moved out, John Wesley was able to move into the parsonage. It was a large property, and not so much a private home as a guest house. Wesley's notes within his Diary indicate that at least at one point there were no fewer than "eight persons" staying there. (p. 214) If this was the case, it should come as no surprise that even after moving into the parsonage he still spent most nights in the spring of 1736 with the Moravians instead. "*Mon. 15.* - Mr. Quincy going for Carolina, I removed into the minister's house. It is large enough for a larger family than ours, and has a good many conveniences, besides a good garden." But as he noted in the following line: "How short a time will it be before its present possessor is removed, perhaps never to be seen again!" (p. 183)

He had intended his pastorate in Savannah to be brief. Both Wesley and Benjamin Ingham (1712-1772, *Simmond* # 72) had come to Georgia with the hope that they might spread the gospel to the natives of the interior. In fact, before that first meeting with Causton in February, Wesley had bypassed Savannah, heading first for New Yamacraw. Having already met Tomochichi shipboard on February 14, five days later he tried to return the courtesy of a visit. "*Thur. 19* [February]. - My brother and I took boat, and, passing by Savannah, went to pay our first visit in America to the poor Heathens." But, as he noted with disappointment, "neither Tomo-chachi nor Sinauky was at home." (p. 166) One week later he "went to Savannah again, whence Mr. Spangenberg, Bishop Nitschmann, and Andrew Dober went up with us to Mrs. Musgrove's, to choose a spot for the little house which Mr. Oglethorpe had promised to build

us.” (p. 168) Indeed, the ancient site of Irene would serve as the stage for Benjamin Ingham’s school, but John Wesley would not play an active part.

John Wesley’s design to become a missionary to native Nations was not to be; derailed unbeknownst to him, before he had even left English waters. On December 10, 1735—ironically, the same day the *Simmond* finally got underway—the Trustees had redesigned Wesley’s purpose without his consent.

10 Decbr. [1735]...

A Memorial drawn up to be presented the Incorporate Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, desiring they would confer their salary of 50 £ which Mr. Quincy enjoy’d upon Mr. John Wesley who is on his voyage to Georgia, and whom we would appoint Minister at Savannah.

- *Egmont Journal*, p. 120

Wesley Hall, the intended minister—pupil of and brother-in-law to John Wesley—had chosen not to board the *Simmond*. Newly married, he chose not to leave behind the life he knew, including his wife Martha, sister to John and Charles. With the abrupt withdrawal of Hall, the Trustees saddled Wesley with the responsibility he had not asked for and did not want... serving as minister to the Savannah settlement. The realization was slow to dawn on him, as his frequent attempts in 1736 to resume his original design attest.

“I hoped a door was opened for going immediately to the Choctaws, the least polished, that is, the least corrupted, of all the Indian nations,” Wesley wrote on June 30, 1736. “But upon my informing Mr. Oglethorpe of our design, he objected, not only the danger of being intercepted, or killed by the French there; but much more, the inexpediency of leaving Savannah destitute of a minister.” (John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 238)

As late as November, 1736, as Oglethorpe took the opportunity to sail back for England, Wesley was informed that he did not possess a similar freedom. “Mr. Oglethorpe sailed for England, leaving... me at Savannah, but with less prospect of preaching to the Indians than we had the first day we set foot in America,” he despaired in his November 23 *Journal* entry.

Whenever I mentioned it, it was immediately replied, ‘You cannot leave Savannah without a minister.’ To this indeed my plain answer was, ‘I know not that I am under any obligation to the contrary. I never promised to stay here one month.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 298

He continued: “I openly declared both before, at, and ever since my coming hither that I neither would nor could take charge of the English any longer than till I could go among the Indians.”

If it was said, ‘But did not the Trustees of Georgia appoint you to be the minister of Savannah?’ I replied, ‘They did; but it was not done by my solicitation: it was done without either my desire or knowledge. Therefore I cannot conceive that appointment to lay me under any obligation of continuing there any longer than till a door is open to the heathen.

He concluded: “But though I had no other obligation not to leave Savannah now, yet that of love I could not break through; I could not resist the importunate request of the more serious parishioners ‘to watch over their souls yet a little longer till some one came who might supply

my place.” In short, with his dream of a native mission deferred indefinitely, he was prepared to invest himself into improving Savannah’s ministry.

“Not finding, as yet, any door open for the pursuing our main design, we considered in what manner we might be most useful to the little flock as Savannah,” he wrote. (p. 197) By May, “I began visiting my parishioners in order, from house to house.” (p. 213-4) As with all projects, Wesley threw himself completely into the task and quickly set about organizing a church regimen. On May 9, “I began dividing the public prayers, according to the original appointment of the Church...”

The morning service began at five; the Communion Office (with the sermon), at eleven; the evening service about three; and this day I began reading prayers in the court-house—a large and convenient place.

- p. 212-3

That morning saw 33 attendees to the early service, 90 at eleven and 120 at the afternoon, which certainly may have been a record. If Quincy ever kept record it did not survive, and by all accounts Quincy’s services were rather lightly attended; but even as Wesley kept a sporadic record over the next year and a half, never again would a recorded tally reach so high. It is safe to assume that Wesley came into Savannah with good will. The following week he established a schedule; he and Ingham would alternate as pastors—as John went to Frederica to cover Charles Wesley’s absence, Ingham would cover Savannah. Spending the month of June in Frederica, John couldn’t help but reflect on the new community’s spiritual weakness during one of his sermons.

In the afternoon I summed up what I had seen or heard at Frederica inconsistent with Christianity, and, consequently, with the prosperity of the place. The event was as it ought: some of the hearers were profited, and the rest deeply offended.

- p. 233-4

He already knew most of the settlers, having spent four months confined on the *Simmond* with them, but plainly, this familiarity had already bred some contempt for him among some. In particular, Beata Hawkins (#12) and Anne Welch (#48) had proved more tempestuous than the storms during the voyage, and they weren’t necessarily done. Their mischief in sowing discord between Oglethorpe and Charles Wesley was what had brought John for his first visit to Frederica in April. And though he had tried to play peacemaker, hard feelings remained. Even those who tried to remain open to him did not remain so for long. John Wesley was a powerful speaker, but often spoke his mind too bluntly.

“Being with one who was very desirous to converse with me, but not upon religion,” his response to surgeon Thomas Hawkins (#11) was candid to a fault: “I will rather not converse with you at all. Of the two extremes, this is the best.” (p. 231) This not only effectively shut down any relationship with Hawkins, but may have played a role in the breakdown with wife Beata which followed three days later. He noted in his Diary: she “utterly renounced my friendship.” Interestingly, Wesley tried to mend the relationship with her by spending four hours writing a letter. But as Wesley *Journal* editor Nehemiah Curnock opined: “Its prodigious length probably helped to defeat its purpose.” (p. 232)

“Observing much coldness in Mr. Horton’s behaviour, I asked him the reason for it,” Wesley wrote on June 23. William Horton had arrived on the *Simmond*, paying his own passage. Described in the *LES* as “Ensign to Col. Oglethorp,” he had appeared before the Trustees in the same September 1735 meeting that had introduced the Wesley brothers. “He was under sheriff of Herefordshire, and is worth 3,000*l*,” Percival noted of Horton in his *Diary*. (vol. 2, p. 194) Several months later Percival would receive a letter from Horton complaining of Wesley. “He likewise represents John Wesley, our minister at Savannah, in a very bad light.” (p. 449)

He answered, ‘I like nothing you do. All of your sermons are satires upon particular persons, therefore I will never hear you more; and all the people are of my mind, for we won’t hear ourselves abused.

‘Besides, they are Protestants. But as for you, they cannot tell what religion you are of. They never heard of such religion before. They do not know what to make of it...’

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 234

“He was too warm for hearing an answer,” Wesley concluded. “So I had nothing to do but thank him for his openness, and walk away.”

Wesley’s style was distinct, and he had not yet learned discretion. Beata Hawkins’ every fault was evidently made known to the public, either by his sermons or consultation with others. And then there was his esoteric content.... Upon being introduced to Wesley’s sermons in 1737, William Stephens was impressed but not sure that Wesley wasn’t out of his element. “He shewed himself a good Casuist (as I thought) but such a metaphysical Discourse, would have been better adapted, in my Apprehension, to a learned Audience, than such a poor, thin Congregation of People, who rather stood in need of plain Doctrine.” (*CRG IV*, p. 31) According to Stephens, for the purpose intended he was a little *too good*, which begs the question how successful any ministry to the Indians could have been if he spoke over the heads of most Englishmen.

Charles Wesley, drawn into secretarial work for Oglethorpe—and then drawn into conflict with Oglethorpe by the machinations of the ladies Welch and Hawkins—was unenthusiastic in his work even before conflicts were stirred up, and chose to resign in July, 1736. Boarding a ship in Charlestown on August 11, he left his brother to contend with Georgia. John returned to Frederica for the month of August, and found his situation amongst its inhabitants had not improved. “I spent an hour with Mr. Horton, and laboured to convince him that I was not his enemy,” he wrote on August 21. “But it was labour in vain.” (p. 262) Even worse, the same day, Beata Hawkins tried to shoot him dead.

Sat. 21 [August, 1736]...

When I came in, she said, ‘Sir, sit down.’ I sat down on the bedside. She stood close to me, with her hands behind her, and said, ‘Sir, you have wronged me, and I will shoot you through the head this moment with a brace of balls.’ I caught hold of the hand with which she presented the pistol, and at the same time of her other hand, in which she had a pair of scissors. On which she threw herself upon me, and forced me down upon the bed, crying out all the while, ‘Villain, dog, let go my hands,’ and swearing bitterly, with many imprecations both on herself and me, that she would either have my hair or my heart’s blood.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 263

Servant Catherine Harling (*Simmond* #14) walked in on the struggle and Mrs. Hawkins ordered her to grab a knife. “The woman stood trembling, not knowing what to do,” and then “Mr. Hawkins came in, asked what that scoundrel did in his house.” (p. 264) It took four men to subdue Mrs. Hawkins and keep her from murdering Wesley. The minister John Wesley was not for everyone.

“What will become of This Poor People,” Wesley wrote to Trustee James Vernon a few weeks later, remarking of the Georgia colonists.

Neither durst I advise any Single person to take Charge of Frederica; or indeed, to Exercise his Ministry there at all, Unless he was an experienced Soldier of Jesus Christ, that could rejoice in Reproaches, Persecutions, [and] Distresses for Christs Sake.

- John Wesley, September 11, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 221)

“Savannah alone would give Constant Employment for five or Six [preachers] to Instruct,” he concluded.

Having noticed that his Savannah parishioners were more regular attendees to his services if he visited them during the week, “I had long since begun to visit them in order from house to house.” “He takes the duties of Christianity quite seriously and he diligently visits his parishioners,” Bolzius wrote in 1737, adding: “some of whom receive him well.” (*Ursperger*, vol. 4, p. 135) But there simply weren’t enough hours in the day for Wesley to cover the ground that was necessary. “Nor is even that enough to see them all (as I would do) daily. So that even in the town (not to mention Frederica and all the smaller settlements) there are above five hundred sheep that are (almost) without shepherd.” (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 273) Wesley was spread thin. He was essentially an itinerant preacher, and by September of 1736 he realized it. Seeking to give organization to a pastorate that was a diverse conglomerate of English, Spanish, French, German and Hebrew was beyond his means, not to mention the geographic hurdles. As he remarked to Vernon: “A Parish of above Two Hundred Miles in Length laughs at the Labour of One Man.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 220-1)

Wesley was accompanied during his Savannah ministry by young Charles Delamotte (*Simmond* #62), whose intention was to create a Sunday school in Savannah. He had come to Georgia against his father’s wishes, though as Wesley noted, the senior Delamotte came to Gravesend to see his son off. October 18, 1736: “We dined on shore with Mr. Delamotte’s father, who was come down on purpose to see him, and was now fully reconciled (which is of the power of God) to what he at first vigorously opposed.” (*John Wesley Journal*, vol. 1, p. 111) He and Wesley shared the parsonage house and were loyal partners and friends during Wesley’s time in Georgia. He was described by Percival as “the son of a sugar baker, and out of charity to the souls of men went over to Georgia, and without putting the Trustees to any charge undertook the care of instructing the children of the Colony in the principles of Christianity.” (*Percival Diary*, vol. 2, p. 513) But at the time of his writing—in 1738—Delamotte had retired from the colony, like Wesley, and had “now entered upon his father’s business.”

Just as Wesley was becoming disenchanted with his English ministry Sophy enters the picture in an enlarged role. Sophia Christiana Hopky barely exists in the *Colonial Records of Georgia*. In his March 12, 1733 letter to his wife, Thomas Causton wrote: “And think likewise, That as my

Heart is immoveably fixed on the well doing of Miss Sophia and my Dear Jacky.” (CRG XX, p. 18) This marked the first reference to her, while she was still in England. Niece to Martha Causton, she came to the colony on the *Susannah* in 1733 at the age of 15. Her entry in the *LES* is typically spare.

685. Hopkey, Sophia. - Niece to Martha Causton; embark'd 25 May 1733; arrived 23 Sept. 1733.

The surviving paper trail is silent regarding her over the next three years until she reappears in Wesley's literature. As he would later observe in a January 31, 1737 *Journal* entry: “March 13, 1736, [was] the day I first spoke to her.” (*Journal*, vol.1, p. 314) According to his Diary, it was at nine am that Saturday morning that he met her at the Causton house; she appears again in his Diary the following day as one of his 18 communicants to the Eucharist, but there was no suggestion of the spark that would later catch fire. She dots his shorthand Diary entries over the next several months as one of his most loyal parishioners, but his Diary entries are simple scribbled notes, and offer few specifics. She was a close friend to a young woman whom Wesley phonetically spells “Miss Fosset.” This was probably Elizabeth Fawsett, who had come on the *London Merchant* in January, 1734, and lost her father the following year. Fawsett married Willes Weston (*Simmond* #53) in 1736 and took up residence in Frederica. Another friend was Margaret Bovey (*James* [4], #31), who married James Burnside (*Savannah* #59) in 1737—in fact, they were one of the three couples to be married by Chiffelle in Purrysburg that March weekend. Beyond these two ladies, little information survives of Sophy's social life.

It was in Wesley's *Journal* in October of 1736 that she first assumes a form other than a faceless communicant. A glutton for punishment, Wesley had decided to give Frederica another try. Now 18 years of age, Sophy was sent to Frederica on July 23 or July 24, 1736, for reasons unclear, but which may have involved any number of causes, including an undesired suitor, soured relations within the Causton household and the fact that Elizabeth Fawsett was soon to marry in Frederica. During her stay in Frederica she and Fawsett resided with the family of Thomas Hird (*Simmond* #17).

From Savannah, Wesley wrote:

OCT. 12, *Tues.* - We considered if anything could yet be done for the poor people of Frederica; and I submitted to the judgement of my friends, which was that I should take another journey thither; Mr. Ingham undertaking to supply my place at Savannah for the time I should stay there.

About five in the evening, being to set out for Frederica the next day, I asked Mr. Causton what commands he had to Miss Sophy. Some of his words were as follows: ‘The girl will never be easy till she is married.’ I answered, ‘Sir, she is too much afflicted to have a thought of it.’ He replied, ‘I’ll trust a woman for that. There is no other way.’ I said, ‘But there are few here who you would think fit for her.’ He answered, ‘Let him be but an honest man—an honest, good man; I don’t care whether he has a groat. I can give them a maintenance.’ I asked, ‘Sir, what directions do you give me with regard to her?’ He said, ‘I give her up to you. Do what you will with her. Take her into your own hands. Promise her what you will. I will make it good.’

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 279-81

He reached Frederica on October 16 to find that prayer services there had been completely abandoned since his last visit in August. “The morning and evening prayers... had been long discontinued, and from that time everything grew worse and worse.” (p. 282) The settlement had fallen into religious apathy, which in his eyes had spread like a virus. “Even poor Miss Sophy was scarce a shadow of what she was when I left her.”

Harmless company had stole away all her strength. Most of her good resolutions were vanished away; and, to complete her destruction, she was resolved to return to England. I reasoned with her much, but with no success; she could not see that she was at all changed, and continued fixed in her resolution of leaving America with the first ship that sailed.

- p. 283

“I dropped the argument for the present, finding the veil was upon her heart.” Several days later he held a conference with Oglethorpe, which resulted in a decision to return her to Savannah.

Sun. 24. - I had a long conversation with Mr. Oglethorpe, in consequence of which I told her: ‘Miss Sophy, Mr. Oglethorpe thinks it best that you should return to Savannah, immediately.’ She fell into a great passion of tears, and said she could not bear the thought of it. I talked with her near an hour, told her Mr. Causton’s engagement to make good whatever I should promise her, so that she had only to make her own terms; and I left her a little more composed.

- p. 286-7

The following day, as he prepared to escort her back to Savannah, the first indications creep into his *Journal* of his conflicted feelings.

Mon. 25. - I asked Mr. Oglethorpe in what boat she should go. He said, ‘She can go in none but yours, and indeed, there is none so proper.’ I saw the danger to myself, but yet had a good hope I should be delivered out of it, (1) because it was not my choice which brought me into it; (2) because I still felt in myself the same desire and design to live a single life; and (3) because I was persuaded should my desire and design be changed, yet her resolution to live single would continue.

- p. 287

The journey from Frederica to Savannah was a lengthy one, six days of contrary wind and seas; it served to bring them closer together. “We set out about noon,” he wrote on Monday October 25. “In the evening we landed on an uninhabited island, made a fire, supped, went to prayers together, and then spread our sail over us on four stakes, to keep off the night dews.” Sharing the tent canvas lodging with the boat’s crew, “it was the first night she had ever spent in such a lodging. But she complained of nothing, appearing as satisfied as if she had been warm upon a bed of down.” (p. 289)

On Tuesday evening they came to the south end of St. Catherine’s Island, where “we were obliged to stay till Friday,” due to contrary winds, during which time “I had time to observe her behaviour more nearly. And the more I observed, the more I was amazed.”

Nothing was ever improper or ill-timed. All she said and did was equally tinged with seriousness and sweetness. She was often in pain, which she could not hide; but it never betrayed her into impatience. She gave herself up to God, owning that she suffered far less than she deserved.

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 290

The “Account of Miss Sophy,” also entitled, “Snatched as a Brand Out of the Fire,” was a handwritten document transcribed by Wesley on March 12, 1738, on the one-year anniversary of her marriage to Williamson. Interwoven within the patchwork accounts of his *Journal* as presented in Nehemiah Cornock’s complete 1909 publication, this document paints a more complete picture of his growing relationship with Sophy between 1736 and 1737. Wesley confided quietly within it: “Such was the woman, according to my closest observation, of whom I now began to be much afraid. My desire and design still was to live single; but how long it would continue I knew not.” (p. 294)

But there was a romantic complication in the guise of one Tom Mellichamp. As Wesley remarked in his *Journal*: “I heard Mr. M--p was on his journey to Savannah.” (p. 312) Thomas Mellichamp, the young rogue convicted in the counterfeiting scandal of 1735, long ago fled and apprehended in Carolina, had wasted no time in breaking out of his confinement in a Charlestown jail.

CHARLESTOWN, Sept. 27

Whereas *Thomas Mellichamp*, who stood committed to the Custody of the Provost Marshal charg’d with feloniously Counterfeiting and altering the Current Bills of Credit of this Province, hath lately with *John Young* and two other Prisoners, charged also with Felony, broke the Common Goal in *Charlestown* and is fled from Justice: This is to forwarn all Persons from Concealing and Harboursing the said *Mellichamp*. And any Officer of Justice, or other Person, who shall apprehend the said *Mellichamp*, and deliver him into the Custody of the Provost Marshal in *Charlestown*, shall receive as a reward for so doing from the Committee for restamping the Paper Bills of Credit the Sum of 50 *l.* Currency.

- *South Carolina Gazette*, September 27, 1735

Apprehended, Mellichamp was held in jail in Savannah; by November, 1736 William Gough even made reference to “the house where Tom Mellichamp lately had been a prissoner, his chains still remaining on the premises.” (CRG XXI, p. 254)

Though any details are long-lost to us today, there was a history between Thomas Mellichamp and Sophy; it may have been the reason she was sent away to Frederica; the two had evidently been engaged—though whether it was by her choice or his threats of violence is unclear. After attempting to leave St. Catherine’s Island on October 29, Wesley and Sophy found their boat forced back. “It was not without some difficulty that in the afternoon we landed on St. Katherine’s again.” That evening, Wesley broached the subject, attempting to glean her feelings toward the young convicted felon.

Observing in the night, the fire we lay by burning bright, that Miss Sophy was broad awake, I asked her, ‘Miss Sophy, how far are you engaged to Mr. Mellichamp?’ She answered, ‘I have promised him either to marry him or to marry no one at all.’ I said (which indeed was the expression of a sudden wish, not of any formal design), ‘Miss Sophy, I should think myself happy if I was to spend my life with you.’ She burst out into tears and said, ‘I am every way unhappy. I won’t have Tommy; for he is a bad man. And I can have none else.’

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 290

Her next line was disturbing. “She added, ‘Sir, you don’t know the danger you are in.’” As Wesley noted, Thomas Causton had “often promised Sophy, so she would not have Mellichamp, she should have whom she would beside.” (p. 335) In other words, any other man would have

met with his approval, echoing what he had told Wesley directly. But Thomas Mellichamp had apparently threatened to kill anyone else she ended up with. According to the *Wesley Journal*, even in the weeks after her marriage to William Williamson she “begged of him [Williamson]... not to go out alone,” and expressed the fear that “Mr. Mellichamp’s friends... might hurt Mr. Williamson.” (p. 338-9)

Still along their journey to Savannah, on October 30 the party landed on Bear Island. Wesley and Sophy “walked together for near two hours.”

Here again Miss Sophy expressed the strongest uneasiness, and an utter aversion to living at Mr. Causton’s, saying, with many tears, ‘I can’t live in that house: I can’t bear the shocks I meet with there.’ I said, ‘Don’t be uneasy, Miss Sophy, on that account. If you don’t care to be at Mr. Causton’s, you are welcome to a room in our house; or, which I think would be best of all, and your aunt once proposed it, you may live in the house with the Germans.’ She made little reply.

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 291

Wesley had lived with the Moravians for several weeks in March, but plainly, their lifestyle was not for everyone, and it is understandable that it might not have appealed to an 18 year-old girl. Wesley and Sophy finally arrived in Savannah the next day, and she returned to the Caustons. “About five Mr. Causton came to my house,” thanking Wesley and seeking his advice to maintain a peaceful household.

