

**AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE FOUNDING OF THE
COLONY OF GEORGIA**

by

THOMAS HART WILKINS

(Under the direction of Major Professor Fred Bateman)

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to understand the founding of the Colony of Georgia during the period 1730-1750 from an economic point of view. There are few historians alive today and no known living economists who specialize in the period and subject matter. Unique documents in the Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia reveal that James Edward Oglethorpe owned land in South Carolina. This thesis rejects writings from the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries citing Oglethorpe as working African slaves on this land in South Carolina. Whereas General Oglethorpe appears to have operated in an Eighteenth Century rent-seeking model, the best explanation of his actions follow "the Roman method" of colonization, which utilized a cost-benefit analysis. Rather than interpret the founding as a failure, as many writers have done, this thesis uses economic reasoning to interpret the colony as a success.

INDEX WORDS: Economic theory versus history, Thesis, Department of Economics, the University of Georgia, the Roman method, preference ordering, mercantilism, principal-agent problem, Tomo-chi-chi, unemployment, marginal utility theory, revealed preferences, rational behavior, rent-seeking behavior, James Edward Oglethorpe, Jean Pierre Purry, the Earl of Egmont, The Trustees and God's Revealed Preferences, King George II, Major William Horton, Fred Bateman, George A. Selgin, Charles D. DeLorme, Jr. , Dr. David Robinson.

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THOMAS HART WILKINS

B. A., Emory University, 1962

M.A., New York University, 1967

B.A., The University of Georgia, 1999

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THOMAS HART WILKINS

Approved:

Major Professor: Fred Bateman

**Committee: George A. Selgin
 Charles D. DeLorme, Jr.**

Electronic Version Approved:

**Gordhan L. Patel
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2002**

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to Fred Bateman, Professor of Economic History and Dr. David Robinson. These estimable gentlemen are in the Department of Economics at the University of Georgia, where they teach with civility and skill. I also dedicate this thesis to the memory of my ancestor, Major William Horton. A marker at Horton's home on Jekyll Island, the oldest residential building in Georgia, reads as follows: "He shined in war and peace, in public and in private Stations."¹



**Image 1: William Horton Escutcheon,
Courtesy of National Park Services,
Southeast Archeological Center**

¹ This quotation is from a letter by James Habersham to General James Oglethorpe in England, announcing the death of William Horton.

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Dr. David Robinson, Department of Economics, the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Dr. George A. Selgin, Professor of Economics, the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to understand the founding of the Colony of Georgia from an economic point of view rather than a philanthropic, political or religious point of view. The road map for the reader begins with historiography, followed by a discussion of how economic theory can add to and improve our understanding of the subject. Next is a discussion of the incentives facing the three groups of people, the Trustees, the colonists and the king. This thesis will explain what motivated each group of people, using modern economic principles.

Rent-Seeking Behavior

Next will be discussion about research discoveries from unique manuscript sources, which give the appearance of a "rent-seeking"¹ behavior, whereby such a person attempts to extract "rent" for his office from those under his jurisdiction. The data discoveries will be tested, to see if the Trustees, through their principal agent, James Edward Oglethorpe, were acting from a rent-seeking motive. Although there are appearances of rent-seeking behavior, this thesis argues to reject rent-seeking model as the best explanation of the Trust because the discovered data support the "Roman method" of colonization. At the end, this thesis will make

¹ Readers interested in rent-seeking discussions should consult Robert Ekelund and Robert D. Tollison, Mercantilism as a Rent-Seeking Society, College Station, Texas A & M University Press, 1981.

some inferences based upon research about the use of Oglethorpe's plantations in South Carolina.

Was the Colony a Failure?

Rather than interpret the founding as a failure, as argued by Randall M. Miller in his "The Failure of the Colony of Georgia Under the Trustees," published in The Georgia Historical Quarterly,² this thesis will argue that the founding of the Colony of Georgia was a success. The king wanted to protect South Carolina from Spanish encroachments. He succeeded. The Trustees wanted to act for the public good. They did so. The colonists wanted a better life than they had in England. Those who survived the risks did so. Just because there was dissent should not mean the founding was a failure. If the colony was such a "failure," then why did not the majority of the colonists return to England? Of course, this hypothetical question is limited by the fact that not all the colonists were able to return to England. Some were unable to afford the passage; others had debts. One colonist did return to England and asked the Trustees to reimburse his transportation. The Trustees refused. His error had been that he had not asked the Trustees for permission, prior to his return journey. Therefore, this thesis recognizes that there is a lower bound to the number of colonists who wanted to return to England, but could not do so. Despite this reduction in the size of the number of colonists for this hypothetical question, the historical fact is that only a handful returned to England. This reveals to the reader today that the colonists felt better off by staying in

² Volume 53, March, 1969, pp. 1-17.

Georgia rather than returning to England. Hence, the journey and new life must not have been construed by the colonists' minds as a failure.

A Challenging Question

If the colony was a "failure," then why did more colonists come at their own expense to Georgia in the last six years of the Trusteeship than all of the colonists who came "on charity" or at public expense during the entire 20 years? We know this information from Paul Taylor's Georgia Plan: 1732-1752 (see Table 6). When Parliamentary funds dried up, the "free riders" stopped coming, but those who paid their own way accelerated their emigration. This later group, referred to as "adventurers," must have seen some advantages. Was not the land free? Did not wildlife and seafood present themselves in abundance in Georgia? Surely, the "adventurers" must have believed they were better off in Georgia than in England where they faced food shortages and high prices caused by monopolies created under rent-seeking kings.

How This Study Is Original

A certain amount of humility is needed to research and write on this subject. There are few historians alive today and no known living economists who specialize in this period and subject matter. The original source materials are on faded papers with acid destruction over time. Documents are not centralized, but are dispersed in archives in Europe and America. Georgia newspapers from this period are non-existent. Many of the official documents were lost when the British invaded Savannah during the American Revolution. There is a lack of numerical

data, the engine of modern econometrics. Despite these shortcomings, economic principles can be employed to reject the null hypothesis of rent-seeking behavior, that General Oglethorpe did not employ African slaves on his South Carolina plantation, and that the plantation was part of his "Roman method" of colonization.

Unique Manuscripts

Fortunately, The University of Georgia bought the Egmont Collection at a 1947 London auction, outbidding the Library of Congress and the British Museum. The 6,000 documents contain contemporaneously hand-written copies of letters and documents from the 1730's and 1740's. There is correspondence from Georgians to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in London and vice versa. When the Trustees gave back their 21-year charter to the king one year short of its end, many documents were scattered. The Egmont Collection contains the papers belonging to the Earl of Egmont, the prolific diarist and trustee, who had the most active attendance record of all the Trustees. All of the documents have been transcribed in typewriter format to overcome the difficulty of reading Eighteenth Century works. Many writers, such as Phinzy Spalding, Rodney Baine, Kenneth Coleman, E. Merton Coulter and Milton Laverne Ready, have made references to this collection. This thesis is not unique in using the collection, but is unique in using economic concepts in discussing the documents.

Economic Theory Versus History

Most studies of this period have come from historians, some trained in American history, some trained in English history. A few authors have attempted to deal with this topic from an economic point of view. These include Milton Laverne

Ready's Ph.D. dissertation, on An Economic History of Colonial Georgia, Milton S. Heath's Unconstructive Liberalism and Paul Taylor's Georgia Plan: 1732-1752. Taylor and Heath were trained economists. Most publications on this period have been written by historians.

Economic history deals with change over time. This thesis will study economic change in Georgia from the 1730's to the 1750's. Economic historians can add a new dimension of understanding to this period. They can use methods from economics that may be unfamiliar to some historians. For example, such economic concepts as factor price equalization, maximizing behavior with constraints, and revealed preference will be called upon to answer questions. This thesis does not reject the studies of historians but builds upon their works with economic principles.

How Economic Theory Can Add to and Improve Our Understanding

Consider the following questions: Why did the colonists decide to get on a ship and emigrate to America? What were their incentives? What were the incentives for the English government and for the Trustees who managed Georgia for twenty years? Did economic change as opposed to political change influence the Trustees to give up their dreams? How does our understanding of "economic failure" and "economic success" enter into our interpretation?

This thesis will address the founding of the Colony of Georgia from the point of view that the Trustees, colonists and king acted rationally and maximized their utility under the known constraints. This approach thus differs from that of other authors, such as Webb Garrison, who said that Oglethorpe's actions were a "folly."

Such a statement, from an economic point of view, means that Oglethorpe's actions lowered the explained endogenous variable of utility and would not have been preferred with hindsight. This thesis will argue that Oglethorpe's behavior was not irrational but rational and resulted in a higher utility.

The colonists faced enormous risks and uncertainty in going to Georgia, but they apparently felt they were acting "rationally" by making their choice with the information which they had on hand. They acted voluntarily. This thesis does not know of any works which make this statement and can be cited as a source. The statements concerning "rationally" and "voluntarily action" are part of the economic principles that declare people are maximizing their utility subject to their constraints. Also, they had to consider the alternative of staying in England with a wide income-wealth distribution between poor and wealthy (see Table 2, which shows the difficulty of upward mobility in Eighteenth Century England). Modern thinking gets mired in comparing what the king, Trustees or colonists knew with what we know, for example, about diseases that the Eighteenth Century colonists did not know. These multi-century chasms between knowledge today and lack of knowledge almost 300 years ago lead very easily to the "folly" hypothesis.

Why Is Rational Behavior Important to Economic Theory?

Economists have a special understanding of the word "rational" which differs from the layman's understanding. Most people would define "rational" as being reasonable, whereas an economist means choosing according to a consistent preference ordering. If a person prefers living in Georgia to living in London, this

means he derives more utility from living in Georgia than in London. The ranking of his preferences gives him a way to choose the most utility-generating options. Or economists can say that a person derives more utility from living in Georgia than living in London. This means he prefers living in Georgia. When uncertainty enters the picture, then economists change the expression to "expected utility," which is the utility multiplied by the probability of such an event happening. Still, though, the person is acting "rationally" when he makes a choice which maximizes his preferences.

In the early Nineteenth Century, rationality was associated with choosing the highest quantifiable number, such as the greatest rate of return. With the advent of marginal utility in the later Nineteenth Century "rationality" became associated with consistent preference-ordering. Living in Georgia is better than living in London, and living in London is better than living in Oxford. Therefore, living in Georgia is better than living in Oxford. In this thesis, the three major sectors of people—the king, the colonists and the Trustees—are seen as acting rationally as they rank their preferences and make their choices with the information and probabilities on hand at their time. It will cloud issues if we try to see their actions through the eyes of a Twenty-First Century reader.

What Benefits Were the King and Parliament Seeking?

The king and Parliament were motivated by a substantial unemployment problem in England. This was not the same thing as a debtor's problem, which up until the research of Albert Saye's New Viewpoints in Georgia History was

considered to be the major motivation for establishing the Colony of Georgia. The early colonists were viewed as debtors released from prison.

Another motivation was the insecurity of the colony of South Carolina due to conflicting Spanish claims over territory. Spain was close to England's properties in America with its major, mighty and malevolent fort in St. Augustine, protector of Spanish's sea-lanes from Havana to Spain. As a result there was deep concern about a Spanish-led slave revolt in South Carolina. It was in the crown's best interest to populate Georgia, and it did so by spending more money on Georgia than on any other colony.

The Roman Method

James Edward Oglethorpe was the only trustee to go to Georgia and personally manage the colony. Most scholarship interprets his action from a philanthropic or political or public-minded point of view. These views can be found in the works of Phinzy Spalding, Amos Aschbach Ettinger, Thaddeus Mason Harris, and Leslie F. Church. This thesis will portray Oglethorpe's activities as proof that he intended to follow the "Roman method of colonization." This expression is in a letter by Oglethorpe to Bishop George Berkeley.³ We know from Sir Keith Thomas⁴ that Oglethorpe's tutor at Oxford University was Basil Kennett,

³James Edward Oglethorpe, "Letter from Mr. Oglethorpe to Rev. Berkeley, dated May, 1731," Berkeley and Percival: The Correspondence of George Berkeley, Afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, and Sir John Percival, Afterwards Earl of Egmont, edited by Benjamin Rand, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1914, pp. 275-278.

⁴ Sir Keith Thomas, "James Edward Oglethorpe, Sometime Gentleman Commoner of Corpus," James Edward Oglethorpe, New Perspectives on His Life and Legacy,

author of Romae Antiqua Notitia or The Antiquities of Rome,⁵ which has a chapter on the "Roman method" of colonization. Fortunately, The University of Georgia library has a copy of the 17th edition printed in 1793. Even as late as circa 1834, Amherst College included "Roman Antiquities"⁶ in the freshman curriculum. This finding by Bennie Lewis Noles, Jr., in his thesis⁷ Patrick Hues Mell, 1814-1888: The Southerner as Educator demonstrates the wide appeal of Roman studies over a long period of time.

Principal-Agent Problem

However, this research will look at the king, the Trustees and the colonists as if the reader were alive in Eighteenth Century England. They will be studied within the framework of economic theory as revealing their preferences while making choices and while engaged in rational behavior subject to constraints. There is a potential "principal-agent problem," defined in this case as a conflict between the king as the principal and Oglethorpe as the agent. There can be conflicts in the objectives of the two. The principal has the interest of the performance of the whole investment, but appoints an agent. In this case the Trustees, and specifically Oglethorpe, are the agents. They are to act in the place of the principal, the king.

edited by John C. Inscoe, Savannah, The Georgia Historical Society, 1997, pp. 16-34.

⁵ Basil Kennett, The Antiquities of Rome, 17th Edition, London, T. Longman, 1793.

⁶ Amherst College appears to be referring to "Roman Antiquities" as a generic subject matter.

⁷ Bennie Lewis Noles, Jr., Patrick Hues Mell, 1814-1888: The Southerner as Educator, MA thesis, Athens, The University of Georgia, 1995, p. 23.

The principal cannot control the behavior of the agent and often does not know what the agent is doing. His only means of knowing what the agent is doing is by observing the results. Hence there can be an inversion of the original objectives, as the agent tries to benefit at the expense of the principal. We will see later that the king reimbursed Oglethorpe for his substantial expenses in Georgia. If the king were dissatisfied with his agent, it would have been unlikely for the principal to reimburse the agent for his expenses. Therefore, there was no principal-agent problem as far as the king was concerned.

Maps Help the Discovery of Data

A map dated 1757 and an agreement dated 1731, which shows Oglethorpe having land in South Carolina, are significant because the Trustees were not to own land in Georgia. Because of this restriction, one questions whether Oglethorpe was acting "inconsistently" with the intent of the Trust. Was he acting deceptively? It is not the purpose of this thesis to say that these findings of Oglethorpe's property ownership in South Carolina point to an "inconsistency problem" in his theoretical considerations or a deceptive behavior in his character. This example will be used to explain the "Roman method" which Oglethorpe emulates. He had two primary interests. One was to populate the land for defense purposes using the "Roman method," at the heart of which was an economic cost-benefit analysis. Oglethorpe had another primary interest, which was to be a social reformer for the unemployed, and the persecuted Protestants. Later, we will see how "preference

ordering " will explain an inference of this thesis about why he had the plantations in South Carolina.

Was the Georgia Colony Rent-Seeking or Part of the "Roman Method"?

When the Trustee period ended, there were disappointments. Events had transpired differently than originally intended. However, Georgia was still English and not Spanish. The colonists wanted the free land, which was equated with wealth in their minds. They received these lands. The Trustees' public spirit had successfully precipitated the launch of colonists, with sustaining food, equipment and clothing, taking place in an age characterized by self-interest rather than public interest. Despite these disappointments, the unintended consequences and economic and physical losses, the beachhead landing on the banks of the Savannah River on "Georgia Day" took root and germinated in the "Roman Method." Economic history gives us the opportunity to appreciate these long-term changes and to judge them by the tenets of economic theory.

CHAPTER 2

THE TRUSTEES AND GOD'S REVEALED PREFERENCES

When King George II issued a charter for the Colony of Georgia, an unusual event took place. At that time, the king was head of the executive branch of the government, which had a clear policy objectives centered on mercantilism. When he appointed 21 men to be the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia, he transferred executive power to this governing body, which originally was motivated by philanthropy and God's revealed preferences from Scripture. The Trustees sympathy for a work ethic is revealed to us from the annual sermons to the Trustees, specifically William Best to the trustees in 1742, from the diary of the Earl of Egmont, from the letters of James Oglethorpe to the Trustees and from the transcripts of meeting records of the trustees. The king's charter itself advocates a work ethic as a solution to unemployment. From these sources, it is inferred that the Trustees were sympathetic to Saint Paul's admonition:

"For even when we were with you, this we commanded you that if any would not work, neither should he eat. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies. Now them that are such, we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed."⁸

It is also inferred that the Trustees would have been sympathetic to what was later called the "Max Weber thesis," from the German sociologist who published The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism in 1904. It is the duty

⁸ Saint Paul, 2 Thessalonians, King James' Version, Chapter 3, verses 10-14.

of men to make use of their God-given resources at their disposal, and economic inequality is justified. Hard work and thrift were encouraged.

