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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	4
ARTICLES	
"An Encourager of Industry": Samuel Eveleigh and His Influence on the Southeastern Indian Trade by Julie Anne Sweet	5
Desegregation of the Catholic Diocese of Charleston, 1950-1974 by Mark Newman	26
Charity, Folly, and Politics: Charles Town's Social Clubs on the Eve of the Revolution by Mary C. Ferrari	50
BOOK REVIEWS	84
ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES UPDATE	102
NEWS	108

“AN ENCOURAGER OF INDUSTRY”: SAMUEL EVELEIGH AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SOUTHEASTERN INDIAN TRADE

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MERCHANT SAMUEL EVELEIGH PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN colonial South Carolina, and because of his assets and contacts, he became a powerful force in Charlestown economics. When James Oglethorpe founded Georgia in February 1733, it seemed only natural that Eveleigh would consider extending his sphere of influence southward into the new colony. His interest sparked concern among his colleagues in Charlestown, who worried what effects this shift might have on the Indian trade throughout the Southeast, and excitement among entrepreneurs in Savannah, who saw his attention as an indication of excellent financial prospects. Elisha Dobree, an aspiring tradesman, declared Eveleigh to be “a Publick Spirit[,] a good Nature & an Encourager of Industry,” and he looked forward to the application of these characteristics to Georgia.¹ Eveleigh opened negotiations with the Trustees, the overseas administrators of the new colony, to relocate his base of operations to Savannah, but ultimately, he chose to remain in Charlestown. His decision resulted in significant consequences for both colonies in terms of their commerce with the Indians. In addition to his command over the Indian trade, Eveleigh was a man ahead of his time. He had great plans and ideas for exploiting Georgia’s resources, but could not implement them because of the Trustees’ disapproval. Had he been a member of the next generation and able to move into Georgia after the fall of the Trustees, perhaps he would have joined the ranks of the great planters like Jonathan Bryan. Instead, he remained a merchant, kept his base in Charlestown, and helped that city become the dominant port of the Lower South, laying the financial foundation upon which future planters could build their empires.

Eveleigh made a name for himself in the early eighteenth century as a leading merchant of Charlestown and acquired his reputation through his dealings in the deerskin trade. In South Carolina’s initial years, plantation owners along major rivers dabbled in commerce with the Indians more because of its convenience than its status. Since Indians traveled rivers to bring

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¹ Elisha Dobree to the Trustees, January 27, 1735, in Allen D. Candler, et al., eds., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (1904–1916; repr., vols. 1–26, New York: AMS Press, 1970; repr., vols. 27–32, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976–1989), 20: 200. *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* are hereafter cited as *CRG*. All eighteenth-century spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained and [sic] used sparingly.

deerskins to Charlestown, planters could act as middlemen and earn extra money to invest in their plantations. As game moved further inland, more specialized entrepreneurs joined the business, and as competition increased, planters concentrated their efforts on their agricultural endeavors, leaving the Indian trade to professional brokers. This split between planters and merchants did not occur smoothly or quickly, however, since both groups were looking to make a profit and advance their personal agendas. The two clashed in the political arena, where they competed for colonial authority and economic control, as well as in the social scene, where they strove to become the elite. In fact, the two factions supported each other and had more in common than they would have liked to admit. Merchants accumulated wealth in hopes of purchasing land and becoming part of the landed gentry, while planters usually had some mercantile background and needed the products and services that merchants provided. Both were vital to the Charlestown economy and wanted to exert their influence over it in their favor.²

Imperial difficulties contributed to this political and social instability as well. As South Carolinians became more invested—physically and economically—in the region, they sought political autonomy and chafed under the rule of the Lords Proprietors. These English administrators attempted to increase their authority over their colonial subjects, but to no avail. Events like the Yamasee War only exacerbated existing problems and led to the overthrow of the Lords Proprietors and the implementation of several different regimes in the colonists' quest to create a stable government. In the aftermath of these political struggles, South Carolinians looked to expand their investments and hoped to enjoy an era of peace and prosperity.³

One of these Carolina entrepreneurs was Samuel Eveleigh. Arriving in Charlestown shortly before the turn of the eighteenth century, he soon became a leading dealer in deerskins at the port. As one historian has noted, "Though overall growth of the economy was rapid from 1705 to 1715, the deerskin trade

²Converse D. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1670–1730* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 152–154, 162–166, 240; Peter A. Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 49–51, 56–57, 62–63; Gary L. Hewitt, "The State in the Planters' Service: Politics and the Emergence of a Plantation Economy in South Carolina," in *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society*, ed. Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 49–58; M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663–1763* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 104–105; Richard Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670–1770* (1989; repr., Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2005), 38–39, 53–56; Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1983), 141–155.

³Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 137–170; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 75–140.

continued to be the single most valuable commercial activity," and Eveleigh rode this wave of expansion to greatness.⁴ He not only supplied traders with merchandise to take into the backcountry to barter with the Indians for deerskins, but he also was responsible for shipping and selling deerskins to warehouses in London in exchange for manufactured goods needed in the colony. His participation in the import-export business resulted in substantial rewards but at great risk since international conflict—both official and unofficial—often interrupted shipping. Eveleigh had to maintain strong connections with a wide variety of people on both sides of the ocean, but he played the market well and profited handsomely. He based his operations in Charlestown, the commercial center of the Lower South, and contributed to its rise in prominence.⁵

Eveleigh's financial success translated into political opportunities. Even though he never occupied a position of distinction within South Carolina's government, he served in the Commons House of Assembly in 1707, as an Indian trade commissioner from 1712 to 1715, and on the Royal Council from 1725 to 1727. As a member of the rising merchant class, he collaborated with others of similar background and interests to maintain favorable conditions for the deerskin trade and improve its regulation to protect all participants.⁶

⁴ Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina*, 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 162–165; Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1929), 108–136; S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 13–52; Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729–1765* (1940; repr., Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, Inc., 1974), 193; Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680–1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 96–105; George C. Rogers Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 8, 11–15. For detailed descriptions of the Indian trade in South Carolina, see James Axtell, *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1997), 48–52; Eirlys M. Barker, "Indian Traders, Charles Town, and London's Vital Links to the Interior of North America, 1717–1755," in Greene, Brana-Shute, and Sparks, *Money, Trade, and Power*, 141–165; Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 32–51.