After talking again with her upon it, I desired, (1) that she should come to my house every morning and evening; (2) that at his house she should come into no company but by her own choice; (3) that she should be no more upbraided with Mellichamp, nor should he be mentioned before her.

Confined to simple mentions in his Diary before October, 1736, Sophy would now come to dominate his life over the next year. “Whenever we were conversing or reading, there was such a stillness in her whole behaviour,” he marveled, “scarce stirring hand or foot, that ‘she seemed to be, all but her attention, dead.’”

Yet at other times she was all life—active, diligent, indefatigable; always doing something, and doing with all her might whatever her hand found to do.

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 292

He remarked of Sophy’s simple style and undemanding demeanor with unabashed admiration: “Little of a gentlewoman in delicacy and niceness, she was still less so, if possible, in love of dress. Though always neat, she was always plain. And she was equally careless of finery in other things.”

Softness and tenderness of this kind she would not know, having left the delicacy of the gentlewoman in England. She utterly despised those inconveniences which women of condition in England would think worse than death. With bread to eat and water to drink she was content; indeed she never used any drink beside water. She was patient of labour, of cold, heat, wet, of badness of food or want; and of pain to an eminent degree, it never making an alteration in her speech or behaviour, so that her frequent headache was only to be discerned by her paleness and the dullness in her eyes.

- p. 292

He continued his praise of her: “As her humility was, so was her meekness. She seemed to have been born without anger. Her soul appeared to be wholly made up of mildness, gentleness, longsuffering.” Lapsing into the deep end of hyperbole, Wesley declared simply: “She was a friend to human kind.” (p. 293) Wesley was in love.

He was not necessarily alone. Years later Philip Thicknesse wrote “though I was then a boy, I was not insensible to the beauty and virtues of that young lady....”

Wesley had arrived a short time before I did. Dr. Hutton had given me a letter to him; and I was permitted to be one of his early congregation at morning prayers in the chapel of Savannah; and I almost constantly went thither with Miss Sophia. After prayers, she, and I believe some other females, went constantly home with Mr. Wesley to his lodgings, in order to be further instructed; and I well remember wondering why I was not asked also.

- Philip Thicknesse in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1792

“Surely, said I, my soul is of as much importance as theirs; and if I am to be excluded a part of the benefit, I will withdraw myself altogether,” he concluded, “and did so.” Even in 1736, as a 17 year-old adventurer, Thicknesse wrote back to his mother of Wesley: “I believe he has forgott me.” (*CRG XXI*, p. 256) William Stephens, too, noted the evening prayer circle, a group that seemed mostly comprised of young female admirers. “In the Evening some pious Women... resorted to his house for Exhortation, and their better Edification; among whom Miss Hopkins [Hopky] usually was one.” (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 34) In truth, Wesley was 33, single and charismatic, in many ways everything that his predecessor Quincy had not been. It would not be surprising that he had a particular following.

Fulfilling the agreement made with Causton on October 31, “accordingly she [Sophy] came to me (as had been agreed) every morning and evening.”

The time she was at my house was spent thus. Immediately after breakfast we all joined in Hickee's *Devotions*. She was then alone till eight. I taught her French between eight and nine, and at nine we joined in prayer again. She then read or wrote in French till ten. In the evening I read to her and some others select parts of Ephrem Syrus, and afterwards Dean Young's and Mr. Reeve's *Sermons*. We always concluded with a psalm.

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 294

Spending hours at a time with her twice a day, every day, not surprisingly, resulted in a closer bond. “This I began with a single eye,” he remarked of their daily regimen. “But it was not long before I found it a task too hard for me to preserve the same intention with which I began, in such intimacy of conversation as ours was.”

Partly as a distraction, and partly to complete unfinished business, he spent much of January, 1737 in Frederica for a fifth and final visit. “Most of those we met with were, as we expected, cold and heartless.” (p. 310) His *Journal* does not dwell on many specifics, and as he bade farewell there was a distinct relief in his parting words.

Wed. 26 [January, 1737]. - After having beaten the air in this unhappy place for twenty days, at noon I took my final leave of Frederica. It was not any apprehension of my own danger, though my life had been threatened many times, but an utter despair of doing good there, which made me content with the thought of seeing it no more.

“I was now in a great strait,” he wrote on February 3, after returning to her presence. “I still thought it best for me to live single... but I felt the foundations of it shaken more day. Inasmuch that I again hinted at a desire of marriage, though I made no direct proposal.” (p. 315) Clearly, the idea of marriage—at least in the abstract—did come up, in that he recorded her thoughts: “She said ‘she thought it was best for clergymen not to be encumbered with worldly cares, and that it was best for her, too, to live single, and she was accordingly resolved never to marry.’”

Increasingly conflicted, he went to the house of the Germans, to seek comfort. “I went to Mr. Tolschig, the pastor of the Moravians, and desired his advice, whether I had not best, while it was yet in my power, break off so dangerous an acquaintance.” Wesley recorded John Tolschig’s reply:

‘And what do you think would be the consequence if you should not break it off?’ I said, ‘I fear I should marry her.’ He replied short, ‘I don’t see why you should not.’

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 315

Ingham and Delamotte, however, did not agree. “They utterly disapproved of Mr. Tolschig’s judgement,” he wrote. They advised instead to “‘to go out of town for a few days.’ I clearly saw the wisdom of this advice, and accordingly went to Irene the next day, four miles from Savannah.” (p. 316)

Irene was the site of Ingham’s schoolhouse and mission for the natives. Several months before, Ingham had written to Sir John Philipps, 6th Baronet and mayor of Haverfordwest in Wales: “I trust there is A Door now Opening for the Conversion of the Indians. There is already A School almost built amongst them.” While John Wesley’s hope to go among the Indians had not been realized, Benjamin Ingham had been able to fulfill his intention in coming to Georgia, creating a doorway to the indigenous people. The school house had been built by the Moravians, “out of their Zeal,” and he noted, for “a low Price.” Once again, the thrift of the Moravian worker outshone the English.

The House is 60 Foot long & 15 Wide, it will be divided into 3 Rooms.... It Stands on A little Hill which we call Irene, by a Brook Side, about half a Quarter of A Mile above Tomo-chachees Town, where the River divides it Self into 3 Streams.

- Benjamin Ingham, September 15, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 221-2)

“This Hill has been made Some Hundred Years ago, for what Reason I can’t tell; Perhaps to perpetuate the Memory of Some Illustrious Hero or Famous Action,” he wrote. Irene Mound, as would later be discerned, was the site of a Middle and Late Mississippian period Indian occupation.

In digging the Celler, they found Abundance of Oister Shells, and Some Bones and Buck Horns. When I fixed upon this Place, the Indians ask’d me if I was not afraid to live upon A Hill, I Answer’d No. They said, the Indians were, because they believed that Fairies haunted Hills.

- p. 222

But Wesley found himself haunted by demons, not fairies, and found little rest there. “My heart sank in me like a stone,” he wrote on February 8. (*Journal*, vol. 1, p.317) “My heart was with Miss Sophy all the time.” Still, seeing what Ingham had accomplished reawakened the spark that had brought him to Georgia to begin with. He returned on February 12, two days later “I told her in my own garden, ‘I am resolved, Miss Sophy, if I marry at all, not to do it till I have been among the Indians.’” (p. 318)

She too, was taking a step back, not insensitive to the whispers that had begun to circulate in their social circles. ““People wonder what I can do so long at your house; I am resolved not to breakfast with you any more. And I won’t come to you any more alone,”” he quoted her as saying. (p. 319)

But if she was not prepared to continue her visits she made it clear that ““My uncle and aunt, as well as I, will be glad of your coming to our house as often as you please.’ I answered, ‘You know, Miss Sophy, I don’t love a crowd, and there is always one there.’” It is curious that the last line could be read in one of two ways; *i.e.* - “there is always one [a crowd] there,” or “there is always [that] one [person] there.” The Causton home, much as the parsonage, was large enough to serve as a guest house, and apparently always had boarders. In hindsight, one particular individual, Causton clerk William Williamson, a young and eligible bachelor, was a lodger in the Causton home, and had already begun a daily socialization with her, though whether or not Wesley was aware of that at this stage is unclear.

Taking her up on her invitation, he visited her the next day; in fact, he visited no fewer than five times over the next week. But on February 26, 1737, “she was there alone. This was indeed the hour of trial.” Now his resolve to remain single was put severely to the test. “Her words, her eyes, her air, her every motion and gesture, were full of such a softness and sweetness! I know not what might have been the consequence had I then but touched her hand. And how I avoided I know not.” He concluded: “Surely God is over all!” (p. 323)

But his trial would come again the next day.

Sun. 27. - After all the company but Miss Sophy was gone, Mr. Delamotte went out and left us alone again. Finding her still the same, my resolution failed. At the end of a very serious conversation, I took her by the hand, and, perceiving she was not displeased, I was so utterly disarmed, that [at] that hour I should have engaged myself for life, had it not been for the full persuasion I had of entire sincerity, and in consequence of which I doubted not but she was resolved (as she had said) ‘never to marry while she lived.’

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 323

The following week Delamotte came to Wesley in tears, knowing ““he could not live in that house when I was married to Miss Sophy.’ I told him, ‘I had no intention to marry her.’ He said, ‘I did not know my own heart; but he saw clearly it would come to that very soon, unless I broke off all intercourse with her.’” (p. 325)

On March 4, 1737, Wesley and Delamotte put the issue to a greater power. They cast lots. “I accordingly made three lots. In one was writ ‘Marry’; in the second, ‘Think not of it this year.’ After we had prayed to God to ‘give the perfect lot,’ Mr. Delamotte drew the third, in which were these words, ‘Think of it no more.’” (p. 325)

Instead of the agony I had reason to expect, I was enabled to say cheerfully, 'Thy will be done.' We cast lots once again to know whether I ought to converse with her any more; and the direction I received from God was, 'Only in presence of Mr. Delamotte.'

- "Account of Miss Sophy," within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 325

But no sooner had the new week began when he found himself alone with her again.

Mon. 7 [March, 1737]. - Mr. Causton... asked me to drink a dish of tea at his house. Soon after I came in, Miss Sophy went out, and walked to and fro between the door and the garden. I saw she wanted to speak to me, but remembered my resolutions, especially that to converse with her only in Mr. Delamotte's presence. Yet after a short struggle, the evil soul prevailed in me, and I went. Immediately she caught hold of both my hands, and with the most engaging gesture, look, and tone of voice said, 'You never denied me anything that I desired yet, and you shall not deny me what I desire now.' I said, 'Miss Sophy, I will not; what is it?' She answered, 'Don't say anything to her that offered me the letter the other day. My refusing it has given her pain enough already.' I replied, 'I will not. And if you had told me of it before, I would not have told your uncle of it, as Mr. Williamson did.' She said, 'Did he? Well, I find what you have often said is true. There is no trusting any but a Christian. And for my part, I am resolved never to trust any one again who is not so.' I looked upon her, and should have said too much had we had a moment longer. But in the instant Mr. Causton called us in.

- "Account of Miss Sophy," within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 327-8

He concluded: "So I was once more 'snatched as a brand out of the fire.'" The letter she referred to above is unexplained, but may have played a role in the drama that was about to unfold. It is possible that it could have been from Dolly Mellichamp, mother of Tommy. It is probably not a coincidence that Mellichamp's name came up the next day. On Tuesday March 8, Sophy came to prayers and stayed for breakfast with Delamotte and Wesley, despite her prior resolution not to. "I asked her what she now thought of Mr. Mellichamp. She said, 'I thank God I have entirely conquered that inclination.'" (p. 328)

But as he would discover later, this does not seem to have been true. Unbeknownst to him at the time, the Mellichamp drama was still playing out behind the scenes. Three months later, Wesley would remark: "God showed me yet more of the greatness of my deliverance, by opening to me a new and unexpected scene of M. S.' [Miss Sophy's] dissimulation." On March 19, 1736 Wesley married John and Polly Brownfield, it was one of the first marriages he conducted during his Georgia ministry; now in June, 1737 a conversation with the Brownfields filled in some blanks.

JUNE 4, *Sat...*[1737]

I fell into a conversation with Mrs. Brownfield upon Mrs. Williamson [Sophy]. She told me, 'Mr. Brownfield warned me of her long ago in words to this effect: "Polly, have a care of Miss Sophy; she is above your match."' She went on, 'On Sunday se'night, before the stir about your letter was, I dined at Mr. Causton's; and being after dinner in the garden with Miss Sophy, I taxed her with her inconstancy to Tom Mellichamp. She said she was not inconstant to him, but loved him as well as ever, and would come to my house to speak to me about him. On Tuesday she came, and desired me to send a letter for her to Dolly Mellichamp, to give poor Tommy an opportunity of clearing himself. I told her I would not do it for the world without first asking Mr. Brownfield's advice, which I did. His advice was to have nothing at all to do with it. The next day she came to me crying and saying, "I am ruined; my uncle says they have put Tommy in jail again.'"

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 359-60

But during that March 8 morning breakfast the name of another potential suitor came up. “‘I hear Mr. Williamson pays his addresses to you. Is it true?’”

She said, after a little pause, ‘If it were not I would have told you so.’ I asked, ‘How do you like him?’ She replied, ‘I don’t know.... But I have no inclination for him.’ I said, ‘Miss Sophy, if you ever deceive me, I shall scarce ever believe any one again.’ She looked up at me and answered with a smile, ‘You will never have that reason for distrusting any one; I shall never deceive you.’

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 328

But before the day was done Sophy was engaged to Williamson. Scrawled in his March 8, 1737 Diary: “That not worthy of her!” and “Miss Sophy engaged. Alas!” (p. 328) As Wesley wrote with hindsight: “In the beginning of December I advised Miss Sophy to sup earlier, and not immediately before she went to bed. She did so; and on this little circumstance... she began her intercourse with Mr. Williamson.” In following Wesley’s advice, an earlier dinner at the Caustons’ had brought her into regular contact with Causton clerk Williamson. As Wesley remarked: “What an inconceivable train of consequences depend! Not only for her; but perhaps all my happiness too, in time and eternity!” (p. 300)

News of the day as it unfolded to Wesley:

Tues. 8 [March, 1737]....

... I went and found Mrs. Causton in great disorder, with an open letter in her hand... telling me she had just intercepted it. It was writ by Mr. Mellichamp to Miss Sophy. I told her I hoped things were not so ill as she apprehended; and when she was a little more composed, I went at her desire to make some further inquiries. In half an hour I returned and found Mrs. Causton chiding Miss Sophy very sharply. Some of her expressions were, ‘Get you out of my house; I will be plagued with ye no longer.’ And turning to me she said, ‘Mr. Wesley, I wish you would take her, take her away with ye.’ I said, ‘Miss Sophy is welcome to my house, or anything that I have.’ Miss Sophy answered only with tears. About ten I went home, though with such an unwillingness and heaviness as I had scarce ever felt before.

Wed. 9. - About ten I called on Mrs. Causton. She said, ‘Sir, Mr. Causton and I are exceedingly obliged to you for all the pains you have taken about Sophy. And so is Sophy too; and she desires you would publish the banns of marriage between her and Mr. Williamson on Sunday.’ She added, ‘Sir, you don’t seem to be well pleased. Have you any objection to it?’ I answered, ‘Madam, I don’t seem to be awake. Surely I am in a dream.’ She said, ‘They agreed on it last night between themselves after you was gone. And afterwards Mr. Williamson asked Mr. Causton’s and my consent, which we gave him.’

- “Account of Miss Sophy,” within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 329

“I came home and went to my garden. I walked up and down, seeking rest but finding none. From the beginning of my life to this hour I had not known one such as this,” he wrote. “I was weary of the world, of light, of life.” (p. 334)

[Wednesday, March 9]

... Mr. Williamson begged her not to stay after the rest of the company. But she did very readily. He walked to and fro on the outside of the house, with all the signs of strong uneasiness. I told her, ‘Miss Sophy, you said yesterday you would take no steps in anything of importance without first consulting me.’ She answered earnestly and many times over, ‘Why, what could I do? I can’t live in that house. I can’t bear these shocks. This is quite a sudden thing. I have no particular inclination for Mr. Williamson. I only promised if no objection appeared. But what can

I do?' Mr. Williamson, coming in abruptly, took her away, and put a short end to our conversation.

[Thursday, March 10]

...In the afternoon Mr. Delamotte and I went to the Lot, where I read them Bishop Hall's Meditations on Heaven; during which Miss Sophy fixed her eyes on Mr. Williamson and me alternately for above half an hour, with as steady an observation as if she had been drawing our pictures. Mr. Williamson afterwards told me, 'He should always be glad of my advice, and hoped I would still favour them with my conversation, which he should look upon as a particular happiness both to her and him.'

- "Account of Miss Sophy," within *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 335-6

As Wesley observed: "The next morning she set out for Purrysburg, and on Saturday, March 12, 1737, was married there; this being the day which completed the year from my first speaking to her!" Married after an engagement of roughly 84 hours, William Williamson and Sophy were one of the three couples who had gone to Purrysburg two days before Mary Musgrove, joined in wedlock by Chiffelle in a French-speaking ceremony.

A distraught Wesley spent the day of March 12, 1737 making out his will.

Williamson vs. Wesley

On April 6, 1737, William Stephens walked through the doors of the Georgia Office at Westminster.

Mr. Stevens and his son appeared. He is the gentleman we have engaged to go and reside in Georgia, with the character of Secretary of the Province, and the conditions he shall have a 500 acre lot, to be cultivated the first year by ten servants at the Trustees' expense, after which we are to do no more for him, only to give him and his son provisions from our Stores. This will prove the cheapest servant we have, though the most useful and necessary, for he is constantly to correspond with us, a thing we have wanted much.

- John Percival, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 385

Born on January 28, 1671 to Sir William Stephens, lieutenant governor of the Isle of Wight, William Stephens was 66 years of age, twelve years older than Percival, and a quarter of a century older than Oglethorpe. But at long last, after four years of frustration, the Trustees had successfully procured a suitable candidate for sending them a journal of the goings on in Savannah.

And not a moment too soon. As Percival noted the very same day as his meeting with Stephens: "As I was coming away, a packet fresh come from Georgia was brought." Within the packet was a letter from John Brownfield. No slouch of a correspondent himself, but the news Brownfield brought was not great. As Percival summed it up: "In the general he gave but an indifferent account of the colony, and desired we would not entertain so good thoughts of it as probably we did." (p. 385)

In Savannah, the Wesley drama had taken a new turn.

Tues. 9 [August, 1737]. - I was apprehended by virtue of a warrant from the Recorder, and carried before the magistrates, Mr. Bailiff Parker and Mr. Recorder. Mr. Jones, the constable, served the warrant.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 377

“Mr. Williamson’s charge against me was,” Wesley wrote, “that I had defamed his wife [and] that I had causelessly repelled her from the Holy Communion.”

The Savannah Court was a peculiar creature. The Trustees had appointed Noble Jones to act as attorney in regards to the Yamacraws, and in 1735 Elisha Dobree, John Coates and William Brownjohn all acted at councilors on behalf of Joseph Watson; but bred attorneys were simply not encouraged in Georgia by the Trustees. Despite their intention, however, it was inevitable that people with some degree of law would eventually filter in to the colony. According to the *List of Early Settlers*, by 1736 there were two men identified as "attorneys" in the town, and both of them would make, in the words of Percival, “much mischief in Savannah.” Ironically, they both arrived on the same vessel in the summer of 1736.

18 June 1736. Capt. Thompson of the *Two Brothers* Sailed for Savannah with 5 males and 1 Female Sent on the Trustees charge.

- John Percival, *Egmont Journal*, p. 170

Twenty-one passengers disembarked at Savannah on the *Two Brothers* in its third voyage to Georgia. Departing England in mid-June, it was the first (and virtually only) vessel to follow the Great Embarkation. Its Charity colonists, sent on the few shillings the Trustees were willing to spend after the Great Embarkation, were the last Charity colonists of 1736.

A reconstruction of the *Two Brothers* (3) muster

arrived in Savannah August 24, 1736

William Thompson, Captain

[compiled from the *List of Early Settlers* and *CRG XXIX*]

(All research, Jefferson Hall, 2022)

(*w*) - wife, (*s*) - son, (*d*) - daughter, (*n*) - niece or nephew, (*ser*) - servant

Charity colonists:

1. Richard Cooper
2. Benjamin Deykin
3. Elizabeth Deykin (*w*)
4. Will Thompson (*ser*)
5. James Smyther

Trust Servants term of service

6. John Sims *1 10 years

Additional Two Brothers passengers arriving on their own account:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 7. William Aglionby | 16. Sarah Young (<i>w</i>) |
| 8. James Cornock | 17. Isaac, Jr. (<i>s</i>) |
| 9. Patrick Graham | 18. Elizabeth Young (<i>w</i>) |
| 10. Philip Thicknesse | 19. John (<i>s</i>) |
| 11. William Wightman | 20. Nathaniel (<i>s</i>) |
| 12. William Hopecraft (<i>ser</i>) | 21. Thomas (<i>s</i>) |
| 13. William Williamson | 22. ? (<i>child</i>) |
| 14. Alexander Sims *1 (<i>ser</i>) | 23. ? (<i>child</i>) |
| 15. Isaac Young, Sr. | |

*1 - John and Alexander Sims were brothers

William Gough noted the arrival of the ship in a letter to Oglethorpe:

August 24. The Brigantine 2 Brothers anchor'd off the Town and Saluted with 7 Guns, the Fort returned the same.

- William Gough, November 13, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 248)

As Thomas Causton wrote to the Trustees in November:

As the Passengers by Captain Thompson arrived in good health, they all continue so except Benjamine Deykin [#2] (who is Dead) They all like the Country very well and seem very Industrious.

- Thomas Causton, November 26, 1736 (*CRG XXI*, p. 274)

Richard Cooper (#1) and James Smyther (#5) were millrights who would preside over the ill-fated Old Ebenezer saw mill, which operated for less than a year before “a Flood came down upon them, and had blown up the Mill.” (*CRG IV*, p. 402)

Scotsman Patrick Graham (#9) was a surgeon and apothecary whom Percival records being granted lot 189 (fifth ward), but according to the *LES*, “he neglects his own lot and rents lots 137, 211” (in the fourth and sixth wards, respectively). He operated a practice for a time, but while tending to one of his patients over the course of the winter in 1739-40 he fell in love with her and suggested marriage as a cure.

