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SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA: THE EARLY DAYS

PHINIZY SPALDING *

As is well known, the colonies of Georgia and South Carolina engaged in several rancorous quarrels, particularly in the 1740's. Not so well known, however, is the earlier period between these two British provinces when 'harmony,' 'aid,' and 'confidence' were the bywords and when South Carolina looked with delight upon the settlement by James Edward Oglethorpe of her troublesome southern frontier.

And indeed the South Carolinians had good cause to celebrate the founding of Georgia, located as it was at the older province's most vulnerable point. For in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as Carolina's indefatigable Indian traders began to cover a larger and larger area, native grievances had mounted to alarming proportions. The fury of the Indians culminated in the bloody and destructive Yamasee War—a war nearly fatal to Carolina.¹

After the natives were put down, several schemes to bolster the frontier and to protect it against Indian onslaughts were brought forward, such as the abortive attempt by Sir Robert Montgomery in 1717 to settle his idealistically conceived and colorfully named Margravate of Azilia. Little, however, of actual consequence was done. Wearing by colonial dissensions and at a loss for a solution to the problem of frontier defense, the moribund Carolina proprietors were small comfort to the settlers ostensibly under their care. Realizing they had nothing holding them to their old allegiance, the Carolinians blew down the jerry-built proprietary house of cards. The problems of defense were now left largely to the colony itself.

Under such doughty leaders as John Barnwell and Francis Nicholson, the threats of Indian wars and French encroachment were pictured to an alarmed Board of Trade.² It was strongly suggested to the home

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¹ See Verner Winslow Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Ann Arbor, reissued 1956), pp. 162-186, for a good account of the Yamasee War and its consequences. A more recent account, and one that paints a dramatic picture of the seriousness of the war, can be found in M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina, A Political History, 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1966), pp. 111-115, *passim*.

² "An Acct. of Proper places for Garrisons in Carolina & the absolute Necessity of doing it Speedily, 1720," in the W. R. Coe Collection, S. C. Hist. Soc., Charleston, folder 8. For a recent work that tends to deprecate the danger of French encirclement, see David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier* (Norman, Okla., 1962).

government that forts and outposts be erected at "Savano Town" and Palachucolas (both on the Savannah River), on the banks of the Chatahoochee, and particularly at the mouth of the Altamaha River. These outposts were necessary, it was pointed out, not only to prevent French and Spanish expansion, but also to protect and secure the Indian trade, still a vital factor in South Carolina's economy.³

The Board of Trade heard these suggestions sympathetically; approval was given by the Privy Council; and it seemed at last the Carolina out-settlements might be provided with some degree of safety and stability. Affairs, however, did not go as well as hoped. Though Fort King George was built in 1721 on the northernmost branch of the Altamaha, and though this outpost actually did provide a certain measure of security to South Carolina's southern areas, it also caused heightened tensions with the Spaniards. The Indians too, under strong Carolina influence before the Yamasee War, were wooed and won temporarily by Spanish and French interests. Because of her ambitious efforts both Carolina's defenses and finances had been overextended, and it was found necessary to recall the garrison at the Altamaha fort to Port Royal in 1727. Though the English position improved somewhat after 1728, it is not surprising that the Carolinians, once more apprehensive, rejoiced when plans to settle a colony near Spanish Florida approached fruition.

When the news reached Charleston, then, that a scheme was afoot to settle the southern frontiers it was received with relish.⁴ At the same time in Great Britain actions were being taken to tie the older colony and the new province of Georgia together by bonds of mutual interest. After the final approval of Georgia's charter on June 9, 1732,⁵ the newly constituted Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia lost little time in petitioning the Privy Council that South Carolina and her governor be officially informed of the Georgia project. On July 25, the Trustees asked that instructions be drawn up for Governor Robert Johnson in which he was to be commanded to give every possible assistance to the new colony.⁶ The Trustees, ever adept at advertising their colonial

³ "An Acct. of Proper places for Garrisons. . . ." See also Crane, *Southern Frontier*, pp. 229-230.

⁴ Records in the British Public Record Office relating to South Carolina, 36 volumes, microfilm at South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia, S. C., XV, 1, 5, 7, 9-15, 65, 76-77, 95. (Hereinafter cited as BPRO.)

⁵ *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen Daniel Candler and Lucian Lamar Knight, 26 volumes (Atlanta, 1904-1916), I, [11]-26. (Hereinafter cited as CRG.)

⁶ BPRO, XV, 143-144; CRG, I, 67.

scheme, then caused to be printed in various London publications what that body had in mind by settling Georgia. The Trust felt certain the design would be a success because "Carolina abounds with Provisions, the Climate is known, and there are men to instruct in the Seasons and the Nature of cultivating that Soil." If attacked by sea, the king's ships were in easy reach of the new colony, "and the *Militia* of *South Carolina* is ready to support it [Georgia] by Land." ⁷ The Trustees had high hopes for the aid Georgia was to receive from South Carolina, and, by and large, Carolina did not disappoint them.

Governor Johnson wrote Oglethorpe in September 1732 that he would do all in his power to aid the Georgia settlers. Johnson also noted that he had prevented the survey and purchase of lands south of the Savannah River until he had definitely heard the fate of Georgia's charter application.⁸ Johnson went on to suggest, not surprisingly considering South Carolina's past preoccupation with the river, that the Altamaha was "the best and the properest" location for the colony. Furthermore, Johnson warned Oglethorpe not to land first at Charleston for, he implied, many of the settlers intended for Georgia would certainly desert for the more comfortable and alluring prospect of locating in the prosperous Carolina port. Such a landing at the Carolina city, Johnson thought, would cause "a hundred Inconveniencys."⁹ This admonition was hardly necessary, for the Trustees had no intention that the carefully chosen 'first forty' and their families should be submitted to the wiles and blandishments of the Carolina merchants and planters. South Carolina was, after all, seriously underpopulated with white men. The temptation for the Georgia settlers to 'jump ship' and call firmly established South Carolina home might well prove too much to resist for even the most ardent advocate of the settlement of the southern frontier.