⁶ Other merchants who expanded their businesses during this time included Andrew Allen, William Gibbon, Benjamin Godin, Benjamin de la Conseillere, Walter Lougher, and Samuel Wragg. Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina*, 163–164; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 121. Several contemporaries of Eveleigh have been the subject of more thorough study. See Maurice A. Crouse, "Gabriel Manigault: Charleston Merchant," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 68 (October 1967): 220–231 (hereafter cited as SCHM); Walter B. Edgar, ed., *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), xv–xix; R. C. Nash, "Trade and Business in Eighteenth-Century South Carolina: The Career of John Guerard, Merchant and Planter," SCHM 96 (January 1995): 6–29. For general studies of South

For instance, while he understood the need for closer supervision of traders' behavior to avoid another incident like the Yamasee War, he objected to duties levied on the export of deerskins purely to raise revenue for the colony. Because of his wealth and influence, his colleagues respected his opinion, and they worked together to create a beneficial arrangement that would preserve their livelihood and earnings.⁷

While the Charlestown merchants coordinated their efforts to make the most of the deerskin trade, a small group of aristocrats in London proposed a plan to organize the region south of the Savannah River into a separate colony. Others had taken an interest in the area between South Carolina and Spanish Florida before them, but failed to follow through on their sometimes outlandish designs. In 1730 several leading statesmen—most notably John Percival, the first Earl of Egmont, and James Oglethorpe—created the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, or simply the Trustees, and developed an idea with philanthropic motives as well as defensive and economic benefits. They suggested relocating the “worthy poor”—that is, those persons in financial difficulties due to circumstances beyond their control—and giving them small plots of land in the colony of Georgia to start anew. Thus, London ridded itself of the unwanted and restless indigent, and the British Empire gained cultivators of luxury crops plus militiamen on a vulnerable frontier. Moreover, the Trustees retained all administrative power over their colony and chose other like-minded aristocrats to join their ranks. The board never exceeded twenty, although it rarely involved more than a half dozen or so. None possessed practical supervisory experience, but they believed that they were fulfilling their civic and Christian duty to help these unfortunate persons and oversee their welfare. King George II approved the

Carolinian merchants, see Peter A. Coclanis, “The Hydra Head of Merchant Capital: Markets and Merchants in Early South Carolina,” in *The Meaning of South Carolina History: Essays in Honor of George C. Rogers, Jr.*, ed. David R. Chestnutt and Clyde N. Wilson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 1–18; W. O. Moore, “The Largest Exporters of Deerskins from Charles Town, 1735–1775,” *SCHM* 74 (July 1973): 144–150; Stuart O. Stumpf, “South Carolina Importers of General Merchandise, 1735–1765,” *SCHM* 84 (January 1983): 1–10.

⁷W. L. McDowell, ed., *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710–August 29, 1718* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955), 26–64, passim; “Law to Regulate Indian Trade,” in Alden T. Vaughan and Deborah A. Rosen, eds., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789*, vol. 16, *Carolina and Georgia Laws* (Bethesda, Md.: University Publications of America, 1998), 214–225; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 121–123; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 104–105. For a detailed look at South Carolinian government after the proprietary period, see W. Roy Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719–1776* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1903), 73–329.

charter on June 9, 1732, and Oglethorpe and the first settlers embarked on their journey on November 17.⁸

The voyagers arrived offshore of Charlestown two months later, and after a few stops along the southern coastline, they chose the bluffs of the Savannah River as their headquarters because of its excellent natural defenses in early February 1733. Oglethorpe stayed in contact with South Carolina governor Robert Johnson, who provided assistance in the form of men and materiel, and he visited Charlestown several times during that first year to acquire additional aid and stimulate interest in his settlement. South Carolinians welcomed the creation of a buffer zone between them and their enemies—which included in addition to the Spanish, various Indian nations to the west and south as well as the French in Louisiana—but they wondered how the new colony would affect their expansionist schemes, worried that these newcomers would become future competitors, and hesitated when asked to invest in this most recent province.⁹

Samuel Eveleigh did not share in their reluctance. He too kept a watchful eye upon his new neighbors, but he knew an opportunity when he saw one. Just over a month after the colonists had settled in Georgia, Eveleigh visited Savannah to check on their progress and survey his prospects. In his report printed in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, he praised Savannah's location, Oglethorpe's leadership, and the settlers' industry perhaps to assuage the fears of his fellow merchants and encourage their support.¹⁰ While there, he took the first steps toward extending his business and sent a cask of deerskins to the Trustees free of charge in hopes of currying their favor. He also admired the considerable local quantity and quality of live oaks and suggested harvesting them for constructing ships. He expressed concern, however, that

⁸Trevor R. Reese, ed., *The Most Delightful Country of the Universe: Promotional Literature of the Colony of Georgia, 1717–1734* (Savannah, Ga.: Beehive Press, 1972), 69–73, 115–195; Kenneth Coleman, *Colonial Georgia: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 8–23; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 303–325; Albert B. Saye, *New Viewpoints in Georgia History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1943), 3–50. For a thorough study of the Trustees, see James Ross McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province: The Execution of a Trust* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1917).

⁹James Oglethorpe to the Trustees, November 18, 1732, in *CRG*, 20: 6–8; Robert Johnson to Benjamin Martyn, February 12, 1733, in *ibid.*, 10–12; Robert Johnson to Benjamin Martyn, July 28, 1733, in *ibid.*, 26–27; James Oglethorpe to the Trustees, January 13, February 10, May 14, and June 9, 1733, in Mills Lane, ed., *General Oglethorpe's Georgia: Colonial Letters, 1733–1743* (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1990), 1: 3–5, 15–19.

¹⁰Samuel Eveleigh to the Trustees, April 6, 1733, in Lane, *General Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 1: 12–13. Edward J. Cashin credits Eveleigh with teaching Oglethorpe the nuances of Indian diplomacy. See Cashin, *Guardians of the Valley: Chickasaws in Colonial South Carolina and Georgia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 22.

the Trustees were considering prohibiting slavery, a move that he believed would be "a great prejudice if not a means to overset your noble design" because the colonists were unaccustomed to heavy labor and the extreme heat.¹¹ Despite this rumor, Eveleigh maintained a keen interest in Georgia. In May he reported positively on the work of Paul Amatis, the Trustees' public gardener, who was experimenting with assorted trees and vines, and he again noted the variety and amount of timber available in the Georgia countryside for export and use in shipbuilding. These many possibilities for wealth caused Eveleigh to declare: "I hope in a few Years [it] will be a very flourishing Colony."¹²

Although a year would pass before Eveleigh paid attention to Georgia again, important events in South Carolina distracted him and would motivate him to consider relocating his business elsewhere. Several traders who had returned from Cherokee country reported difficulties bartering for goods and threats against themselves and other colonists. One Cherokee warrior warned, "'Twas good for the white men, meaning the Traders, to Stay down among the English and not come up here for one or two years and then their young men would know what the Want of Goods was. For You white People will not believe the Danger till You feel it." Other traders told of favorable interactions with the Creeks and possible openings among the Choctaws, who had previously been allied to the French. Both of those nations lay further to the south than the Cherokees, making Savannah a more likely and convenient outpost should positive trade relations develop.¹³

Furthermore, the South Carolina assembly sought to charge higher fees for trading licenses to create more revenue for the colony and the British Empire, an action which Eveleigh and his colleagues opposed. Even though the assembly planned to use the money to build a fort amid the Cherokees, which would improve trade and solidify British claims to the region, the merchants resented this financial imposition since it targeted their livelihood and forced them to make financial sacrifices that others, most notably planters, would not. The assembly also hoped that the increased costs would deter the less established, and perhaps less scrupulous, traders and therefore have a regulatory effect on the business as a whole.¹⁴ In addition, this enhanced

¹¹ Samuel Eveleigh to the Trustees, April 6, 1733, in Lane, *General Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 1: 14.