Mr. Patrick Graham, Surgeon, who has made considerable Improvement in Building on his Lot in this Town, as well as been a constant Planter for two or three Years past, having Mrs. Cuthbert (Sister to the late Capt. Cuthbert, deceased) for his Patient dangerously ill in a Fever, at that Time a Lodger in his House; the Doctor took the Opportunity of prescribing Matrimony to her, as a Specifick which he was sure would compleat her cure; and on consenting to take his advice in it, they were married at her late Brother's Plantation.

- William Stephens *Journal*, March 5, 1740 (*CRG IV*, p. 526-7)

Her brother, John Cuthbert (*Prince of Wales* [2], #55) died in November, 1739 at his estate at Joseph's Town; she inherited his property. Graham moved to his new wife's plantation, known as the Mulberry Grove, and retired from medicine. In 1745 Stephens referred to him as “a Man generally well esteemd among Us all; but from the Time of his Marriage... he gave up all his

Practice as an Apothecary entirely, & left the Town wholly destitute” in regards to a physician. (CRG XXIV, p. 418) He later succeeded Stephens as Georgia’s president and died in 1755.

At barely 12 years of age, John Sims (#6) was one of the youngest Trust Servants sent, entering into a contract for a duration of ten years, almost the amount of the life behind him. His brother, Alexander Sims (#14), had already agreed to go over, and the Trustees were willing to make a special concession to keep the boys together.

And there is a young Lad bound to the Trust for ten years whose Indenture I have inclosed, his Name is John Sims and is aged between 11 & 12 his Brother aged about 14 goes over a Servant to Mr. William Williamson which occasioned his [the younger boy’s] Desire to go.

- Harman Verelst, June 17, 1736 (CRG XXIX, p. 145)

“The Trustees think it proper to appoint him to Mr. John Wesley for 2 years to go of Errands or do anything for him, being a sprightly Lad,” Verelst suggested. But by the following year, Williamson noted of Alexander Sims: “I am sorry to Say he Shews but very little Will.” (CRG XXI, p. 463)

in Regard to the Boy or Servant you was so kind to Procure Me I must Beg Leave to tell you that he has been of Little or no Service to Me, And as to the Employ for which he was Intended, i.e. Clearing of Land.

- William Williamson, May 8, 1737 (CRG XXI, p. 462)

“We had a pleasant passage of 9 weeks,” Philip Thicknesse (#10) wrote to his mother.

I shall always respect [Captain Thompson] for advising me not to come a servant, and for his civil usage in the Passage. I wish I had a servant, which would be extremely usefull to such a one as I. You will think it odd, my talking of having a Servant, but it is quite different here from what it is in England. Several as young as I have Servants.

- Philip Thicknesse, November 3, 1736 (CRG XXI, p. 256)

We met Thicknesse in the previous chapter. Born in 1719, he arrived on the shores of Georgia at the cusp of 17. “Sixteen is looked upon [here] as one and twenty in England,” he wrote, noting: “If a man dies, his Child inherits his Improvements at 16.”

I have been Landed in Savannah about 2 mounths and I think I know as much of this town as I can so I shall give you a little account of it... There are upwards of 300 Houses, besides Huts. The Country Seems to agree with me very well, for every Coat and Wast coat I have is so much too little for me, that it will not button within 4 inches, and I am grown tall, and taned with the Sun, so that no body guesses me to be under 20 years of age.

- p. 255

As already noted, Thicknesse was mildly disappointed in his attempts to be accepted into Wesley’s social circle. “I went to Mr Wesley and carried him Mrs H’s Letters,” he wrote to his mother. “He was very civil then, but he has never took any Notice of me since.”

William Aglionby (#7) was one of the two men aboard the *Two Brothers* described as a lawyer. In his *List of Early Settlers* Percival referred to both the men as "attorneys" by trade; whether or not they were full-fledged lawyers or simply had legal education is unclear; for example, Thomas Causton referred to Aglionby as “A Pretended Lawyer.” (CRG XXII, pt. 1, p. 204)

William Stephens summed him up as someone “who was bred a Smatterer in the Law,” serving essentially as attorney for the Malcontents. Granted 100 acres by the Trustees on June 2, 1736, Aglionby instead chose to lodge at the public house of Edward Townsend, whose license to run a public house had been revoked in 1736. Aglionby “is looked on as one of the greatest Mischief-makers in the whole Town,” Stephens noted, “being consulted with frequently by those of the Faction.” (*CRG IV*, p. 61) Mr. Aglionby was so bad, so disreputable, that when he died in 1738 the Reverend Whitefield refused to read the burial service over him. Even stranger, with the body barely in the ground Whitefield ran atop the grave site and made a public exhortation, warning others from his fate. From William Stephens’ *Journal*:

Wednesday. This Day I finished my Survey of all the five and forty five Acre Lots belonging to the Town; which was what I had long been about; and as I resolved to take nothing upon Trust, but satisfy my own Sight, the great Heats we now had made it very tiresome. Mr. William Aglionby, a Freeholder in this Town, died this Morning, and was buried in the Evening. His Character was better forgot, than remember’d to his Infamy: But it may not be improper with Regard to the Colony, to touch upon it briefly. He was of a good Family, and had the Appearance of some Education; but as he had a little Smattering of the Law, he made Use of that Talent, in being a great Advisor among divers of our late Malcontents; most of whom had forsaken him, seeing their Error. He was so far from making any Improvements that he discouraged many others from it; and in most Matters of Controversy, took Part against the civil Magistrates: He lived and died at a publick (though unlicensed) House, where he dictated to a few that frequented it, and was a Stirrer up of ill Blood: And as he was a great devotee to Rum, it is said, that using it to Excess brought a Flux upon him, which after all Endeavors to the contrary, at length carried him off; wherein the Colony (I conceive) sustained no Loss. During his Sickness, Mr. Whitfield was divers [spent much] Time to attend him, offering to do his duty in Prayer, &c. but he refused any such Assistance; and upon several Questions put to him properly at such a Season, he denied any Mediator, and died a confirmed Deist. He made Mr. Bradley his Executor, who at his Funeral ordered one of his Servants to read the Service appointed by our Church, Mr. Whitfield very justly refusing to do that Office; who taking the Opportunity, as soon as the Corpse was interred, before the Company dispersed, came to the Grave, and there made a very pathetick Exhortation to the People, to be stedfast to the Principles of Christianity, and careful not to be seduced into damnable Errors....

- August 23, 1738 (*CRG IV*, p.188-9)

Wesley, too, was not fond of Aglionby, referring to him as an “infidel”. Nor did he particularly care for the second lawyer from the *Two Brothers*, remarking that he was “a person not remarkable for greatness, neither for handsomeness, neither for wit, or for knowledge, or sense, and least of all religion.” But then again, he might have been biased.

The second lawyer was William Williamson.

“Mr Williamson Assists me in Copying and entring up accounts &c.,” Causton noted on November 26, 1736. (*CRG XXI*, p. 274) In January, 1737 Causton apologized for the lateness of his journal, an “illness having Seized Mr. Williamson, whom I formerly mentioned to be employed in transcribing my journall has occasion’d its Delay.” (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 55) Transcribing Causton’s journal and other “things, which I cant trust to other people,” (*CRG XXI*, p. 403) Williamson was employed as a clerk for Causton.

In a correspondence to the Trustees, William Stephens remarked of William Williamson that he was...

a young man, bred partly as a Clerk under his Uncle Mr. Jos Taylor of Bridewell, & sent over hither in the Summer of 1736: whom Mr. Causton observing to have some good Qualifications, he employd him in writing & transacting particular Business; not publickly as a Clerk in the Stores, but as a Domestick, whom possibly he might have a confidence in, more than the ordinary Writers.

- William Stephens, December 25, 1737 (*CRG XXII* pt.1, p. 33)

“Being bred an attorney,” Percival noted of the young man: “William Williamson, [was] the bastard son of Mr. Taylor, of Bridewell. This young man was wild when in England, but is since married to Mr. Causton’s niece, and it is hoped is reclaimed.” (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 65)

Sophy was still in Frederica with the arrival of the *Two Brothers*; Williamson and Sophy would not have met before her return in November, at which time he was already lodging in the Causton household. It was just a month later, in December, that Wesley advised her to dine earlier, which brought her into daily contact with the young man, and led to their marriage three months later.

In early July, 1737, less than four months into the marriage, Sophy suffered a miscarriage. “Mrs. Williamson miscarried, as Mrs. Causton told one, because of my chiding her eight days before.” (John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p 368) In the wake of her marriage to Williamson, Sophy had skipped church nine times over the next three months. “Looking over the Register,” he wrote by July, 1737, “I found she had absented herself five times in April and May only; and in this month, June, four times more, viz. The 11th, 12th, 24th, and 29th.” (p. 361) That, and her “dissimulation,” as Wesley saw it, necessitated action. On July 5 he sent her a letter, a suggestion that she would be repulsed from communion if she appeared at church before speaking with him. “In your present behaviour I dislike,” he began. (And really, what woman doesn’t want to hear a conversation beginning with that....)

For, (1) You told me over and over you had entirely conquered your inclination for Mr. Mellichamp. Yet at that very time you had not conquered it. (2) You told me frequently, you had no design to marry Mr. Williamson. Yet at the very time you spoke you had the design. (3) In order to conceal both these things from me, you went through a course of deliberate dissimulation. Oh how fallen! How changed! Surely there was a time when in Miss Sophy’s life there was no guile.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 366

Not surprisingly, the two would never speak again. The letter incensed Thomas Causton, who approached him the following day with “much warmth.” (p. 366)

Wesley, who had spent much of the previous month attending Causton “every day” when he “was seized with a slow fever,” (p. 363) and had further been a close confederate for nearly 18 months, was taken aback by Causton’s fury. “Do not condemn me for doing in the execution of my office what I think it is my duty to do,” he wrote plainly to Causton. But the rift had begun. When on Sunday, August 7, 1737 Sophy attended church again without addressing Wesley’s written concerns, he committed the act that would seal his fate... and ultimately begin the chain of events that would lead to the toppling of Savannah’s entire magistracy.

11 ½ [11:30] Eucharist, Miss Sophy repelled.

In his *Journal* entry for the day he wrote: “*Sun. 7.* - I repelled Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Communion for the reasons specified in my letter of July 5, as well as for not giving me notice of her design to communicate after having intermitted it for some time.” Despite his conviction that “I foresaw the consequences well,” he could not appreciate the fury he had just unleashed.

In a town that Wesley had estimated just the month before as consisting of 580, only “about one hundred and eighty adults are, or are called, of the Church of England.” (p. 371) Within Wesley’s ministry, Communion had always been reserved for only the most pious; the number of communicants listed in his weekly tally rarely exceeded 20. His adherence to such strict rules of conduct in regards to communion, to some, seemed arbitrary. Even Bolzius—possibly the most pious man in Georgia—was refused communion upon his visit to Savannah on July 17, 1737, two weeks before Sophy... while three months later lunatic rogue Joseph Watson was admitted. The refusal of Bolzius seems to have been predicated on church semantics; in any case Bolzius clearly held no grudge, making no mention of the event himself but cheerfully writing on July 19: “I have become quite familiar with Mr. Wesley during this somewhat longer stay in Savannah, and we have joined our hearts in the Lord.” (*Uralsperger*, vol. 4, p. 135) As to Watson, Wesley wrote: “And on *Sunday* the 6th [November], being fully satisfied of his integrity as well as understanding (though he neither disguised the faults he had before been guilty of), I admitted him to the Holy Communion.” (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 398-9)

Successful communicants would be expected to fast regularly and attend morning prayers. William Stephens even made comment regarding Wesley’s custom of sacrament. “It is to be observed here,” he explained to the Trustees, “that Mr. Wesley, who constantly administered the Sacrament at the Church weekly on Sundays, & generally on most Saints days in the year, to such few as could be wrought on to communicate so frequently.” (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 34)

but after her [Sophy’s] marriage, neglecting so strict a course of life, Mr. Wesley wrote to her, admonishing her of her relapse from Duty.... This her husband would not allow, but absolutely forbid her assembling in that manner: and soon after, upon her refusing to do so, (for wt other reason I could not yet learn) when She came to the next Communion, Mr. Wesley refused her the Sacrement.

- William Stephens, December 25, 1737 (*CRG XXII* pt.1, p. 34)

“Whereat her Husband enraged brought his Action the next Court against Mr. Wesley,” Stephens concluded. Wesley recorded the action within his *Journal*. “*Mon. 8* [August, 1737]. - Mr. Recorder of Savannah issued out the warrant following:”

GEORGIA, SAVANNAH SS.

To all Constables, Tithingmen, and others, whom these may concern:

YOU, and each of you, are hereby required to take the body of John Wesley, Clerk: And bring him before one of the bailiffs of the said town, to answer the complaint of William Williamson and Sophia his wife, for defaming the said Sophia, and refusing to administer to her the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, in a public congregation, without cause; by which the said William Williamson is damaged one thousand pounds sterling: And for so doing, this is your warrant, certifying what you are to do in the premisses. Given under my hand and seal the 8th day of August, *Anno Dom.* 1737.

THO. CHRISTIE.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 377

As Wesley observed the next day: “Tues. 9. - I was apprehended by virtue of a warrant,” as the constables showed up at his door at seven in the morning.

Tailfer and Co., who would be front row participants in the trial that followed, remarked of the events within their *True and Historical Narrative*, that “Mr. Williamson had forbid him [Wesley] any conversation with his wife,” and Wesley took “means, by repelling her from the Holy Communion, of shewing his resentment.”

Mr. Williamson thought himself well founded in an action of damages; and Mr. Wesley (being no longer supported by Mr. Causton, who was highly nettled at the affront put upon his niece, and could now declaim as fluently against spiritual tyranny as any person) was indicted before a Grand Jury of forty-four freeholders.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 70-1

Causton was furious with the minister. In his August 11 *Journal*, Wesley observed: “Mr. Causton came again to my house.... Among many other sharp words, he said, ‘Make an end of the matter. Thou hadst best. My niece to be used thus! I have drawn the sword, and I shall never sheathe it till I have satisfaction.’” (p. 378-9)

“Which way this satisfaction was to be had I did not yet conceive,” Wesley wrote. “But on Friday and Saturday it began to appear.”

On Friday, August 12 Causton initiated a public relations campaign, enlisting his whole family in an attempt to spin the events and cast Wesley in a negative light.

Fri. 12 - On this and the following days Mr. Causton read to as many as he conveniently could all the letters which I had writ to him or Miss Sophy, from the beginning of our acquaintance; not indeed throughout, but selecting parts of each as might bear ill construction, and inserting here and there a few words to make things more clear to the apprehension of the hearers. The rest of the family in the meantime were very industrious in convincing all they could speak to ‘that Mr. Wesley had done this merely out of revenge because Sophy would not have him.’

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 380

Wesley countered four days later, explaining his side of the story “in the open congregation” after church, using the pulpit for presenting his side.

Tues. 16. - Fearing more of the communicants might be ensnared or offended by the reports so carefully propagated, I... drew up a short relation of the case, and read it, after evening prayers were ended, in the open congregation.

- p. 382

It was incredibly public. Less than ten days after repulsing Sophy, the entire town was being drawn into the affair. The lines were being drawn... and the drama would divide the Savannah settlement into two camps: the supporters of Wesley—the minister; versus the supporters of Causton—the civil magistrate. Church vs. State. As long as Causton and Wesley had been friends there had been the appearance of a united front between the church and civil authorities in Savannah. Tailfer even intimated that during that time Wesley inserted himself in matters of

law: “At the same time he [Wesley] gave charge to juries; [he also] gave his opinion in all civil causes that came before the court.” (*Tailfer*, p. 70)

Whether the latter charge is true, Wesley now found himself squarely behind the eight ball. “All this week Mr. Causton employed his utmost power and art and application to prepare the persons who form the Grand Jury here against the next court day, which was August 22 instant,” he noted. Simply, as Wesley saw it, Causton was already bribing the jury, in essence, going above and beyond to endear himself to friends and foes alike. “His table was open to all,” Wesley wrote. “Whatever they pleased to have from the stores was delivered. Old misunderstandings were forgot.” Wesley also observed that “this evening [August 15] was the last time Mr. Causton was at church, or any of his family; Mrs. Causton declaring she would come there no more while I stayed at Savannah.” (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 381-2)

Indeed, as far as the magistrates were concerned, Wesley was out. Edward Dyson showed up at Wesley’s door unexpectedly, insisting “that he now had authority from the magistrates to perform ecclesiastical offices at Savannah.” (p. 392) Wesley, not informed of the change, but not surprised, shrugged his shoulders and let Dyson proceed as minister.

On Monday, August 22, 1737 the Grand Jury was convened to hear the charges. “When the Court was met, Mr. Causton gave a long charge to the Grand Jury.” Defendant Wesley remarked despairingly of the makeup of the empaneled jury. “One was a Frenchman, who did not understand English, one a Papist, one a professed infidel, three Baptists, sixteen or seventeen other Dissenters; and several who had personal quarrels against me, and had openly vowed revenge.” (p. 383) In plain terms, Causton had stacked the jury. And not only that, it was huge. There were forty-four people on the jury. Forty-four men who did not like John Wesley... seated on a jury that required not unanimous consent but a simple majority to indict. As Wesley put it: “Forty-four jurors were then sworn, a great majority of whom were well prepared for their work, either by previous application from Mr. Causton or by avowed enmity to me or to the Church of England.” (*Journal*, v. 1, p. 383)

Causton urged the Jury to find indictments on twelve counts of misbehavior, but clearly some of the charges he presented were overreach. Even by the most liberal interpretation, few of these could reach the benchmark of crimes.

1. Refusing Sophy Communion
2. Changing, altering or editing certain psalms
3. Introducing psalms and hymns not authorized within the canon
4. Insisting on immersion in baptisms
5. Insisting on a stringent method of procedures for Communion applicants
6. Administering Communion to “boys ignorant and unqualified”
7. Refusing sacrament “to well-disposed and well-living persons”
8. “By venting sundry and uncharitable expressions of all those who differ from him”
9. Teaching wives and servants to fast, without regard to husbands or master’s wishes
10. Refusing to officiate rights to those dead who were not in his good standing
11. Meddling into the affairs of private families
12. Calling himself “Ordinary,” as in, considering himself a bishop

“This odd Presentment,” Wesley wrote, “was at first both opposed and defended with much warmth.” (p. 386) For his own part, he refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the charges, which were, essentially ecclesiastical charges; and as such bore no legal merit. But in a colony whose court had increasingly run amuck, nothing was out of the question.

Wed. 24. - The Grand Jury inquired into the ecclesiastical grievances. This likewise occasioned warm debates, but the majority, being sure men, prevailed at length and carried all the points; so that on Thursday Mr. Causton had the joy of a complete victory.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 387

But then the last thing that could have happened... happened.

In a rare misread of the wind, Causton had overplayed his hand and underestimated the malcontent community. Reshaped by the likes of Tailfer and Anderson and Grant, this was not the disorganized malcontent rabble of 1735. This had begun to coalesce into an organized opposition that knew how to unite and use strategy. The Scotch Club and its early adherents were about to organize their first salvo.

From Monday to Thursday the Grand Jury had considered the particulars of the case. Then the jury began to expand the scope of its investigation, turning its attention to matters outside of the Wesley affair. John Wesley, who read Providence and the hand of God in every shift of the wind, rejoiced over the newest developments. “It was not therefore time for God to arise, and to take the wise in their own craftiness,” he wrote with glee.

And that His hand might be the more remarkably visible therein, He chose Mr. Causton himself for His instrument; who being informed they were falling on other matters beyond his instructions, went to them, and behaved in such a manner that in one quarter of an hour he turned two-and-forty of the forty-four into a fixed resolution to inquire into his whole conduct.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 387

By Friday the Grand Jury had begun interviewing witnesses into Causton’s conduct. The Grand Jury had turned on Thomas Causton and was now investigating *him*. As William Stephens observed:

... a very full Grand Jury was summoned, consisting of 44 of the Principal Inhabitants, without Distinction of persons, as appeared plainly by the Sequel; for after a Charge given them to enquire into all offences, & this Affair of Mr. Wesleys among the rest; they not only made a Presentment against *him*, but also drew up a long Representation of Grievances (as they judged them) wherein they were as free wth Mr. Causton as any one.... In this miserably divided State did I find the Town at my arrival...

- William Stephens, December 25, 1737 (*CRG XXII* pt.1, p. 34-5)

“The few hours I have been here, have already plainly shewn me that a Spirit of Discord, or Discontent (I scarce know what to call it) is spread among these people,” William Stephens wrote to the Trustees on November 2, 1737. (*CRG XXI*, p. 518) It was his first letter from Savannah; he had arrived in Georgia only the day before, on November 1. He noted in his *Journal* that upon his arrival, Savannah was divided into two camps. “In this Manner was the

Town divided, and very few remained neuter, but espoused one Party or the other.” (CRG IV, p. 19)

As Stephens noted, some of the malcontents began to warm to Wesley. “And now open defiance seemed to be given out by Mr. Wesley on one part, and the Magistrates on the other, most of the malecontents according to Mr. Wesley.” (CRG XXII pt. 1, p. 35) Anyone on the outs with Causton was perceived as a potential ally to the malcontents. As Causton wrote to the Trustees:

Mr. Westly was so farr visibly interested in these debates [regarding Causton] that it was mov’d not to return the Bills against him, till they had gone through with the other business; and Mr. Joseph Watson (whose case he had particularly espoused) was become a Petitioner to the Inquisition at Savannah, as he term’d it.

- Thomas Causton, July 25, 1738 (CRG XXII, pt. 1, p. 207)

Patrick Tailfer, one of the forty-four jurors, explained the opportunity that Causton had unintentionally presented them with:

Then the Grand Jury began to consider and think, that as it was not probable a greater number of the *better sort* of people could ever be legally met together; so this was a fit time to represent their grievances and hardships to the Trustees.