The governing principles motivating the Trustees were the opposite of *laissez-faire*, which is French for "allow to do," based on a minimum of government regulation of the market place. The king's role was mainly to provide security to the citizen from internal and external threats and to avoid interfering with individual initiatives based on individual preferences. The Trustees favored a centrally planned economy, defined as "liberalism" by Milton S. Heath in his book Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860. Heath equates liberalism with a centrally planned economy, with government activity ordering the preferences of the economy, with regulations such as protectionist tariffs preventing markets from finding "equilibrium," or prices based on supply and demand. This meant that citizens are not totally in control of their economic welfare. In the Diary of the Earl of Egmont and the minutes of the Trustees, it is clear that the Trustees preferred a regulated economy for the Colony of Georgia.

This thesis offers a glimpse of a few Trustees so that the reader will see the diversity among the Trustees and also understand why there was conflict within their meetings. Such led to resignations. Nine Trustees were Members of Parliament (including James Edward Oglethorpe), three were gentlemen with connections to the king, and two came from the House of Lords, one being Earl Egmont. Five were ministers of the Church of England, one was a sea captain and one was a clerk from the South Sea House.

One of the most famous Trustees was Rev. Stephen Hales, D.D. (1677-1761)



Image 2: Portrait of Rev. Stephen Hales, D.D. (1677-1761) from the studio of Thomas Hudson, circa 1759. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London, UK.

who studied botany and chemistry while a divinity student at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He found new ways to measure human physiology. He was the first to measure blood pressure, by placing a tube into a blood vessel and observing the height of the blood in the tube. He also measured the capacity of the heart per minute and the speed and resistance of the of the flow of blood in the vessels. . He developed a ventilator that pumped fresh air into the holds of ships and into prisons. He was also known as a botanist with several discoveries concerning sap.

Rev. Hales's non theological interests are relevant to this thesis because it shows him, a recognized leader in his church, not as a monastic person, but as interested in this world's activities. These facts support the argument that the Trustees were very work oriented in this world.

Another noted trustee was The First Earl, John Percival Egmont, whose Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont were published by His Majesty's Stationery Office between 1920 and 1923. The University of Georgia Press published in 1962 Robert G. McPherson's edition of The Journal of the Earl of Egmont.

There is no biography of him, but there is a collection of letters between him and Bishop George Berkeley (1685-1753), edited by Benjamin Rand as Berkeley and Percival: The Correspondence of George Berkeley, Afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, and Sir John Percival, Afterwards Earl of Egmont, and published by Cambridge University Press in 1914. Berkeley was an Anglican clergyman of Anglo-Irish origins, but was also an economic thinker. Since he recognized that man may not maximize his wealth, he favored state intervention into the market place in order to rearrange tastes and preferences. He is classified as a mercantilist, but broke new ground by his removing gold and silver per se as the main basis of wealth. The Earl of Egmont is sympathetic to his economic views. Betty Wood of Cambridge University has published "The Earl of Egmont and the Georgia Colony," in Forty Years of Diversity, Essays on Colonial Georgia. She argues that Egmont's role in the founding of Georgia was overshadowed by Oglethorpe's public image and that Egmont's legacy should be elevated. Image 16 shows a marble bust of the Earl of Egmont, dressed in a Roman toga. This is important when this thesis addresses "the Roman method" of colonization.

Another of the original Trustees appointed by the king was Lord Carpenter, second Baron of that name and only son of Lieutenant-General the Right Honorable George Lord Carpenter, who was commander-in-chief of forces in Scotland.

Over the years, there were resignations due to conflicts among the board members over policy. An example was the thought of giving up Georgia to Spanish

claims in order to avoid war with Spain. We know of these dissensions because Lord Egmont kept a diary of trust meetings. Some later Trustees were the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose great-grandfather was the patron of the philosopher John Locke (1632-1704). Another trustee was Sir Jacob de Bouverie, grandfather of Dr. Edward de Bouverie Pusey, leader of the Oxford Movement in Nineteenth Century England. When the Trustees joined the governing board, they volunteered and agreed not to profit from the operations. Originally, they thought they could finance their Georgia project with contributions. At the beginning, they were modestly successful in raising private funds. Soon, economic forces overwhelmed them, as they realized they had underestimated the cost and the magnitude of forthcoming contributions from charity. They then became a quasi-government agency, when they appealed to Parliament for funds, leaving behind their private philanthropic designation.

They wanted to solve the unemployment problem facing their planned economy. Because mail to Georgia required 2-3 months, and another 2-3 for a return reply, this mode of operation from London was difficult. E. Merton Coulter in his chapter "The Utopia Fails," argues "The Georgia experiment had failed. . ."⁹

When the Trustees in London surrendered their charter back to the king one year prior to its expiration, most of the most stalwart supporters had either resigned or lost interest in attending meetings. The loss of human life was substantial. Some had moved. The King and Parliament had stopped giving money to the project. For

⁹ E. Merton Coulter, Georgia: A Short History, Chapel Hill, the University of North Carolina Press, 1960, p. 77.

these reasons, it is appropriate to increase the weighting applied to economic variables as some of the best explanatory variables in the interpretation of the Colony's behavior.

CHAPTER 3

THE INCENTIVES

The purpose of this chapter is to model the behavior of the Trustees, the colonists and the king, starting with an overview of the period.

Table 1
A Broad Overview of the Early Eighteenth Century English economy

Basis of Wealth	Land
Dominant Activity	Agriculture
Form of Managerial Control	Sole Proprietor
Dominant School of Economic Thought	Mercantilism
Public Policy	Heavy Regulation
Geographic Markets	Local
Market Structure	Monopolistic

Since God gave land to man, its permanence was the basis of wealth in "the Age of Aristocracy."¹⁰ Other forms of wealth were man-made, but were not enduring. According to Gregory King,¹¹ there were only 160 Lords, comprising one-tenth of one percent of the total population yet having a per capita income almost 9 times the average per capita income. At the base of the pyramid was almost 50 % of the population, with a per capita income of £ 3.25 per annum.

¹⁰ William B. Willcox, The Age of Aristocracy 1688-1830, 2nd Edition, Lexington, Massachusetts, D. C. Heath and Company, 1971.

¹¹ Gregory King lived from 1648 to 1712, but his writings were not published until 1802. King did pioneering demographic and statistical studies in England. He studied the price elasticity of wheat quantities and its price. For example, King said that a 10% reduction in the wheat harvest led to a 33% increase in the price of wheat, whereas a 50% reduction in the wheat harvest led to a 4.5-fold increase in wheat's price. Some writers refer to this relationship as "King's Law." King's income distribution is quoted by Julian Hoppit, A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2000, p. 70. King's work preceded modern statistics. Scholars today are fortunate to have his path-breaking research and estimation, even if it must be recognized as imperfect by today's standards.

Table 2

Distribution of Income Using Gregory King Data in 1688
Sorted by the Number of Persons in Each Category, % of Population
Source: Hoppit, Julian, A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727, Table 1, page 70.

Category	# families	# persons	% pop.	Per capita
Spiritual lords	26	520	0.01	£65.00
Temporal lords	160	6,400	0.12	£70.00
Knights	600	7,800	0.14	£50.00
Clergymen	2,000	12,000	0.22	£10.00
Baronets	800	12,800	0.23	£55.00
Merchants and traders by sea	2,000	16,000	0.29	£50.00
Army officers	4,000	16,000	0.29	£15.00
Naval officers	4,000	20,000	0.36	£20.00
Esquires	3,000	30,000	0.55	£45.00
Vagrants	30,000	30,000	0.55	£2.00
Persons in offices	5,000	30,000	0.55	£20.00
Another group of office holders	5,000	40,000	0.73	£30.00
Clergymen	8,000	40,000	0.73	£9.00
Merchants and traders by land	8,000	48,000	0.87	£33.00
Persons in the law	10,000	70,000	1.27	£20.00
Common soldiers	35,000	70,000	1.27	£7.00
Persons in sciences & liberal arts	16,000	80,000	1.45	£12.00
Gentlemen	12,000	96,000	1.75	£35.00
Common seamen	50,000	150,000	2.73	£7.00
Shopkeepers and tradesmen	40,000	180,000	3.27	£10.00
Artisans and handicrafts	60,000	240,000	4.36	£10.00
Freeholders	40,000	280,000	5.09	£12.00
Freeholders	140,000	700,000	12.73	£10.00
Farmers	150,000	750,000	13.64	£8.75
Labouring people & out servants	364,000	1,275,000	23.18	£4.50
Cottagers and paupers	400,000	1,300,000	23.63	£2.00
Total		5,500,520	100%	Average= £7.9

This uneven spreading of income over the members of classes was also seen in Eighteenth Century voting rights. To vote in an election for a candidate for the House of Commons, one had to have landed income. This excluded many successful

people simply because they lacked landed income, examples being merchants and sea captains. This was another steep pyramid, a large portion of the population was excluded from the political process.

The dominant economic activity was agriculture. According to one estimate,¹² 80 per cent of the English population lived in the countryside at the turn of 1700 and half of the population was employed in the fields. Land ownership was concentrated in the hands of sole proprietors. Markets were local because of poor roads, by today's standards. For example, it took 10-12 days to travel from London to Edinburgh.¹³

As for the historical period in question, the dominating economic model was mercantilism. Its argument was simple. Money was gold and silver. Greater stockpiles of money were better than lower stockpiles. Since gold and silver were used to pay for deficits in the balance of trade, government policy was to promote the increase of exports and the decrease of imports, creating a surplus rather than a deficit. However, if imports exceeded exports, then gold and silver would be exported to foreign countries and England would be poorer. Heavy regulations and protectionist tariffs were used to implement this argument.

This theory dominated until David Hume (1711-1776) exposed the error in thinking in the mid-Eighteenth Century with his famous "price specie flow mechanism." The mercantilists were unaware of the quantity theory of money,

¹² Hoppit, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

¹³ Phyllis Deane and W. A. Cole, British Economic Growth: 1688-1959, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1967, p. 12.

namely that as the stockpile of gold and silver mounted, there was a correlation with higher prices. Hume found that as domestic prices increased, exports decreased and imports increased, and therefore the stock of gold and silver "flowed" to the foreign suppliers of goods.

Protectionism caused problems for domestic unemployment. When English grain harvests were below normal, there was increased demand for imported "corn."¹⁴ When protectionist policies were triggered during poor harvests, food prices rose. During wars,¹⁵ commercial shipping was converted to military use. Both of these events brought out the negative sides of mercantilism, which were unemployment and inflation.¹⁶

John Maynard Keynes in The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money argues that the mercantilists ignored the international division of labor and therefore did not grasp the advantages of free trade. He also criticized the mercantilists for believing that protectionism could cure unemployment. Despite his

¹⁴ The word "corn" was used in the Eighteenth Century to describe all of the cereals and not just "corn," as denoted today. There were "Corn Laws" on the books in the Eighteenth Century which were enacted by landed Parliamentarians with a rent-seeking model, protecting the harvests from their fields. These laws were repealed in the Nineteenth Century with an expanding the voting base in England.

¹⁵ H. V. Bowen, War and British Society, 1688-1815, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, discusses the period 1688-1815 as the "the age of war."

¹⁶ It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the causes of "the South Sea Bubble" which exploded in 1720, causing much economic damage. However, as a conjecture, the confluence of unemployment and inflation may have influenced people to sell their low-yielding government bonds and invest the proceeds in the stock of the South Sea Company.

attacks, Keynes saw an "element of scientific truth in mercantilist doctrine."¹⁷ Keynes was sympathetic to the state's ignoring the calls for laissez-faire and intervening into the private sector with regulations. He cites Spain as an example of foreign trade's being destroyed because its large quantities of gold and silver (money for the Spaniards) raised domestic labor prices so greatly that Spanish exports were priced out of international markets.

Later, this thesis will discuss how Keynes' observations about the Spanish will apply to the "Georgia experiment," as it is sometimes called. For the moment, this thesis turns the incentives given to the three main economic groups: the Trustees, the colonists, and the king. There was a set of variables, which were important to each.

Models

In earlier times, the word "theory" was used to explain how certain variables depend upon some independent variable or constant. Today, the word "model" has become more common parlance than "theory." At the heart of any model is the subdivisions into "exogenous" variables, which act from the outside upon the dependent variable. Nothing in the model affects these exogenous variables. Then there are "endogenous" variables, which change inside the model due to the relationship among other variables. In the model of the Trustees below, nothing that the colonists could say or do would affect their "laws" on how the land

¹⁷ John Maynard Keynes, "Notes on Mercantilism," The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (originally published in 1936), New York, Harbinger Edition, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964, p. 335.

was distributed and owned, on slavery, which was banned, and on selling rum inside the colony. Nothing would influence these "laws," and therefore they were exogenous to the colonists' condition, much as the weather is to the farmer.

Table 3

The Trustees' Model

Incentives	The Trustees felt they could alleviate the unemployment problems. Their motto was "Non Sibus, Sed Aliis," (translated as "not for ourselves, but for others"). This symbolizes their interest in public service, rather than personal profit.
Dependent Variable	Populate the colony of Georgia.
Autarky	The Trustees felt the colonists would live in autarky as far as their own needs and output were concerned. This is known from reading the reports of their meetings
Agricultural	<p>The ideal yeoman farmer would be self-sufficient and not depend on others, after he established himself during the first year of provisions from the Trustees, after which the colonists were responsible for themselves.</p> <p>The Trustees were influenced by Jean Pierre Purry's latitude thesis, which argued that the 33rd parallel represented the best agricultural land over the entire globe. As a result, they felt silk and wine could be produced with great bounty. There was no method to test their hypothesis prior to investing heavily in the project.</p>
Mercantile	The Trustees felt they could save England £500,000 annually by producing raw silk in Georgia, avoid importing silk from elsewhere and increase value- added production in England.

	<p>Heavy regulation of the colonists.. Twelve out of twenty-one Trustees were members of Parliament at a time when <i>laissez-faire</i> was not in fashion.</p> <p>The Trustees attempted to manage everything from their London office. They were victims of delayed intelligence, as delivery of letters took 2 ½ months to send by boat from London to Georgia and the same for replies.</p>
Unemployment	This was the first colony ever founded with the view of lowering unemployment at home. However, this objective was eventually superseded by higher numbers of "adventurers" who paid their way.
Defense of American Borders.	"Lastly, all the Males from 17 years of age to 45 shall be obliged to take up arms in the defense of the Colony, and shall be exercised for that purpose." ¹⁸
Rigid Theoretic Model	No adjustments to experience. . with a "dig-in-the-heels" attitude: see the discussion later of the sermon to the annual Trustee meeting given by Rev. William Best in 1742.
"Fault Line in the Trustees' Model"	<p>The Trustees felt the colonists would live in autarky in a classical mode of barter on one hand. On the other hand, their mercantilist leaning favored the production of silk and wines with heavy regulations.</p> <p>This classical view and the mercantile view were incompatible. For example, lumber could be cut and sawed in South Carolina with slave labor more cheaply than in Georgia with indentured labor. Eventually, the Trustees realized that silk and wine could not be produced cost-effectively in Georgia. <i>Laissez-faire</i> won out over a centrally planned economy.</p> <p>Another "classical" economic view was that money did not matter as far as the activities of the colonists were concerned.</p>

¹⁸ Oglethorpe, circa 1731, p. 29.