¹² Samuel Eveleigh to the Trustees, May 18, 1733, in *CRG*, 20: 22.

¹³ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, May 7, 1734, in *ibid.*, 55–57 (quotation on p. 56).

¹⁴ Traders provided vital services to merchants as they shuttled material goods from Charlestown to inland Indian villages and brought back deerskins as payment. Their job required numerous skills such as navigation and negotiation, but their reputations suffered because of the corrupt business practices of a few dishonest men. For more details about traders, see Barker, "Indian Traders, Charles Town, and

policy would give the assembly more control over the lucrative commerce in deerskins and colonial finances generally, which would translate into more power as a political institution. Gentlemen inside and outside of government hotly debated the issue and anxiously waited for a final decision.¹⁵

Meanwhile, Eveleigh devised a plan that would improve southeastern defenses as well as increase his commercial empire without having to submit to South Carolina's rules. In mid 1734, he suggested building a fort where the Ocmulgee and Oconee Rivers joined to become the Altamaha, which would prevent Spanish advances into British territory and serve as the premier trading post south of Savannah. He feared that "if the Spaniards should get that place and infort themselves it would intirely put a Stop to all our Trade with the Creeks, Chickesaws or Choctaws both from Carolina and Georgia." Realizing that Georgia lacked the money and manpower to undertake such a project, Eveleigh offered to shoulder the entire burden in exchange for exclusive business dealings at that location. Not only would he pay construction expenses, but he also would "place in [the fort] Seven Soldiers and mount Eight Guns two on each Flanker and keep it constantly provided with Arms, Ammunition and Provisions . . . at my own Cost and Charges." He proposed splitting the trade three ways: one third to John Musgrove, who already operated a trading post near Savannah; one third to an experienced and trustworthy trader yet unnamed; and one third to himself. In return, he asked, "All which I shall do on this Condition that we have the Sole Trade of that River both above and below it with the Indians, the Creek, Chickesaw and other Traders for 3 to 5 years." Believing that he might encounter resistance to this request, he explained, "I think five years to be as short a time as can be expected considering the Charge we shall be at and I don't doubt but that the Trade shall be carried on with more Satisfaction to the Indians and greater Security to Carolina & Georgia." He knew that he could not begin building without permission, so he concluded, "If the Trustees agree to my Proposals, . . . I will engage . . . immediately as soon as I receive your Directions."¹⁶

London's Vital Links to the Interior of North America," 142–149; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 40–58; Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 15; John Phillip Reid, *A Better Kind of Hatchet: Law, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Cherokee Nation during the Early Years of European Contact* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 114–122.

¹⁵Jack P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689–1776* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 3–5, 31–39, 310–313.

¹⁶Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, August 5, 1734, in *CRG*, 20: 66–67.

Eveleigh's proposition demonstrated his shrewd business skills as well as his incisive knowledge of the current political situation. Fellow South Carolinians had been expanding their land holdings and business dealings further into the hinterland, and Eveleigh aspired to do the same. But unlike his Charlestown competitors, whose ventures were confined north of the Savannah River, Eveleigh needed the Trustees' authorization before embarking upon this fortification scheme because it lay within their jurisdiction. He stood to make a fortune by monopolizing the deerskin trade on the Altamaha River even if he shared the profits with two other men. He realized that he could not build just a trading post, so he pitched his idea to the high-minded Trustees as a defensive measure in addition to a commercial one. He played on real fears of Spanish encroachment and subtle promises of future Indian alliances, and he used a flattering tone throughout his letter in hopes of winning the Trustees' approval. Prior to making a major investment in Georgia, he also sought their assurance that they would not levy fees on traders like the South Carolina assembly. "You'll not expect any thing for Licences since the Trustees will be at no Charge for this Fort," Eveleigh propounded.¹⁷ Until he heard from the Trustees, though, construction was on hold.

While Eveleigh waited for an answer, he continued to supply goods to the new colony and news to Oglethorpe, who had returned to England in March 1734 to update his fellow Trustees about the settlers' progress. Patrick Mackay, an Indian agent to the Creeks for South Carolina and Georgia, regularly purchased presents to maintain peace with the native neighbors, and Eveleigh sent the receipts to Oglethorpe for payment, who in turn forwarded them to the Trustees. From Charlestown the merchant kept Oglethorpe informed about current events in the South Atlantic region, including the latest maneuvers of Spanish ships along the coastline and in the Caribbean.¹⁸

In October, Eveleigh returned to Savannah to examine its recent development and study its commercial possibilities. He admired the growth that had occurred during the past year: he counted eighty houses with forty more under construction, witnessed a fair and orderly court session, examined the public garden and the brickyard, and commented on noteworthy colonists. He next went to Thunderbolt, an outlying village, and observed several significant improvements there while remarking favorably on the residents' health and the minister's sermons. But he again expressed concern about the restriction against African slavery and noted residents' dissatisfaction with this policy. He asked, "I could wish the Trustees would Oblidge them in this . . . and . . .

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁸ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, August 12, 1734, in *ibid.*, 69–72; Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, August 21, 1734, in *ibid.*, 72–73.