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 71

On September 1, 1737 the Grand Jury returned two indictments, one a ten-count indictment against John Wesley, and the other a stinging thirteen-count indictment against Thomas Causton... the latter a purely symbolic indictment, which they promptly sent to the Trustees. In short, the Grand Jury indicted the accused, but brought a larger indictment against the judge. Percival observed on December 7: “A long letter of complaint, with the copy of two presentments by the Grand Jury of Savannah, was read, wherein one Williamson of Savannah complains heavily against Mr. John Wesley, the minister for refusing his wife the Sacrament.” (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 450) Hours later he read through a second indictment: “With the former Presentment came over a Remonstrance from the Same Grand Jury against Mr. Causton, Signd by above 40 of the principal Inhabitants of the Place.” (*Egmont Journal*, p. 323)

The Causton memorial, read, in part:

That Thomas Causton, by his arbitrary proceedings, hath endeavoured to render the power and proceedings of Grand Juries ineffectual, especially this Grand Jury, by intruding upon it when inclosed about business, and using the members thereof with great haughtiness and ill nature, and threatening to dissolve them.

That the said Thomas Causton, by his office of Storekeeper, hath the dangerous power in his hands of alluring weak-minded people to comply with unjust measures; and also overawing others from making just complaints and representations to your Honours; and the known implacability of the said Causton, and his frequent threatening of such people, is to many weak-minded, though well disposed persons, a strong bulwark against their seeking redress, by making proper complaints and just representations to you their benefactors, patrons, and protectors....

That the said Causton hath greatly prevented and discouraged the cultivation of lands, by his hindering people to settle on the tracts that were allotted to them by the Trustees; whereby several

people have been greatly distressed, and some almost ruined, contrary (as we humbly conceive) to your Honours good intention, and the principal part of your glorious undertaking.

That the said Thomas Causton, in order to colour his illegal proceedings, hath uttered words... claiming to himself (as we humbly conceive) a dispensing power, fatal to the liberties of British subjects....

- Patrick Tailfer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, p. 74-7

The first charge seems to find some credence in the fact that Causton actually threatened to disband the Wesley jury.

Mr. Causton, finding all his arts ineffectual, and that they [the jury] were resolved to go through with their work, adjourned the Court till Thursday (Sept. 1) following, and spared no pains to bring them, in the meantime, to another mind.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 387-8

“But,” as Wesley concluded, “the jurors he had added for my sake gave such spirit to the rest, that all his labour was in vain.”

“The Grand Jury was discharged on the 2d of this month,” John Brownfield wrote to the Trustees on September 9. “Notwithstanding they acquainted the Court with their having a great deal of other necessary business to proceed upon in order to lay before the Court.” Brownfield described questionable tactics used by Causton to sway the jury:

Mr Causton has used many threatenings Speeches against several Members of the said Grand Jury and hath endeavoured to corrupt the Servants of some to confess their Masters private discourse to him.

- John Brownfield, September 9, 1737 (*CRG XXI*, p. 506-7)

Causton’s battle to stay in power was beginning. As Tailfer remarked: “Mr. Causton ever after bore a mortal hatred to the members of this Grand Jury, and took every opportunity to shew his resentment.” (*Tailfer*, p. 81)

In the meantime, John Wesley’s battle was coming to an end. Of the ten charges against him, nine were purely ecclesiastical in his opinion; only the charge of denying Sophy could be considered “of a secular nature.” On September 2, the day after the presentment against him, Wesley asked for a quick trial on one the charge he recognized. “In the afternoon I moved the Court again for an immediate trial at Savannah.” (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 391) But having moved heaven and earth to get indictments Causton was not willing to proceed with a trial. Causton instead fell back on his old standby, claiming that he had no authority to proceed without the consent of the Trustees and would not begin a trial without it. As Causton wrote to them: “I obtained an Order of Court to Stay all Prosecutions against Mr. Wesley either concerning said Indictments or Action brought by Mr. Williamson; till Your Honours should be acquainted with it and Your Pleasure known in the Matter.” (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 206)

And there things stood. John Wesley was now stuck in the same legal limbo that had seen Joseph Watson held without trial for three years. There was no road forward for Wesley in Georgia, and on October 7 he wrote the most sober assessment of his career and fallen hopes: “there being no possibility, as yet, of instructing the Indians; neither had I, as yet, found or heard

of any Indian on the continent of America who had the least desire of being instructed. And as to Savannah... I looked upon myself to be fully discharged therefrom.” (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 396) On November 22, 1737, after a meeting in which “Mr. Anderson told me I had been reprimanded in the last Court for an enemy to and hinderer of the public peace,” he began to consider his next move. His Savannah ministry in shambles, John Wesley made plans to return to England. “I again consulted my friends, who agreed with me that the time we looked for was now come.” (p. 399)

On December 2 he “proposed to set out for Port Royal, Carolina, about noon, the tide then serving. But about ten, the magistrates sent for me, and told me I must not go out of the province; for I had not answered the allegations laid against me.” The Court demanded security. “The Recorder showed me a kind of bond, engaging me, under a penalty of fifty pounds, to appear at their Court when I should be required.” Exasperated, Wesley lashed out at Christie. “I then told him plainly, ‘Sir, you use me very ill, and so you do the Trustees. I will give neither bond nor any bail at all. You know your business, and I know mine.’”

The sequel was thus: “In the afternoon the magistrates published an order, requiring all officers and sentinels to prevent my going out of the province.” Wesley was left with no alternative.

Being now only a prisoner at large, in a place where I knew by experience every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words I never said, and actions I never did, I saw clearly the hour was come for me to fly for my life, leaving this place; and as soon as evening prayers were over, about 8 o’clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet and left Georgia, after having preached the gospel there... not as I ought, but as I was able, one year and nearly nine months.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 400

On the evening of December 2, 1737, John Wesley quietly snuck out of Georgia.

“Notwithstanding all the Precaution that was taken, it was known this Morning, that Mr. Wesley went off last Night,” William Stephens observed in his December 3 *Journal*. “And with him [went John] Coates a Constable, [William] Gough a Tything-man, and one [James] Campell a Barber.” (*CRG IV*, p. 40-1) So marked the end of the long Georgia career for Coates (“scarce could be found [a man] more obnoxious,” Stephens remarked) and Gough (“also a very idle fellow”). William Gough had come in 1733, but as Stephens grumbled even after all the time he had been in Savannah “had little to shew of any Improvement, more than setting up the Shell of a House, which he never near finished... and now went off in many Peoples Debt, leaving a Wife and Child behind him... who were scarcely [to] grieve at his Absence, since he used to beat them more than feed them.” (p. 41) As to Coates—also “indebted to many People,”—we may just infer that Stephens was pleased that he would not find him and Joseph Watson on his doorstep any longer.

On December 3 William Bradley came to Stephens, telling him “that a Servant-Boy of his had (unknown to him) been one of those to help row the Boat for Mr. Wesley.”

Monday. It was now publickly known, that the Boat which carried Mr. Wesley and his Company off on Friday Night was Mr. [James] Burnside’s; that the Rowers were a Servant of Mr. [Samuel] Mercer’s, another of Mr. Brownjohn’s, one [Joseph] Griffin of Skeedway, and Mr. Bradley’s Boy;

that they went to Purrysburgh, and landed there about Three or Four a Clock on Saturday Morning, from whence they purposed to make the best of their Way to Port-Royal on foot.

- William Stephens *Journal*, December 5, 1737 (CRG IV, p. 42)

“We came to Purrysburg early in the morning,” Wesley wrote on December 3. “Here I endeavoured to procure a guide to Port Royal, whither we hoped to walk before evening. But none being to be had, we set out, with the best directions we could procure, an hour before sunrise.” (*Journal*, vol. 1, p. 409) He and his party quickly became lost. “About eleven we came into a large swamp, without path or blaze, where we wandered up and down near three hours,” he wrote. “It now grew toward sunset; so we sat us down on the ground, faint and weary enough.” (p. 410) Even after procuring a guide two days later, the path remained unclear. “About sunset we asked our guide if he knew where he was, who frankly answered, ‘No.’” However, as he wrote, “we pushed on.” (p. 411)

“I have received news that Mr. Wesley has secretly and by night traveled to Charlestown via Purysburg so as to embark from there for London in great haste,” Bolzius wrote with some surprise from Ebenezer on December 15.

I do not really know what may have prompted him to such a hasty decision, which reflects badly on his office and on the name of the Lord. When I talked to him recently in Savannah, particularly about his quarrel with Mr. Causton, he did not yet intend to leave his flock but rather to await Mr. Oglethorpe’s return. Also, he suffers much ill repute for having taken with him two men who had made numerous debts in Savannah and have left without repaying them.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*

(within Urlsperger’s *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 4, p. 218)

After a ten-day journey by foot and by sea, Wesley came to Charlestown. Ten days after that he boarded a vessel bound for England.

Thurs. 22 [December]. - I took my leave of America, though if it please God, not for ever, going on board the *Samuel*, Captain Percy, with a young gentleman who had been a few months in Carolina, one of my parishioners of Savannah, and a French-man, late of Purrysburg....

Sat. 24. - We sailed over Charlestown bar, and about noon lost sight of land.

- John Wesley, *Journal*, vol. 1, p. 413

Captain Hugh Piercy and his vessel, the *Samuel*, had brought the stragglers of the Great Embarkation the year before, now he was taking John Wesley, one of the Great Embarkation’s brightest hopes, back to England. Despite his hope that he might someday return to the New World, he was in fact bidding farewell to the Americas forever.

It was while he was half-lost in the woods between Purrysburg and Charlestown that the chain of events first began filtering into the Georgia Offices in Westminster, and the news of the summer drama trickled in. “A long letter of complaint, with the copy of two presentments by a Grand Jury of Savannah, was read,” Percival noted on December 7. Reading the presentment against Wesley, Percival concluded:

It appears to me that he was in love with Mrs. Williamson before she married, and has acted indiscreetly with respect to her, and perhaps with respect to others, which is a great misfortune to us....

“For nothing is more difficult than to find a minister to go to Georgia,” Percival lamented, “who has any virtue and reputation.”

William and Sophy, too, seem to have had no taste in their mouths to remain in Savannah. Wesley made a reference in his September 9, 1737 *Journal* that they apparently intended “to go in the next ship” for London (p. 392); whether or not they did, both do disappear from the paper trail for the next year-and-a-half. When they reappear in the record they are living in Charlestown. By 1739 the oblivious Trustees chose to honor Williamson with an appointment to replace Thomas Christie as Recorder. As Percival noted in his June 6, 1739 *Diary*: “And being bred an attorney, we for want of a better man, have conferred this office on him, which he much desired.” (vol. 3, p. 65) But in yet another snafu typical of a government run an ocean away, they had given a choice appointment to someone who hadn’t even lived in the colony for a year-and-a-half. Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees in an October 20, 1739 letter, “Colonel [William] Stephens and Mr. [Thomas] Jones... acquainted me that Mr. Williamson was gone away to Charles Town & not like to return, and therefore Mr. Christie could not leave the Recorders Office.” (*CRG XXII*, pt. 2, p. 253) In November of 1739 Williamson came to enquire about the position, but seemed less than enthusiastic. As Stephens wrote: “he said plainly it was a Thing of great Indifference to him, whether he had it or not; for that the Business which he was falling into at Charles-Town, was likely to be of much greater Value to him...”

...and indeed the principal Motive which induced him to come after it, was knowing that his Uncle Taylor had obtained it from the Trustees, and now for him to not accept of it, would be giving Offence to his Uncle, to whom he had lately wrote to procure him either the Place of Judge of the Admiralty... or that of Clerk of the Assembly... either of which would be of abundant greater Value to him than this.

- William Stephens *Journal*, November 4, 1739 (*CRG IV*, p. 445)

Oglethorpe, who was also present at that meeting, was not impressed by Williamson (or perhaps was impressed by him too much), remarking to the Trustees that he seemed “very much of a Lawyer.”

Mr. Williamson who was appointed to succeed Mr. Christie... has left his Plantation & was removed to Charles Town & settled as a Lawyer there before your letters arrived, on the hearing that he was appointed Recorder with a Salary, he came back, but did not bring his family with him... I found by his Conversation that he was very much of a Lawyer, and a much better Attorney than the Town of Savannah wants, he is likely to have a very good practice at Charles Town, where the people like him mightily.

- James Oglethorpe, November 16, 1739 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 2, p. 268-9)

“I believe it will be much better for him to be encouraged there,”—meaning Charlestown—“than to be buried at Savannah, where the whole Town can hardly pay charge of one Chancery Suit.”

Williamson had another reason not to move; he had a son now. Sophy had given birth earlier that year in Charlestown. Williamson and Sophy did not remain in America, eventually they returned to London. And with their Georgia careers long over, all three parties were once again on the same soil, where over the years Wesley’s fame grew. His shadow loomed large enough that Williamson and Sophy were not unaware of his rise. Decades later, Williamson’s former

Two Brothers shipmate Philip Thicknesse would pay a visit to his old friends. One will recall that even Thicknesse had apparently nursed a crush on Sophy, a woman less than two years' his senior. Writing in 1792, even five and-a-half decades had not blurred memory of the Wesley-Williamson feud. "I was not only upon the spot when that fracas between the parties happened, but lived under the same roof, and under the same protection, of her uncle Mr. Caustin," he wrote.

Mr. Williamson, a young adventurer like myself, but some years older, and who went over in the same ship with me, paid his addresses to Miss Sophia and in a short time after married her; and then, having seen the many letters which Mr. John Wesley had written to that young lady; letters which I understood then, and have been assured since, contained an olio of Religion and Love, he forbade his wife attending either his chapel or his house in future; and that was the foundation of the future quarrel between him and Mr. Williamson's family. It is not many years since I saw Mr. Williamson, his lady, and his son, I think at their house in Smith-street, Westminster: Mr. Williamson was then old and infirm; but we talked this matter over together; and he then assured me, that he thought the letters so very improper, that he had some thoughts of publishing them. Whether he be living at this time I know not, but it is probable Mrs. Williamson, or her son, or both, are; and to them I appeal for the truth of what I have here advanced.

- Philip Thicknesse in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1792

In an ironic finale to the saga, Thicknesse remarked in conclusion: "If I mistake not, young Mr. Williamson is a clergyman; I know he was intended for the Church."

Joseph Taylor Williamson (1739-1807), son of William and Sophy and named for Williamson's father, was ordained a minister following a university career at Trinity College, Cambridge in the 1760s.

Decline of the Magistracy

Wednesday, 7 [December, 1737]....

Mr. Oglethorp, Vernon, Dr. Hales, Judge Holland and I dined together, when we read a long and I think malicious memorial, or rather remonstrance, received this day from the Grand Jury of Savannah against Causton, our head bailiff, signed by above forty people of that Province.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 451

"We took notes," Percival added, finally acknowledging the obvious: "It appears there is a great spirit of contention there." (p. 452)

To Percival, Causton's name—a name he couldn't even get right until the beginning of the colony's third year—had now become far *too* familiar.

With the "indictment" of Thomas Causton by the Wesley jury, his days were numbered, though as indicated by Percival's narrative, the Trustees were still trying to come up with ways to salvage the magistracy. "We had some discourse about erecting at Savannah a sort of council to be assistant to the bailiffs," he noted, but in the end, any stop-gap effort wasn't going to be enough, especially after Wesley appeared before the Trustees in February, 1738.

“In truth the bad account of Causton’s behaviour brought over by Mr. Wesley, our minister at Savannah, is enough to make us all quit,” Percival lamented in a rare show of emotion, before pulling it together in the next line. “But I think we are bound in conscience to continue our service... as long as there is any prospect of doing good.” But many in the Common Council did quit; Richard Bundy, Robert Kendal, George Carpenter on March 1, George Heathcote and William Talbot on March 8—five Common Council members announced their resignations in a week. As Percival confessed: “Thus the bad report of the state of our affairs begins to work among our members.” (p. 468)

In the wake of the memorial against him, Causton entrenched at his estate at Ockstead, rarely coming to town. He “did not care to act on the Bench oftener than Need required,” William Stephens noted. In a March 11, 1738 *Journal* entry, Stephens wrote: “It was of late become pretty usual with him to leave the Affairs of the Magistracy to his Brethren.” In short, he left the affairs of state to Parker and Christie. The reasons he gave for this, according to Stephens: “The Multiplicity of other Business, and the Clamour lately raised against him by a Party... whereof he knew a Representation, signed by a great many, was sent to the Trustees in September last.” (*CRG IV*, p. 100-1)

“And now the Hands of the Magistrates appeared every Day weaker,” Stephens waxed poetic. But it was true. “Mr. Dearn (one of them) being dead a while since,” the magistracy was reduced to two magistrates and the recorder. And as to the constables, well, one of them had just run off with Wesley.

Out of four Constables, Mr. Vanderplank had lain a long Time ill, in so dangerous and decaying a State, that all Hopes of his Life were nearly over. Coates was newly run away; Fallowfield was not to be relied on (as it was thought) and Jones the Surveyor, who was one of the four, very seldom in Town.

- William Stephens *Journal*, December 8, 1737 (*CRG IV*, p. 46)

Stephens’ prophesy of Vanderplank was spot on; within three days of that journal entry he was dead. With one magistrate dead, another eschewing town for self-imposed exile at his estate, one constable dead and another run off, civil affairs in Savannah came to a standstill.

Furthermore, as Stephens observed one Sunday: “Nobody to officiate at Church now.” (p. 53)

But while the magistracy was in decline and Edward Dyson made sporadic appearances to fill the empty pulpit, one faction in Savannah was getting stronger. “The greatest remaining Root of Discontent now, was among the Club which met constantly at the Tavern, mostly Scotchmen,” Stephens noted. The Trustees had been alarmed enough by the actions of the Wesley Grand Jury to send a letter to Stephens. It was a terse letter penned by Martyn: *Grand Juries like that were not to be allowed again.*

In Your last Journal, You make mention of a Right claim’d by the Grand Jury at Savannah to... make an Inquiry thereon into all such Matters as they think fit to examine into. The Trustees are sensible that great Mischief may be done by ill designing Men, who may get into the same Pannel.

- Benjamin Martyn, June 14, 1738 (*CRG XXIX*, p. 281)

“They have therefore ordered me to acquaint You... that the Grand Juries have no [such] right.”

Already aware of the danger the Club posed, Stephens, under the guise of impartiality, developed a strategy of cozying up to the Scotch Club... to learn their intentions.

Usually once or twice a Week, I made it my Choice to go and sit an Hour among them; thinking it right to mix now and then with all Sorts indifferently, whereby I might the better be informed of the Disposition of the People.

- William Stephens *Journal*, March 25, 1738(CRG IV, p. 111)

In the meantime, in Westminster, the hammer was slowly falling on Causton. On April 26, 1738, Percival noted: "We had much discourse of Causton's management, and agreed that he had strangely mis-employed the moneys trusted to his charge." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 482) "This has an ill aspect for Causton," he wrote somberly. (p. 500) The continued discourse led to acrimony, as Oglethorpe felt more and more the attack on Causton was a proxy attack on him.

Tuesday, 2 [May, 1738]...

It occasioned some warm words between Mr. Oglethorp and Mr. Vernon, in so much that the latter told him he must look after the military affairs, and the Trustees would look after the civil. But being afterwards convinced of the ruin of our affairs unless some speedy and effectual care to be taken to stop the profusion of which Causton appears to be guilty, by striking off the stores all credit whatsoever, Mr. Oglethorp came to himself.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 483

On June 1, 1738, "a letter was wrote to Mr. Oglethorp directing him to seize on Causton and his books as soon as he arrives in Georgia." (p. 491) On June 7, the Trustees officially defrocked him. "As Common Council, we appointed Henry Parker, now second bailiff at Savannah, to be first, in case of Mr. Causton's removal, and set the seal thereto." (p. 494) Turned out of office, he was also removed as Storekeeper. Benjamin Martyn penned an order to Causton dated May 19, 1738: "This Conduct of yours is so dissatisfactory, That the Trustees find it high time to put an end to all Credit whatsoever." (CRG XXIX, p.269) As Percival observed coolly: "Now there was a total stop put to all credit." (*Diary*, vol. 2, p. 517) Everything had come to a stop. Five years of generosity and a bounty of tolerance had come to an end. The Trustees patience had worn out. This was the Great Purge of 1738.

Also out: Fitzwalter as Gardener, and "Mr. [Noble] Jones the Surveyor was also discharged from that Employment, and suspended from the Office of first Constable." (William Stephens *Journal*, CRG IV, p. 214) As seen in the previous volume, Robert Parker Jr. complained in January, 1735 that "I have been kept out of [land] by the Indolence of our Publick Surveyor." (CRG XX, p. 208) That was not the only complaint against Jones. Samuel Mercer followed... then Thomas Gapan. "There has been Complaints against Mr. Jones," Martyn observed on May 15, 1735. (CRG XXIX, p. 61) And the complaints didn't stop there; the paper trail leading to Jones' dismissal had risen to a crescendo by 1738.

October 29, 1734, John Lyndall -

My mind is Still bent upon Planting but the Surveyor hath not run any more of my land than the town lot.

- CRG XX, p. 93

April 25, 1735, Samuel Mercer -

When the Esqr Left this place Mr Jones our Surveyor promised him that our Lands Should be Run out yett nor do not know when we Shall which is very hard upon a great many people.

- CRG XX, p. 326

June 19, 1736, John Martin Bolzius -

The surveyor Jones is a lazy, selfish, and hostile man who frankly refused in my presence to survey the people's gardens.

- within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 6, p. 158

December 8, 1736, Charles Wesley (quoted by Percival) -

That Jones, our public surveyor, is an idle man.

- *Percival Diary*, vol. 2, p. 313

February 10, 1737, John Brownfield -

I have often asked him for Accounts of the Lands wch he has run out yet he never delivered me any.

- CRG XXI, p. 321

January 23, 1738, William Stephens -

Here I found a Defect of the Surveyor Jones again, for he had only marked out the two extream Corners of the Land... Mr. Amory came to me complaining... he had not been able to get Mr. Jones to ascertain the Bounds of some Land for him.

- CRG IV, p. 70-1

February 20, 1738, William Bradley (quoted by William Stephens) -

Then he told me (as he had several Times before) that he could never get the Trust Lot near Vernon River to be run out by Jones in the manner as shewed him by the Trustees.

- CRG IV, p. 86

By the time Stephens suggested to the Trustees in a January 19, 1738 correspondence that "I should think it not advisable immediately to remove Jones," (CRG XXII, pt. 1, p. 79) the wheels were already in motion.

On October 10, 1738, Oglethorpe arrived in Savannah. Welcomed with a discharge of artillery "about four in the Afternoon," (CRG IV, p. 212) the town was treated to "a pathetick Speech" that "had such an Effect, that many People appeared thunder-struck." (p. 213) The speech must have been a doozy... it left even Stephens reeling. He remarked in his *Journal* that Oglethorpe had left "a gloomy Prospect of what might ensue..."