	<p>No form of money was sent to Georgia in the beginning, as barter was deemed sufficient. When "Sola Bills" (See Appendix B) were eventually supplied after a period of only barter, these instruments were not an effective medium of exchange due to numerous risks in receiving payment specie (money) for these "bills of exchange" payable in London. For example, if the Spanish captured a British ship transporting Sola Bills back to London for what we would call today "cashing checks," the person who was due Sterling for the paper Sola Bills lost everything. On the other hand, the Trustees depended on Parliament for annual funds to pay to maintain the colony's infrastructure, which was not self-sufficient. These conflicts between dependent Trustees and independent colonists created a fault line in their model when they could no longer be effective lobbyists in Parliament.</p>
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Table 4

The Colonist's Model

<p>Incentives</p>	<p>The colonists were offered free land, free transportation, and free food and supplies for one year. The law of demand says that a consumer will increase his quantity demand as the price falls. When the price is zero, as in this case, then the demand is infinite.</p> <p>To every colonist sent at public expense was given: A watch-coat, musket and bayonet, hatchet, hammer, hand-saw, Shovel, two hoes, gimlet, drawing knife, iron pot and pot-hooks, frying pan and use of a public grindstone.</p> <p>For one year, each man sent at public expense, received 302 pounds of beef or pork, 104 pounds of rice, 104 pounds of</p>
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	corn, 104 pounds of flour, 1 point of strong beer a day when he worked, 52 quarts of molasses, 16 pounds of cheese, 12 pounds of butter, 8 oz. of spice, 12 pounds of sugar, 4 gallons of vinegar, 24 pounds of salt, 12 quarts of lamp oil, 1 pound of spun cotton and 12 pounds of soap. ¹⁹ Women and children received smaller portions.
Food	Because of protectionist policies, poor grain harvests in England were accompanied by high prices. As workers would sometimes eat 5 pounds of bread per person per day, volatile grain harvests caused large fluctuations in bread consumption.
Diseases	Infant mortality was shocking by today's standards. Life expectancy at birth was 37 at the turn of the Eighteenth Century. ²⁰
Crime and unemployment	Upon reading Oglethorpe's "Prison Report," in 1731, the Privy Council wrote: "Upon reading this day at the Board a Report . . . 'that the citys of London and Westminster and Parts Adjacent, do about with great numbers of Indigent Person.'" ²¹
Upward mobility	There was little upward mobility in England.

Table 5

The King's Model

Incentive	Unemployment bred crime, and required more domestic troops to quell domestic disorders. Both England and Spain
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¹⁹ Francis Moore, Our First Visit in America, Savannah, The Beehive Press, 1974, pp. 81-82.

²⁰ Hoppit, op. cit., p. 56.

²¹ Rodney M. Baine, Creating Georgia: Minutes of the Bray Associates, 1730-1732 & Supplementary Documents, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1995, p. 60.

	claimed lands in Southeast America. A British population there who could be converted to defensive activities was beneficial to the king's interests.
Land Ownership	While the king gave the colonists "free land," there were significant details in the fine print, namely the land reverted to the king under certain conditions. These restrictions increased the colonists' risk of losing the land. After the Spanish renounced Georgia, the king really gave greater sovereignty to the land of the settlers who remained in Georgia and to new settlers who came for land under revised terms.

One question to raise at this point is: why would a person take himself and his family to Georgia, leaving an established England to enter into a very uncertain world? The following Table 6 shows how the colonists responded and emigrated to Georgia over time. This table breaks down the colonists into two groups. The first received free passage. During the first five years, they were the dominating group up until the end of the war with Spain. The second group paid their own way. During the last years, the colonists emigrating at "private expense" became the dominating group. Their emigration accelerated after the cessation of the war, when Parliamentary funds dried up. They represented 63% of all emigrants. Perhaps, they would more appropriately be called "investors," rather than "adventurers."

Table 6

Emigrants Arriving in Georgia at Public Expense versus Privately Expenses

Source: Paul S. Taylor, Georgia Plan: 1732-1752, Berkeley, Institute of Business and Economic Research, 1972, p. 305, Table II "Colonization of Georgia, Public and Private, 1732-1752."

Year	Colonists Sent "On the Charity"	Colonists "At Private Expense"
1732-33	152	132
1733-34	341	168
1734-35	81	103
1735-36	470	229
1736-37	32	58
1737-38	298	86
1738-39	9	1
1739-40	138	24
1740-41	6	27
1741-42	320	96
1742-43	6	42
1743-44	27	17
1744-45	. . .	34
1745-46	77	61
1746-47	52	134
1747-48	. . .	200
1748-49	. . .	544
1749-50	65	481
1750-51	48	297
1751-52	. . .	748
Total	2,122	3,482

Investigating within a Framework of Economics

Economists have an added benefit because models can be applied in addressing this question. For example, the issue of marginal utility and rational maximizing behavior suggests that each colonist who got on a ship with his family realized obvious risks, but given the alternatives, the marginal benefit must have outweighed the risks, and the colonists felt that they were maximizing their position in life by accepting the known risks.

CHAPTER 4

OGLETHORPE: SOUTH CAROLINA LANDHOLDER AND SLAVEHOLDER?

Addressing the Newcomen Society of England, Thomas Mayhew Cunningham, former President of The Georgia Historical Society, said, "Oglethorpe had slaves on his Carolina plantation."²² Since no references were cited to support this statement published in the Georgia Historical Quarterly in 1949, some readers may want to ask if there is any evidence to support Mr. Cunningham's statement.

If there is evidence, then do we modify some scholarly views of James Edward Oglethorpe? Do we still regard him as against slavery as argued by Ettinger (1936)? Do we abandon Betty Wood's view that Oglethorpe had a moral aversion to slavery? Was Oglethorpe using a typical Eighteenth Century model of rent-seeking behavior, defined as a redistribution from consumer to a monopolist? Does this show an "incognito"²³ side of Oglethorpe?

There is documentary evidence that Oglethorpe owned land in South Carolina, but whether there were slaves working on it can be corroborated only by statements made by other people in the Eighteenth Century and later in the

²² "Georgia—Before Plymouth Rock and Afterwards," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 33 (3), 1949, p. 210.

²³ After returning to England from Georgia, losing reelection, and being rated persona non grata in the military, by the Duke of Cumberland (also known as "the butcher" at the Battle of Culloden in 1745), even though officially vindicated, Oglethorpe went to Europe and fought against the French. He was "incognito" with a pseudonym of "Tebay" or "Tibby." See Rodney M. Baine and Mary E. Williams, "James Oglethorpe in Europe: Recent Finds in His Military Life," Oglethorpe in Perspective: Georgia's Founder after Two Hundred Years, edited by Phinizy Spalding and Harvey H. Jackson, Tuscaloosa, The University of Alabama Press, pp. 112-121.

Nineteenth Century. It is understandable that many scholars will question the evidence. For the purposes of this thesis, the land ownership will be accepted to be true due to substantial evidence.



Image 3: Portrait of James Edward Oglethorpe, by Alfred Edmund Dyer, after William Verelst, oil on panel, feigned oval, circa 1927(circa 1735-1736).

Courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London, UK.

Oglethorpe signed an agreement in London in 1731 with Swiss theorist and colonizer John Pierre Purry. This document was witnessed by John Vat and John Brownfield. However, while this document is necessary for slave ownership it is not sufficient as proof. Image 3 is

James Edward Oglethorpe about the time, circa 1735, of the agreement with Purry.

While the Purry-Oglethorpe agreement has been cited mainly in footnotes, there has been little published discussion about its contents.

As of 1970, Milton Ready said the original

was in the Public Record Office in London.²⁴ The University of Georgia has it.

²⁴ "The Georgia Concept: An Eighteenth Century Experiment in Colonization," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 55, Summer, 1971, p.171.

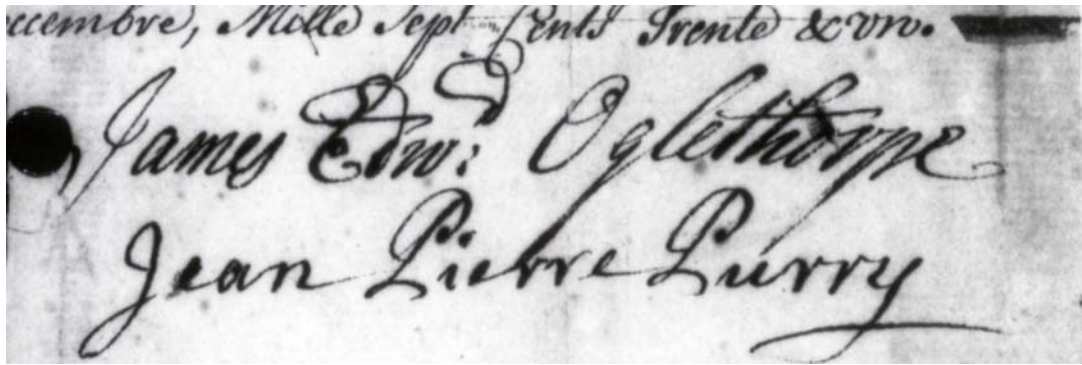


Image 4: Signatures of James Edward Oglethorpe and Jean Pierre Purry from Agreement dated 1731, Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia.

This is a new discovery because as recently as 1997, Paul Stephen Hudson, said that Oglethorpe's last will and testament is the only known Oglethorpe signature with his middle name 'Edward.' Below is Oglethorpe's signature, per Hudson:

A black and white photograph of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "James Oglethorpe". The letters are connected and fluid, with a prominent flourish at the end of the word "Oglethorpe".

Image 5: Signature of James Oglethorpe from Georgia Department of Archives.

The specimen in Image 5 seems to corroborate the signature on the Purry-Oglethorpe agreement in Image 4 as authentic.

If the Hargrett/Reed document (see Appendix A for the entire document in both French and English) is authentic, then there are two signatures by Oglethorpe with his middle name.

Are there other means to verify authenticity? The document measures 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches.²⁵ At the very top of the first of two sheets of paper are three embossments which read:

"Honi soit qui mal y pense"²⁶

VI Pence"

This French expression is the motto of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, established in 1348 by King Edward III for the highest British civil and military honor. I would assume that the use of the motto is restricted either to members of the Order or to some legal purposes. Because the "VI Pence" is embossed three times, this could be a stamp tax for recording agreements and would thereby prove that 18 pence was paid to record the document. The embossments, the red wax seal and Oglethorpe's signature invite replies from experts in this field. For the purposes of this thesis, the document is assumed authentic.

In his just-released book on Jean Pierre Purry,²⁷ Arlin C. Migliazzo says the Purry-Oglethorpe agreement was "secret" and "illegal." Migliazzo attributes the secrecy to Webb Garrison,²⁸ and the document was "illegal" because a land-holder had to live in the township in order to own property. While this agreement was

²⁵ Richard N. Johnson of the Lamar Dodd School of Art at the University of Georgia teaches papermaking using Eighteenth Century techniques. He says that this document is probably made of flax, which was gathered up by vendors buying old underwear and curtains. He bases this on the fact that cotton paper did not occur until Fourdrinier's invention in France in 1799, or thereabouts.

²⁶ This French expression means "Shame to him who thinks evil of it."

²⁷ Arlin C. Migliazzo, editor, Lands of True and Certain Bounty, Selinsgrove, Susquehanna University Press, 2002, p. 34 , p. 171.

signed six months before the king issued the charter to the Trustees, there may have been no motive to keep this agreement secret. If the document was recorded in England as evidenced by the supposed tax stamps, then this agreement is not secret.

So far this thesis has not proved that Oglethorpe had slaves. The evidence shows only that he owned land. What is the evidence for his slaveholding?

In 1847, Bishop William Bacon Stevens published A History of Georgia and said:

"Oglethorpe himself was Deputy Governor of the Royal African Company, which alone had the right of planting forts and trading on the coast of Africa; and the question naturally arises how was it that in a period so favourable [this is the 1847 spelling convention of the word 'favorable'] to the slave-trade, and among men for its Trustees who were connected with its legalized traffic, a colony was projected from which Negroes were excluded? It was policy and not philanthropy which prohibited slavery; for though one of the Trustees, in a sermon to recommend the charity,²⁹ declared, 'Let avarice defend it as it will, there

²⁸ Webb Garrison, Oglethorpe's Folly: The Birth of Georgia, Lakemont, Ga. Cople House Books, 1982, pp. 238-9.

²⁹ William Bacon Stevens places a footnote here identifying this sermon as preached at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, London, on Sunday, February 17, 1733-4, by T. Rundle, LL.D. In his A History of Georgia, William Bacon Stevens has an Appendix (p. 470) which lists all the Trustees over time. Rev. Thomas Rundle, D.D., was the 39th Trustee, elected in 1734. Stevens says: "At the time of his election, Dr. Rundle was Prebendary of Durham, and master of the hospital of that city. In February, 1735, he was raised to the Bishopric of Derry, in Ireland; and resigning all his English preferments, removed to his diocese, and took upon him the duties of his episcopate. These were performed with such zeal and fidelity, that in Oct., 1742, he was translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin. But he did not live to enter upon his new preferment, as he died in 1743, at the age of fifty-seven, leaving a collection of letters, and memoirs of himself, which were subsequently published by James Dallaway, M.A." For a discussion of the annual sermons before the Trustees, see Phinzy Spalding's "Some Sermons Before the Trustees of Colonial Georgia,"

is an honest reluctance in humanity against buying and selling, and regarding those of our own species as our wealth and possessions;' and though Oglethorpe himself, speaking of slavery as against 'the gospel as well as the fundamental law of England,' asserted, 'we refused, as Trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime;' yet in the official publications of that body, its inhibition is based only on political and prudential, and not on humane and liberal grounds; and even Oglethorpe owned a plantation and Negroes near Parachucla in South Carolina, about forty miles above Savannah.³⁰ [My Underlining] In the Swedish and German colony, which Gustavus Adolphus planted in Delaware, and which in many points resembled the plan of the Trustees, Negro servitude was disallowed; yet the motives which actuated the Scandivavian [this is Stephens' spelling] emigrants, 'that it was not lawful to buy or keep slaves,' did not influence the founders of Georgia. Their design was to provide for poor but honest persons, to erect a barrier between South Carolina and the Spanish settlements, and to establish a wine and silk-growing colony. It was thought by the Trustees that neither of these designs could be secured if slavery was introduced. They reasoned, that nothing but a free white colony could arrest the incursions of the savages and Spaniards; that plantations of great extent, widely separated, with a large negro population, and but few whites, would be no effectual obstacle, because the blacks could be easily seduced from their masters, who were too feeble and scattered to resist."

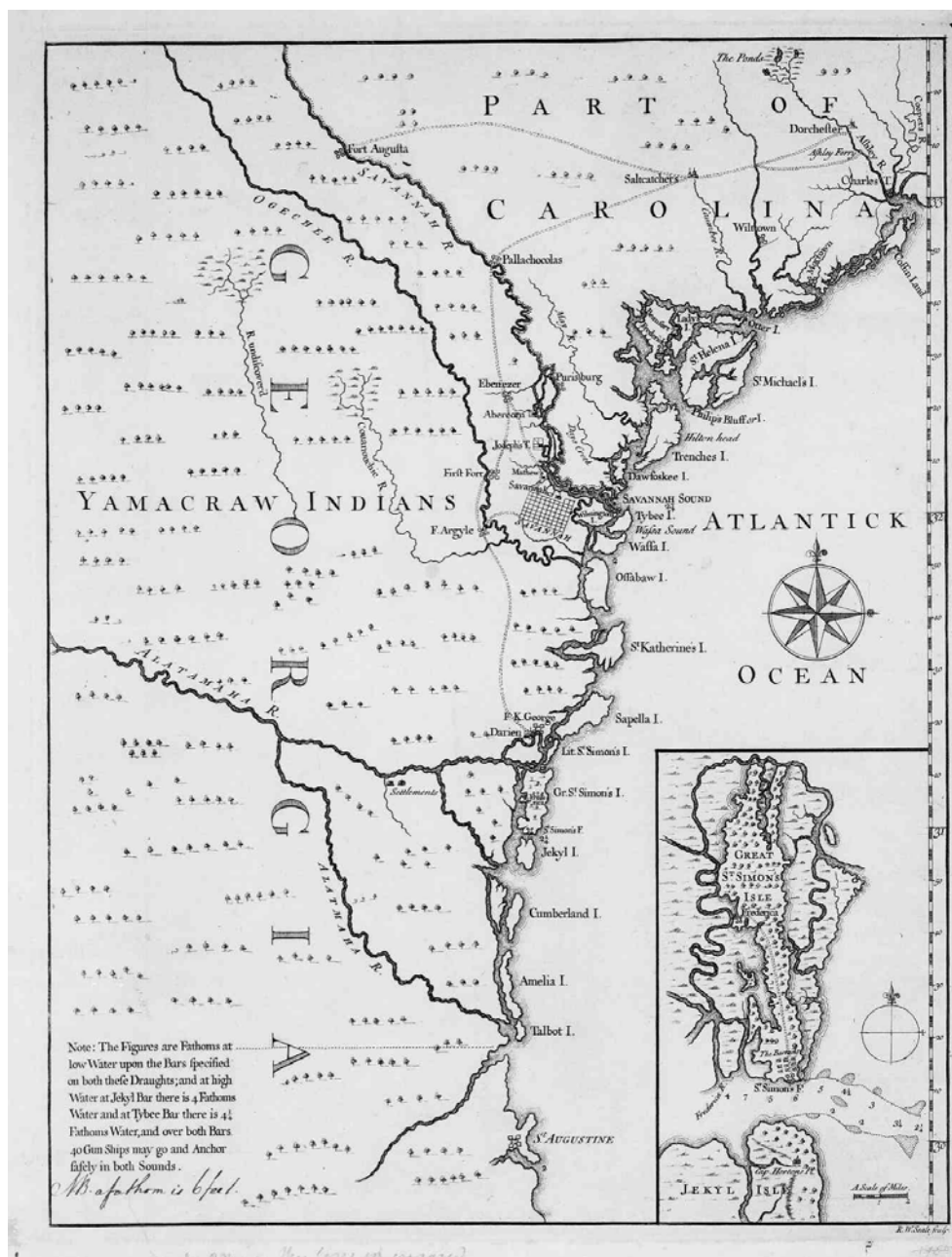
Image 6 is a map of the region, Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare

Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Georgia. Apparently,

Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 57, Fall, 1973, pp. 332-346. Spalding said the sermons were used "to applaud old policies" (p. 343).