Limmit it to Two of a family." Overall, he came away with a positive impression of the place and an increased interest in its financial prospects.¹⁹

Later that same month, he made a list of exports that he believed Georgia colonists could grow or harvest (these included hemp, flax, live oak, cypress, drugs, and silk) or produce (such as naval stores, boards, planks, and pot and pearl ashes) for the benefit of the British Empire. He also requested military support for Georgia to ward off potential French advances from Louisiana since "his Majties British Empire in America is more than one half Surrounded by the French from the Mouth of the River Messasippe to the Mouth of that of St. Lawrence."²⁰ Only one week later, Eveleigh penned another letter, this time worrying about possible Spanish invasion and asking that a fort be built either on the Altamaha River or Saint Simon's Island. Despite these foreign threats, he still concluded, "I heartily wish you Success on your Undertakeing for the Good of Georgia and this Province."²¹

Eveleigh obviously understood the important defensive role that Georgia played in protecting South Carolina's Indian trade, but he had additional motives in mind. Several prominent plantation owners had recently left South Carolina for other parts of the British Empire because of excessive property taxes. Even though Eveleigh did not suffer directly from those taxes, he lost the planters' business when they moved away. More importantly, in November 1734, the South Carolina assembly passed new Indian trade laws that levied a tax of six shillings per deerskin on top of an eighty-pound annual licensing fee.²² In addition, they imposed limits on who could trade and where trading could take place in order to keep better control over commerce with the Indians and prevent various abuses. The combination of increased internal fees and high export taxes threatened to put many out of work. Eveleigh complained about "the Dissadvantage it would be to this Province—That it would drive the whole Trade to Virga [Virginia] Cape Fare [Fear] & Georgia, And . . . that it would be fifty thousand Pounds or more out of this Provinces way." Governor Robert Johnson opposed the bill, but the assembly pushed it through

¹⁹ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, October 19, 1734, in *ibid.*, 86–90 (quotation on p. 88).

²⁰ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, October 30, 1734, in *ibid.*, 94–97 (quotation on p. 97).

²¹ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, November 7, 1734, in *ibid.*, 101–103 (quotation on p. 103).

²² The assembly originally wanted to raise the licensing fee to two hundred pounds, then lowered it to 140 pounds, and finally agreed to a tax per deerskin instead. A. S. Salley, ed., *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, November 8, 1734–June 7, 1735* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1947), 7–27.

at midnight on a Saturday, while he lay deathly ill, to encounter the least amount of resistance.²³

In response, Eveleigh stepped up his interest in Georgia and seriously considered transferring his operations base. He informed Oglethorpe that "since the passing of that Act I have Spent a great many thoughts how to promote and encourage Georgia," and he listed several artisans including a hatter, cooper, shoemaker, and goldsmith whom he planned to contact and convince to relocate to the new colony. He also proposed persuading other merchants and traders who were considering moving to North Carolina to try Georgia instead. South Carolinians had an expansionistic mindset, which Eveleigh shared and advocated among his colleagues by pushing Georgia as a possible place to invest. In closing, he told Oglethorpe that he intended to spend several months in Savannah starting in May and promised that he would "promote Yr Darling Province of Georga [*sic*] to the Utmost of my Power."²⁴

A month later, Eveleigh's enthusiasm for his latest business proposition had only increased. He declared, "I Still continue in my Resolution of makeing a Settlement there; . . . I am now constantly applying my thoughts how to promote Georgia." He listed various textiles that he recommended importing into the colony as well as several herbs that could be cultivated and turned into medicine. He advised the Trustees to encourage trade and described the vigorous and prosperous commerce that presently existed between New England and North Carolina, which could easily be extended southward to Georgia so long as they did not levy excessive port charges like South Carolina. He believed Savannah would make a superb harbor because it could operate all year long unlike more northern locations that had to close in winter. He wanted to elaborate further but worried, "I can't tell how acceptable my long Letter's may be to A Gentleman That has so great Affair's of importance on his Hands. I could Enlarge, but Shall at prsent Subscribe my Self."²⁵ Instead, he returned to this same issue a few weeks later, again suggesting the omission of port charges that discouraged trade. He still planned to send a ship to Georgia in May, and he had spoken to an experienced captain from New England who agreed with him about the new colony's

²³ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, November 20, 1734, in *CRG*, 20: 105–106, 108 (quotation on p. 106). Indian relations served as a constant source of conflict between the governor and the assembly because of its financial and diplomatic consequences. The dispute would not be solved until the appointment of Edmund Atkin as superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern district in 1756, removing both parties from control. Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 219–224.

²⁴ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, November 20, 1734, in *CRG*, 20: 107–108.

²⁵ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, December 11, 1734, in *ibid.*, 117–120 (first quotation on pp. 117–118, second on p. 120).

excellent shipping possibilities. Eveleigh remarked, "I have Spent a great many Thought's on the Affair of Georgia and it would be of vast Satisfaction to me, Should I live to See A good Constitution Settled there, That the Government was Easie both in civil Society and Trade and upon Such A Basis as was not to be Altered. And Should take a Pride, If [I] could any Way Assist therein."²⁶

Eveleigh finally received a response from the Trustees in early January 1735, but it was not the answer he had hoped for. Instead of jumping at his offer to build a fort at no cost to them, they tabled the matter until more Trustees could be present to vote on it. In the meantime, they thanked him for his support of Georgia thus far and asked him to send more letters to keep them informed about current events.²⁷

If this delay disappointed Eveleigh, he did not share that with the Trustees. Rather, he reassured them:

I am very glad that any thing I have done for Georgia or Mr Oglethorpe is acceptable to the Trustees. I do assure you when first I heard of their Design of Settling Georgia, I thought it was So humane and might prove So beneficial to Great Brittain and this Place, That it gave me A great Satisfaction. And in Order to advance that Colony I have Spent a great many Thought's, Some of which I have communicated to Mr Oglethorpe (wch probably you may have Seen) And Should be glad to hear they have been of any Service to That Colony.

However, Eveleigh did offer several important suggestions with regards to governing Georgia. His most radical proposal called for the admittance of African slaves in a limited number because "without Negroes [*sic*] you can't have any produce there Sufficent to load vessells, and without that no Trade can be carry'd on there to Satisfaction. . . . And wee are all here generally of Opinion That Georgia can never be A place of any great Consequence without Negroes." He likewise requested the creation of a local government for better regulation of the people and their activities and the implementation of a bounty on lumber to encourage residents to harvest it for export and use in shipbuilding. He fully believed that "it's very probably the Province of Georgia may in Time be of vast Consequence to the Brittish Nation," and he hinted that gold, silver, diamonds, and other precious metals and stones might lie beneath its surface. In the meantime, trade offered a rewarding alternative until expeditions to the western mountains could determine what riches they contained. Eveleigh understood just how much potential existed

²⁶ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, December 30, 1734, in *ibid.*, 135–137 (quotation on p. 137).