... and many sorrowful Countenances were visible, under the Apprehensions of future Want: Which deplorable State the Colony was now fallen into, through such Means as few or none had any Imagination of (my own entire Ignorance of it I truly own) till the Trustees in their late Letters awakened us out of our Dream; and the General, when he came, laid the Whole open, and declared we were but a little removed from a downright Bankruptcy.

- CRG IV, p. 217-8

Interestingly, Oglethorpe appears to have pawned off the actual firing of Causton to Stephens.

Wednesday. By Order from the General, I wrote a Letter to Mr. Causton, and delivered it myself; dismissing him entirely from the Stores, and requiring him to deliver over all Books, Papers and Accounts belonging to the Stores, into the hands of Thomas Jones. And in the Evening he sent for Mr. Causton, and required him to find Security for his Appearance to answer.

- William Stephens *Journal*, October 18, 1738 (CRG IV, p. 214)

Upon first interview, Causton “seemed pretty Stubborn,” Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees, “but upon a Second Examination, he was more Submissive.”

When I was about to commit him, he pleaded, that it was not usual here to commit Freeholders for any, but capital Crimes, That, Watson who was accused of killing a Man, and had been found guilty by a Jury was bail'd upon his own Recognizance. That he Submitted to the Trustees, And that all he had acquired in his Six Years Service, and all he had in the world was laid out in Improvements on his Lot in the Colony.

- James Oglethorpe, October 19, 1738 (CRG XXII, pt. 1, p. 288)

Referring to the purge and the confused money accounts, Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees: “If This (I know not what Name to give it) had not happened, the Colony had overcome all its difficulties, & had been in a flourishing Condition.” (CRG XXII, pt. 1, p. 283)

Thomas Causton would retire to his estate at Ockstead, a virtual prisoner of the Trustees as they tried for the next seven years to decide whether or not he had defrauded them. Exchanging letters, the two parties tried unsuccessfully to sort out the books; it proved a frustrating endeavor. As Causton opened his November 16, 1742 letter to the Trustees' Accountant Harman Verelst, “Your favour of the 21 August last was delivered me on the 29 of October by Collonel Stephens; I imagine you'll allow me to be much injured, when I find thereby that the Account which I sent 22d. Novr. 1739 and was sent back to the Comissioners for examination in May 1740 is not yet reported on.” (CRG XXIII, p. 426-7)

Causton would die in 1746, still disgraced, still under a cloud and still unable to sort out the accounts for the Trustees. Pleading his case before the Board in person, the Trustees sent him back to Georgia to attempt a more proper accounting in November of 1745, on board the *Judith*, but he died as most of the passengers on board did, in an outbreak of spotted fever. William Stephens broke the news at the end of a letter to Verelst, sharing that any hope of salvaging the accounts mangled by Causton, had gone to a watery grave with him.

P.S.

The unhappy Voyage made by the Ship Judith, will too soon come to your Ears; wherein was a lamentable sickness which carried off the Capt. Quarme, Mr. Thomas Causton, & Mr. James Bull: & almost the whole Ships Company were taken down at once.

- William Stephens, February 22, 1746 (CRG XXV, p. 8)

The magistracy of Savannah, created on November 7, 1732, ten days before the departure of the *Anne*, was a revolving door for the first five years. The only constant was Thomas Causton. Beginning as third magistrate, he was officially promoted to the second magistrate seat in October 1734, and held the primary magistrate position from September, 1735 until Oglethorpe turned him out in October, 1738.

<u>date appointed</u>	<u>1st Magistrate</u>	<u>2nd Magistrate</u>	<u>3rd Magistrate</u>
1732 November 7	Peter Gordon	William Waterland	Thomas Causton
1733 August	"	<i>vacant</i>	"

1733	October	"	Thomas Causton(acting)	John West
1734	October 16	"	Thomas Causton	Henry Parker
1735	September 24	Thomas Causton	Henry Parker	John Dearn
1736		"	"	"
1737	June	"	"	<i>vacant</i>
1738	May 3	"	"	Robert Gilbert
	June 7	Henry Parker	Robert Gilbert	<i>vacant</i>
1739	May 30	"	John Fallowfield	"
	June 20	Thomas Christie	"	Thomas Jones
1740	March 25	Henry Parker	"	"

Like Richard Hodges, whose appointment failed to kick in only because death had preceded it, John West's appointment as third bailiff seems to have been a reserve appointment, activated, evidently with the death of Hodges and the vacancy of Waterland. Curiously, for that full year he and Causton were both described as third bailiff, with Causton seeing seniority. Not until West stepped down did the Trustees officially move Causton into the second chair and install Henry Parker in the third.

Tailfer described John Dearn as "nigh seventy years of age, crazed both in body and mind, who died not long after his appointment." (*Tailfer*, p. 56) Dearn had been in Savannah from the start; probably one of the *Anne's* 'undocumented.' He and Edward Jenkins had the shared responsibility acting as trustees to the orphans. Thomas Causton lamented the loss of Dearn, writing on July 1, 1737: "Mr. John Dearn, the 3d Bailiff, dyed; & in regard that he had born a military commission, the Great Guns were fired at his Funeral. His illness was a flux," concluded Causton, though he added that it was a flux, "attended with several Gripings, which he had been frequently subject to." (Thomas Causton *Journal*, *Egmont Papers*)

His replacement was the reluctant Robert Gilbert, tailor from the *James*, sworn in in October of 1738. Tailfer was not impressed. "R. Gilbert, could neither read nor write," he remarked in *A True and Historic Narrative*. Percival defended Gilbert's character in his response in the margins: "Robt. Gilbert was a bold and honest man, and the people were well pleased with him." (p. 56) Stephens' assessment came in somewhere between the two when he observed in an August 19, 1740 *Journal* entry that though Gilbert "hath formerly received many distinguishing Marks of Favour," including "some very solid ones" from Oglethorpe, all Stephens knew of the man was that "he was originally a Seller of old Cloaths in London, here a botching Taylor, and no Planter, but a sober, quiet Man, doing no Harm, nor much Good." (*CRG IV*, p. 645)

Gilbert was more confused than flattered as news of the commission reached him. "Mr. Gilbert, upon hearing of Your Honours promoting him to the Magistracy... declared that he thought himself by no means capable of discharging the Duty of such an Officer," William Stephens wrote to the Trustees. (*CRG XXII*, pt. 1, p. 263)

In comments made to the Trustees on April 29, 1739—by which time Gilbert had ascended to the second magistrate position—Captain Thompson remarked that "it was a surprise and jest our appointing Gilbert the Taylor to be a Magistrate," Percival noted. Thompson also told them

soberly, “That there is not a Man in the Colony fit to make 3d Bailif.” (*CRG V*, p. 158) Relieved of his duties the following month—and only after after months of begging to be relieved—Gilbert’s second magistrate position was filled by John Fallowfield, who had come to Georgia in 1734. Described by Oglethorpe as a “very active Inhabitant of the Colony,” as late as December, 1739 (*CRG XXII*, pt. 2, p. 291), Fallowfield was becoming increasingly friendly with the malcontents of the Scotch Club. Just days after Oglethorpe penned his letter, William Stephens remarked quietly in his *Journal* that Fallowfield was “observed to be a pretty frequent Attender on that Club; but how far a Partaker of their Councils, Time will best shew.” (*CRG IV*, p. 483)

By June, however, Stephens was convinced that Fallowfield was no longer to be trusted. He had “shewn himself a Creature of theirs.” (p. 590) As Percival wrote of him within the margins of *A True and Historical Narrative* (where the authors regarded him as “never so just”): “This Fallowfield was a very Troublesome Magistrate, and obstructor of justice. He became the head of the remaining Malecontents, even exposing his brethren on the Bench, and Signing petitions against the whole Constitution of Government, his Majesties law, and against the Trustees themselves, for which he is deservedly turned out.” (*Tailfer*, p. 115-6)

Following Thomas Causton’s dismissal as first bailiff in the great purge of 1738, his successor to the important post was Henry Parker, a man who came on the *Georgia Pink* in 1733 (#51). As Percival noted in his *Diary* entry of June 7, 1738: “we appointed Henry Parker, now our second bailiff at Savannah, to be the first, in case of Mr. Causton’s removal, and set the seal thereto.” (vol. 2, p. 494) First appointed to the magistracy in 1734, Parker flew low on the radar and gradually rose from third bailiff to first over the next four years. His capsule in the *LES* is lengthy:

1113. Parker, Hen. - Linnen draper; embark’d 15 June 1733; arrived 29 Aug. 1733; lot 111 in Savannah. Made 3d. Bailiff 1734, and 2d Bailiff 1736. Lastly appointed 1st Bailiff in Mr. Caustons room June 1738, but removed 20 June 1739, for drunkenness, debasing the character of a magistrate, and countenancing the insolent application made to the Trustees for introducing Negroes & changing the Tenure of lands. He took land some miles up in the country, but has yet no grant of it. He lives inmate on the Wid. Coopers lot No. 20. But she complains he pays her no rent. 25 March 1740, he was restored to his office of 1. Bailiff, having left of drinking.

“The Greatest of Men in Authority may sometimes slip,” as Stephens excused Parker’s behavior on one occasion, whereby he offered to sell the long-vacant third bailiff position to Edward Jenkins “for a Bowl of punch.” Stephens glossed over the particulars in his letter to the Trustees. “One Evening at Jenkins’s... he was drunk, & behaved unbecoming the Character of a

Magistrate, by a foolish Frolick.” (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 142) Thomas Jones was less forgiving of Parker. “I need not Mention, Profane Swearing, and Drunkeness,” he began his account of the above incident.

Few are notorious therein, besides Mr. Baileff Parker, who, I have seen wallow in ye Mire. On Monday last in the Evening he went to Jenkins’s (a Public house) where (for the Entertainment of the Company) he agreed for a Bowl of punch That Jenkins should be Magistrate, And he the Landlord for that Night, they Stript themselves before the Company and exchanged Cloaths; Parker called for the Liquor, but Jenkins exercised his New Authority in a very despotic manner, not only by calling his host, Parker, Drunken Swab, and other oprobrious Names, but chastised him, & threw him down.

- Thomas Jones, February 17, 1739 (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 84-5)

Thomas Jones had arrived with Oglethorpe in the fall of 1738 and was appointed Storekeeper in the wake of Causton’s defrocking. Worsening—if possible—a situation that had already been bad, Parker and Jones, the two men holding the offices once both held by Causton did not get along.

In a February 8, 1739 correspondence, Jones lamented simply that “there’s no person here that I can apply to for any advice or Assistance; besides Col. Stephens.” (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 57) But even Stephens admitted to the Trustees that he was not looked on favorably. “I have reason to believe I am lookd on by some under the Character of an Informer.” (p. 137) Jones further remarked of Christie: “I believe [he] wishes well to the Trustees Interests, but is over awed by Mr. Parker, who, on all Occasions, acts with the greatest partiality in favor of Mr. Causton and his friends.” And on such occasions Christie “comes Sometimes to the Store reeling, And (when in that plight) complains of the Trustees [and] their treatment of Mr. Causton and himself.” (p. 57)

But when the Trustees learned of Parker’s drinking—and more importantly, his position on allowing slavery—they quickly backed another candidate.

Wednesday, 20 [June, 1739]...

Taking into consideration the misbehaviour of Henry Parker, first bailiff, in abetting the application for negroes, as also his character for drunkenness, and degrading his post, together with his being the leading man in courts of law, and therefore his power to save Causton, the late bailiff, if he should be brought to justice for his wronging the Trust.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 70-1

“For these considerations the Board after some debate unanimously resolved to dismiss him, and place Thos. Christie the Recorder, in his room.” Worried that he would try to get Causton off, they replaced Parker with Thomas Christie.

Having stuck with Causton for four years, now the Trustees were switching bailiffs almost by the month, and finding that each choice was weaker than the last. Christie wasn’t suitable either. “Christie [is] a weak man,” Percival recorded Thomas Stephens’ report of the magistracy.

Thomas Stephens was the son of William, and already a veteran of Georgia. He had followed his father’s arrival in Georgia by a month; arriving in December, 1737, and in the words of the *LES*, he “quitted 3 Aug. 1739.” In October, 1739, the younger Stephens reported to the Trustees

“That the three magistrates we have appointed hate one another, and are at great variance.” (p. 85)

“Mr. Christie gives offence, living in open adultery,” Percival observed by March of 1740. (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 123) Thomas Christie was living with Sarah Turner (*Savannah* #120). Richard Turner (*Savannah* #119) had been convicted in the counterfeiting scandal of 1735 and turned evidence on the Mellichamps.

“I baptized Richard Turner, aged forty, and his son Thomas, aged fourteen,” John Wesley observed in his *Journal* of June 5, 1737. (vol. 1, p. 361) But even after this, the troublesome Turner did not seem to turn over a new leaf.

“An Execution under the Town Seal was granted against one Turner, a Carpenter, for Payment of a just Debt of 5 or 6 *l.*,” William Stephens observed in his December 29, 1737 *Journal*. Turner hid, “lay concealed in the House of one [John] Scot a Gunsmith, and a notorious Dealer in Spirits; who with other Help, took a fit opportunity to carry him off in a Boat.”

Mr. Christie, the Recorder, being accidentally at the same Time near the Guard-House, and seeing the Boat going off with Turner in it, ordered the Centinel to fire his Piece... and to hale the Boat to come ashore, threatening to fire at them if they did not. But they in the Boat called to him in Derision, bidding them fire, or what else they pleased.

- December 29, 1737 (*CRG IV*, p. 58-9)

The fugitive boat continued its catcalls “till they were soon out of Reach.” Turner evidently didn’t get far. Two weeks later, on January 10, 1738, Stephens wrote that “Richard Turner the Carpenter, who fled lately from Justice... appearing now again publicly.” Still under the “heavy Fine to the Trust,” for the 1735 counterfeiting conviction, a 200£ fine he was never able to pay, “the Magistrates, in Pursuance of the Execution granted against him, committed him to Prison.” (p. 66)

By 1739, Thomas Christie had his revenge for being heckled by Turner from the boat... he was bedding Turner’s wife.

The October Surprise in 1739 of Christie’s promotion shook the town. “The Advancement of Mr. Christie to the Place of first Bailiff, was a little shocking to almost every Body; even the best of the Inhabitants,” William Stephens wrote upon hearing of Christie’s commission.

That a Man, who for some Time past was grown so obnoxious among them, for his bare-faced Partiality, for his scandalous living in open Adultery with a Man’s Wife (Richard Turner) who ran away hence to the West Indies as while ago; and his close Adherence to that mischievous Assembly at Jenkins’s.

- October 10, 1739 (*CRG IV*, p. 430-1)

Christie’s installment as first magistrate went virtually unrecognized by William Stephens, whose role by this point had expanded from correspondent to official Trustees’ representative in Savannah. Stephens’ excuse in not investing Christie as first bailiff was that he was waiting for William Williamson to first accept the recorder position before Christie could officially vacate it. But Williamson had removed to Charlestown. Then when Williamson tried to accept the

position in November, Stephens found a new loophole, insisting he couldn't install Williamson until "Mr. Christie had fulfilled the Trustees Orders, of making out Copy of the Court Proceedings to this Time." (CRG IV, p. 448) Stephens was stalling. He knew something that the Trustees did not.... after six years of service to the Trustees, Thomas Christie had turned violent malcontent.

Comparing the malcontent community to vipers, Stephens noted "Of which Number Mr. Christie (as before observed) has for a considerable Time past made himself one; and I wish I could wholly clear one of our new Magistrates (Mr. Fallowfield) from any the like Imputation." (January 2, 1740, CRG IV, p. 483) Just days before, "Mr. Christie came to my House, and brought with him Messieurs Fallowfield, Theo. Hetherington and Andrew Grant, as Witnesses to his peremptory Demand of the Constitution appointing him first Bailiff." (p. 476) Trying to enforce his installation as chief magistrate, Christie had exposed his allegiance by his choice of peers. Stephens quickly recognized the fact that the Scotch Club was trying to install its converts into the magistracy. They were trying to pack the Court.

"After a Day or two whispering their Sentiments about Town... it became an open Talk in the Streets, that it was determined... to set Mr. Christie on the Bench, which was his Right, forcibly, if it could not be done otherwise." (p. 431)

The scheming of the Scotch Club to win over converts found its beginnings in the Stephens' *Journal* a year before, as the Scotch Club sent out emissaries to Fallowfield's and even to the embattled Causton residence.

January 21, 1739 -

SUNDAY.... not a few chose to ride out of Town in small Parties, some to Mr. Causton's, some to Mess. Jones's and Fallowfield's Plantations, at a good Distance off, where it may be presumed some further Consultations were to be held towards supporting that Spirit of Faction....

- CRG IV, p. 266

By September, three weeks before Christie's promotion arrived, Stephens wrote of Christie's seduction.... "This poor, weak Man, having his Vanity tickled, and being persuaded that his Knowledge in the Law was superior to the others his Associates in the Magistracy... he became peevish." Christie had "become a close Disciple under our famous Demagogue..." meaning Tailfer. (p. 417-8)

"Mr. Oglethorpe thought proper to supersede the commissions of Messrs. Thomas Christie and William Williamson," Tailfer noted in *A True and Historical Narrative*, and simply "continued Mr. Henry Parker as First Magistrate... having no other magistrate to cope with." (p. 115) Oglethorpe disliked Williamson from their first meeting, and as to Christie: "his Character was grown so bad, the General declared he would never suffer his Name to stand on the same Paper with his." (Stephens' *Journal*, CRG IV, p. 482)

The Trustees quickly reversed their decision regarding Christie... or at least as quickly as the Atlantic would allow. In June of 1740, their revised appointments for the magistracy arrived at Savannah, and Stephens wrote gleefully: "I lost no Time in delivering out the Letters, whereat I

observed some People appeared as if thunder-struck, finding themselves so defeated in their Designs.” (p. 589-90)

For it was evident beyond Contradiction, that had the Scheme succeeded, which some had formed in their Imaginations, the whole Determination of all Matters would have rested in the Will of our political Club, who knew how to lead two of those as they pleased, who they expected would sit on the Bench of Justice; Mr. Fallowfield by too often frequenting that Company, imbibing many Notions tending to create much Disturbance in this Place.

- CRG IV, p. 590

Christie was removed as a bailiff and replaced again in this game of musical bailiffs by Parker; Christie was further suspended as the Colony’s Recorder and was replaced by John Pye.

To be sure, there was a very fine line in 1739 between magistrates and malcontents. In the eyes of the Trustees, those lines began to blur forever with the 1738 Representation. In December, 1738, the Scotch Club and its adherents launched their second organized salvo in as many years against the authority of the Trustees, presenting their grievances in a lengthy memorial. The year before the target had been Causton. Now their target was nothing less than policy change. Seeking land tenure and the use of slaves, the Representation remained respectful in tone, but suggested changes the Trustees were not prepared to offer.

As the authors later explained within the pages of *A True and Historical Narrative*: “All hope from Mr. Oglethorpe being at an end, we could hardly tell what to do: But still thinking, the Trustees might be ignorant or misinformed of the present condition of the colony, we at last resolved to set forth our grievances in a short and general Representation.” (p. 88)

Saturday [December 9, 1738]. Walking toward the Water-Side, I observed a pretty many of our principal Scotchmen assembled in my way thither, with Mr. Robert Williams among them, who upon my drawing near, came out with Dr. Tailfer, and accosted me with an open, frank Air, telling me that they had just been putting a finishing Stroke to a Representation, which they were sending to Trustees, setting forth the general Grievances of the Colony, with relation to the Titles of Land, and the Discouragement they laboured under in cultivating Land with white Servants only, without Negroes; which had well nigh ruined some Settlers here.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 242)

Indeed, just three months later, Andrew Grant and William Sterling would have the audacity to send the Trustees a bill “of nine hundred and odd pounds,” asking for compensation for losses they had endured “by using white servants only.” (Percival *Diary*, vol. 3, p. 125)

Encouraged to read the Memorial, Stephens “did at Mr. Williams’s House, where I found a young Clerk of his, making a fair Copy of it.” When asked what he thought, Stephens replied: “All I said to it was, that it appeared to me a very great Enterprize, to attempt and absolute new Form of Establishment in the Colony, which I apprehended was not easy to be done.” (CRG IV, p. 243)

By the next day, “the Representation which was carrying on... was now the common Talk of the Town,” Stephens observed, “so that it ran like Wild-fire, and seemed almost universal.”

So far were they from thinking the General would be offended at it... that some of them offered to lay Wager with me, he would approve of it, and promote it. With such a Spirit was this Affair carried on, and such Confidence of Success, as perfectly amazed me..

- CRG IV, p. 244

It was a wager that Stephens would have been wise to accept. Still, Stephens was disturbed by the “readiness of so many to join with them in what they were doing.” He knew the specific numbers of the Scotch Club... but the numbers of other people who were willing to jump on the same malcontent bandwagon with so little incentive stunned him.

The Trustees received the representation in April, 1739.

Then Mr. Verelts showed me a copy of a representation from Savannah signed 9 December 1738 by 121 men, all settlers, freeholders and inhabitants of the northern part of our province, among whom are our magistrates, Recorder and other offices--Mr. Stephens, our secretary, excepted--wherein they reproach the Trustees that former representations have been slighted

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 51

One will note an almost perceptible emphasis on the words “among whom are our magistrates.” The December 9, 1738 Representation was signed by Henry Parker, Robert Gilbert and Thomas Christie, at the top of the list and highlighted as magistrates. As Percival lamented in a March 17, 1739 *Diary* entry: “the model on which the Colony was founded, is treated with derision.” (vol. 3, p. 39)

Stephens first learned of Oglethorpe’s reaction to the Memorial from James Habersham, returning in February, 1739 from Frederica. Suffice to say, the bet proposed two months before that Oglethorpe would have approved and promoted their Memorial was not a good one.

Monday [February 5, 1739]. Walked out of Town, to be easy and free from the Jargon of the Town, among my People [his servants] at the Lot: But there I also met with Vexation; and returned home a little after Noon. Mr. Habersham the School-master (whose Brother died lately at Frederica) returning thence, after taking Care of the Effects of the Deceased; I enquired of him what News he brought.... The most material was, that the General expressed great Resentment against our Representers here (which I could not wonder at) and the whole Town he found was under his Displeasure; insomuch, that he [Oglethorpe] said to him, with great Warmth, he should leave them to themselves, and not come near them.