³⁰ Stephens places a footnote here, number 5, which says "Stephens's Journal, iii, 281. South Carolina Statutes, ii, 526."

"Pallachocolas" on the map is the same location referred to by William Bacon Stevens as "Parachucla."



▲ (Follow arrow up to Pallachocolas)

Image 6: 1741 Map of Georgia and South Carolina

William Bacon Stevens obviously sees Oglethorpe not as an abolitionist, against slavery on moral grounds, but as a practical military planner who feared that potential problems that the Spanish could induce a slave rebellion, if Georgia had slaves. In case readers should question the credibility of Bishop William Bacon Stevens, he was the first rector of Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Athens, Georgia, and held a "Professorship of Oratory and Belle Lettres"³¹ at the University of Georgia. Professor E. Merton Coulter described his talents as follows:

*"Though William Bacon Stevens was not as able or versatile as Benjamin Franklin or Thomas Jefferson, he entered enough professions and made in every one success sufficient to elevate him above the level of the ordinary American. As a physician, he was not a Benjamin Rush; as a historian, not a George Bancroft; as a teacher, not a Mark Hopkins; nor as a preacher, a Henry Ward Beecher; yet the total value of his varied services to his fellow-man might be reckoned as equal to that of any one of these four."*³²

³¹ See E. Merton Coulter's "Introduction" to Beehive Press's 1972 reprint, p. xx.

³² Ibid.

Finding William Bacon Stevens' reference to William Stephens's Journal, iii, p. 281" is a challenge.³³ In his the "Preface" to his History of Georgia, Stephens says that:

". . . the Georgia Legislature, passed December 23d, 1837, the Governor appointed the Rev. Charles Wallace Howard an agent of the State, 'to repair to London for the purpose of procuring the colonial records, or copies thereof, now in the Colonial Departments of Great Britain, that relate to the history and settlement of this State.

By the further liberality of the same body, the papers which were the result of his mission were placed in my library, for the purpose of preparing this history.

These documents fill twenty-two large folio volumes, averaging over two hundred closely written pages each. Fifteen are from the office of the Board of Trade; six from the State Paper Office, and one from the King's Library."

³³ There is a 4-volume set of Stephens's Journal, transcribed to a typed version by an unidentified author in Athens in 1951 and in The University of Georgia Library. There is the famous edition at the turn of the 20th century edited by Chandler as Volume 4 and Supplement. In the Preface to Volume 4, Allen D. Chandler confirms that there were only 70 copies printed. However, he has renumbered the pages into successive ordering totaling 680 pages. There is the Readex Microprint in 1966. There is a 2-volume set printed for W. Meadows, in London, in 1742. Lastly, there is E. Merton Coulter's edited version in two volumes.

Later in his A History of Georgia,³⁴ William Bacon Stevens described his citation of "Stephens's Journal" as follows:

"This Journal, in 3 vols., kept by Col Wm. Stephens, the Secretary for the affairs of the Trustees in Georgia, is one of the rarest of works relating to America. The Trustees ordered only seven copies to be printed and then to have the press broken." (Journal of Trustees, ii, 349).

J. C. Ross confirms that there were three volumes and "numerous copies were lost in a fire in 1748,"³⁵ and says only five copies existed as of 1968.³⁶ One copy is in the De Renne Collection of the Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library at The University of Georgia. It was printed for W. Meadows in London in 1742. Due to a compartmentalized catalog system at The University of Georgia, readers must abandon the computer and search in the privately printed 1931 Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library in 3 volumes. The

³⁴ Ibid., p. 103.

³⁵ "Charles Ackers and William Stephens' Journal," Georgia Historical Quarterly, 52(4), 1968, p. 436.

³⁶ Ross said Volume III of Stephens' Journal is owned by "Georgia Historical Society Library, de Renee Library, John Carter Brown Library, Harvard and Advocates Library , Edinburgh." Ibid., p. 436.

last volume has an index. Enclosed is the quotation from Volume III of William Stephens' work published in London in 1742, courtesy and permission of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Georgia (see Images 7 through 9). Readers who wish to find this source in other editions can find the footnote reference from Stephens' notes on July 25, 1741. Neither the Readex nor the Coulter's edition has this date, but the Supplement to Volume IV of Colonial Records of Georgia has this as:

"...complaining, as before, of many Grievances; particularly the Uncertainty of their Tenure of Lands, and the exorbitant Quit Rents they were obliged to pay; the Want of Negroes, which though hitherto deny'd to them [the "Breeders of Sedition"] , yet (they say in plain Words) the General himself is so sensible of ,that he keeps Negroes on his own Land, within forty Miles of this Place, (viz in Carolina :) [This writer's underlining] That whereas large Sums of Money have been collected by the Trustees, and sent hither, intended for the charitable Support of poor Families; that Money has been misapplied, and converted by their Officers into Trade."

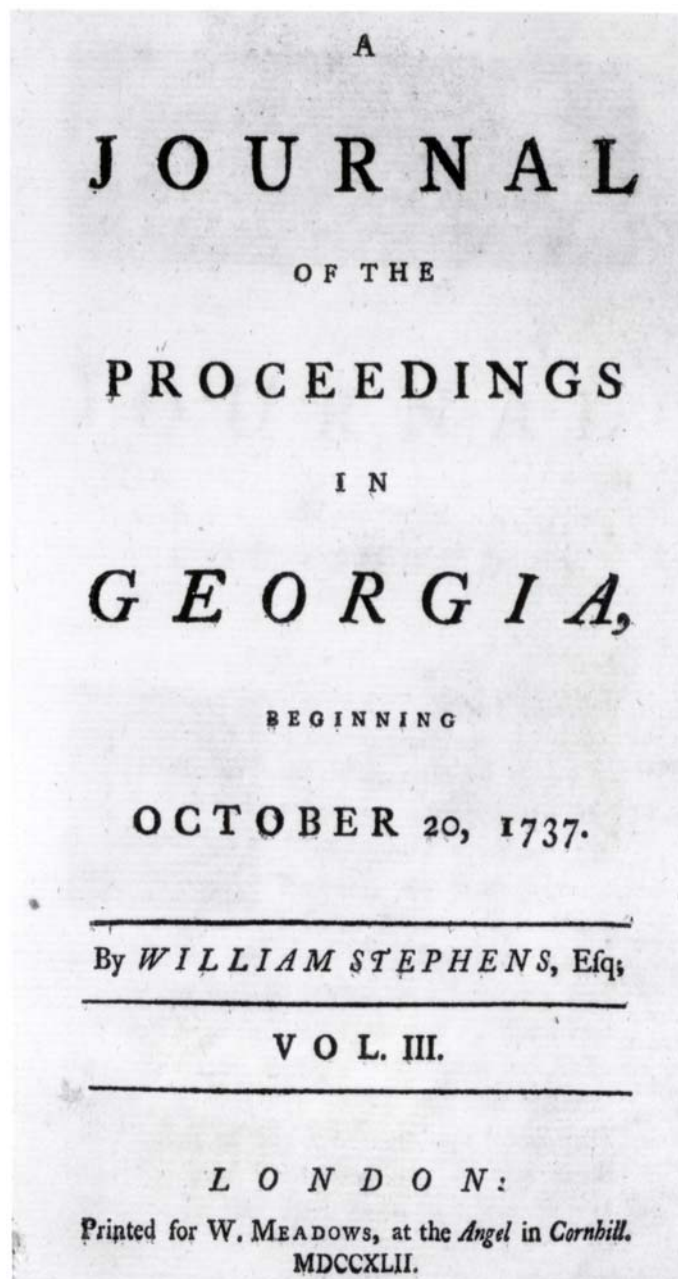


Image 7: Title Page of William Stephens' A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia beginning October 20, 1737.

Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia.

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Saturday. Having not attained to the Knowledge hitherto, of what I hinted on the 17th Instant was then hatching, by our prolifick Breeders of Sedition (who sat daily brooding on the same, and I watch'd them as narrowly as I could) I now got a little more Light into their Purposes, and was well assured, that what they had in Hand, was no less than a Petition to his Majesty, beseeching him to take the Colony out of the Honourable the Trustees Hands, into his own Care, complaining, as before, of many Grievances; particularly the Uncertainty of their Tenure of Lands, and the exorbitant Quit-Rents they were obliged to pay; the Want of Negroes, which though hitherto deny'd to them, yet (they say in plain Words) the General himself is so sensible of, that he keeps Negroes on his own Land, within forty Miles of this Place, (*viz.* in *Carolina*;) That whereas large Sums of Money have been collected by the Trustees, and sent hither, intended for the charitable Support of poor Families; that Money has been misapplied, and converted by their Officers into Trade. These (besides divers others, which my Informer cannot carry in his Memory, upon hearing it once read) are some of the most signal Topicks insisted on; and to this they have got about sixty People

1741.

July
25.

to

Image 8: Page 281 of William Stephens' A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia beginning October 20, 1737.
 Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia.

1741. to set their Names, or Marks; the greatest
 Part of them being any such as they could
 pick up, the very Scum of the Place; who
 for the Sake of Lucre receiv'd, or promis'd,
 would sign any Paper offer'd them, and
 fill up the vacant Space, under those of
 more eminent Note; such as I need not
 name, who never have fail'd to stand in
 the Front: And lest *Fallowfield* and *Pye*
 should fall under any Suspicion among
 them, of repenting for the Contempt
 they before had shewn, of holding any
 Authority derived from the Trust, here
 they stand again in open Defiance; and
Duchee sends his Name before him, which,
 it is said, he intends to follow, and thinks
 himself sufficient to plead the Cause of
 the distress'd People of this Colony, be-
 fore King and Council.

26. *Sunday.* There was now a total Cessa-
 tion of all publick Divine Service, to the
 Grief of such as were well disposed; but
 we now also hoped to find a little Respite
 from the Operations of those, who for so
 long a While past, had been the Promo-
 ters of such Discord and Confusion among
 us; for Captain *Patrick Mackay* took with
 him in his Boat, the Baronet, the Parson,
 and Monsieur *de Beaufaine*, all bound for
Charles-Town; and the three latter (it is
 said) design'd to take Passage in the first
 Ship for *England*, which they could find
 going. These were (as it was likewise
 said)

Image 9: Page 282 of William Stephens' A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, beginning October 20, 1737.
 Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript
 Library at the University of Georgia.

Stephens shows his political colors³⁷ by portraying these sixty people as "the very Scum of the Place." His memory must have failed him because five years earlier he confirmed emphatically that:

"Mr. Oglethorpe has a Barony³⁸ of 12,000 Acres in that Province;"³⁹

This was written in his journal on May 29, 1736, during his mission to South Carolina for Colonel Samuel Horsey, the newly appointed Governor of South Carolina. At this time, he had not yet been employed by the Trustees. Apparently Stephens' objective journals had initiated the Trustees' interest in him, leading to his employment as their representative in Georgia.

One could ask about the ambiguous nature of the antecedent for the word "that" in the above-quoted sentence. Does Stephens mean Georgia or South Carolina? Lord Egmont settles this question in his diary⁴⁰ with:

"Mr. LaRoch inform'd Some of us privately that the Bristol merchants complain Mr. Oglethorpe is turn'd Merchant, and bought up skins at 21 shillgs p hundd, whereas they used to give but 20 shillgs. So that he monopolized the Trade.

"And Mr. Vernon said he had had obtained a Grant of 12, 000 acres in Carolina.

³⁷ For a discussion about William Stephens' transitions from an objective note-taker for the Trustees to a political partisan, see Carole Watterson Troxler's "William Stephens and the Georgia 'Malcontents': Conciliation, Conflict, and Capitulation," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 67, Spring, 1983, pp. 1-34.

³⁸ The Oxford English Dictionary OnLine states that the word "barony" was used about this time to denote the "lands and Mannor. . . of sufficient revenue and quality to make what was accounted a Baronie."

³⁹ The Journal of William Stephens 1741-1743, edited by E. Merton Coulter, Wormsloe Foundation Publication Number Two, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1958, p. 237.

⁴⁰ November 10/17, 1736.

"The former was new to me, but the later is taken notice of in Mr. Stephens journal who says those 12,000 acres are adjoining to Palachocolas Fort." ⁴¹

Egmont settles any questions about the location of the plantation.

According to Milton Ready, ⁴² Robert Parker and Patrick Houston "charged Oglethorpe with trading in rum in spite of restrictions against it and of using Negro slaves." According to Ready, Parker made this charge in a letter to Robert Hucks, a wealthy brewer, a Member of Parliament and a Trustee. Houston's charge was in a letter to Peter Gordon, who came on the first ship of colonists, landing in 1733. He is officially remembered for giving the Trustees the following view of Savannah as his name is on the map below:

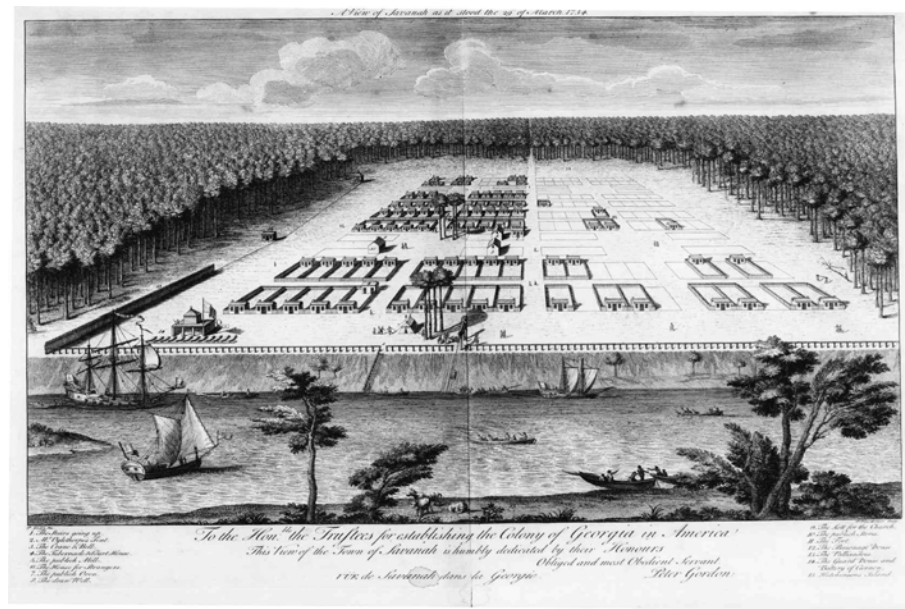


Image 10: View of Savannah by "Peter Gordon?" Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

⁴¹ The Journal of the Earl of Egmont 1732-1738, edited by Robert G. McPherson, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1962, p. 212.

⁴² "Georgia Trustees and the Malcontents: The Politics of Philanthropy," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 60, Fall, 1976, p. 269.

Gordon favored slavery and tried to convince the Trustees to change their policy. As he was "a friend of Lord Gage and on good terms with Walpole"[the Prime Minister]⁴³ the Trustees received him at one of their London meetings, but they were adamant in their anti-slavery policies and upset that he left Georgia without their permission.⁴⁴ I consulted the manuscripts cited by Ready but was unable to find the charge that Oglethorpe had slaves in South Carolina. These footnotes cited were Egmont Papers 14200, pages 158 and 142000, page 235 in the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Collection at The University of Georgia. This collection has these original documents in their safe on paper that dates back to the 1730's and 1740's in one area and a typed manuscript of some unidentified transcriber.

1757 Map

In 1757, by an Act of Parliament, William De Brahm published in London a Map (Image 11) of South Carolina and Georgia. The Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Collection at the University of Georgia has this map. The index (Image 12) to this map identifies Oglethorpe's properties in map coordinates O/ f, N/ f and N/ g.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 269.