²⁷ Benjamin Martyn to Samuel Eveleigh, October 28, 1734, in *CRG*, 29: 41.

in Georgia, and he stood poised to take advantage of it as soon as the Trustees allowed him to make his move.²⁸

Other colonists took note of Eveleigh's attraction to Georgia and recognized its possible consequences. Thomas Christie, the Trustees' appointed court recorder, informed Oglethorpe that Eveleigh "offers to bring down all his Skins & Ship em off at this Place and as the People of Charles Town have Laid a Considerable Tax on the Indian Trade this will be the only time to push the thing on to Advantage for this Province," and he begged Oglethorpe "not to Discourage him."²⁹ Elisha Dobree, an ambitious Savannah entrepreneur, noted, "I am told Mr Eveleigh of Charles Town Dessigns to Settle here wch I wish may prove true he being a Publick Spirit[,] a good Nature & an Encourager of Industry."³⁰ Even Robert Johnson, the governor of South Carolina, realized how damaging his colony's new taxes were to the Indian trade and told Oglethorpe that "some of the said Traders design to move from this Province to Georgia and Cape Fear, in Order to Trade from thence."³¹ These individuals and unnamed others knew of Eveleigh's wealth and influence, and they understood the effects that his relocation to Georgia would have for everyone involved in the Indian trade. If one of the most prominent merchants moved to Savannah, perhaps more would follow and bring their prosperity and connections with them. These men would draw a sizable portion of business southward and could conceivably reconfigure the entire map of commerce in the Lower South. Even if only Eveleigh relocated, his support would give a boost of confidence to the new colony, stabilize its economy, and provide competition to those merchants remaining in South Carolina. His interest in Georgia, therefore, had important ramifications for both provinces.

His strongest endorsement came from William Jeffries, the man responsible for ships and supplies for Eveleigh's business. During the twenty-plus years that the two men had worked together, Jeffries testified that "I have all along found him not only a Generous but a fair Trader, a man yt has done as much good for ye Colony of Carolina as any one I knew there or am now acquainted with." As for Eveleigh's connections with the Indian trade, Jeffries declared, "He has had very great Experience, no person having been more largely nor longer concerned in it there & consequently understands ye Nature of Indians as wel as anyone & can render yt trade as profitable & safe to the Colony of Georgia as in ye power of anyone to project." Several times within the same letter, he urged Oglethorpe to consider Eveleigh's offer and promised that "having this Merchant Settle there wil be of Signal Service to Georgia. For

²⁸Samuel Eveleigh to Benjamin Martyn, January 17 and February 8, 1735, in *CRG*, 20: 177–180 (first and second quotations on p. 177, third on p. 179).

²⁹Thomas Christie to James Oglethorpe, December 14, 1734, in *ibid.*, 126.

³⁰Elisha Dobree to the Trustees, January 27, 1735, in *ibid.*, 200.

³¹Robert Johnson to James Oglethorpe, January 28, 1735, in *ibid.*, 204.

he is wel beloved in Carolina & wil draw others with him to be Settlers." Even though Jeffries may have spoken highly of Eveleigh to improve their business relationship and enhance his personal profit margin, his thoughts about the impact that this shift to Georgia would make demonstrates Eveleigh's influence in the region.³²

Still, Eveleigh could not follow through on his designs for Georgia without the Trustees' consent. For the time being, he hired a ship from Jeffries to transport the goods he needed to build and open his new store, and he reserved two ships in England to bring over additional settlers. By April 1735, his frustration with the Trustees began to show. He complained, "I am almost Impatient of receiving Some Letters from you, in Answer to a great many I have wrote you," but despite this delay, he maintained his enthusiasm for Georgia and again extolled the benefits of encouraging the lumber trade. A few weeks later, he noted, "Here are four or five Vessells lately arrived from London, and [I] have been So unfortunate as not to have recd one Line from you by any of them, In Answer to Several of mine that must have come to your hands, Some of which were of Consequence." Eveleigh knew what opportunities awaited him, but he also knew that he must take advantage of them soon before someone else got there first.³³

In May, Eveleigh traveled to Savannah according to his plan and in hopes that he would receive the Trustees' permission to begin construction within the next few weeks. He observed that "the people here are grown much more Industrious than when I was here Last," although they had become engaged in malicious political infighting which distracted them from ordinary civic duties and responsibilities. He visited the outlying towns of Ebenezer and Purrysburg as well as the properties of several landed gentry, and he was pleased with all he saw. Two months later, he was still in Savannah waiting for his ships to arrive so that he could send deerskins and lumber to the Trustees.³⁴

³² William Jeffries to James Oglethorpe, January 31, 1735, in *ibid.*, 209–210.

³³ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, April 3, 1735, in *ibid.*, 307–310 (first quotation on p. 308); Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, April 19 and May 1, 1735, in *ibid.*, 321–323 (second quotation on p. 322).

³⁴ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, May 16, 1735, in *ibid.*, 343–345; Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, May 28, 1735, in *ibid.*, 352–353; Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, May 30, 1735, in *ibid.*, 357–358 (quotation on p. 344). For more on Ebenezer, see George Fenwick Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 14–36; Jones, *The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733–1783* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 33–43. For an early history of Purrysburg, see Meriwether, *Expansion of South Carolina*, 34–41; Arlin C. Migliazzo, *To Make This Land Our Own: Community, Identity, and Cultural Adaptation in Purrysburg Township, South Carolina, 1732–1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 42–67; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 167–168.

The length of his stay made it look like Eveleigh might remain permanently, which stirred up much concern and protest back in South Carolina. He noted that "my coming to this place hath incensed the Gentlemen of Charles Town to a very great degree so far that I am threatned on all hands," but he defended his decision and pointed out that the assembly "could have prevented it by not passing that foolish Law which when passing I strenuously argued against & told them that . . . it would drive away the Trade to this place." Eveleigh stated, "They imagined that what I saw was out of private Interest tho' God is my Witness I had no such view." A friend from Charlestown informed Eveleigh that "many are much insenc'd against you for Carrying it [the Indian trade] to Georgia, it's Looock't upon as a scam of yours, and it is thought the Assembly will Shew their resentments and that you who have allways had the favours of the Government, have for Private Interest Sacrificed the Publick Good and Sold your Country for Skins." Another friend told him that several Charlestown merchants had started selling goods more cheaply and "are resolv'd to Cutt you Out of the trade." These negative reactions serve as additional evidence of Eveleigh's important role in the Indian trade and the detrimental effects that his removal to Georgia would have on the entire operation. While his fellow merchants were certainly jealous of his plans and future profits, they were more concerned about the possible consequences that this shift would have on their own businesses and the drain it could create on both their supply of deerskins and demand for their goods. Eveleigh too understood the risks he took by competing with his colleagues as well as the rewards he would reap after he became established in Georgia, but after all, he had encouraged them to consider investing there as well. He could do nothing to prove them wrong and had to endure their criticisms until he heard the Trustees' ruling on his proposals.³⁵

That long-awaited letter finally arrived in September 1735, but once again, it did not contain the response that Eveleigh had expected. The Trustees expressed their gratitude for his interest in their colony, and they were "very much delighted to see their Designs approved of by One of Your great Abilities and Experience, And Your Resolution to reside in Georgia adds greatly to their Expectations of the Colony's Success." They denied all of his requests, however, explaining that he could not set up a trading post on his chosen site because the Indians owned that land, he should not advocate the importation of African slaves because they were neither a practical nor an economical investment, and he should not encourage any tradesmen to come to Georgia because they would create competition. The Trustees even advised him not to promote expeditions to look for precious metals in the belief that "the Discov-