- William Stephens *Journal* (CRG IV, p. 274)

Far from approving of the Memorial, Oglethorpe had been stirred into a passionate defense. It was this issue that inspired his most impassioned plea to the Trustees in the January 19, 1739 letter examined in the first volume of this narrative regarding slavery, *viz*: “if we allow slaves we act against the very principles by which we associated together, which was to relieve the distressed. Whereas, now we should occasion the misery of thousands in Africa, by setting men upon using arts to buy and bring into perpetual slavery the poor people who now live free there.” But if he feared his sway was waning with the Trustees, he needn’t have, for on this they shared his position. Slavery in Trustee Georgia was not on the table. Not yet, anyway. But that didn’t diminish the political damage the Memorial had caused.

As Bolzius noted in Ebenezer on February 17, 1739: “It is said that many copies of this petition, which is a special document that it most obnoxious to Mr. Oglethorpe, have reached friends of high rank and members of Parliament in England and Scotland.” (*Urrlsperger*, vol. 6, p. 24)

It was true. On February 4, 1740, The Trustees were embarrassed in a Session of Parliament as Lord Gage pulled out the Malcontents’ Memorial and began reading liberally from it. Percival recorded the humiliating moment for posterity in his *Diary*, quoting Lord Gage....

I have my pocket full of papers that show it [the colony of Georgia] cannot subsist in the manner it is, and that the people have almost deserted it, and added (pulling the representation out of his pocket made in December, 1738, to alter the tenure of lands and have the use of negroes) here is the representation from the whole colony signed by every man in it complaining they are undone. Then he read paragraphs out of it here and there, that bore hardest on the Trustees’ management, as part of his speech....

Sir Robert and his friends cried still “Adjourn”; on which Sir John Cotton said he really thought it reasonable the House should know the condition of the colony before they voted money to the colony....

On which Sir John Barnard said that he was and had been a good friend to the colony, but indeed he had received letters, and he thought it fit a day should be appointed to consider the state of the colony....

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 108

“It was a gross misrepresentation of the state of the colony for Lord Gage to say, all the inhabitants that remained in the colony had signed the representation,” Percival grumbled later. “And unfair to pick out those passages which made most against the Trustees’ conduct.” (p. 109) But his real anger remained with the malcontents who had penned. In making sure that the Representation went not only to the Trustees but to anyone who wanted to see it, the colonists had gone over the Trustees’ heads.

On May 25, 1741 the Trustees were embarrassed again, as the second lengthy memorial arrived at their offices.

Monday, 25 [May, 1741]...

A new remonstrance signed by 63 persons of Savannah, 22 Nov., 1740, insisting: -

On being allowed the use of negroes.

On having an absolute freehold in their lands, with power to alienate.

On being excused the payment of 20 shillings quitrent for every 200 acres of land.

On liberty to take up new lands wherever they please, after disposing of their former land.

On choosing their own Bailiffs.

On the Constables and Tything men being subject only to the Trustees and their magistrates.

This, they say, if not allowed, they will leave the colony.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 222

“This remonstrance was certified on the 2 December, 1740, to be a true copy of the original, by Jo. Fallowfield, one of our Bailiffs, and Jo. Pye, our Recorder, who also signed the same,” Percival concluded bitterly, “being both of the malcontent community.”

It’s worth noting that with the removal of Thomas Christie in 1740, for the first time no passenger from the *Anne* held a position in the magistracy. But more fundamental, given the

apathy of Oglethorpe, the indirection of the Trustees and the self-indulgence of the magistracy, Georgia's first generation of leadership on both sides of the Atlantic had brought the colony to the brink of ruin.

"The great Decline and almost final Termination"

On Monday, October 22, 1739, Bolzius, freshly returned from a weekend visit to Savannah, took a moment to make mention of a curiosity he had just encountered in the middle of Bull Street.

Here in Savannah, right in the middle of the street between the city hall where church is now held and the churchyard [graveyard], I found the grave of the Indian King Tomochichi, around which a square fence of thin boards has been made and on which a stone epitaph is to be erected in the future.

- John Martin Bolzius, *Daily Register*
(within Urlsperger's *Detailed Reports on the Salzburgers*, vol. 6, p. 256)

"He had been sick for a long time, and finally died, in his house on Pipemaker's Bluff, where a few Indians live together."

Indeed, Tomochichi had been in failing health since 1736. John Wesley scribbled in his July 8, 1736 *Journal* entries that Tomochichi was "very ill," and Oglethorpe "ill with grief." (p. 244)

September 11, 1736 (Benjamin Ingham correspondence) -

Tomochachi is lately recovered from A dangerous Sickness, wherein their own Doctors gave him up, but it pleas'd God to restore him by the Care of Mr Oglethorpe.....

- CRG XXI, p. 222

May 16, 1738 (George Whitefield journal entry) -

Tuesday.... I went to see Tomo Chachi, who, I heard, was near expiring at a Neighbour's House. He lay on a Blanket thin and meagre, and little else but Skin and Bones. Senauki sat by fanning him with some Indian Feathers. There was no Body that could talk English, so I could only shake Hands and leave him.

- *A Journal of a Voyage from London to Savannah in Georgia*, 1739

When the end finally came on Friday, October 5, 1739 it was no surprise. His passing was solemnly noted by Stephens. "The most material Thing which happened abroad, and I thought worth noting, was the Death of the old Mico Thomo Chichi, said to be upwards of ninety Years of Age." (CRG IV, p. 428)

And as the General always esteemed him a Friend of the Colony, and therefore showed him particular Marks of his Esteem, when living; so he distinguished him at his Death, ordering his Corpse to be brought down; and it was buried in the Centre of one of the principal Squares, the General being pleased to make himself one of his Pall-Bearers, with five others, among whom he laid his Commands on me to be one, and the other four were military Officers.

- Oct. 6, 1739

He concluded: “At the depositing of the Corpse, seven Minute Guns were fired, and about forty Men in Arms (as many as could instantly be found) gave three Vollies over the Grave.” The *Gentleman’s Magazine* contained a more detailed description of the occasion:

King Tomo-chi-chi died on the 5th at his own town, 4 miles from hence, of a lingering illness, being about 97. He was sensible to the last minutes, and when he was persuaded his Death was near, he showed the greatest Magnanimity and Sedateness, and exhorted his people never to forget the Favours he had received from the King when in England but to persevere in their Friendship with the English. He expressed the greatest tenderness for Gen. Oglethorpe and seemed to have no concern at dying but its being at a Time when his Life might be useful against the Spaniards. He desired his Body might be buried amongst the English in the Town of Savannah, since it was he that had prevailed with the Creek Indians to give the Land, and had assisted in the founding of the Town. The Corpse was brought down by Water. The General, attended by the Magistrates and People of the Town, met it upon the Water’s Edge. The Corpse was carried into Percival Square. The pall was supported by the General, Col. Stephens, Col. Montaigut, Mr. Carteret, Mr. Lemon, and Mr. Maxwell. It was followed by the Indians and Magistrates and People of the Town. There was the Respect paid of firing Minute Guns from the Battery all the time during the Burial, and Funeral.... The General has ordered a Pyramid of Stone... to be erected over the Grave, which being in the Centre of Town, will be a great Ornament to it, as well as a testimony to Gratitude.

- A letter from “Savannah in Georgia, Oct. 10, 1739” to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*

On March 12, 1740, Percival observed in his *Diary* that the Trustees received “from Mr. Stephens to Mr. Verelts dated 6 October” a letter “wherein he acquaints us that Tomachachi died.” (vol. 3, p. 122) But Tomochichi’s long-groomed successor proved disappointing. By May, William Horton confided to Percival “that Toonaway that was in England is a perfect sot, and despised by his countrymen since old [Tomochichi’s] death.” (p. 136)

The passing of Tomochichi marked the end of an era, but an end that had been a long time in coming. Similarly, the colony had been falling into decline for a long time. Infighting, rancor, a lack of industry and a lack of a discernable goal had contributed to the steady decay of the colony. Five years of divisions, incompetence, neglect and insubordination were leaving their mark. The removal of Causton and the frequent absence of Whitefield as minister—not to mention the near contempt Oglethorpe showed for the town during his third Georgia visit—only seemed to underscore a power vacuum at the seat of Savannah.

Savannah had been waiting for Oglethorpe’s return since 1734, and despite the fact that he returned for a brief spell in 1736 and then for his final visit between 1738 and 1743, his focus was entirely to the South. Savannah, like a forlorn lover, waited in vain for something that was simply not to be. Oglethorpe—his attention and his leadership—never returned to Savannah after March of 1734.

“Much Talk about Town of an anonymous Letter said to be found in the Street,” Stephens wrote in his *Journal* on January 5, 1739. “But I could not readily find a Way to come at Sight of it, nor to know in whose Hands it was got.” (CRG IV, p. 256) The letter in question, “supposed to be dropped with Design, and directed to the General” Oglethorpe, piqued Stephens’ interest, and the next day he went sleuthing.

Saturday [January 6, 1739]. Having a strong Inclination to get a Sight of this anonymous Letter (if possible) which was so much talked of; I thought the likeliest Place to come at any Knowledge about it, would be among our Gentry at the Nightly Club; to which therefore my Curiosity led me.

He went to Malcontents' Central. "I found some diverting themselves with Cards, and some at Backgammon," Stephens noted. He quietly took a seat.

I had not sat long, before I was made sensible, that one who had Custody of the Letter, was as ready to shew it me, as I was ready to see it: Wherefore calling me aside into another Room in Privacy, he pulled it out of his Pocket, told me what he had got, and asked me to hear him read it; which he did. It was very long, and filled two or three Sheets of Paper in a loose Hand. The Stile was copious and flowing, attempting a sort of Panegyrick on the General, for the great many Things he had done, and the indefatigable Pains he had taken in establishing this Colony. This took up the first Part of it. From thence he proceeded to set forth, that as it was scarcely to be expected within the Reach of human Wisdom, any great Work of such a Kind could be formed perfect at first, but it was Experience only that must be the Test... he therefore asserted, that no Founders of Colonies in old Times were ever ashamed to rectify what they found themselves mistaken in. And since it was very evident now, that the Plan in which the Colony was formed, was defective in many Instances (whereupon he expatiated very much) it would redound to the General's Honour, that he himself should be the first that attempted to make it better.

- *CRG IV*, p. 257

"These, as far as I can remember, were the principal Parts of it; and it was very easy from the many Circumstances to discover, that he who read it was the Author (viz. Mr. Hugh Anderson)." (p. 258) The following month "I made another Visit to our notable Club." But by this time the room hushed with his arrival. The natives had become visibly more restless.

Friday [February 9, 1739]...

What I thought most observable at the Club was, that out of no less than seventeen or eighteen present in the publick Room, fifteen were Scotch: And when I walked home, one of the Company, whom I had a pretty good Familiarity with, told me (on our Way) that my coming in this Night had put an End to a long Debate they had began among themselves, about some Means to be used for making their Representation more publick, in some other Parts of America, as well as in England.

-p. 276

Stephens concluded: "I doubted I should have little Welcome among them hereafter." The Scotch Club was on to him. He was no longer welcome. But the point remains, the Club, unhappy with their reception from Oglethorpe and the Trustees, was now aiming at a wider audience, and thinking bigger than a simple letter or memorial. With that letter Stephens mentioned, the germ of *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia* had been born. Anderson had read to Stephens the opening lines of what would soon become a book printed out of a Charlestown publishing house in 1741.

Across the Atlantic, as early as June 1738, the Trustees were receiving credible reports of a colony prematurely falling into ruin. "Captain Daubus, who was at Georgia last March, attended and gave us a very discouraging account of Savannah," Percival wrote in his June 21, 1738 *Diary*.

That he knew but three industrious men in the whole Colony. That our public garden is in a miserable condition, and the lands so bad that nothing will grow in it. That the people are in

great faction. That there are more houses in the town than inhabitants. That for want of trade the town must decay.

“And,” Percival concluded Daubuz’ account, “in a word he was sorry to see so much money thrown away.” (vol. 2, p. 495-6) These reports, sporadic at first, become more and more pronounced in the *Diary* as time went along.

In January, 1739, Percival noted the arrival of numerous letters. “The accounts from Georgia were very bad, the colony being on the point of breaking up.” (vol. 3, p. 7) The following week a letter from Oglethorpe arrived, “expressing the great misery, and even ruin, the colony will fall into without further and large supplies from Parliament this session.” But just the day before, “I waited on Lord Carteret to know his sense of Georgia. He said if the Trustees would exert themselves against the giving it up the minority would support them, otherwise they would not give a shilling this year.” (vol. 3, p. 12) By 1739, the Spanish were threatening war and demanding the surrender of the Georgia colony as a peace prize... and Parliament was seriously considering it. Georgia was on the negotiating table with Spain.

“It is in everybody’s mouth that Georgia is to be given up to the Spaniards,” Percival lamented on January 27, 1739. Again, the following month: It is “suspected that Georgia is to be given up to the Spaniards.” (p. 20)

Furthermore, John Wesley’s former confidant Charles Delamotte explained to Percival in no uncertain terms, “that if the Spaniards attacked us, all the people would fly away, for what forts we esteem to have built are nothing at all of defence.” (January 4, 1739, vol. 3, p. 2)

That same month, Stephens, too, noticed a thinning crowd. “Seeing of late many of our Freeholders dropping away, I thought it incumbent on me to... take an exact Account of such of them as were gone off,” he confided in his January 22, 1739 *Journal*. “But the Numbers of them increased so fast upon me, that I soon found it a very unpleasing Task.” The project, he wrote unhappily, consumed “good Part of the Day.” (CRG IV, p. 266) By May 19 he wrote to the Trustees: “So many within few months past have left the Colony in exchange for Carolina, that this Town is become now apparently thinner in people than twas.” (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 139)

Then in September of 1739 came the news that Stephens had dreaded:

SATURDAY [September 8, 1739]. Very sudden and unexpected News, of open War being declared with Spain, was brought us by a Sloop that arrived here this Day.

- CRG IV, p. 406-7

War with Spain, a threat since the beginning of the colony, was finally a reality in Georgia. By the spring of 1740, Stephens found that “the Town was now grown so thin of People, that few were to be met with in the Streets,” he observed on March 27, “except some small Remains of the political Club.” (CRG IV, p. 542)

“A letter from Mr. Stephens to the Trust, dated 2 January, 1738-9. In it he acquaints us that he has to lay before us a scene full of confusion and disorder,” Percival observed by March, 1739.

(*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 39) “These accounts are very melancholy and discouraging,” Percival admitted. (p. 40)

In fact, Percival’s *Diary* of 1739-41 is littered with entries of visiting correspondents offering sobering news:

October, 1739:

“That persons are still daily leaving the colony, and when he [Thomas Stephens] came away seven or eight had just done it, and more were disposing themselves to follow them...”
“That Mr. Oglethorpe concerned himself now very little with the colony....” (p. 85-6)

June, 1740:

“That all the Moravians are gone....”
“That there are in his [Mr. Seward] opinion not above 500 souls left in the colony, exclusive of the regiment and the Saltsburgers....” (p. 151)

January, 1741:

“That all the people of Savannah were gone away except about 50....” (p. 174)

February, 1741:

“That every one of the Jews are gone, and that [includes] industrious man Abraham de Lyon, on whom were all our expectations for cultivating vines and making wine....”
“That in Savannah there are but 42 freeholders left... and the whole number of souls, men, women and children, are not above a hundred....”
“That many of the 45 acres belonging to the town, and most of the 5 acre lots... are deserted....”
“That the people in general are reduced to poverty....”
“That the lighthouse is past repair, and the joints rotted away....” (p. 188-9)

That the light house was a mess was hardly news to the Trustees. “The lighthouse goes still more and more out of repair,” Percival recorded Captain Thompson’s report by May, 1740. (*Diary*, vol 3, p. 134) This itself followed similar warnings from 1739. April 29, 1739: “That the lighthouse is going to decay....” (p. 54) And even this followed the June, 1738 letter the Trustees wrote to Oglethorpe requiring “him to see that a speedy repair may be made to the light house at Tybee.” (vol. 2, p. 495)

By 1740, incensed that Oglethorpe had done nothing on the matter, the Trustees sent orders to Stephens to give what repairs he could, but he has already sent them portions of his *Journal*, all but giving up the light house. “Upon reading that part of yours relating to the repairing of the Sea mark at Tybee; it gave me a Damp, to think what I have been forced to say of it, in my Journal of the 23 June.” (*CRG XXII*, pt. 2, p. 387) In the *Journal*, he remarked soberly of a monument that had somehow defied gravity remaining aloft as long as it had. “Every Part, both of the upper and lower Work, was now so perished, and all the Joints become so rotten, that it was rather to be admired it yet stood as it did.” (*CRG IV*, p. 601)

It could be considered an analogy of Georgia; it was less a lamentation of its expected fall as it was a marvel that it had actually managed to stand as long as it had.

The depressing entries into Percival’s *Diary* continued:

March, 1741:

“That there is little likelihood of the silk coming to anything....”
“That we are misinformed of the affairs of poor deserted Georgia....” (p. 204)

April, 1741:

“That rum is as commonly drunk at Frederica as at Savannah....” (p. 216)
“That in Carolina they will not name Col. Oglethorpe but with rage enough to set the very dogs a barking....”
“That all the Jews except one had left the colony....” (p. 218)

November, 1741:

“That the people of Savannah are a wretched crew most of them, and Mr. Whitfield told them in his farewell sermon they were the scum of the earth, and God had only sent them to prepare the way for a better set of men....”
“That the people hate [William] Stephens as thinking he misrepresents the state of the colony to please Col. Oglethorpe whom they hate to death....”
“That Tailfer, Douglass, Baily, Anderson and other Scotch run aways to Charlestown were a vain, luxurious set of persons, who heard together in a club at Charlestown.... (p. 230)

And of course, by the spring of 1741, word reached the Trustees of a book about to be published.

May, 1741:

“That a book of the state of Georgia and the bad progress of the colony under the Trustees’ management is printing by subscription at Charlestown, promoted by the Scotch club which retired thither....” (p. 221)

In 1742, John Percival’s health began to decline.

7 July, 1742. - I resigned my office of Common Councillor of Georgia, partly by reason of my ill health and partly from observing the ill behaviour of the Ministry and Parliament with respect to the colony.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 265

Disappointed in the Ministry’s treatment and further disappointed in the colony he had dedicated a decade of his life to create and sustain, Percival stepped down as President of the Trustees just after the tenth anniversary of his presidency. His involvement in Georgia thereafter was minimal, and the topic of Georgia—a subject which consumed page after page in his earlier *Diary* entries—is reduced to just a sporadic few lines in the years that followed his resignation.

Monday, 5 [December, 1743]. - Went to a meeting of the Trustees of Georgia. Spent the evening at home.

- p. 278

Monday, 19 [December, 1743]. - I went to a meeting of the Trustees of Georgia. Passed the evening at home.

- p. 279

Monday, 16 [January, 1744]. - I went to a meeting of the Trustees of Georgia. Passed the evening at home.

- p. 282

Monday, 23 [January, 1744]. - I went to a meeting of the Trustees of Georgia. Passed the evening at home.

- p. 283

Saturday, 11 [February, 1744]. - Went to the Georgia Board.

- p. 284

He died on May 1, 1748 at the age of 64.

A LIST of DEATHS for the Year 1748....

MAY 1. John Perceval, Earl of Egmont, Visc. Perceval of Canturk, Baron Perceval, and Baron Perceval of Burton in Ireland, suddenly; his estate and title descend to his son Ld. Visc. Perceval, member for Weobly.

- *Gentleman's Magazine for the Year 1748*, vol. XVIII, p.236

His last two entries in his *Diary*, made the year before, are nondescript.

Monday, 20 July, 1747. - This day I went with my wife and niece Dering to Tunbridge Wells, my wife being advised by Dr. Wilmot to use those waters for the recovery of her stomach and spirits.

- p. 318

Friday, 30 Aug - We returned from Tunbridge to Charlton and found no good from the waters

His last reference to Georgia had come on the same page, only a few months before. "Thursday 19 [March].... This being the Anniversary day of Georgia Trustees, I dined at the Horn Tavern with them."

But Percival's involvement with the colony effectively ended in 1742. With the absence of Percival's determined focus, the Board of Trustees of the 1740s was a different body, a crippled and broke institution ultimately surrendering more and more concessions to its malcontent community... which itself had been crippled by the 1740s. Both sides had so bruised the other that the Trustees dream of a prosperous Georgia colony rang hollow.

In truth, the story of Georgia in its first decade may belong more to Percival than the Oglethorpe. To this day, the mention of Oglethorpe still commands a smile and conjures an amusing anecdote, while Percival's name goes mostly unknown. Oglethorpe gets the glory as the one with "boots on the ground" experience, but Percival was certainly more consistent in his attention span and focus... and between the *LES*, the Notes within *Tailfer*, the *Egmont Journal*, and the three volumes of the Percival *Diary*, no single correspondent's quotes litter this book more than his. A calm and steady—albeit distant—presence, Percival played the long suffering wife to the Georgia Colony, while Oglethorpe was its fiery mistress who came and went, and came and went. And while the colonists' attitude toward Percival could be termed a respectful resentment; their affair with Oglethorpe ran a torrid hot and cold. Hector de Beaufain visited Percival in the fall of 1741 and assured him "that the spleen of the inhabitants of Georgia is not against the Trustees but Col. Oglethorpe." (p. 229) By early 1738, as Oglethorpe was making preparations for his third visit, it became clear that the Crown didn't want Oglethorpe to return, for fear that his hot nature would bring about trouble. Percival quietly noted:

Wednesday, 8 [March, 1738]...

Mr. Vernon privately told me that he had reason to believe that the Government do not design to suffer Mr. Oglethorpe to go again to Georgia, as believing his head too full of schemes.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 2, p. 469

“He may possibly by warmth of temper run the Colony into an unnecessary quarrel with Spain,” he concluded. Even the Trustees found themselves subject to Oglethorpe’s temper. “We could not but observe that Mr. Oglethorp has been very careless of attending the Board of late,” Percival observed in his *Diary* entry of March 23, 1738. (vol. 2, p. 474) Long removed from the lofty days of 1732-3, by 1738 the magistracy was broken, the colony was mired in infighting and threatened by Spain. The Trustees were broke, and as even Percival noticed “how cool many of the Trust are grown to the work” of sustaining the Georgia colony. By 1738 apathy and frustration had taken its toll on the Trustees. Oglethorpe felt rebuked by the Board, and “since he is not thoroughly pleased with our proceedings, he choses to be absent as often as he can with decency, without falling out with us.” It is entirely possible that when in 1738 Oglethorpe returned to the wilderness of Georgia he was doing it to avoid the bureaucracy of Georgia on the other side of the Atlantic. In essence, he was going to Georgia in 1738 to *escape* Georgia....