⁴⁴ Coulter, 1963, p. 17.



Image 11: 1757 Map of Georgia and South Carolina by William De Brahm, courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

Map	Lands	Proprietors	Lots	Square of Map	Lands
N. g		Middleton Sarah	60	M. g	
N. h		Montague Samuel	9	P. g	Blendon
N. h		Mott	10	L. p	
I. q		Murphy	5	Q. h	
I. q		Murphy	5	Q. h	
K. n		Murphy	86 a	M. i	Newgettingen
I. q		Neale	57	N. k	S' Catherines
I. q		Norman John	4	K. m	Bethabram
L. h		Norman Joseph	3	K. m	Laurelborough
L. n			10	O. f	Dean Forrest
L. k	Palachocala	Oglethorpe	17	N. f	Hotfington
L. m			22	N. g	
K. o		Ovens Thomas	12	N. f	Hatton
N. i		Palmer	31	O. k	
D. &		Palmer	86 b	N. i	
I. r		Pawley	4	D. &	
I. r		Payne	105	L. k	Welchampton
I. r		Fruolau	62 b	M. g	
I. q		Perdram	28	N. h	Whitehall
I. r		Perry	109	L. m	
I. r		Perry Patz	8	P. h	
N. h		Rambert	24	I. r	
N. h		Robert	9	I. q	
N. h		Ross	47	N. i	
L. n		Sau	10	L. a	Redfoord

Image 12: Oglethorpe's Land Holdings in South Carolina. Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

When embedding the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library's photograph of Image 11 into this thesis, some clarity was blurred. Upon close examination of the map itself Oglethorpe is clearly identified in the index of the bottom right of Image 11, from which Image 12 is taken via scanning and 1200 dots per square inch scanning. Louis De Vorsey says this map "received wide contemporary praise.

Historical cartographers of the present day recognize it as a milestone in the mapping of the Southeast."⁴⁵

Kenneth Coleman, Milton Ready, Larry E. Ivers, and Webb Garrison all referred to Oglethorpe's South Carolina's plantations.

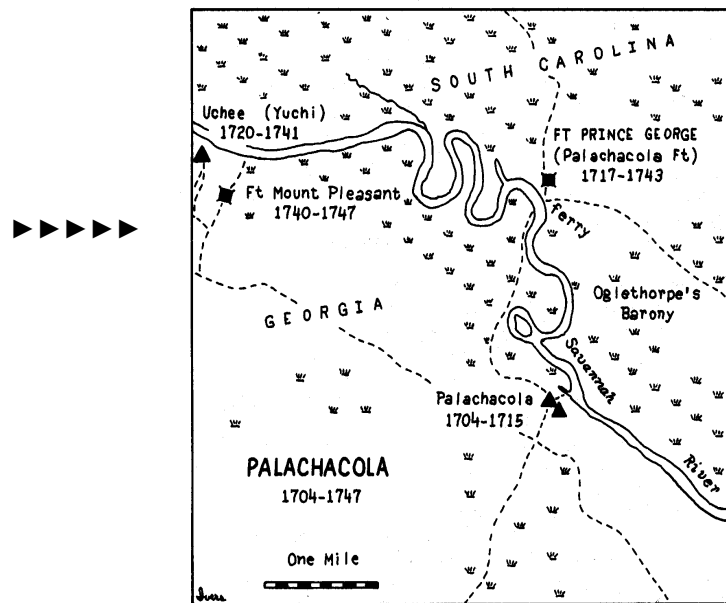


Image 13: Larry Ivers' Map of Oglethorpe's Barony from British Drums on The Southern Frontier, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1974, p. 26, used by permission of the publisher.

More recently Lawrence S. Rowland⁴⁶ cites Dr. William Coffee Daniell⁴⁷ as having acquired the "700 acre Oglethorpe plantation" in St. Peter's Parish, between Screven's Ferry and Langdon Cheves' Delta plantation.

⁴⁵ Louis De Vorsey, "William Gerard de Brahm: Eccentric Genius of Southeastern Geography," Southeastern Geographer, Volume 10, April, 1970, p. 25.

Corroboration of Land Ownership

This thesis found a land deed. According to South Carolina Deed Abstracts 1719-1772, abstracted by Clara A. Langley,⁴⁸ William Bull, Esquire of Charleston transferred 5,385 acres of land to "James Oglethorpe, Esquire, late of Great Britain" for £ 636 on April 24 and 25, 1739.⁴⁹ The tract of land was in Granville County bounded west by the Savannah River, east by a tract of land owned by Thomas Owen and Joseph Wragg, north by a tract owned by Robert Wright, Mr. du Bourdieu and James Kinloch, and south by the township of Purysburgh. This was a tract that Lt. Governor Thomas Broughton by letters patent granted to Colonel William Hamilton on August 12, 1737. The deed from Bull to Oglethorpe was witnessed by Alexander Cramah and William Hamilton. All appeared before Thomas Lamboll, Justice of the Peace. A memorandum of this transaction was entered in the Auditor's office on April 25, 1739, by James St. John, Deputy Auditor and Robert Austin, Pub. Reg. This thesis gives all the details of witnessing and recording to prove that the deed is authentic.

⁴⁶ "Alone on the River," South Carolina Historical Magazine, January 1987, pp. 132 and 138.

⁴⁵ For a sketch of Dr. Daniell, see Joseph I. Waring's "The Yellow Fever Epidemic of Savannah in 1820, with a Sketch of Dr. William Coffee Daniell," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 52, December, 1968, pp. 388-404. Dr. Daniell married into the Screven family. He practiced medicine in Savannah, after graduating from the Medical College of Georgia. He also authored an article on the yellow fever epidemic in 1820 in Savannah.

⁴⁸ Volume I, Easley, South Carolina, Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1989, p. 343.

⁴⁹ This is approximately two and one-third shillings per acre and close to the price Oglethorpe paid Purry for the 3,000 acres in December, 1731.

These coordinates of the land site are consistent with the coordinates discussed heretofore in "A Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia, composed by the Honorable William Bull, Esq. Lietenant Gov. and the author William De Brahm, Surveyor General to the Province of South Carolina, one of the Surveyors of Georgia, engraved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales" and "published according to Act of Parliament T. Jefferys, October 20, 1757."

The seller was William Bull, who had befriended Oglethorpe when he first arrived in Savannah. He accompanied the first settlers from their first landing at Charles Town to Savannah. He spent much time in Savannah with the militia, and surveys. In 1737, William Bull became the acting governor of South Carolina. Rather than being a way around king's rule, this could have been Oglethorpe's way of acquiring a dependable food supply for his 600-man Regiment. The Georgia population had been decimated by death and abandonment and there was great fear of a Spanish invasion. Additionally, Purry had died in 1736 without getting the lands surveyed and registered in his name. This is one rational interpretation.

There are other deed records. There was a hearing on August 30, 1738, about 866 acres in Granville County on the Savannah River. The matter was between General Oglethorpe and James Bullock.⁵⁰ In 1770, long after his return to England,

⁵⁰ Petitions for Land from the South Carolina Council Journals, Volume I: 1734/5-1748, by Brent H. Holcomb, Columbia, SCMAR, 1996, p. 119.

another land transaction in Granville Count cites the transferred tract as being bounded on its east and south side by General Oglethorpe.⁵¹

At a South Carolina Council Meeting on August 7, 1759:

"A Petition of Thomas Shubrick, Esq'r addressed to His Excellency the Governor was presented and read, setting forth, that he was possessed of Forty-two slaves for whom he never had any Warrant of Survey or Grant of Land in the Province aforesaid, That the[re] was a Tract of 2,060 acres of Land on Savanna River in Granville County, surveyed for James Oglethorp Esq'r and granted to him in trust for the use of the Trustees of Georgia during the settling of that Colony before it became an established Government, That the ends and purposes of the said Grant had long ago ceased, whereby the said Grant had become void, and the Land reverted to the Crown. Therefore prayed his Excellencys order to the Surveyor General to Certify the Plat of the said 2,060 acres of Land to the Petitioner that he might have a Grant for the same &ca.

Ordered that the subject matter of the foregoing Petitioner be refered to the Surveyor General for his opinion, and that he do make his report thereupon on or before the first Tuesday in October next.

Ordered that the Secretary do prepare and deliver to the Surveyor General the Copy or Copys of any Grant or Grants for 2,060 acres of Land on Savannah River that hath been made to James Oglethorp, [spelled without an 'e'] in trust for the Trustees of Georgia."⁵²

This record says that Oglethorpe did not hold the property personally but held it in trust for the Trustees in London. Therefore, he could not have personally benefited from the increased value of the land. There are four notable opinions casting doubt on Oglethorpe's owning property in Georgia. First was President George Washington, as quoted in Amos Aschbach Ettinger's biography of Oglethorpe:

⁵¹ Langley, op. cit., Volume 4, p. 143.

⁵² Holcomb, op. cit., Volume 5, p. 54.

"Within six months of Oglethorpe's death, his two French nephews made overtures to claim any lands he might still have owned in Georgia. The Chevalier de Mezieres, Eleanor's son, as heir, persuaded Thomas Jefferson, as American Minister to France, to consult Vergennes at Versailles, Adams in London, and the Governor and Congressional Delegates of Georgia, as to the availability of Oglethorpe's Georgia property, while Fanny's son, the Marquis de Bellegarde, approached Adams in London through Granville Sharp, and finally addressed President Washington, who, on Jan. 15, 1790, expressed his regret that he 'never was so happy as to have any personal acquaintance with' Oglethorpe, but was certain Georgia in the Revolution would have protected, not confiscated any property its founder might still have held there. See Washington, H.A., editor, Writings of Thomas Jefferson (9 vols., New York, 1854), i. 499-502; ix. 235-8; Adams, C.F., editor, Works of John Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1856),viii, 365 and Sparks, Jared, editor, Writing of George Washington (12 vols., Boston, 1837-46), x.76-7."⁵³

First Objection to Land Ownership

Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta (of the family of The Children of Pride⁵⁴)

had the first objection. Writing with an air of hurt pride, he wrote in The Magazine of American History in 1892 that Oglethorpe "found neither time nor inclination for speculating in Georgia lands." It is interesting that Jones refers only to Georgia lands. He seems unaware of William Bacon Stevens's remarks 45 years earlier concerning land in South Carolina, not Georgia. Jones' supposed coup de grâce was simply that "people" [presumably relatives of Oglethorpe] had come to Georgia, researched the matter thoroughly and unearthed no information.

⁵³ Ettinger, 1968, p. 328, footnote 3.

⁵⁴ Yale University, 1972.

Second Objection to Land Ownership

As discussed in a conversation between the author and Edwin L. Jackson, noted Oglethorpe scholar today, Jackson said, "Phinizy⁵⁵ never spoke about Oglethorpe having land in South Carolina."⁵⁶

Third Objection to Land Ownership

In The Colonial Records of Georgia,⁵⁷ one Issac Chardon wrote from Charleston to the Trustees, ending his letter with:

*"As I have no directions to send home your Plott and grant for 2,060 Acres upon the North side of Savannah River I kept it, but I will deliver it to Mr. Oglethorpe, when he arrives.
As they are now about admeasureing out the township of Purrysborough in a square, Agreeable to his Majesties last instructions I have sent up to Mr. Causton your warrant, that the remainder which is 7940 Acres more, may be laid out upon vacant Lands in case there should prove to be any upon the resurveying of the above Township."*

Arlin Migliazzo interprets this accordingly:

"The Georgia Trustees also seem to have been involved in land dealings in and around Purrysburgh."⁵⁸

In conclusion, Oglethorpe's South Carolina land holdings are supported by the evidence. However, if this thesis were on trial in a courtroom, the evidence would probably not be accepted as proof that Oglethorpe employed Negro slaves. The evidence may not even be "admissible" since there are objections, and since there is

⁵⁵ Phinizy Spalding was the noted University of Georgia scholar and author of books on Oglethorpe (see Bibliography).

⁵⁶ Interview with Edwin L. Jackson on March 8, 2002.

⁵⁷ Volume 21, edited by Allen D. Chandler, Atlanta, Chas. P. Byrd, 1910, pp. 59-62.

⁵⁸ Migliazzo, 1982, p. 74.

the inference that the Trustees were the beneficial owners of some of the land.

Hence, this thesis rejects Thomas Mayhew Cunningham's statement that

"Oglethorpe had slaves on his Carolina plantation"⁵⁹ as published in the Georgia Historical Quarterly.

⁵⁹ Op. cit., p. 210.

CHAPTER 5

TOMO-CHI-CHI

Oglethorpe's options were constrained, but there were some options which this thesis discovered after reading Professor Rodney Baine's path-breaking research on the Indians:

"It is well known that slavery was prohibited in Georgia soon after its founding. Far less recognized is the fact that the prohibition applied only to black slaves . . . the 1735 law which more unequivocally banned the importation and use of slaves applied only to blacks, not to Indians. Indians slaves served in the colony from its founding, but have been generally ignored by most historians . . .

There were doubtless scores of other Indian slaves in Georgia, perhaps hundreds, for their enslavement persisted throughout the colonial period. In 1738 a trader who had just returned from the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Cherokees, assured Pastor Bolzius (or Gronau) that these tribes 'cannot live long without war: and therefore many hostile Indian slaves are bought and sold to the Europeans.'⁶⁰

When Oglethorpe took the great Indian chief, Tomo-Chi-Chi, with his wife, Senauki, his nephew, Toanahow and five other retainers to England in 1734, he caused a sensation in London. Audiences were held with King George II and his court, the Trustees below, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Tomo-Chi-Chi told King George II that he wanted to be England's friend. Viewed in the context of the rivalry between Spain and England over conflicting claims over Georgia, the visit sealed a strategy alliance with these Indians and was a

⁶⁰ "Notes and Documents: Indian Slavery in Colonial Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 79, Summer, 1995, pp. 418 and 424.

great public relations victory for Oglethorpe. In the following budget year, Parliament awarded the Trustees their largest-ever grant of £26,000. The significance of this visit helps with this thesis' inference about Oglethorpe's South Carolina plantations.



Image 14: Tomo-chi-Chi and the Trustees at the Georgia Office in London, 1734, Painted by Willem Verelst. Courtesy of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware. From the inference of Trevor R. Reese (1955, p. 350) , it is reasoned that this artist is a relative of Harman Verelst, accountant to the Trustees, and holder of a power of attorney against all of Oglethorpe's income as an officer and against all Oglethorpe's landed property in England. This equity line of credit created the liquidity for military expenses in the campaign against the Spanish. Reese says that the name Verelst was derived from the Dutch "Vander Elst," noted portrait painters dating backward to the early 1600's. A copy of this portrait hangs in Rhodes Memorial Hall in Atlanta. Reese also points out that one of the Trustees, John White, had fallen out with the views of the other Trustees and he refused to sit for the painting and abstained from a pro rata share of the costs. For other Verelst portraits, the earlier cited portrait of James Oglethorpe from the National Portrait Gallery of London was "by Alfred Edmund Dyer, after William Verelst." A Herman Verelst did an oil portrait in 1689 of John Locke, who was an advisor to the grandfather of one of the trustees, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

CHAPTER 6

HOW DO WE INTERPRET THE DATA?

Land was abundant in colonial Georgia, but there was an insufficient work force to clear the land and develop agriculture. There was also a cost problem because of this shortage of labor which made the colony uncompetitive with products produced in South Carolina. Labor policy was important not only from the design of the political economy, but also critical for understanding the character of the principal agent managing the colony, James Edward Oglethorpe. If Oglethorpe was "a forerunner of Abraham Lincoln,"⁶¹ then Oglethorpe would not have employed "Negroes," as charged in the William Bacon Stevens quotation discussed earlier, citing the William Stephens' 1742 publication. In the Nineteenth Century, the word "Negro"⁶² was used synonymously for "slave."

Did Oglethorpe Have a Moral Aversion to Slavery?

Do we reject Ettinger's hypothesis that James Edward Oglethorpe was "a forerunner of Abraham Lincoln"? Do we reject Betty Wood's hypothesis that James Edward Oglethorpe developed a moral aversion against slavery? For the purposes of this thesis, Oglethorpe's ownership of land in South Carolina

⁶¹ Betty Wood, Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730-1775, Athens, University of Georgia Press, p. 208, footnote 8.

⁶² Conversation with Professor John Inscoc.

is accepted as true because of the documentation, the signature with his middle name, the red wax seal, the embossments, the 1757 map published by an act of Parliament and the recording and witnessing of a deed with William Bull. What is uncertain is whether he used African slaves on his plantation in South Carolina at a times when African slaves were outlawed in Georgia. The evidence supporting his slave ownership is hearsay, not directly from the witnessing by the author William Stephens, but on his political opponent's statements. The only factual statement made by William Stephens in 1736 was that Oglethorpe had a "Barony." Nothing was said by William Stephens that Oglethorpe employed slave labor. To hypothesize that Oglethorpe owned slaves is to commit a Type One Error.⁶³ The hearsay evidence is considered a random variable with a probability of being true as well as a probability of being false.