³⁵ Samuel Eveleigh to William Jeffreys, July 4, 1735, in *CRG*, 20: 420–422 (first, second, and third quotations on p. 421); Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, July 7, 1735, in *ibid.* (fourth and fifth quotations on p. 436).

ery of any Gold or Silver Mines would [not] be an Advantage to the Province, but on the Contrary would be a very great Prejudice" and that "the greatest Riches of Georgia will arise from the Industry of its Inhabitants in cultivating the Surface of the Earth, rather than searching into the Bowels of it [since] That Labour of the first kind produces Riches more certain, and at the same time promotes the health of the People, whilst the fruits of the last are not only more precarious, but the Lives of the People are made so too." The Trustees did reassure him, though, that they "do not intend to lay any Duty upon the Exportation of Skins, nor increase the Charge of the Licenses, and they will always make their Port Charges as easy as possible." Despite these many rejections, the Trustees concluded: "As You have been pleased to direct Your thoughts so much towards the improvement of the Colony of Georgia, the Trustees hope You will continue to favour them with Your Sentiments . . . [which] will always have the greatest Weight with them, and be highly usefull to the Trust in which they are engaged." Thus, with one letter, the Trustees refused all of Eveleigh's proposals for expanding his operations into Georgia and dissuaded a powerful and wealthy entrepreneur from investing in their colony and helping it to become a success.³⁶

The official prohibition of African slavery further convinced Eveleigh to give up on Georgia. The Trustees had discussed this idea for several years and passed a law in April 1735 preventing the importation and use of slaves in Georgia, which they felt posed a threat to security through insurrections or collusion with enemy forces, particularly the Spanish.³⁷ Although Eveleigh understood why the Trustees took this stance, he disagreed with it, as did all of his associates who "unanimously agree . . . That, without Negroes Georgia can never be a Colony of any great Consequence."³⁸ For that reason, along with their dismissal of his proposals, he abandoned his plans to move to Georgia, explaining that "as my Talent lies chiefly in Trade, by not admitting Negroes will hinder me from what I had thought of, or doing that Service which otherwise I might."³⁹ Since Eveleigh could not afford the high cost of white labor to load his ships, he would stay in Charlestown.

This decision had serious consequences for all colonists in the Lower South. By remaining in Charlestown, Eveleigh helped secure that town's position as the premier trading post for deerskins. Even though the South

³⁶ Benjamin Martyn to Samuel Eveleigh, May 1, 1735, in *CRG*, 29: 65–69 (first quotation on p. 66; second, fourth, and fifth quotes on p. 68; third on pp. 68–69).

³⁷ "An Act for Rendering the Colony of Georgia More Defencible by Prohibiting the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the Same," in *CRG*, 1: 49–54.

³⁸ Samuel Eveleigh to Benjamin Martyn, September 10, 1735, in *CRG*, 20: 471.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 473. The Earl of Egmont seemed distressed when he noted in his journal, "Mr. Samuel Eveleigh wrote our Secy. word that he had left Georgia to Settle again

Carolina assembly had levied various taxes on the trade, they were reconsidering their decision because of merchants' protests and possibly Eveleigh's threat to relocate his business. Charlestown was already the top exporter of deerskins, and it would continue to grow richer throughout the eighteenth century, expanding its dealings into other materials needed back in Britain. As Charlestown's prosperity increased, Savannah's prospects decreased. The Trustees implemented many limitations on their residents during those early years that arrested their ability to prosper economically and deterred outside entrepreneurs from investing their time, money, and skills there. Their letter to Eveleigh exemplifies their insularity and demonstrates their shortsightedness with regards to their objectives. They wanted a well-regulated colony populated with small, obedient farmers, not extensive industry, expansive plantations, or enormous profits. While their philanthropic aspirations were admirable, they also doomed participants in their experiment to a life of hardship and deprivation. Had they approved Eveleigh's plans, perhaps Georgia could have shared in South Carolina's wealth and may have even stolen a large part of it away.

After receiving the Trustees' rejection, Eveleigh changed his entire outlook about Georgia, and henceforth, he served as an objective observer rather than a potential investor. Instead of listing ways that he could contribute to the future wealth of the colony, he simply conveyed current events and shared personal remarks, and he no longer considered relocating or setting up any additional trading posts. In a letter to the Trustees from March 1736, Eveleigh praised Oglethorpe's efforts to promote and expand the colony. He asserted that "all the while He was at Savanah [Oglethorpe] Satt up Every Night till one or Two of the Clock, and Yett was up before any on the Bluff at Leat at Sun rising." Eveleigh claimed too that "there's A vast Alteration at Savannah for the better, The generality of the people are grown there very industrious."⁴⁰ In May of that same year, Eveleigh sent the Trustees several issues of the *South-Carolina Gazette* along with news of Oglethorpe's latest activities and recent Indian affairs as well as suggestions to plant olive trees and promote the silk industry as options for revenue.⁴¹ In both of these instances, Eveleigh acted merely as a reporter and relayed basic information about the colony. He showed none of his previous

at Charlestown, being dissappointed in his expectations." Perhaps the earl realized what a loss it was for Georgia to miss out on such a powerful investor, but he did not challenge his colleagues' decisions. Robert G. McPherson, ed., *The Journal of the Earl of Egmont: Abstract of the Trustees Proceedings for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1738* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962), 106.

⁴⁰Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, March 24, 1736, in *CRG*, 21: 117-118.

⁴¹Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, May 1, 1736, in *ibid.*, 149-155.

interest or enthusiasm about the future of Georgia or his possible prospects there.

Yet the Trustees' denial of his requests represented only one reason why Eveleigh chose to stay in Charlestown. Upon his return from Savannah in August 1735, he suffered from several illnesses including dropsy and gout, and in his report to the Trustees dated March 1736, he wrote, "I have not been for near Three Month's past three feet from my Bed."⁴² Dropsy, a heart condition, and gout, a form of arthritis, caused severe distress to the patient and involved painful swelling around either the heart or joints. Both infirmities produced discomfort and anxiety for the victim and had no cure. Because these ailments were chronic and potentially life-threatening, Eveleigh would have avoided any strenuous activity and stayed close to home, and he complained about these health problems from time to time in his remaining correspondence.⁴³ Therefore, in addition to making him more aware of his own age and mortality, Eveleigh's illnesses may have decreased his desire to take financial risks or stray too far from familiar surroundings.