Oglethorpe all but disappears from the story of the Savannah settlement after 1734. His ten-month visit in 1736 was spent primarily establishing the southern frontier, and despite the great hopes Savannah may have felt at his return, he did nothing to reassure the people or restore their faith in authority. And though his third visit lasted nearly five years, his first act was to disassemble the magistracy, and his second act was to leave. Thereafter, he seemed to go out of his way to avoid Savannah. “The General went South the last time from hence on the 12th Novbr; since which we have not seen him,” William Stephens wrote of Oglethorpe in January, 1739. (*CRG XXII*, part 2, p. 8) By the following month, Stephens followed up his previous:

We yet continue here daily waiting his [Oglethorpe] coming to this place, wch was once his Delight; but by degrees he seemed to grow more enamoured wth ye Southern Settlements; and the late mad Behaviour of these people with their Representation &c has more and more estranged him from it.

Stephens concluded: “It has even been surmised by some, he would shew them a mark of his resentment, by passing by this place without stopping,” on his next visit to Charlestown. (p. 46)

“Mr, Stephens’ account is very bad of the ill situation,” Percival observed in his *Diary*, “Mr. Oglethorp seeming to have no concern for this northern division of the Province, being provoked by the obstinacy of the people to have negro slaves.” (vol. 3, p. 50)

Even Bolzius in Ebenezer noticed something was wrong. “Wednesday, the 24th of January [1739]. Many of the people in this colony long for the return of Mr. Oglethorpe from Frederica.” (*Uralsperger*, vol. 6, p. 11)

Oglethorpe seemed to have written off the Savannah theater of Georgia. The authors of *A True and Historical Narrative* observed: “On the 4th November [1739] Mr. Oglethorpe departed from Savannah; and he now seems to have intirely forgot it; and it is certain, that ever since the affair of the Representation; according to his own words, *the very name of the place is become hateful to him, as are all those who he thought were ringleaders in that affair.*” (p. 122)

In February, 1740, Thomas Stephens reported to Percival of an Oglethorpe “who is so ambitious, positive and vindictive that it was dangerous to thwart him in his views.” (vol. 3, p. 109)

By the end of 1740, some on the Board of Trustees wanted Oglethorpe's already reduced role reduced further. As Percival observed: "The Trustees had before taken out of his [Oglethorpe's] hands the fingering the money, and now Mr. Vernon thought fit to take from him also any concern in the civil affairs of the colony."

Friday, 19 [December, 1740]...

Mr. Vernon hinted to the gentlemen the necessity of appointing some person in Georgia with greater authority than any now are invested with, in order that the Trustees' commands and instructions may be better executed than hitherto, instancing the misfortune of the light-house being ready to fall by means of a person in the colony who had neglected the repair, and prevented it when it might have been repaired in time.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 169

"He meant Col. Oglethorpe," Percival explained, if there were any doubt, "who assuming too much authority to himself, expects that whatever orders we send... shall not be complied with till he gives his own directions therein." The same day, the Trustees were plagued with yet another missive from the "Scotch Club," further underscoring the fracture of the Trustees' Georgia.

This day arrived a saucy letter to the Trustees from Savannah, dated 10 August, 1740, and signed by Bailey, Stirling, Grant and Douglas, vilifying Col. Oglethorpe and divers [members] of the Trust for refusing them the use of negroes, &c.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 169-70

By the spring of 1741 reports reached Percival directly from Thomas Stephens (who himself was no friend to Oglethorpe) "that Col. Oglethorpe locks himself up for a fortnight together, and will not be seen by any, and has taken to drinking." (vol. 3, p. 213)

Thomas Stephens' arrival at the Georgia Offices was much anticipated. He was, after all, the son of the ever-loyal William Stephens, who provided the Trustees with glowing reports whenever possible, and often sugar-coated those that were not. "We expect Mr. Stephens' son soon after, who will give us a just account," Percival wrote optimistically on September 12, 1739, so that the Trustees might not have to rely "on other accounts given by idle persons, runaways, and [those] embarked in the negro scheme." (*Diary*, vol. 3, p. 82) On October 5, Percival observed "Mr. Stephens' son now arrived." (p. 84)

But the younger Stephens' comments were not what the Trustees desired to hear. Stephens prophesied to Percival that as long as Oglethorpe "remained in the colony, all would go worse and worse." Percival replied that "we had a different opinion of him, and esteemed him as an honest, wise and human man." Stephens' reply was his "absolute certainty he was in that in a year more the colony will of itself break up if matters continue on the foot they are." (p. 110-11)

These were harsh words for men who were expecting the elder Stephens' optimism. The Trustees "dismissed Mr. Thomas Stephens from giving himself the trouble of attending them any more, having nothing to say to him; upon which he said in a huff, he would justify himself to the public." (p. 121) On January 30, 1740, the Trustees were made aware of a pamphlet he had written. "We were informed that Mr. Stephens lately come over, had wrote a libel on the Province and had given it to Mr. Brampton, a member of the House." Percival was livid. "This

rash vindictive fool thus endeavours to prejudice the world's opinion of the colony, merely in revenge to Mr. Oglethorp." (p. 105)

Tuesday 13 [January, 1741]...

Mr. Tho. Stephens came to see me, but I would not admit him. He sent up word again, he was sorry he had displeased me, and desired when I would see him or where he might meet me, for he had something of importance to communicate to me and it should not take a quarter of an hour. I sent word again that I neither could see him or say when I should.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 178

"His insolent attack upon the Trustees in delivering that scandalous paper to all the members on Friday last constrained me to be thus in appearance uncivil to him." But Stephens would not go away. By March, 1741 he began making serious attempts to have his pamphlet published.

Monday 23 [March, 1741]...

I learned the Mr. Stephens has wrote a book against the Trustees, which he carried to a printer, who refused to print it, on which he said he would then carry it to another.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 205

Monday 16 [March, 1741]...

Mr. Smith of our Board informed us that a twelve-penny or eighteen-penny pamphlet in answer to that we gave the House this session, has been handling around to the booksellers, in manuscript, with offer to give it to any of them, if they would print it, but hitherto they had refused to print it.

- John Percival, *Diary of Viscount Percival*, vol. 3, p. 200

Percival concluded his March 16 entry noting: "We doubt not but Mr. Stephens wrote it, for the purpose is to contradict every word of our pamphlet."

In Georgia, it was only two months later that William Stephens would learn of the book being printed in Charlestown by Tailfer, Anderson, Grant and the Sterlings. By 1741 the malcontent community was organized and had become industrious in spreading its word to the world. On both sides of the Atlantic, the Trustees were facing the threat of two different publications by the malcontents of Georgia. An embarrassed William Stephens wrote to the Trustees in October of 1740: "Tis a sad Reflection with me, when I think how instrumental my own Son has been, among others, in creating so much mischief." (CRG XXII, pt. 2, p. 424)

But what the elder Stephens and the Trustees he represented were both unwilling to face was the fact that they had *created* that discontented community. To the exclusion of the world collapsing around them they had shut their eyes and ears—time and time again—labeling every complaint a malcontent without appreciating the reasons behind the pleas. By 1741, the malcontent community had not destroyed the Trustees, nor had the Trustees defeated the malcontent community, but there was no longer any middle ground. And both had left the Georgia colony so scorched as their battle ground that what would eventually emerge after the pall of the Spanish threat no longer held any of its original promise or hope. With the Georgia colony poised on the brink of extinction, the Trustees Colony of Georgia... the Georgia of the First Forty and the Great Embarkation... was over.

~Fin~

APPENDIX

South Carolina's Royal Governors during the 1730s:

Robert Johnson 1729 - 35 (died May 3 in office)

Thomas Broughton 1735 - 37 (Johnson's brother-in-law, died late November in office)

Samuel Horsey 1737 - 38 (Oglethorpe's chosen candidate, died in office)

William Bull 1738 - 43 (James Glen assumed the post in '43)

Savannah Chronology 1732 - 35

All dates below compiled from the original source material in the *Colonial Records of Georgia*, volumes I, II, III, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIX and XXXII; the *South Carolina Gazette*, Percival's *List of Early Settlers*, *Egmont Journal* and *Percival Diary*, the *Journal of Peter Gordon*, Thomas Christie's "Daily Record of the *Anne*" and Urlsperger's *A Detailed Reports on the Salzburger in America*.
(All research: *Jefferson Hall, 2022*)

[All dates below are Old Style (Julian Calendar), pre-1752]

1732

June 9 - The official date marking the approval of the Georgia Charter. In truth, the Charter will not clear all obstacles before late June.

July 20 - The first formal meeting of the Georgia Board of Trustees. John, Lord Viscount Percival takes his oath as president of the Trustees.

July 27 - In their second meeting the Trustees exhibit an interest in "transporting a number of Saltzburgh Exiles." (CRG I, p. 67)

August 11-October 27 - Percival is on holiday in Bath with his recuperating wife. Without the cautious voice of Percival the pace of colonization will quickly build to a fever pitch.

September 21 - The Trustees grant commissions to agents Anthony da Costa, Francis Salvador and Alvaro Lopes Suasso to collect money and subscriptions on behalf of the colony, apparently unconcerned (or unaware) at this point that the said agents intend a Jewish migration by this.

September 28 - South Carolina Governor Robert Johnson writes to the Trustees, urging a slow and cautious colonization effort. Ironically, this letter will not reach the Trustees until more than a month *after* the departure of the *Anne*.

October 3 - The first migration is set into motion. The Trustees decree that an “Embarkation not exceeding Thirty five Men and their Families be made for Georgia... [and] that Lord Carpenter, Mr Oglethorpe, Mr Heathcote, Mr Hucks, Mr More, Mr Tower, Mr Belitha and Mr Hales or any Two of them do Treat with proper Persons for carrying on said Embarkation.” (CRG II, p. 6)

October 18 - In Bath, Percival learns the Trustees have decreed an embarkation, and remarks in his *Diary*: “I am not of opinion they should send any away so soon.”

October 24 - The final pool of colonists chosen for the voyage attend a meeting of the Trustees.

October 25 - The Trustees lease the tracts of what will become Savannah’s City Common to a holding trust consisting of three of the colonists: Thomas Christie, Joseph Hughes and William Calvert, for five shillings.

October 26 - The Trustees empower Oglethorpe to lay out the settlement intended for the Christie/Hughs/Calvert tract.

November 1 - Percival attends his first Trustee Common Council meeting in two months to find the first embarkation a virtual *fait accompli*.

November 1 - The Trustees name the proposed settlement Savannah, named for the river, which itself was named decades before, probably for the Savannah Indians.

November 7 - Peter Gordon is appointed first magistrate (or first bailiff), a position he will hold despite growing indifference (and increasing absence), until removed in 1735.

November 16 - Oglethorpe and seven other Trustees hold a Common Council meeting on the *Anne*. Afterwards, the *Anne* advances to its starting point, but the pilot guide is put off for drunkenness.

November 17 - Departure of the *Anne*, John Thomas Captain, with no fewer than 117 Georgia-bound passengers, but possibly as many as 125 (Captain Thomas’ Charity List of 114 *is* accurate, however incomplete). Passengers’ range of ages bookended by “Georges.” Oldest: George Symes (55) Youngest: George Marinus Warren (3 weeks), christened on the *Anne* either November 21 (Peter Gordon’s *Journal*) or November 23 (Thomas Christie’s “Daily Record”). Two children die on the voyage, both named “James”—James Clark and James Cannon. William Gainsford, whose family is ill, abandons the *Anne*; he is replaced by one of the alternates, Paul Amatis, the Trustee’s silk expert.

November 18 - Provisions and livestock taken aboard, including “sevl. Dozn. of fowls Ducks & Geese 3 Sheep 4 Hogs.”

November 21 - The *Anne* clears the Isle of Wight and enters the Atlantic.

November 24 - Thomas Christie’s “Daily Record:” a “Black lurching Bitch belong to Mr. Oglethorpe.... Supposed to be flung Over board.”

early December - The *Volante*, the second ship to bring Georgia colonists, departs England, following in the path of the *Anne*.

December 15 - The *Purrysburg* arrives at Charlestown, carrying the Swiss colonists who will begin the Purrysburg settlement, the vanguard of the Savannah River settlements.

December 27 - Colonel Jean Purry leads 87 colonists in 3 periaguas from Charlestown for the Purrysburg site.

1733

January 13 - The *Anne* arrives off the coast of Charlestown, following an eight-week passage. Oglethorpe, William Kilberry and Paul Amatis go ashore to meet with Governor Johnson while the remainder of the colonists remain aboard.

January 17 - *Gordon Journal*: The *Anne*, en route to Port Royal, is threatened by a pirate ship. The *Anne* fires two volleys and the ship retreats.

January 20 - The *Anne* arrives at Port Royal. Oglethorpe gets 5 periaguas and a 70 ton sloop for the transport of the colonists.

January 21 - The colonists disembark in the morning and encamp at the new barracks of the Independent Company, at Port Royal, where they will remain for most of the next ten days.

January 23(?) - Oglethorpe finds the Savannah site.

January 24 - Oglethorpe returns to Port Royal after scouting the site at Yamacraw Bluff.

January 25 - The *James* departs England for Georgia, the third ship commissioned by the Trustees and the first to contain significant numbers of sawyers to build the settlement... correcting a curious oversight in that the first two ships represent virtually every profession *but* sawyers and builders.

January 30 - The *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper* reports that “the *James* bound for Georgia” proceeded from Gravesend on the 25th.

January 30 - The colonists begin their journey to Yamacraw Bluff, but encounter foul weather, according to the March 31, 1733 *South Carolina Gazette*, “forced by a Storm to put in at a place called the *Look out*, and to lye there all Night, the next Day they arrived at *Johns*” [Jones] Island, where huts have already been prepared, as well as “a plentiful Supper of Venison.”

January 31 - The Trustees rebuff an overture by ‘London Jewry’ to send colonists to Georgia and revoke the commissions of da Costa, Salvador and Suasso. Suddenly alarmed about what these agents are attempting, the Trustees voice the concern that “sending Jews would prejudice several People against contributing” to the design of the colony.

February 1 - The arrival of the five periaguas at Yamacraw Bluff. The Georgia colonists are officially greeted by Chief Tomochichi.

February 2 - Peter Gordon’s *Journal*: “Friday the 2nd we finished our tents.”

February 3 - Making a more careful approach, the last of the six vessels arrives as William Kilberry escorts the 70 ton sloop to the Bluff, with the bulk of the dry goods aboard.

February 4 - The first church service, attended by Tomochichi.

February 5 - Slavery in Georgia by the fifth day. Colonel Bull arrives to assist the settlement, bringing the orders of the South Carolina Assembly promising assistance. He also evidently brings 4 of his own slaves.

February 8 - Other prominent South Carolinians come to assist the settlement.

February 9 - Derby Ward and lots for the ‘first forty’ families come into being. “The Square” (later known as Johnson) and its forty lots marked out. The first house begun this day.

February 10 - The *Anne* docks in Charlestown harbor, its obligation to Georgia completed. It will depart for England by March 10.

February 19 - Oglethorpe goes to Tybee to “pitch upon a proper place for a small settlement.” Jean Pierre Purry (leader of the Purrysburg settlement) comes for a visit.

February 21 - Rev. Henry Herbert leaves with Purry for Charlestown; Georgia’s first minister is only in Georgia for 3 weeks.

February 21 - William Kilberry apprehends two men who had escaped from a Charlestown jail.

February 24 - The *Volante*, following the heels of the *Anne*, is listed as having "entered in" at Charlestown harbor in this issue of the *South Carolina Gazette*. She brings 4 more Charity colonists, including the invaluable John Vanderplank and the "mutinous" Samuel Grey with attendants, following an 11-week passage.

March 1 - The walls of the first house are raised. Peter Gordon's *Journal*: "March ye 1st the first house in the square was framed, and raised, Mr. Oglethorpe driving the first pinn."

March 4 - Peter Gordon's *Journal* documents the beginning of Georgia's *civilian soldiers* concept. The first target practice was held, "generally observed, for many Sundays afterwards."

March 12 - Thomas Causton states that the government is divided into four tythings. (Still just one ward) "[We] have got up three Houses."

March 16 - Samuel Eveleigh, a prominent South Carolina trader, arrives for a visit. "4 Houses already up, but none finished."

March 17 - Georgia Close becomes the first child born in the colony. Dies by the end of December.

March 24 & 31 - The *South Carolina Gazette* carries lengthy articles on the founding and development of the new colony. The first is written by Samuel Eveleigh, detailing his visit, the second penned by one of the colonists.

March 27 - From Carolina the Rev. Henry Herbert writes to the Trustees of his intention to return to England as soon as he is well enough to do so.

April 4 - The fourth ship, the *Peter and James* departs England, with Nicholas Amatis, Rev. Samuel Quincy and 15 others aboard.

April 6 - First death in the colony of Georgia. Dr. William Cox dies. First man to die is the only practicing physician in the colony.

April 12 - The *Pearl* departs England, with the Hetheringtons, the Bishops and 12 servants. All pay their own passage.

May 4-14 - Oglethorpe is in Charlestown, accompanied by Tomochichi and Tooanahowi. Spends the 15th at Colonel Bull's. "On the 17th dined at Lieutenant Watts's at Beaufort, and landed at Savannah on the 18th, at ten in the Morning." - *South Carolina Gazette*, June 2, 1733

May 14 - The third ship with colonists, the *James*, already met by Oglethorpe at Port Royal on his way to Charlestown, enters the port of Savannah, the first ship

to offload its cargo directly, rewarded with £ 100 Sterling prize. With no fewer than 17 aboard, and six of the seven Charity heads of family on board sawyers, building of Savannah can finally commence in earnest. With the forty lots in Derby ward dedicated to the ‘first forty’ of the *Anne*, most of the *James* passengers will be placed in a new ward to the west (Decker).

May 18-21 - Indian conference in Savannah. The Articles of Friendship and Commerce treaty officially allows Oglethorpe to settle his colonists. A delegation of the 8 tribes of the Lower Creek Nation formally cedes rights to the lands between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, reserving for Indian use a swath of land between Savannah and Pipemakers Creek and Ossabaw, St. Catherine’s and Sapelo islands.

May 23-June 10 - Oglethorpe is back in Charlestown, securing financial aid for Georgia.

Early June - An Indian death by gunshot leads to suspicion of English malfeasance, feeding Indian resentment until Tomochichi declares “I am an Englishman,” and the death is discovered a suicide.

June 9 - Oglethorpe correspondence to the Trustees, penned from Charlestown: “nine framed houses finished.”

June 12 - Oglethorpe returns to find the people “mutinous.” He gives Samuel Grey 12 hours to get out of town, then goes with Captain Macpherson to found the site for Fort Argyle.

June 12 - The *Pearl* arrives in Charlestown, with settlers for Georgia.

June 15 - Georgia’s first minister, the Rev. Henry Herbert dies en route for England on the *Baltic Merchant*.

June 15 - The *Georgia Pink* departs England for Georgia, with 84 Charity colonists aboard, and four additional on their own account.

July 7 - The naming ceremony. Oglethorpe affixes names to four wards, sixteen tythings and possibly as few as eight streets. While there is compelling secondary evidence to suggest he names Johnson Square (the only one that existed then), it is unlikely any other square is named. One of his street name choices (Eveleigh Street, still found in a 1753 map) won’t survive.

July 7 - The *Pearl* colonists arrive in Savannah. They will create the backbone of Thunderbolt.

between July 10-12 - The *William and Sarah* arrives—with no fewer than 41 colonists, but possibly as many as 75—marking at the time the largest single

Jewish migration to the New World. Most of the *William and Sarah* passengers will be placed in Decker Ward.

July 19 - Charles and Peter Tondee become the colony's first orphans, with the death of their father.

July 21 - Seventeen Charity colonists arrive in town via the *Peter and James*, which arrived at Port Royal one week before. Among the passengers is Georgia's second minister, the Rev. Samuel Quincy.

July - The Summer Sickness wreaks havoc on the settlement, claiming the lives of at least 20 in July alone, bookended by members of John West's family—his wife Elizabeth on July 1 and his son on July 31. Documented deaths this month: Mary Calvert, Mary Cannon, Thomas Cornwall, Sarah Dearn, Peter Germain, James and Elizabeth Goddard, Peter Gordon, Martha Gough, Mrs. Joseph Hetherington, Richard Hodges, William and Mary Littel, Thomas Millidge, Ellen Muir, Samuel Parker, John Mackay, Sarah Symes, Elizabeth and Richard West.

August 12 - Oglethorpe correspondence: "I sent away the Negroes who Sawed for us."

August 28 - Unlucky John West, widowed on July 1, marries a second time, to Elizabeth Littel, widow of William Littel.

August 29 - The Trustees document Georgia's first harvested export, 2 barrels of rice, arriving in England on the *James*.

August 29 - The *Georgia Pink* arrives at the port of Savannah. Having lost only one passenger—Daniel Preston—in the eleven-week passage the *Georgia Pink* will claim a prize for successfully navigating the Savannah. The two Preston children will die over the next three months, leaving only Preston's widow by November. The *Georgia Pink* colonists will comprise the majority of a new ward called Percival.

September - The September Embarkation. The Trustees send three ships to Georgia staggered over a three-week period—the *Savannah*, the *London Merchant* and the *James*—accounting for 181 Charity colonists. It represents the largest single number until the Great Embarkation two years later. Shortly after the *Savannah* sails the Trustees learn they have been defrauded by William Wise and his "daughter" and order them put off the ship at any port.

September 23 - The *Susannah* arrives, following a crossing of 18 weeks; the longest passage of any 1733 ship. On board is the family of Thomas Causton, the wife of Timothy Bowling, who will be widowed in five weeks, and Mary Overend, who learns she's been widowed during the lengthy passage.

September 26 - Richard West is widowed a second time as Elizabeth West (the second) dies following a marriage of four weeks.

mid October - The Trustees are made aware of the Jewish migration *via* a Robert Johnson letter, in spite their position in January.