Economic History versus Economics

The scope of the investigation is expanded to included Oglethorpe's publications, letters, associations with other people, their commentaries about him, and his record in Parliament. This enlargement of other evidence is an advantage of economic history methodology. As John R. Hicks said in his A Theory of Economic History,⁶⁴

"In spite of the vogue of 'Quantitative Economic History', economic historians are under less temptation than economists to see their subject as purely quantitative."

Expanding the Scope of our Search: Oglethorpe as Social Reformer

⁶³ A Type One Error is to assume the null hypothesis (i.e., Oglethorpe had slaves) , when it is false.

⁶⁴ Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969, p. 1.

A monumental tablet in Cranham Church bears the following inscription written by Mr. Capel Lofft:

"... Founder of the Colony of Georgia; which (founded on the ardent wish for liberty) set the noble example of prohibiting the importation of Slaves. . . He was a friend of the oppressed Negro" ⁶⁵

Oglethorpe became a "social reformer" in his early years in Parliament. He then experienced the effects of an Eighteenth Century law which outlawed the non-payment of debt and labeled such behavior as a statutory crime. With the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, there was a large reduction in wealth and a tertiary effect on increasing unemployment and increasing demand by the authorities for prison space.

One Robert Castell, an architect known and patronized by James Oglethorpe, fell on hard times and was imprisoned at the infamous Fleet Prison, where he died of smallpox. Another friend of Oglethorpe, Sir Thomas Rich, was imprisoned for debt. Oglethorpe began asking questions in the House of Commons after his entrance in 1722. He was appointed chairman of a committee to investigate the prisons. On May 14, 1729, in his second report, Oglethorpe said no fewer than thirty-two prisoners, sometimes 40, were locked up at night for eleven or twelve hours in a room only sixteen by fourteen feet wide and eight feet high. Half the prisoners were on the floor and the rest were hung in hammocks above those on the floor. Due to poor ventilation, many died in the summer from the heat and

⁶⁵ Robert Wright, *A Memoir of General James Oglethorpe, One of the Earliest Reformers of Prison Discipline in England, and The Founder of Georgia in America*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1867, p. 404.

respiratory viruses were rampant. The stench shocked Oglethorpe. He entered a bill against the Warden of Fleet, whom he accused of "the most notorious breach of his trust."⁶⁶ The Warden was abusing his office by extorting exorbitant bribes from prisoners. This an example of rent-seeking behavior. Oglethorpe led the debate for reform, which Parliament enacted as the Debtors' Act of 1730, a significant victory for a young man. From this point in time, Oglethorpe portrayed himself as a "social reformer," and we do not see any events in his later life to reverse this classification.

This personal history is entered so that the reader will have additional information in order to reject or accept the hypothesis that Oglethorpe employed enslaved people. It is unlikely that a social reformer of this magnitude would employ slave labor.

Oglethorpe- Purry Agreement and the Persecuted Protestants

While this thesis has examined the Oglethorpe-Purry agreement in terms of a rent-seeking model, when more historical information is added, the conclusion is less clear-cut. On October 31, 1731, just 35 days prior to the time Purry and Oglethorpe signed their agreement, the Catholic ruler of Salzburg, Austria, Leopold von Firmian, attempted to convert these Lutherans to Catholicism. Upon failing to do so, he drove them out. Leopold von Firmian, attempted to convert these Lutherans to Catholicism. Upon failing to do so, he drove them out.

⁶⁶ Horace Maybray King , James Edward Oglethorpe's Parliamentary Career, Milledgeville, Georgia College, 1968, p. 6.



Image 15: Die freundliche Bewillkommung der saltzburgischen..Leipzig, 1732 [engraving], German immigrants in Georgia. Courtesy of Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

While England had renounced religious persecution in 1689, the bishop acted as a monopolist, viewing the uniformity of religion as an imperative. Many Lutherans left their homes with only eight days' notice ; some froze to death as they sought refuge. Some reached London and later arrived in Georgia on March, 1734.⁶⁷ Viewed in the spirit of the times, Oglethorpe's agreement with Purry could be seen in accordance with his "social reformer" classification and with the motto on the Trustees' seal: "*Non Sibi, Sed Aliis*,"⁶⁸ translated "Not for ourselves but for others."

⁶⁷ Oglethorpe was somewhat pluralistic in his religious toleration. Whereas the Trustees did not permit Jews to settle in Georgia, a group of Jews went to Georgia without the Trustees' permission, and Oglethorpe accepted them. Besides the Lutherans, there were Anglicans and Baptists.

According to Horace Maybray King, Speaker of the House of Commons in the 1960's, Oglethorpe was never involved in any scandal in Parliament, at a time when scandals were common among members of Parliament. Oglethorpe's writings, his speeches, his associations with philanthropists, the biographies written after his death and commentaries all support the findings that his main interests were the colonies, the persecuted Protestants, and the unemployed.

The only evidence indicting him as a scoundrel came from the "Malcontents" who came to England armed with pamphlets and appeared before Parliament. The House of Commons was called upon by resolution from committee on June 29, 1742, to vote on:

*"That the petition of Thomas Stephens [one of the Malcontents, and son of William Stephens] contains false scandalous and malicious charges, tending to asperse the characters of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America."*⁶⁹

Thomas Stephens was censured by the House. He was ordered as punishment and public rebuke to kneel before the House in penitence for the cited offense, as the Speaker reprimanded him.

All of these actions support the argument that Oglethorpe had a moral aversion to slavery. However, there are still unanswered questions.

Rent-Seeking Behavior?

Was Oglethorpe acting within the parameters of an Eighteen Century rent-seeking model, defined as a redistribution from consumer to a monopolist who has many centralized controls? Examples of rent-seeking behavior typical in England at that time were monopolies granted by the king to specific companies or individuals

⁶⁹ King, op. cit, p. 56.

in exchange for payments to the king for the monopoly. Those chosen were happy because such acts reduced competition and allowed them to raise their prices in the market place, producing exorbitant profits for the firms, but squeezing the consumers. Often monopolies would have a fixed time period, after which renewals and new "rents" were due to the crown. Huge industries such as coal and wool exports had these monopolies. Prices were thereby artificially high to the consumer. These monopolies required a state apparatus to regulate trade via licensing and to prevent competitors from entering the market place and thereby reduce the market share of the monopolist.

The Purry-Oglethorpe document of December 4, 1731, reveals that Oglethorpe's South Carolina land holdings are supported by the evidence, although some of the land was held in trust for the Trustees. As far as the cited transactions with William Bull and Jean Pierre Purry, the payments were made by Oglethorpe himself. The agreement does not portray Oglethorpe acting in trust for a third party. Instead, Oglethorpe will "take possession for always and in perpetuity" of the 3,000 acres. In the previously mentioned court hearing of Thomas Shubrick Esq. in 1759 against the 2,060 acres along the Savannah River in Granville County, South Carolina, it was asserted that this land was surveyed and granted to Oglethorpe "in trust for the use of the Trustees of Georgia." It would not be good reasoning to say that all of Oglethorpe's land holdings were held in trust for the Trustees. To lighten any charges against Oglethorpe for under-the-table dealings, one can ask, what business did the Trustees have for dealing in land in South Carolina, since their authority was limited to "within our said province of Georgia?"

- According to Professor John J. McCusker, it takes 110.45 British Pounds today to have the same purchasing power of one British Pound in 1731. Using these benchmarks, Oglethorpe bought his 3,000 acres for approximately \$8,000⁷⁰ in terms of contemporary 2001 U.S. dollars or approximately \$2.67 per acre. In his currency, the cost was about one-third of one shilling per acre.
- It cost £5 to transport one person from England to Georgia at this time. Any person going to Georgia at his own expense could obtain up to 500 acres, provided he paid the transportation expenses for 10 indebted servants. Accordingly, the Georgia colonist had to pay approximately two shillings per acres, or six times more than did Oglethorpe for his land in South Carolina.
- Since Oglethorpe would pay the land taxes to Purry, rather than to the authorities, this means that his ownership would not be recorded. His name would be "blind," in legal parlance, at least until the map was printed in London in 1757. Therefore, it is fair to characterize this agreement as "secret."
- It is a rational assumption to expect land prices to increase after colonies were established in the proximity.

⁷⁰ This calculation is imperfect but was formulated as £ 50 times 100.45 to convert 1731 Pounds Sterling to 2001 Pounds Sterling, then multiplied by \$1.45 as the approximate U.S. Dollar-British Sterling Exchange Rate.

- **Clearly, Oglethorpe played the role of a modern-day investment banker for Jean Pierre Purry, a man strong on ideas but weak on liquid capital, and Oglethorpe filled this need.**

All of the above supports the argument that Oglethorpe was acting according to a rent-seeking model, but this does not prove slavery ownership.

CHAPTER 7

THE ROMAN METHOD

Understanding the "Roman method" is important to understanding Oglethorpe's actions. It is also important to recognize that Oglethorpe was not alone in his interest in Roman affairs. Image 16 ⁷¹ shows the Earl of Egmont dressed with a Roman toga, indicating a revival of interest in Roman studies during Eighteenth Century England. The "Roman method" is a simple concept mentioned by Oglethorpe's tutor, Basil Kennett, at Corpus Christi College at Oxford University. We know of this relationship from Sir Keith Thomas. ⁷²

According to Kennett's book, Romae Antiquae Notitia, a publishing success in the Eighteenth Century England, with many

editions, the "method" was how the Romans settled the lands won at war. They gave the new lands to their own soldiers for their use in their retirement. Oglethorpe used



Image 16: John Perceval , marble bust, 1707, by Vincenzo Felici, on display at Beningbrough Hall , 8 miles from York, UK. Courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London, which labels him as "President of the Trustees of Georgia."

⁷¹ The National Portrait Gallery spells his name as "Perceval," whereas His Majesty's Printing Office spells his name as "Percival."

⁷² Sir Keith Thomas, "James Edward Oglethorpe, Sometime Gentleman Commoner of Corpus," James Edward Oglethorpe: New Perspectives on His Life and Legacy, edited by John C. Inscoe, Savannah, Georgia Historical Society, 1977, pp. 16-34.

this expression "the Roman method" in a letter he wrote to Bishop Berkeley in 1731. When Phinizy Spalding and Rodney Baine concluded that Oglethorpe was the author of Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for establishing Colonys in America, they cited this letter and this expression as part of their proof. Assuming that Spalding and Baine are correct, Oglethorpe argues in his preface that military victories can be economic disasters:

"The larger and more extended the Conquest is, the more the Conqueror is weakened by success and frequent Victorys must render him. To prove this, suppose a State Sovereign of a Country is able to keep a hundred thousand Men in pay and to furnish 5,000 for their yearly recruits which may in times of Peace be sufficient. If this state should employ that hundred thousand Men in a victorious War they will be weakened by the Conquest, for that hundred thousand Men employed in War will require at least 30,000 yearly recruits to make up the ravage which the Enemy, Sickness and Fatigue have made, and those 30,000 Men must be taken from useful Employment at home. The publick Revenue will be lessened as much as is gained out of the labour of those Men, for the Taxes which support Government arise from the labour of the Subjects. As for the conquered Countrey[sic], that being ravaged and laid desolate by War, will be very little able to add any thing to the wealth of the Conquerors. Besides if one hundred thousand Men were before necessary and that they have conquered a Countrey in extent and strength equal to their own, they must at least keep two hundred thousand in Arms and by that means lose the labour of one hundred thousand more Subjects to defend and keep in awe the newly subjected people who will naturally be averse to their Government. If according to the modern way the Soldier is unmarried and the rule holds that Males and Females are born in equal numbers, there will be near two hundred thousand Women without Husbands, and the State will lose the Children which would have been produced by so many Marriages. . .

The Romans knew well how narrow the foundation of one City was to build a mighty Empire upon, they knew well if they went the common way to work that large Conquests would require large Armys and those Armys more recruits and Taxes so that in the end they must sink under the weight of their Victorys. They therefore established

Colonys as Brutus says in his Oration to the People after the death of Caesar.

When they had overcome their Enemys they confiscated not their whole Countrey but contented themselves with taking part of their Lands which they divided amongst their own Invalids and on them built Citys for them to inhabit & keep the newly subdued People in subjection, but if the conquered Countreys were not sufficient to give a comfortable subsistence to the Colony they added either some of the publick Lands or Lands bought with the publick Money They also out of the conquered Countreys set aside Rents for the publick Treasury. . .

By the means of their Colonys they Garrisond their Conquests and increased their Revenue, so that no sooner was one War ended but they were fresh and vigourous for another. . .

So that in the space of 290 Years the Citizens of Rome increased 217,797 notwithstanding they were frequently afflicted with Plagues and Famine. . .I cannot omit this remark that the Roman method of establishing Colonys answered the end so well, that no one Colony ever rebelled, nor no one Province once conquered by Rome was ever separated [sic] from it till the final division of the Empire."⁷³

This thesis combines three separate discoveries with the land ownership in South Carolina, namely, the "Roman method," Rodney Baine's comments on Indian slavery and a "Manifesto by General Oglethorpe," dated April 1, 1740, from Charlestown:

"Whereas upon mature deliberation it is resolved to defend these Provinces by invading the Province of Florida, and attacking St Augustine . . .

No Indian enemy is to be taken as a slave, for all Spanish and Indian prisoners do belong to his Majesty, and are to be treated as prisoners, not as slaves."⁷⁴

⁷³ Baine and Spalding, op. cit., pp. 6-10.

⁷⁴ Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D., Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe, Founder of the Colony of Georgia in North America, Boston, privately printed, 1841, pp. 378-380.

How Economics Can Add to Our Understanding?

It is helpful first to put the Bull-Oglethorpe land purchase in its historical context of 1739:

- In many letters in the Egmont Collection, there is a haunting worry about the Spanish threat both militarily and from Negro uprising. The Spanish had made public offers of freedom to English slaves who would escape to Florida.
- The number of slaves in South Carolina was almost twice the number of whites.
- On September 9 of the year that Oglethorpe bought land in South Carolina, sixty slaves tried to fight their way to St. Augustine, after breaking into a warehouse near the Stono River and arming themselves with military guns and ammunition. The Negroes fought hard but were overpowered by the militia called out by William Bull. Two other uprisings following this uprising, now referred to as the "Stono Rebellion."
- Captain Robert Jenkins appeared in the House of Commons on March 17, 1738, and presented his ear to a jingoist audience. He told how the Spanish had boarded his ship, and cut off his ear, but his only thoughts were for the welfare of his country, England. This marked the transition from Prime

Minister Robert Walpole's attempts to have peaceful relations with Spain, to the rise of an imperialistic- military government.

- **England declared war on Spain on October 10, 1739, and Oglethorpe was ordered to attack Saint Augustine.**
 - **Fort Frederica was England's principal military outpost against the Spanish in Saint Augustine, America's oldest city, established 168 years before Oglethorpe arrival, having a large stone fort that was never invaded. It was a large community. Oglethorpe had transported a regiment of 600 soldiers from England in 1738, many with wives. In 1742, a Grenadier Company under Captain William Horton was added.⁷⁵ Other people were also living in the fort's compound.**
- Below is an artist's illustration of Fort Frederica, showing its size and subsequent needs for supplies.**



Image 17: Fort Frederica. Illustration by L. Kenneth Townsend, courtesy of the Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia

⁷⁵ Albert C. Manucy, The Fort at Frederica, Notes in Anthropology, Volume 5, The Department of Anthropology, Tallahassee, Florida State University, 1962, p. 102.

- Oglethorpe paid personally three-fourths of the expenses of the war with Spain in Georgia. We know from Egmont's Diary ⁷⁶ that on Monday, June 2, 1740:

"At night Mr. Verelts [the accountant to the Trustees ⁷⁷] Brought a letter from Mr. Oglethorpe to the Trustees, dated 2nd April,⁷⁸ containing observations on their grant to Mr. Whitfeild made of the orphans, the intention of which grant Mr. Whitfeild had mistaken, he demanding all the orphans of the Province to be delivered him, as well those who can labour and whose friends take care of them as the helpless, whereas the intention was to deliver to him only the helpless. In this General Oglethorpe agrees with us.