More importantly, the South Carolina assembly had moderated the excessive fees that it leveled on the Indian trade. Merchants had protested the measure as soon as it was passed, and they put pressure on the assembly to decrease or even eliminate the charges on trade licenses and deerskins. In January 1735, representatives discussed but could not agree on what to do about the matter. The death of Governor Robert Johnson in May brought to power Lieutenant Governor Thomas Broughton, a man who backed the merchants in this and other trade disputes. In March 1736, the merchants submitted a memorial to Broughton and his council to obtain their formal support, and they continued to encourage debates in the assembly over several proposals that would improve their situation. In the end, the assembly agreed to reduce the licensing fee and remove the additional tax on deerskins much to everyone's relief. Since this issue represented one of the key reasons why Eveleigh had planned to move to Georgia in the first place, its resolution in favor of the merchants took away that important impetus to leave his current place of business and chance a new and unstable location.⁴⁴

Growing tensions between South Carolina and Georgia over the Indian trade further soured Eveleigh's opinion about the new colony. In April 1735, not only did the Trustees outlaw African slavery, but they also passed laws

⁴² Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, March 24, 1736, in *ibid.*, 115.

⁴³ Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, March 5, 1736, in *ibid.*, 120; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, July 20, 1736, in *ibid.*, 179; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, February 20, 1738, in *CRG*, 22, pt. 1: 89.

⁴⁴ Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, April 3, 1735, in *CRG*, 20: 308–309; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, March 24, 1736, in *CRG*, 21: 118; Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, 219.

prohibiting all strong liquors and regulating the Indian trade in Georgia. They banned various alcoholic beverages because they produced detrimental effects on the colonists and contributed to abuse in the Indian trade, and they fined wrongdoers five pounds for the first offence and fifty pounds for the second, plus ordered the destruction of the contraband immediately. The Trustees also required all traders to purchase a five-pound license annually and post a one-hundred-pound bond or face a fine of one hundred pounds sterling and forfeiture of half of their goods. Furthermore, traders had to specify the town where they planned to do business so that each town had just one trader (unless its size could accommodate more than one). The Trustees appointed several commissioners to oversee licensing and enforce all of their regulations, and they expected South Carolinians to obey accordingly.⁴⁵

That latter detail caused much uproar in South Carolina. Traders there believed that a license from their colony applied on both sides of the Savannah River since Georgia had been carved out of South Carolinian territory, while the Trustees and their commissioners disagreed and required traders to have a different license because Georgia was now a separate province. Even though the new acts took effect in June 1735, only a few confrontations between commissioners and traders occurred until Oglethorpe returned to Georgia in February 1736 and insisted on enforcing all aspects of the laws. Eveleigh noticed the rising animosity and warned the Trustees that "great differences at Present Subsist between this Government and Georgia in relation to the Indian Trade," but he hoped that Oglethorpe would compromise with the South Carolinians.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the South Carolina assembly defended its citizens, passing laws that supported traders' rights to do business in both colonies with one license and drawing up a petition to the king requesting his assistance in checking the Trustees' overextension of their authority.⁴⁷ In August, Oglethorpe met with a committee of the assembly about the matter and agreed to allow traders with licenses from either colony to conduct commerce with the Indians until officials overseas settled the conflict.⁴⁸ Eveleigh tersely

⁴⁵"An Act for Maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia," in *CRG*, 1: 31–44; "An Act to Prevent the Importation and Use of Rum and Brandies in the Province of Georgia," in *ibid.*, 44–49.

⁴⁶Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, May 22, 1736, in *CRG*, 21: 150–151.

⁴⁷Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, July 20, 1736, in *ibid.*, 179. Their petition, in part, argued that "by an Act of their [South Carolina's] Assembly approved by Q. Anne, their Traders have liberty to traffick over their whole Province therein at that time Georgia was comprehended, and therefore tho Georgia has Since been Seperated [*sic*] from it they have a right to traffick in Georgia." McPherson, *Journal of Egmont*, 112–113.

⁴⁸J. H. Easterby, ed., *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 10, 1736–June 7, 1739* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1951), 141–147.

noted, "The dispute between The Two Governments on Accot of the Indian Trade is to lye dormant till his Majtrs pleasure be known."⁴⁹ This temporary decision did not resolve the situation, nor did it lessen tensions between the two colonies. Instead, resentment simmered among the Charlestown merchants, including Eveleigh, who had once gone out of their way to assist the newcomers.

The controversy between South Carolina and Georgia over the Indian trade ended any possibility of partnership and would not be resolved for years to come.⁵⁰ Charlestown merchants like Eveleigh felt betrayed by those whom they had helped during those initial, difficult years of settlement. Eveleigh continued to extend credit for Indian presents and send reports to the Trustees about their colony, but he limited his dealings to a select few Georgia officials and reduced the content of his letters to brief accounts about Indian affairs or Oglethorpe's activities.⁵¹ Eveleigh's first priority was to look out for his own financial interests. As he came to realize that Georgia would not contribute to his profits but instead posed a serious obstacle for him and his business, he greatly curtailed his interactions with the Trustees.

To make matters worse, the Trustees delayed payment of their debts to Eveleigh. He had provided Indian presents on credit to Mackay and Oglethorpe with promises of reimbursement once they filed their expense reports with the Trustees back in London. The Trustees, however, denied these requests because "the Services for which the said Bill was drawn are of such a Nature; as to be no way Provided for being defrayed out of any Moneys in the Trustees

⁴⁹Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, August 9, 1736, in *CRG*, 21: 207. Eveleigh stayed out of this dispute, not because he was unwilling or unaffected, but because he was indisposed, and he merely reported what little he learned from the newspaper.

⁵⁰For a more complete discussion of the increase in conflicts between South Carolina and Georgia, see Phinzy Spalding, "Georgia and South Carolina during the Oglethorpe Period, 1732-1743" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1943); Spalding, "South Carolina and Georgia: The Early Days," *SCHM* 69 (April 1968): 83-96; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 187-191. Specifically about South Carolina-Georgia trade controversies, see Julie Anne Sweet, *Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations during the Trustee Era, 1733-1752* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 99-105; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 187-191; Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 116-117.