November 4 - South Carolina Governor Robert Johnson, Philip Massey and Major Barnwell visit Savannah.

November 8 - Claiming illness, Peter Gordon leaves Savannah. Departs Charlestown for England November 25.

December 15 - The *Savannah* arrives at Savannah, following a nine-week voyage, beating the other two vessels of the September Embarkation by a month. Its passengers will be broken up to begin the fourth Savannah ward and to create the satellite settlements of Abercorn and Highgate.

December 21 - The Christie/Calvert Deed is completed, codifying the July 7 formalities and presenting in print for the first time the name of four wards—“Percival, Heathcote, Derby, Decker’s”—and sixteen tythings. Lost is Oglethorpe’s “Plan and Plot,” which accompanied the Deed. Street (and any square) names are not listed in the surviving text... but were probably on the Plan.

1734

January 2 - Captain Francis Scott, civil administrator in Oglethorpe’s absence, dies; following on the heels of the death of William Kilberry (December) and storekeeper Joseph Hughes (September), the third of the *Anne*’s most industrious passes away. Civil authority will now gradually fall to Thomas Causton. One fourth of the passengers from the *Anne* (at least 30) are now dead. 1733 saw a mortality of no fewer than 63 colonists.

January 7 - Hector de Beaufain, a “Gentleman of fortune,” visits Savannah. He will eventually settle a large plantation on the South Carolina side of the river, below Purrysburg

January 8 - The *Purrysburg*, following a departure from Rotterdam and a month-long stopover in England, finally sets sail from Dover, with John Martin Bolzius and the first emigration of the Salzburgers aboard.

January 9 - Oglethorpe purchases a shiplot of 40 Irish transport servants for general labor.

January 12-14 - The other two ships of the September Embarkation arrive. The *London Merchant* arrives first, piloted by Capt. Thomas of the *Anne*, followed by the second arrival of the *James*. Fifty three Charity colonists between the two

vessels. The *James* passengers will be spread primarily amongst the Highgate and Skidaway settlements.

January 12-21 - Oglethorpe, having introduced Hector de Beaufain to Savannah, escorts him to Abercorn and Purrysburg.

January 22 - Oglethorpe correspondence: "Three Wards and a half are taken up," and all of the first four wards now exist in some physical form. The Georgia settlement boasts 437 souls: Savannah - 259, Ogeechee - 22, Highgate - 3, Hampstead - 39, Abercorn - 33, Hutchinson Island - 5, Tybee - 21, Cape Bluff - 5, Westbrook - 4, Thunderbolt - 28

January 23-February 8 - A false alarm of Spanish incursions provokes Oglethorpe and Hector de Beaufain to inspect the Georgia coast to St. Simons, in the process Oglethorpe names an unnamed island "Jekyll."

February 7-15 - In one of the most stunning dissolutions of family in Savannah in the 1730s, four members of the Dobson family die in one week. Having arrived on the *Savannah* two months before the seven-member family will lose a fifth member in early March and a sixth at an unclear date, leaving apparently only daughter Hannah as the sole survivor.

February 26 - Oglethorpe petitions the Trustees for a 500 acre tract for Joseph Watson, who is transplanting from Charlestown.

February 27 - In England, Peter Gordon presents a positive account of the progress of the colony to the Trustees, including a draft from which they order an engraving made.

March 1 - Earliest recorded murder in English Georgia. Bedridden William Wise is strangled and drowned on Hutchinson Island, apparently by a cadre of the Irish transport servants.

March 2 - Oglethorpe arrives in Charlestown, having given up on the Salzburgers and eager to book passage to England.

March 7 - The *Purrysburg* arrives off the coast of Charlestown. In this comedy of errors, they are met there by Oglethorpe, who was trying to return to England.

March 11 - Oglethorpe sets "out again for Georgia."

March 12 - Arrival of the *Purrysburg* and the Salzburgers in Savannah. Oglethorpe arrives in Savannah on the 14th.

March 15 - Oglethorpe, South Carolina Speaker Paul Jenys and Salzburg leader Philip von Reck set out and found "Ebenezer I" site.

March 16 - The *South Carolina Gazette* advertises the opening of a mail post between Charlestown and Savannah.

March 23 - Oglethorpe, Tomochichi, Senauki, Tooanahowi, Umpychi, Hillispilli, and Indian attendants with John Musgrove leave Savannah for Charlestown, preparing for passage to England. Arrive in Charlestown on the 25th.

March 23 - With the civil administrator Francis Scott dead, first magistrate Peter Gordon in London, second magistrate William Waterland removed and Richard Hodges dead, the only man left in Savannah's chain of command is third magistrate Thomas Causton, a calico printer with little experience and no people skills, now thrust into an undefined role of *de facto* governor.

March 26 - In Savannah an inquiry is held investigating the "wretched treatment" of the Salzburgers by the *Purrysburg*'s captain during the voyage.

March 29 - Though produced later in the year, this is the official date represented on the Peter Gordon (Fourdrinier) Map, reproducing the town as of (more or less) the date Oglethorpe left it. Idealized though it may be, it nonetheless represents four wards and eighty cottages.

April 1 - Negro sawyers return to Georgia as South Carolina merchant Paul Jenys lends a slave-gang of 12 to 14 to help build Ebenezer and the mail post road.

April 5 - The Salzburgers leave Savannah, locating to Abercorn while Ebenezer is built.

April 12 - First Salzburger death: Tobias Lackner (or Larkner). Buried the next day in Abercorn.

April 19 - The road from Savannah to Ebenezer is completed.

April 20 or 24 - Unlucky in love, twice-widowed John West marries a third wife (in under ten months), this time to Elizabeth Hughes, his third wife to be named Elizabeth and the third to have come on the *Anne*. (This marriage will last until his death in 1739) Son Joseph will be born to the couple on December 26, 1734. (And will die June 10, 1737)

April 24 & 25 - While in Charlestown, Tomochichi entertains roughly 30 warriors of the Nauchees, seeking to relocate to Savannah Town. They play an Indian game "with Ball and Rackets," with 13 to each team.

May 7 - Oglethorpe, Tomochichi, Senauki, Tooanahowi, Hillispilli, Apakowtski, Estimolichi, Sintouchi, Hinguithi, Umpichi and John Musgrove set out for England on the *Aldborough*.

May 7 - John Martin Bolzius, bringing up the rear of the Salzburger migration from Abercorn, arrives in Ebenezer.

May 11 - Richard White and Alice Riley (and evidently Nicholas White, as well); Irish transport servants, are convicted of the murder of William Wise. Richard White and Alice Riley escape but are eventually recaptured. Alice Riley's sentence is postponed long enough for her to deliver a child.

June 9 - One of the Ebenezer slaves assaults another one with a knife.

June 16 - The *Aldborough* reaches England with Oglethorpe, Tomochichi and the Indians aboard.

June 29 - The Ebenezer slaves are recalled by Jenys & Company. The slave held for (what was evidently a mortal) assault with a knife, kills himself July 5.

July 3 - The Indians are presented before the Georgia Board of Trustees.

July 27, August 3 & August 10 - Thomas Causton proclaims recent Savannah transplant Elisha Dobree a credit risk in the *South Carolina Gazette* and invites his creditors to descend on him.

July 31 - Percival notes in his *Diary* that one of the Indians is ill with small pox.

August 1 - The Scottish migration (the "Scotch Club"), consisting of Patrick Tailfer, Patrick Houstoun and co. arrives in Georgia. By the late 1730s this contingent will become the most visible faction of the Malcontent community.

August 1 - *London Gazette* and Percival's *Diary*: Tomochichi and the Indians are granted an audience at the Court of King George II and meet the King, Queen and Prince of Wales. Toanahowi is presented with a gold watch.

August 1 - The stricken Indian—unnamed by Percival outside of an oblique reference to him as "a cousin of the King" Tomochichi—dies, despite the efforts of Dr. Hans Sloane.

August 2-7 - Percival *Diary*: The Indians spend Friday through Wednesday in Surrey, where Oglethorpe has taken them "to dissipate their sorrow for the death of their friend."

August 9 - Returned to London, the Indians spend the day visiting Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's and other sites of the town.

August 13 - Joseph Watson is found guilty of calling Mary Musgrove "a Witch" and fined.

August 18 - Tomochichi and the Indians have an audience with the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, then dine with Lord Percival the next evening.

August 22 & September 11 - Over two meetings the Trustees the Indians reach agreements on issues of trade.

August 24 - Joseph Watson is found guilty of “Endeavouring to Shoot Mrs Musgrove,” fined 5 pounds Sterling.

August 25 - Joseph Watson is found guilty of “Beating Estechee the Indian and Defrauding him of his Goods,” fined.

September 1 - Skee, one of two Indian warriors chosen by Oglethorpe to head Georgia’s militia of Indian Allies, dies of alcohol poisoning, drunk under the table by Joseph Watson.

early September - The Charlestown/Savannah Post collapses, evidently over issues of salary for the courier.

September 8 - Paul Amatis, the Trustees’ “Italian silk man,” who had come on the *Anne*, removes the garden from Charlestown to Savannah, setting the stage for a power struggle with the Trustees’ other gardener, Joseph Fitzwalter.

September - Refusing inquiries into his trading practice, Joseph Watson locks himself in the Store “for severall days.” Estechee and other Indians attempt to break in but Watson escapes. In anger Estechee kills a Musgrove servant named Justus, marking at least the fourth murder in 1734 and the second connected to Watson.

October 16 - Thomas Causton is officially installed in the vacant position of second bailiff. Henry Parker is made third. First bailiff Peter Gordon is still in London.

October 19 - Samuel Eveleigh to Oglethorpe on the progress of Savannah: “There are about fourscore Houses built and forty more going forward.”

October 27 - Purrysburg’s second emigration arrives. John Martin Bolzius’ diary: “Mr. Pury has arrived in Savannah with a great ship full of people from Switzerland whose destination is to be Purysburg.” Three ships comprise the flotilla; five Georgia Charity colonists have hitched a ride.

October 29 - The Gordon Map is published. From the *Caledonian Mercury Newspaper*: “The new plan presented by Mr Gordon to his Majesty, of the Town of Savannah and the Colony of Georgia, so far as it was cleared of the woods (dedicated to the Honorable the Trustees) is now printed and published.”

October 31 - Peter Gordon embarks with Tomochichi and the others back to Georgia on the *Prince of Wales*, which represents the second transport of the Salzburger. With more than 80 Charity passengers, and a grand total approaching 130 Georgia-bound passengers, the *Prince of Wales* is the largest migration in 1734.

November 5 - The Charlestown/Savannah Post has resumed. John Martin Bolzius' diary: "The mounted post which stopped some time ago is now operating again." A subscription or postage has been created to cover costs.

November 21 - With a murder conviction difficult to prove in either of the two cases, Joseph Watson is found guilty of "Misdemeanors," ordered confined as a lunatic, an indefinite confinement that will continue until November, 1737. By March, 1737, the matter will be brought before the Privy Council, the legal arm of the Crown, sending the Trustees scrambling for legal precedent.

December 14 - Thomas Christie correspondence to Oglethorpe: The path cut through Hutchinson Island now complete, "likewise made a Path a Considerable way between the Town & Musgrove Cowpen."

December 14 - Thomas Christie requests to be relieved as Recorder.

December 21 - Alice Riley's child is delivered; a son, named James.

December 28 - The *Prince of Wales* arrives, returning Gordon and the Indians, while the second group of Salzburger are led by Commissioner John Vat. Joseph Fitzwalter correspondence: Tomochichi and the returning Indians "were Saluted with Thirteen peices of Cannon.... And the Inhabitants of the Township Expressed them selves with a great Deal of Joy of their Safe Arrivall, and the Indians in Generall was glad to see us."

end of December - Wards five and six now clearly exist, as five families from the *Prince of Wales* are granted lots throughout the sixth ward.

end of December - With embarkations to Purrysburg and Ebenezer dwarfing Savannah's 1734 arrivals, the region's second year saw foreign-speaking arrivals far outnumber the English.

1735

January-February - First magistrate Peter Gordon and second magistrate Thomas Causton, next door neighbors, engage in an escalating game of political posturing, with Gordon increasingly sympathizing with those disenfranchised under Causton. In March Gordon will vacate the colony without leave.

January 19 - Alice Riley, convicted of the murder of Will Wise the year before, becomes the first woman hanged in Georgia, four weeks after the birth of her child.

January 23 - Captain Dunbar of the *Prince of Wales*: “Touanoies [gold] watch is very much abus’d [abused] but I carie it to Charlestown and will have it mended.”

January 27 - Elisha Dobree correspondence to the Trustees: “I am Sorry that I have reason to Inform your Honble Board That the Workmen at Tybee are almost Continually Drunk & that the Light House is not like to be Quickly built.”

February 15 - James Riley, the son of the executed Alice, dies.

February 24 - Tomochichi writes to the Trustees thanking them for their hospitality and announcing a new alliance with the Savannah Indians.

February 28 - Francis Mugridge is sent to jail. He will be broken out by John Musgrove less than three weeks later.

March - First bailiff Peter Gordon departs Charlestown for England, never to return to Georgia, but carrying with him testimonials against the conduct of second bailiff Thomas Causton.

March - The combined Yamacraw and Savannah tribes move their settlement four miles upriver to Pipemaker’s Creek, the western boundary of the Indian lands.

March 1 - More mischief from Joseph Watson, this time spreading ugly rumors to John Musgrove. Patrick Houstoun correspondence: “Musgrove is jealous of his Wife with Mr. Causton... he has after been heard say that he would shoot Mr. Causton and kill his wife.”

March 2 - John Vanderplank rings the alarm bell as the Red String Plot breaks. John Coxe, Piercy Hill and Edward Cruise are apprehended at once; two more of Roger Lacy’s servants are discovered run away.

March 3 - Interrogations and investigations begin into the attempted insurrection. John Musgrove, after a March 4 interview, is cleared of involvement.

March 3 - Robert Parker writes to the Trustees that Thomas Causton is knowingly selling rum out of the Store under the label of Gould & Co.

March 4(?) - The feud between the Trustees’ Gardeners escalates as Paul Amatis threatens Joseph Fitzwalter with a gun.

March 7 - The magistrates execute warrants for the search and seizure of evidence within freeholders' homes relating to the Red String Plot. Joseph Watson's house is searched for evidence of his involvement, but nothing is found. Watson writes in dismay: "After searching they nailed up my fore door & Window and Keeps a Sentinall att my back door." Robert Parker Jr.'s house is searched, but all that is found is his letter accusing Causton of selling rum.

March 10 - A grand jury indicts John Coxe, Piercy Hill and Edward Cruise for High Misdemeanors—but not treason—in relation to the Red String Plot.

March 17 - The Trustees pay their respects to Skee—drunk to death by Joseph Watson—by granting to his relatives: "6 Guns, 100 flints... 2 Hatchets... 12 knives & some Whet Stones and also some Paint."

March 24 - Thomas Causton complains of growing anarchy in Savannah: "If any person is committed to Gaol, they [the malcontents] lett them out, and if they apprehend any one either by Night or Day, they discharge them at pleasure."

late March - Captain William Thompson pilots the *Two Brothers* to Georgia, with 112 colonists for Purrysburg and 10 Moravians for Georgia, serving as the vanguard for two dozen additional Moravians who will sail on the *Simmond* at the end of the year.

April - William Watkins, a surgeon with a wife in England, commits bigamy by secretly marrying fellow *Savannah* passenger and Georgia resident Hannah Willoughby, widow of James Willoughby.

April 2 - The Yamacraw/Savannah Nation is settled at their new site. Thomas Causton letter to the Trustees: "The Indians are at Pipemakers Bluff, and have built a very pretty Town."

April 3 - After two years the Trustees officially create legislation banning slavery and liquors in Georgia.

April 8 - Gardener Joseph Fitzwalter marries Molly, Indian niece of the late Skee, in a marriage ceremony attended by prominent members of both Anglo and Indian communities. He writes that "Time will wear her of the Savage way," but as Percival will later note, "she ran from him."

April 24 - Samuel Mercer writes to the Trustees that Thomas Causton is knowingly selling rum out of the Store under the label of Gould & Co.

May 3 - Governor Robert Johnson, South Carolina's Royal Governor, dies.

May 10 - The War of the Magistrates heats up. *Egmont Journal*: "Peter Gordon attended as he was order'd and deliver'd a Memorial against Mr. Causton the 2d

Bailif, and also Several Letters from particular Inhabitants of Georgia complaining of that magistrates conduct & behaviour.”

May 12 - The Trustees finally make clear that Paul Amatis, not Joseph Fitzwalter, is to have seniority within the Trustees’ Garden in letters written to both men.

May 15 - Other Indian Traders are welcome to deal with any other nation, but according to the Trustees, “John Musgrove and his Wife are to have the sole Licence for trade with the Indians of Yamacraw.”

May 28 - Thomas Christie requests a second time to be relieved as Recorder.

late May - Patrick Tailfer and associates pen their first treatise urging the allowance of slavery into the province.

June 2 - The Trustees’ orders regarding the continued confinement of Joseph Watson are received and read in Savannah.

June 5 – “Anonymous” writes to the Trustees a multi-count memorial against Thomas Causton, including the accusation that he is selling rum out of the Store under the label of Gould & Co.; further questioning the wisdom of having one man commanding commercial and government positions at once.

June 6 - Paul Amatis writes to the Trustees that Thomas Causton is knowingly selling rum out of the Store under the label of Gould & Co.

June 9 - The Lower Creek Nation arrives in Savannah to be presented with gifts brought by Tomochichi from England.

June 10 - The appointed date for a duel between Thomas Gapen and Joseph Fitzwalter, spurred by a perceived slight the day before. Fitzwalter opts not to appear, prompting Gapen to post him a coward.

June 12 - Indian trader John Musgrove dies.

June 24 - The official date on which the April 3 legislations goes into effect, concerning the Indian trade, and bans on the liquor and the slave trade.

June 28 - Rev. Samuel Quincy: “The Number of Christenings in the Colony, since I arrived here to this present time have been 34, The Number of Burials 156, & the Number of Marriages 38.”

July - Sheftall diary: Congregation *Mickva Israel* is created.

July 8 - The *Two Brothers* finally sets sail back for England. On board is Anne colonist John West, seeking to return to England in order to procure servants; and

John Savy, an early leader in the Purrysburg settlement now running from the law in both Georgia and South Carolina. Instead of returning to England he will seek an audience with the Spanish and reappear in Havannah in 1737, with threats of reducing the Carolina and Georgia settlements to ruin.

mid July - The Savannah trial of Richard Turner for printing Carolina currency, attended and argued by South Carolina Attorney General James Abercromby, results in the further indictments of William and Thomas Mellichamp.

July 18 - Thomas Causton and Indian envoy Patrick Mackay are lambasted by the Trustees for misinterpreting their instructions regarding the Creek Indian gifts the month before; but in the same letter the Trustees soothe Causton's punishment with a gift of fifty pounds for previous services.

July 21 - The *James* disembarks passengers for the fourth time in two years, but with more Trust Servants than freeholders aboard, it continues a trend of increasing servants in Georgia and erodes a middle class.

July 24 - James Oglethorpe announces to the Trustees that he will return to Georgia, accompanying the Great Embarkation.

July 31 - Thomas Christie requests a third time to be allowed to resign as Recorder. "I cod [could] now heartily wish the Trustees wod [would] relieve me in my Office." His pleas, as before, fall on deaf ears.

August 13 - The Trustees authorize the creation of a town and court "in the same form as the Town of Savannah, and that the new Town bear the name of Frederica."

August 18 - Thomas Mellichamp is taken into custody by Carolina authorities, found in the possession and progress of printing counterfeit Carolina currency.

August 27 - Percival acknowledges the receipt of the slavery petition by Tailfer and the Scots.

August 28 - Reverend Samuel Quincy, his letters unwelcome by the Trustees and long considered by them to be in league with the malcontents of the province, writes to the Trustees of his desire to step down as Georgia's minister.

August 31 - Richard Mellichamp marries Hannah Willoughby, oblivious to the fact that she is already married to (and pregnant by) William Watkins... who has masterminded the plot to keep his own bigamy secret.

September 3 - The Trustees reject the Scots' application to permit slavery at Joseph's Town and refuse their request for independence from Savannah civil authority.

September 8 - Thomas Causton to the Trustees: “The Prohibition of Rum is pursued by the Magistrates with all possible diligence.”

September 10 - Citing the Trustees’ official ban on slavery, Samuel Eveleigh announces his intention to leave Georgia.

September 17 - Enter John Wesley. *Egmont Journal*: “Mr. Burton acquainted us that two gentlemen, brothers, Wesley by name, One a Clergy man & both bred at the University had resolved to go to Georgia out of a pious design to convert the Indians.”

September 24 - Thomas Causton is officially installed as first bailiff in the place of Peter Gordon. Henry Parker is made second and John Dearn third. With the exception of a vacancy created by Dearn’s death in 1737, the magistracy will remain essentially unchanged until 1738. Causton now holds the title of Chief Magistrate and Storekeeper, giving rise to obvious questions of conflicts of interest in one man holding every office of power.

September 27 - Thomas Mellichamp, charged with counterfeiting Carolina currency, escapes from a Charlestown jail, and will not be apprehended until early January.

October 10 - The Trustees officially revoke the authority of Samuel Quincy as minister and appoint in his stead John Wesley, son of Samuel Wesley.

October 20 - The *Simmond*—comprised heavily of Moravians—and the *London Merchant*—comprised heavily of Salzburger—two of the three ships comprising the Great Embarkation, weigh anchor from Gravesend, bound for Georgia with Oglethorpe aboard.

November 9 - William Douglass, servant to Patrick Tailfer, is found dead of bruises and blows to the head. Tailfer shortly thereafter is indicted for manslaughter.

December 2 - The *Two Brothers* sails again for Georgia, with 13 Charity colonists and the return of John West (who will not have enough money to cover the expenses of the voyage and will essentially mortgage one of his properties to Captain Thompson). The ship will arrive off Tybee on February 2.

December 10 - The *Simmond* and the *London Merchant*, delayed by contrary winds for seven weeks, finally depart the Isle of Wight. They will reach Tybee on February 5. The third ship of the Great Embarkation, the *Prince of Wales*, out of Scotland, will arrive on January 10, same day as the *Peter and James* and the *Allen*, carrying an additional 13 between the two.

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