Mr. Verelts also showed me a letter of attorney sent him by General Oglethorpe to raise money on all his estate, real and personal, without limitation of the sum, as also to employ all his salary from the Government for answering the bills he should draw on him for the service of the public. A real instance of zeal for his country! It seems that the Province of South Carolina, after they had passed the act for raising 15,000l. sterling to pay troops, &c. for the taking of Augustine, passed a second act, allowing 8 per cent. Interest for raising the money, being not able to raise it among themselves; and out of hopes of procuring it in England, so low is their credit, General Oglethorpe undertook to find it on his own credit, by offering his whole estate, real and personal, for security to such English merchants as should advance the money, or to Sir Robert Walpole [the Prime Minister]. "

⁷⁶John Percival Egmont,, 1st Earl of, Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Volume III, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923, p. 146.

⁷⁷ Trevor R. Reese, "Harman Verelst, Accountant to the Trustees," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 39, December, 1955, pp. 348-352.

⁷⁸ It took 2 months for the letter to arrive by boat from Georgia.

In modern language, General Oglethorpe took out an equity line of credit on his English home and lands, he being a bachelor at this time, and used this credit line to finance the costs of maintaining the troops in Georgia. He was squeezed because the government of Walpole was not allocating sufficient funds to pay for the troops. The Trustees said in newspaper advertisements that they were unwilling to pay for any drafts presented to them in London and that all charges would be paid by Sola Bills (see Appendix B).

- Two months after returning with his regiment, Oglethorpe wrote sardonically to one Trustee, Alderman George Heathcote:

*I am here in one of the most delightful situations as any man could wish to be. A great number of Debts, empty Magazines, no money to supply them, Numbers of People to be fed, mutinous Soldiers to Command, A Spanish Claim & a large body of their Troops not far from us."*⁷⁹

King George II's Warrant to Reimburse Oglethorpe

The amount of money given to Purry was a trifling, compared to the money Oglethorpe spent of his funds to defend Georgia from the Spanish. The Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library has the July 5, 1744, warrant signed by King George II which reimburses James Edward Oglethorpe £66,109 "for extraordinary services." This covered the period from September 22, 1738 to September 29, 1743

⁷⁹ Kenneth Coleman , Colonial Georgia: A History, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976, p. 63.

to defend Georgia against the Spanish.⁸⁰ This statistic may be low as Rodney Baine says that:

"During Oglethorpe's years in Georgia he devoted more than £ 90,000 of his personal fortune to keep the colony economically solvent and militarily secure."⁸¹

Is it not possible that some of the funds used to pay for the discussed land transactions with Bull and Purry were reimbursed by King George II's warrant, and buried in the lump-sum figure? Since Oglethorpe had no assurance that he would be reimbursed for his expenses, and since Oglethorpe had personally borne three-quarters of the cost of defending Georgia militarily against the Spanish, and since he had used his home in England as security to borrow money for payment of military expenses, these facts support the hypothesis that Oglethorpe was acting on the Trustees' motto:

"Non Sibis, Sed Aliis"⁸²

In the original model of the Trustees, the colonists were to be self-sufficient in their agricultural needs and international trade was unnecessary, except for the hoped-for goods of silk and wine. One of the main arguments of the "Malcontents"

⁸⁰ The actual document looks like £26, 109, rather than £ 66, 109, cited by Horace Maybray King, op. cit., p. 60. Since King quotes from Journals of the House of Commons, his figure will be cited.

⁸¹ Rodney Baine, "New Perspectives on Debtors in Colonial Georgia," The Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 77, Spring, 1993, p. 19. Baine gets this figure from Amos Aschbach Ettinger, James Edward Oglethorpe: Imperial Idealist, no city given, Archon Books, 1968, p. 252.

⁸² Translated as "Not for ourselves, but for others."

was about their uncompetitive costs. The cost to produce goods in Georgia were greater than the cost in South Carolina because of slave labor.

Under the 1739 conditions, Oglethorpe had to change certain constraints of the Trustees' model. First, autarky had to give way to the international trade, heavily weighted to imports. The population of Georgia had been decimated to approximately 500 residents from approximately 2,160 who had sailed to Georgia from England plus an estimated 2,840 births less deaths and emigrants from other colonies in America, such as South Carolina.

The decline was the result of diseases, death and dissatisfaction with the restrictions against Negroes, rum⁸³ and land policies. There were not enough inhabitants to supply the food needs of Fort Frederica.

Desertions from Savannah and the surrounding countryside increased as the summer⁸⁴ wore on, and although Stephens estimated that 'even in this our low Estate I could mark out about seventy [in Savannah] . . . who would be ready to defend their Country,' there were others who reported that 'in August and September' so many people left 'that one would have thought the Place must have been entirely forsaken.' By this

⁸³ There was an "post hoc ergo propter hoc" fallacy in Oglethorpe's mind. He felt drinking rum caused deaths. According to Joseph I. Waring, M.D., the colonists stored their alcohol in lead containers and suffered from lead poisoning. This fact was not recognized at the time. See "Colonial Medicine in Georgia and South Carolina," Georgia Historical Quarterly, Volume 59 Supplement, 1975, p. 143. Also, anti-alcohol views were strong in London. Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, a benefactor to the Trustees in the amount of £ 500, a parliamentary supporter of the Trust, oversaw the 1736 Gin Act which curtailed gin houses. See Peter Clark, "The 'Mother Gin' Controversy in the Early Eighteenth Century," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Volume 38, 1988, pp. 63-84.

⁸⁴ This is the summer of 1740.

estimate, 'in these two Months about One hundred Souls out of the Country of Savannah left the Colony,' and many more soon followed. These departures also had a positive side, at least for Stephens, and he took pleasure in reporting that most of the Scottish malcontents joined the exodus and 'thus we at last see an End of that cursed Club, which has so long been the very Bane of this Place.' Freed at last from 'the poisonous Influence of that Crew,' the secretary had some hope for the future.

Still, it was a dismal scene. By one account, of the approximately 5,000 immigrants who had come to the province since its founding, only about 500 were left to 'make up the poor Remains of the miserable Colony of Georgia . . .'⁸⁵

There was little two-way trade between Georgia and England and South Carolina. Georgia goods were priced higher than South Carolina goods. A condition known as disequilibrium existed as if a brick wall encircled Georgia, preventing the flow of goods across the brick wall. The market was unable to bring about factor price equilibrium. As a result there was an exodus of colonists from Georgia due to its uncompetitive prices. Consequently, Oglethorpe had no solid base of farmers to supply his food needs for Fort Frederica, except for beer, which was supplied by Major William Horton of Jekyll Island. Oglethorpe had to break the autarky system of the Trustees in order to meet his demand for beef and grain.

It is the conclusion of this thesis based on research and inductive reasoning that Indian prisoners of war were used on James Oglethorpe's plantations in South Carolina. A prisoner of war could be forced to work without pay because he had attempted to overthrow His Majesty's government. Such punishment differs from

⁸⁵ Harvey H. Jackson III, "Behind the Lines: Oglethorpe, Savannah, and the War of Jenkins' Ear," James Edward Oglethorpe: New Perspectives on His Life and Legacy, edited by John C. Inscoe, Savannah, The Georgia Historical Society, 1997, pp. 81-82.

slavery: the prisoners of war knew the risks they incurred and therefore they suffered the consequences.

The character and profile of James Edward Oglethorpe as a "social reformer" must be considered. The records of land ownership are silent about slave labor. The only hearsay evidence comes from Oglethorpe's political opponents who were heard by the House of Commons but whose allegations were dismissed, not with civility, but with rebuke. Lastly, Baine says that the Indians and Negroes intermarried, producing a "large number of 'mustees.'" ⁸⁶ Hence, many of the Oglethorpe workers could have looked like Negro slaves but were Indian prisoners of war. This inference based on the research of this thesis allows a reconciliation between what we know about Oglethorpe as a social reformer and the discoveries of the Oglethorpe South Carolina plantations.

⁸⁶ Baine, 1995, p. 419.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Historians have built the foundations for this thesis. Unless new data are discovered that show Oglethorpe employed African slaves on his plantation in South Carolina, then this thesis argues that Oglethorpe did operate in a rent-seeking manner common to Eighteenth Century England. However, the rent-seeking model is deficient in explaining the colony's development. "The Roman method" offers the best explanation of the colony's objectives as designed by Oglethorpe. Economic historians can differentiate, based on economic theory, and supplement our current knowledge. Economic history is not revolutionary but evolutionary in adding to our understanding.

Most of the historical studies have concluded that the founding of the colony of Georgia was a failure. Economic historians can look at these events differently because of rational behavior. People tried to maximize their outcomes in terms of their preferences. In the beginning, this thesis said that the three groups of people had different incentives or preferences, but all three eventually maximized their utility.

The king was able to hold onto Georgia, avoiding loss of control to Spanish or French claims.

The Trustees, especially General Oglethorpe, acted out their convictions with their motto of "Non Sibus, Sed Aliis." This was significant for an age where love of private interests was more greatly admired than love of public interest. This thesis

finds no evidence to support the suggestion that General Oglethorpe was using his office and authority in a pure rent-seeking manner, typical of Eighteenth Century England.

Many colonists died. We know from Twenty-First Century medicine that many drinkers of rum died because the containers for holding their rum were made of lead. Hence, they may have died of lead poisoning rather than from drinking rum. Oglethorpe and the Trustees believed these rum drinkers died solely because of drinking rum. So today it is easier for us today to see the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacies in the Trustees' minds. They blamed rum rather the lead containers.

Those colonists who survived were probably better off than they would have been in London, if they had stayed behind. This was obviously the conviction that propelled them across the great ocean and all the subsequent risks. Such was their motivation to emigrate in the first place.

Despite so many difficulties, the founding of the colony of Georgia was successful, when viewed from the perspective of "the Roman method." Economic history helps the reader see it this way.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: OGLETHORPE-PURRY AGREEMENT

En consequence de l'octroy, que le Roy doit faire, au Sieur Jean Pierre Purry, d'un terrain de Douze Mille Acres, situé en Caroline, à condition d'y faire transporter six Cent personnes de Nation Suisse Protestante; pendant le terme de six Années à Commençer depuis Noël 1730. Nous soussignés James Edw. Oglethorpe d'une part, & ledit Jean Pierre Purry d'autre part; Reconnoissons, que pour parvenir à l'acquisition dudit terrain, & à faire transporter en Caroline le nombre de six Cent personnes, convenablement & d'articles cy après, Savoir:

1.
 Que moy Jean Pierre Purry, je me charge & m'engage, de faire venir de Suisse en Angleterre, dans l'année prochaine 1732. le nombre de Trois Cent personnes, tant hommes que femmes ou enfans, pour être embarqués & transportés à Charlestown en Caroline, promettant d'employer à cet effet, les quatre Cent Livres Sterling, & les vivres, que la Province de la dite Caroline m'a accordés, suivant les Actes, que j'ay en main.

2.
 Au sujet dequoy, moy James Edw. Oglethorpe, ay déjà payé au dit Purry vingt Cinq Livres Sterling, pour fournir à une partie des menus frais tant à la levée desdites Trois Cent personnes en Suisse, qu'à leur embarquement en Angleterre, sans qu'il soit tenu de me les rembourser en aucune manière, ni qu'il puisse agir de moy une plus grosse somme, par rapport aux dits Trois Cent personnes.

3.
 Que moy Jean Pierre Purry, en cas qu'il me soit impossible de faire venir les dits Trois Cent personnes en l'année 1732. je m'engage d'y suppléer dans les deux années suivantes, & de rendre ce nombre de gens complets en Caroline, au plus tard dans l'année 1734. Promettant en outre, d'accompagner & conduire personnellement la première troupe, qui sera transportée en Caroline, & m'oblige de la rendre composée pour le moins de Cent hommes, Capables de servir au Labourage des terres.

4.
 De plus, que moy Jean Pierre Purry, je promets de fournir & renvoyer de Caroline en Suisse, dans une Année après le débarquement de la première troupe, à Charlestown, un homme entendu & propre à engager les Suisses à venir en Caroline, afin d'accomplir le transport de six Cent personnes, et acquies par ce moyen le terrain de Douze mille Acres, que le Roy accorde à ma dernière condition.

5.
 Que moy James Edw. Oglethorpe Esq. Promets de donner gratis, aux ordres dudit Purry, & à la personne, qu'il aura choisie, pour retourner de la Caroline en Suisse, vingt Cinq Livres Sterling, payables à son arrivée en Angleterre, pourvu que les trois Cent personnes, que ledit Purry s'est engagé de faire venir, par les articles premiers, & sixième cy dessus, ayent été embarqués & transportés à Charlestown.

6.
 Que moy James Edw. Oglethorpe Esq. Promets de prêter à la troupe des derniers Trois Cent personnes, la somme de Deux Cent Livres Sterling, pour le terme de Cinq années, moyennant que trois ou quatre d'entre eux se rendent Caution l'un

pour l'autre, des avances, qui leur auront été faites, & des interets sur le pied & suivant l'usage établi en Caroline; Et bien entendu qu'aucun d'eux ne pourra emprunter de la dite somme au delà d'une Dixaine de Livres Sterling.

7. Que moy James Edw. Ogletthorp Esq. prendray possession, pour toujours & à perpetuite, du Quart du terrain de Douze Mille Acres qui me sera acquis en vertu de la vente, & que ledit Curry fera le partage des dits Douze Mille Acres avec moy ou avec quoy de mon nom, de telle maniere que ledit Curry en aura les trois quarts, & moy le quart, en consequence des secours & des avances, que je lui ai fournis & fourniray, pour parvenir à la dite Acquisition.

8. Que moy, Jean Pierre Curry, je cede, des à present, & m'engage de remettre au dit Sieur James Edw. Ogletthorp Esq. le quart dud. terrain de Douze Mille Acres, faisant trois Mille Acres, d'abord apres que je l'auray choisi & fait mesurer en Caroline, sans qu'il soit tenu de payer autre chose que le quart du droit de l'arpentage: Et je reconnois qu'en consequence du present accord, ledits trois Mille Acres luy appartiendront en toute propriété, sans que je puisse rien y prétendre en aucune maniere; toutefois sous la condition que mon dit Sieur Ogletthorp sera chargé de payer annuellement à la charge de moy Jean Pierre Curry, la Rente Conciere de mon quart, qui font trois Mille Acres, en sorte qu'ils seront payés de toute fin de l'année, & qu'au lieu de trois Mille, Monsieur Ogletthorp en payera celle de six Mille Acres.

9. Que moy Jean Pierre Curry, en cas que je vienne à mourir, & que mes enfans ou heritiers ne veuillent pas continuer l'exécution de mes engagements, & se declarer sur cela, six Mois apres que mon deces leur sera connu; je cede & ramets à Monsieur James Edw. Ogletthorp Esq. le tiers de mes droits sur le quart qui me reste des Douze Mille Acres cy dessus mentionnés, apres les six Mille Acres que j'ay cédé à Messieurs Simon; Est à dire que sur les trois mille Acres qui me restent, il en aura mille. Et j'autorise mondit Sieur James Edw. Ogletthorp d'en pouvoir disposer à sa volonte, comme de son bien propre, sans être obligé d'allouer à mes heritiers aucune part, ni de payer les articles de la présente Conventions, mes j'auray pu accomplir.

10. Comme par la Loy de Newcastel en Suisse, on est autorisé à poursuivre une femme pour les pretentions, qu'on peut avoir contre son Mary, & à faire payer aux enfans les Dobbles de leur Pere; Moy Jean Pierre Curry, je ne reserve, que la dite Loy n'aura nulle force à l'égard de ma femme, et que Monsieur James Edw. Ogletthorp ne pourra jamais rechercher ni ma femme, ni mes enfans, en aucune maniere, au cas que par quelque événement j'prevu, mondit Sieur James Edw. Ogletthorp venoit à avoir des pretentions contre moy pendant ma vie, ou apres ma mort.

11. Que moy James Edw. Ogletthorp, renonce en faveur de la famille dud. Curry, à la

à la rigueur de la Loy de Neuchâtel ou Suisse, dans les cas cy dessus, et que j'ay
consens à la reserve mentionnée dans l'article 10.

12.

Le moy James Edw. Oglet horp d'une part; et moy Jean Pierre Curry d'autre
part nous promettons d'aider & de servir les unes aux autres par nos soins &
attentions reciproques, autant qu'il sera possible, et que chacun de nous accusera de
bonne foy les articles de la présente Convention, aux termes prescrites, ou plutôt s'il
se peut; De la quelle nous en avons pris chacun un Double; ainsi fait & arrêté
à Londres, le Quatrième jour de Decembre, Mille sept cent Trente & six.