⁵¹Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, October 13, 1736, in *CRG*, 21: 211-212; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, October 16, 1736, in *ibid.*, 212-214; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, December 1, 1736, in *ibid.*, 277-278; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, December 21, 1736, in *ibid.*, 279-280; Samuel Eveleigh to Thomas Causton, March 18, 1737, in *ibid.*, 381-383; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, May 23, 1737, in *ibid.*, 427-428; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, June 25, 1737, in *ibid.*, 486-487; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, December 2, 1737, in *CRG*, 22, pt. 1: 19-20; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, February 20, 1738, in *ibid.*, 89-90.

hands. They were therefore obliged not to accept the said Bill."⁵² The Trustees believed that since they did not have jurisdiction over diplomatic matters, they were not liable. When Eveleigh received the news in October 1736, he was "very much Surpriz'd" by their decision and explained that "I am fully Satisfied that what he [Oglethorpe] did in that Affair was designed by him for the Service of the Colony of Georgia, and that it was almost absolutely necessary for him So to do."⁵³ Without those valuable presents, Oglethorpe could not have secured an alliance with the Creeks, who controlled the land upon which he had settled and offered excellent opportunities for trade in deerskins. Eveleigh explained, "The Indians have been so used of late Year's to receive presents That They now expect it as a Right belonging to them, And the English, French and Spaniards are in Some measure become Tributary to them." If Oglethorpe did not contribute, Eveleigh went on to say, he risked alienating these influential allies and potential enemies.⁵⁴ In December 1736, Eveleigh renewed his demand for compensation, noting that if he was not paid, "it will be of very great disadvantage to me." In March 1737, the Trustees reluctantly agreed to reimburse him once they received their annual grant from Parliament.⁵⁵ This dispute further diminished Eveleigh's connection with the Trustees and his willingness to invest in their colony.

After this last exchange, Eveleigh sent only two more letters to the Trustees, who ceased their correspondence after paying their balance due to him in October 1737.⁵⁶ Obviously, the two parties had reached an irreconcilable impasse. Their relationship had deteriorated over the years from shared enthusiasm to heated debates over trade regulations and unpaid debts. Had the Trustees agreed with Eveleigh's suggestions and encouraged his efforts to relocate to Georgia, perhaps their colony and their administration would have been more successful. Although many factors contributed to their eventual downfall, the lack of outside support for Georgia certainly had a part in it.

Their loss was South Carolina's gain. By remaining in Charlestown, Eveleigh helped solidify its position as the focal point for the Indian trade in

⁵² Harman Verelst to Samuel Eveleigh, August 9, 1736, in *CRG*, 29: 157. Ironically, the Trustees also complimented him on his reports, and they "return you their thanks for your advices and . . . assure you that your Correspondence is very acceptable to them." *Ibid.*

⁵³ Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, October 16, 1736, in *CRG*, 21: 212–213.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁵⁵ Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, December 1, 1736, in *ibid.*, 277 (quotation); Harman Verelst to Thomas Causton, March 23, 1737, in *CRG*, 29: 180; Harman Verelst to Samuel Eveleigh, March 24, 1737, in *ibid.*, 185.

⁵⁶ Harman Verelst to Samuel Eveleigh, October 10, 1737, in *ibid.*, 239–240; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, December 2, 1737, in *CRG*, 22, pt. 1: 19–20; Samuel Eveleigh to Harman Verelst, February 20, 1738, in *ibid.*, 89–90.

the southern colonies. If he had transferred his business to Savannah, others might have followed to escape the fees imposed by the assembly and to develop new trade partners and routes. This exodus would have resulted in a shift in trade routes away from South Carolina and into Georgia and funneled much wealth into the new colony at the expense of the older one. Because Eveleigh chose not to move, he made it look like Savannah lacked substantial profit-making prospects, and no one else took the initiative to explore what options may have been available there. The Trustees' strict control of the Indian trade and their prohibition of African slavery among other regulations only reinforced negative opinions about the colony. Eveleigh thus played an influential, if unintentional, role in determining the future of Charlestown and the fate of the Indian trade in the Southeast.

Like all business investors, Eveleigh kept his eyes open for opportunity, and he saw one in Georgia. He presented the Trustees with several different options for exploiting their colony and offered to bear much of the burden in exchange for certain favors, but he abandoned his plans after they vetoed his proposals. Years later, as the Trustees lost control of their colony and eventually surrendered their charter to the king, other South Carolinian investors would flood into Georgia, seizing vast tracts of land and setting up large plantations similar to those they had left behind.⁵⁷ In essence, they did exactly what Eveleigh had wanted to do, making him a man ahead of his time. He understood Georgia's potential and longed to take advantage of it, but could not because of the Trustees' shortsightedness. Although he still became wealthy from his work as a Charlestown merchant, he was never able to expand his investments like the next generation. Nevertheless, his success served as a springboard for others and contributed to the capital and power necessary for South Carolina to dominate the Lower South economy for the remainder of the colonial era.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Bryan serves as the best example of this type of individual. See Alan Gallay, *Formation of the Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1989). Henry Laurens also exemplifies the successful mid-eighteenth-century South Carolinian planter. See Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*, 200–254; Philip M. Hamer, ed., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, vol. 1, *Sept. 11, 1746 – Oct. 31, 1755* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), xiv–xvi.

DESEGREGATION OF THE CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF CHARLESTON, 1950–1974

MARK NEWMAN*

IN SEPTEMBER 1963, FOUR WHITE CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY schools in Charleston enrolled fifteen African American students to coincide with public school desegregation in the city. While state authorities had resisted school desegregation, yielding only grudgingly and reluctantly to the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Diocese of Charleston had both endeavored to prepare white Catholics for the change and already begun to desegregate some of its other institutions. Unable to stop desegregation of public schools, South Carolina politicians strove to limit its extent. Bishop of Charleston Ernest J. Unterkoefler, on the other hand, encouraged by the pronouncements of the Catholic Bishops of the United States as well as the Second Vatican Council and responsive to federal pressure, set about to eliminate race-based dualism in the parochial school system. But resistance from many white Catholics hampered and undermined his efforts. For the most part, white Catholics would accept nothing but token desegregation in parochial schools, and most would not send their children to traditionally black Catholic schools. African American Catholics, for their part, no more wanted segregation and discrimination in the church than in secular society, but they were largely opposed to the methods the diocese adopted in pursuit of desegregation, which often weakened and occasionally closed the black Catholic schools they valued as education and community centers. At the same time, increasing white suburban flight rendered racial balance in urban parochial schools unattainable, and de facto residential segregation and personal preference meant that most black and white Catholics continued to attend separate schools and churches in a diocese that had officially desegregated all of its institutions.¹

In January 1950, the Vatican appointed John J. Russell as bishop of Charleston. The diocese, which encompassed all of South Carolina, ministered to 17,508 Catholics, who formed just 0.9 percent of the state's population. African American Catholics, many of them converts, numbered two thousand. During the previous twenty years, Bishop Emmet M. Walsh, Russell's predecessor, had established most of the diocese's African American churches, missions, and schools in a pragmatic adaption to Jim Crow that

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¹ "South Carolina Diocese Integrates Four Schools," *Voice*, September 6, 1963; R. Scott Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation: African American Struggles for Educational Equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926–1972* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 87–157.