Signé, licté & delivré
en presence de
John Vét
John Brownfield

James Edw. Oglet horp
Jean Pierre Curry

Translation

In consequence of the grant, which the King is to make to Mr. John Peter Curry of a tract of land, of twelve thousand acres, situated in Carolina, on condition, that six hundred persons, of the Protestant Swiss Nation, should be transported thither, during the term of six years, beginning at Christmas 1730. We the undersigned, James Edward Oglethorpe, on the one part, and the said Mr. Peter Curry on the other part, acknowledge, that, in order to attain the acquisition of the said tract of land, and to transport to Carolina the aforesaid six hundred individuals, the following articles have been agreed on by us, and we promise to execute them faithfully, viz:

That, I, John Peter Curry, undertake and engage myself to have transported from Switzerland to England, during the next year 1732, the number of three hundred individuals, comprising men, woman and children, and from England to be embarked and transported to Charlestown in Carolina, promising to use, in the accomplishment of this object the four hundred pounds sterling, and the provisions which have been bestowed upon me by the Province of Carolina, agreeably to acts in my possession.

According to the above, I, James Edward Oglethorpe, have already paid to the said Curry, twenty five pounds sterling, to defray the small charges and expenses which he will sustain in selecting in Switzerland the said three hundred individuals and in shipping them in England, without he being bound to reimburse the amount to me in any manner whatever, nor will he be entitled to a further sum from me on account of these three hundred individuals.

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That, I, John Peter Curry, in case I should not succeed in transporting the said three hundred individuals in the year 1732, engage myself to do so during the two following years, and to transport to Carolina the complete number before the ending of the year 1734; promising besides to accompany and guide personally the first party which will be transported to Carolina, and obliging myself that in this first party ~~which~~ ~~will be transported to Carolina,~~ ~~and~~ shall be found one hundred men able to cultivate the the soil.

4

I, John Peter Curry, further more, promise to furnish and send from Carolina to Switzerland, within one year after the landing of the first party in Charleston, a man well qualified to engage and induce the Swiss to emigrate to Carolina, in order to accomplish the transportation of six hundred persons, and obtain thereby the tract of twelve thousand acres which the King, grants under that condition.

5

That, I, James Edward Oglethorpe, promise to give gratis, to the order of said Curry and to the person chosen by him to go from Carolina to Switzerland another sum of twenty five pounds sterling, payable on his arrival in England, provided that the three hundred persons, ~~last mentioned,~~ ~~the~~ ~~sum~~ ~~of~~ ~~two~~ ~~hundred~~ ~~pounds~~ which the said Curry has engaged to transport, according to the above first and third articles, have actually been shipped and transported to Charleston.

6

That, I, James Edward Oglethorpe, promise to loan to the party of three hundred persons, last mentioned, the sum of two hundred pounds sterling, for the term of five years, provided that three, or four among them become

security, for the term of five years one another, for the advances which shall have been made to them, and for the interest, at the rate and according to the usage established in Carolina; and provided also, that neither one among them shall borrow from that said sum, more than ten pounds sterling.

That, I, James Edward Oglethorpe, will take possession, forever and in perpetuity, of the fourth of the tract of twelve thousand acres, which will become my property, after the perfect accomplishment of the articles which precede; and that the said Purry will divide the aforesaid twelve thousand acres with me, or with persons appointed by me in such manner that the said Purry will have three fourths and I the other fourth, in consequence of the advances and the assistance that I have given him, in order to obtain the said acquisition of twelve thousand acres of land.

That I, John Peter Purry, cede, from the present time, and bind ~~himself~~ myself to give up, to the said James Edward Oglethorpe, the fourth of the tract of twelve thousand acres, making three thousand acres immediately after I shall have made choice of said tract, and surveyed it in Carolina, without he being bound to pay any thing else than the fourth of the cost of surveying: and I acknowledge that, in consequence of the present agreement, the said three thousand acres, shall belong to him in full property, without any pretention to it myself in ~~any~~ manner whatsoever: under the condition, however, that the said Oglethorpe will be bound to pay annually, on my account the manorial fee for my fourth, which will amount to three thousand ~~one~~ acres, so that they may be exempt from

^{the} manorial fee. Thus, ~~instead of five thousand~~ James Ogilthorpe will have to pay for six thousand acres.

9
That, I, John Peter Purry, in case I should die, and that my children or heirs, should not be willing to continue the execution of my engagements, and should declare themselves accordingly, six months after my death shall be known to them; I cede and give to James Edward Ogilthorpe, the third of my right to the one fourth which shall belong to me from the twelve thousand acres above mentioned after the 6 thousand acres which I have ceded to the Messrs. Simond; that is to say, he shall have one thousand acres out of three thousand acres which remain to me. And I authorize the said James Edward Ogilthorpe, to dispose of the said one thousand acres, as he pleases, and at his own property, without being obliged to allow to my heirs any indemnity, on account of the articles of the present convention with which I could have complied.

10
Whereas by the law of Neuchâtel, in Switzerland, a woman can be sued for the debts of her husband, and children can be made to pay the debts of their father. I, John Peter Purry declare that the said law shall have no force with respect to my family, and that Mr. James Edward Ogilthorpe, can never apply to my wife, nor my children, in any manner whatever, in case that by some unforeseen accident, the said James Edward Ogilthorpe were to have demands against me, during my life, or after my death.

10
That, I, James Edward Ogilthorpe, renounce in favour

of the family of the said Perry, to the provisions of the Law of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, in case above mentioned; and that I consent to the declaration, and reservation mentioned in the tenth article.

12)

That I, ^{Mr} James Edward Oglethorpe, of one party, and I, John Peter Perry of the other party, promise to aid and promote the contemplated object by our reciprocal attention and labours, as much as possible, and that each of us will execute in good faith the articles of the present convention, at the times prescribed, or sooner if practicable. Of this convention we have each taken a copy. Thus done and concluded in London, this the 4th day of December, 1731.

Signed sealed and delivered
in the presence of
John Hat
John Brownfield

James Ew. Oglethorpe
Jean Pierre Perry

APPENDIX B

SOLA BILLS

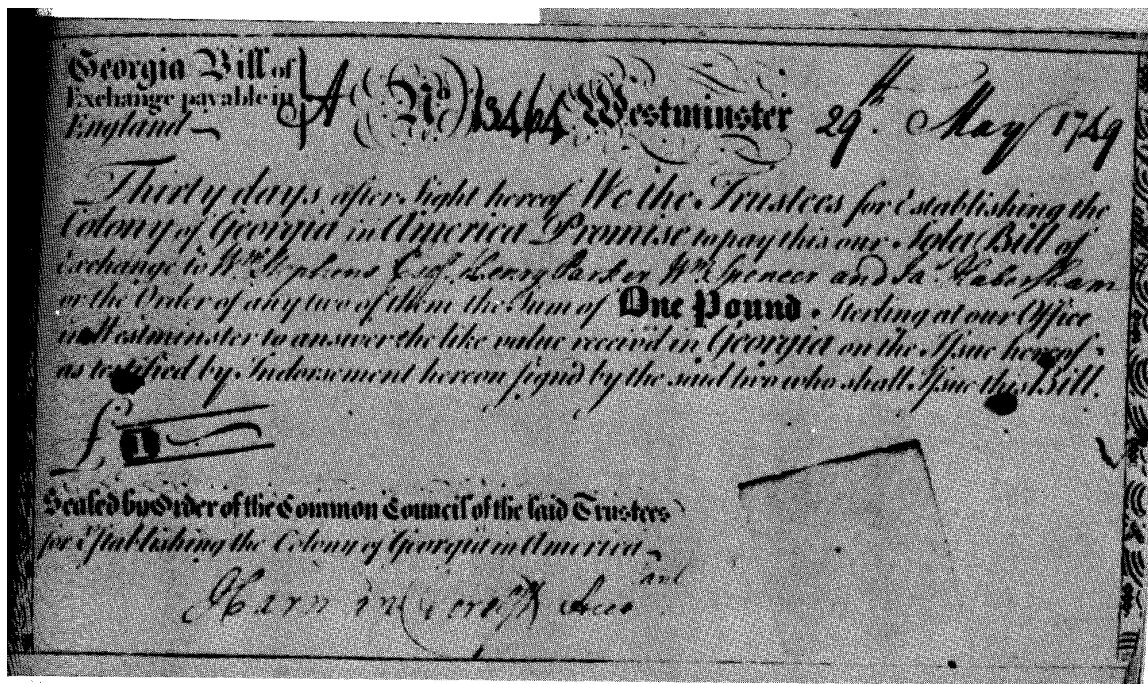


Image 19: Sola Bill from Eric P. Newman, The Early Paper Money of America, Racine, Wisconsin, Whitman Publishing Company, 1967, p. 87.

The "Sola Bill" was a "Bill of Exchange, payable in London." According to Egmont's diary of July 6/16, 1735, the Trustees were not allowed to issue a "Note," as only the Bank of England had this authority. One of the Trustees went to see the Bank of England, which made:

*"no objection to our issuing Georgia bills in Georgia to the value of £4,000 provided we alter'd the word Note to bills of Exchange."*⁸⁷

These "Bills of Exchange" were payable in London after 30 days of being presented for payment by the London-based commission agents of the American merchants, who accepted the Solas in exchange for goods and services.

If a "Sola Bill" was lost at sea, either by shipwreck or boarding of ship by Spanish sailors, then the merchants were at risk. They were also at risk when the Trustees did not receive any independent information from the official buyer, confirming purchase of goods or services. Often, the Trustees felt uneasy about paying a presented Sola Bill when they had no independent corroboration of the exchange. The merchants were aware of these risks to payment, and as a result the Sola Bills sold at discounts in America as they were used as a medium of exchange as well as a means of obtaining Sterling credits in London.

Originally, the Sola Bills were payable to the bearer, but because of the risks of being stolen by Spanish sailors, the Sola Bills were changed "to order" instead of "to bearer." They were named "Sola" because the Trustees issued only one bill, not others in higher denominations, such as 5 or 10 £.

⁸⁷ Egmont, John Percival, 1st Earl of, The Journal of the Earl of Egmont, edited with an introduction by Robert G. McPherson, Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1962, pp. 98- 99.

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Margaret Davis Cate Collection, Fort Frederica Association, St. Simons Island, Georgia.

[This is on loan to The Georgia Historical Society in Savannah, Georgia.]

Georgia Historical Society

Hartridge Collection.

Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library University of Georgia Main Library

A Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia, Composed from Surveys taken by The Hon. William Bull Esq. Lietenant Governor and the author William DeBrahm, Surveyor General to the Province of South Carolina, one of the Surveyors of Georgia, engraved by Thomas Jefferys, Geographers to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, published according to Act of Parliament T. Jefferys, London, October 20, 1757.

[Louis De Vorsey (1971, page 25) says this was "De Brahm's first printed map of South Carolina and Georgia which appeared in 1757. It was an innovative map which received wide contemporary praise. Historical cartographers of the present day recognize it as a milestone in the mapping of the Southeast."]

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Egmont Collection

[This collection was acquired by The University of Georgia in 1947. It contains contemporaneously hand-written copies of letters and documents in the 1730's and 1740's. The documents number 6,000. There is correspondence from Georgians to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in London and vice versa. When the Trustees gave back their charter to the king one year short of the end of their 21-year charter, there was no formal state storage facility for storing the papers. These papers belonged to the Earl of Egmont, the prolific diarist and Trustee, who had the most active attendance record of all the Trustees. Later, the collection was acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps (some scholars spell the last name as "Phillipps" and call this collection "Philipps Collection of Egmont Papers"). Sotheby's of London auctioned the lot in 1947 for \$16,000. Mr. Norman Pendley of Atlanta hired an agent who scored the highest bid, competing with the Library of Congress and the British Museum. The Board of Regents later decided to buy the collection from Mr. Pendley. Reading between the lines of The Atlanta Journal Constitution Magazine article on January 5, 1947, it seems the Board of Regents could not decide before the auction whether it could afford the collection, and Mr. Pendley acted on the assumption that the Board would reimburse him. However, this view is a conjecture.

The Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library has also a typed version of all the documents in the collection, as well as a box of handwritten index cards. Each card summarizes what each document contains, whereas the typed version has the entire document. Most scholars seem to refer to the typed versions, and there is no assurance that the transcriber did a perfect transcription from the old papers, which could suffer from aging, fading, ink blurring ,acid damage, etc. The author of this thesis has not found any information about the authorship of the index cards or typed versions of the documents.

The value of these manuscripts is substantial. In 1999, Mr. William Reese, a rare book dealer, estimated on C-Span's "Book TV" program that "the world rare book market today is an annual sale total of \$400-500 million." Enclosed is a list of printed documents (note that manuscripts which should command higher prices) and the offered prices of these printed documents as of February, 2002:

Benjamin Martyn's A New and Accurate Account of The Provinces of S. Carolina and Georgia, London, J. Worrall, 1732 is offered for sale by Chapel Hill Rare Books for \$5,500.

William Stephens' A State of the Province of Georgia Attested Upon Oath in The Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740, London, W. Meadows, 1742 is offered for sale by Bartleby's Books of Washington, D.C. for \$2,000.

Patrick Tailfer's A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America, Charles-town, 1741 is offered for sale by William Reese Company of New Haven, Connecticut for \$3,500.

Thomas Stephens's The Castle-Builders; or, the History of Williams Stephens, of the Isle of Wight, Esq; lately deceased, London, 1759, is offered for sale at \$6,000 by Howard S. Mott, Inc. of Tenafly, New Jersey.

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[Basil Kennett was elected president of Corpus Christi College at Oxford University circa 1714. According to Sir Keith Thomas (see Inscoe, 1997, p. 29), Kennett had been the tutor of James Oglethorpe when he studied at Corpus Christi College. In a letter to Bishop Berkeley dated May, 1731 (Rand, 1914, p. 277) Oglethorpe refers to "the Roman method." The Oxford Classical Dictionary discusses how Romans sent colonists into the outlying areas in to build defenses for Rome. In the preface to Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for Establishing Colonys in America, Oglethorpe refers to the Roman method. This suggests that defense was a very important consideration in Oglethorpe's considerations. Kennett's 1793 book discusses "The Roman method" on page 231-232 in chapter XVIII.]

Oglethorpe, James Edward and Jean Pierre Purry, Nouse Soussignes James Edwd. Oglethorpe d'une part, et ledit Jean Pierre Purry d'autre part, " London, December 4, 1731. In the Keith Read MS 921 Collection and the Rodney Baine Collection MS 3029, Box 1, folder pages 1-60.

[This document is witnessed by John Brownfield and John Vat, the later of whom, Verner Crane (1962, p. 58) identifies as "the agent in England for Jean Pierre Purry of Neuchate; . . . "]

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[This entry in catalogue gives the wording used on the Sola bills circulated in Georgia. Egmont discusses this wording, which has monetary significance.]

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[This was offered to Robert Walpole, Prime Minister, and Sir Joseph Jekyll.]

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[This is a document printed by P. Timothy in Charles-town, South Carolina in 1741. It is a forceful critique of General Oglethorpe. The three main demands of this document are to remove restrictions on slavery, the importation of liquor and the private land ownership. Dr. Patrick Tailfer is believed to be the major author. He came to Georgia in 1734 with others from Scotland. His group paid their own passage and brought servants. After arriving in Georgia, he was shocked to learn that James Oglethorpe had assigned his 500 acres some 70 miles from Savannah. Some of his co-travelers attempted to develop the assigned land, but did not prosper. Eventually, James Oglethorpe drove Tailfer out of Georgia and Tailfer emigrated to Charles-town. Later, William Stephens' son was appointed agent for this group of "malcontents." This document along with Thomas Stephens's A Brief Account of the Causes that Have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America, London, 1743, circulated in London and became part of the Parliamentary debates about Georgia. Thomas Stephens was publicly humiliated by Parliament. However, in time, Parliament cut off funds for Georgia for the Trust years June, 1744- June 1745, 1745-1746, 1747-48, 1748-1749.]

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[Mills B. Lane III was the son of Mills B. Lane II, colorful Chairman of the Citizens and Southern National Bank. After the latter's retirement, his bank

went through a series of mergers which eventually led to its being part of what is today called Bank of America. Mills B. Lane, III started Beehive Press and published books on southern history, literature and fine arts.]

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The manuscript, now in book form, is useful because it draws a definite connection to the "Roman method," cited in Berkeley and Percival and in The Journal of Peter Gordon, who came over on the first boat with Oglethorpe. The eight-page Preface, supposedly written by Oglethorpe, is the strongest confirmation that Oglethorpe's major objectives were military and imperial and would explain how an Eighteenth Century mind might now find a contradiction between having slaves on Oglethorpe's South Carolina plantation and having none in Georgia. For a fuller discussion on this point, see the body of this thesis by Thomas Hart Wilkins.]

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[*The author was Speaker of the House of Commons in London while he published this book.*]

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