Johnson and his Council met on January 12, 1733, the day before Oglethorpe arrived off Charleston. They read the letters directed to the governor and James St. Julian, an influential Indian trader, relative to the Georgia experiment. Johnson asked his advisors how best to give the

⁷ "Some Account of the Designs of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*," *The London Magazine: or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, August 1732, p. 229. See also *The Gentleman's Magazine*, II (August 1732), 893-894.

⁸ Robert Johnson to James Oglethorpe, Sep. 28, 1732, Egmont Papers, Phillipps Collection, University of Georgia Library, Athens, 20 volumes, 14200, p. 1. (Hereinafter cited as Egmont Papers.)

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

new settlers succor.¹⁰ It was resolved to do all in Carolina's power. John Barnwell wondered what sort of aid could be granted the newcomers at Port Royal. He "feard the Season . . . was so far advanced that . . . getting of good Beef might meet with some difficulty but that Pork and other provisions might be got." An experienced pilot was ordered to Port Royal should such be needed by the immigrants, and the military establishment there was instructed to give aid to the prospective Georgia settlers.¹¹ St. Julian was told to await Oglethorpe's arrival and assure him of the affection of the governor and Council. Concerning the Indians, St. Julian was also asked to use his prestige with the Creeks "to hunt or give any assistance" to Oglethorpe. John Musgrove at Yamacraw was required to do likewise.¹²

The *Anne*, with Oglethorpe and the settlers aboard, arrived off Charleston January 13, 1733. Taking care to leave the Georgia passengers aboard, Oglethorpe "came ashore that Night, and was extremely well received by his Excellency."¹³ Oglethorpe noted, upon writing the Trustees, that Johnson "came to meet me on my Landing," along with men from the Assembly. Oglethorpe was pledged "all assistance."¹⁴ Johnson also had printed in the *South-Carolina Gazette* a notice that he had received authorization from the Georgia Office "to take and receive" any contributions the inhabitants of South Carolina might care to make toward the forwarding of the Georgia venture. Georgia would be a "Strengthening and Security" to Carolina as well as a "pious Work." The names of contributors would be sent to England and "published every Year." The entire project, Johnson enthusiastically stated, came highly recommended as "a Work, so acceptable to God, as well as so advantageous to this Province."¹⁵

¹⁰ South Carolina, Council Journal, December 16, 1730—March 7, 1732 [1733] Council Journal, 38 volumes, South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia, S. C., No. 5, Part 1, 252. There is a serious citation problem concerning these journals. Though the title of the volumes would indicate that the content is exclusively the Journal of the Council, actually the Journal of the Upper House is bound indiscriminately with the Council Journal for the dates under consideration in this article. For a helpful treatment of these citation problems, see Charles E. Lee and Ruth S. Green, "A Guide to South Carolina Council Journals, 1671-1775," this *Magazine*, LXVIII (January 1967), 1-13. See also Lee and Green, "A Guide to the Upper House Journals of the South Carolina General Assembly, 1721-1775," *ibid.*, LXVII (October 1966), 187-202. Additional references to the Council Journals will be hereinafter cited as SCCJ.

¹¹ SCCJ, Jan. 12, 1733, No. 5, Part 1, 253.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 254.

¹³ *South-Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 20, 1733. (Hereinafter cited as *S. C. Gazette*.)

¹⁴ Oglethorpe to the Trustees, Jan. 13, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 13.

¹⁵ *S. C. Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1733; *CRG*, I, 69.

Johnson's additional instructions, so heartily desired by the Trustees, had been processed on September 30, 1732, and were delivered to the governor by Oglethorpe upon his arrival in Charles Town. Johnson was told that "all due Countenance and encouragement for the Settling of . . . Georgia, by being aiding and assisting to such of Our subjects as shall come into Our said province of South Carolina" should be given.¹⁶ A copy of the Georgia charter was included with the instructions, and Johnson was directed to register Georgia's first basic governmental document in the records of his province.¹⁷ The *Gazette* had noted earlier that Charleston had been "very impatient to learn the Particulars of the Charter."¹⁸ Apparently the new settlement was a source of real interest to the Carolinians. Wide popular support was indicated for Georgia.

Johnson continued to be deluged by letters written by prominent Englishmen urging him to do all he could for the new colony. The politicians were particularly active. Horace Walpole acquainted the governor with the general design of the Trustees, and pointed out how noble and disinterested were the motivations behind Georgia's founding. As for Oglethorpe, he was a man with whom Walpole was "particularly acquainted," recommended "most earnestly," and Walpole hoped Johnson would give Oglethorpe the advantage of his experience.¹⁹ The Duke of Newcastle wrote that Johnson should donate to Oglethorpe "all the Assistance in Your Power; And any Personal Acts of Friendship and Civility . . . will particularly oblige me."²⁰

Governor Johnson officially informed the Commons House of Assembly, on January 18, 1733, of Oglethorpe's arrival. Along with the copy of Georgia's charter and the Oglethorpe correspondence directed to the governor and St. Julian, Johnson sent to the Commons the suggestion that the founding of Georgia would be "the greatest advantage to the welfare & safety of this Province." He strongly urged that his additional instructions be closely observed, and that Oglethorpe be given "immediate service." A committee of the Commons House should be formed to

¹⁶ Commissions and Instructions, Book DD, 1732-1742, South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia, S. C., p. 114.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 115. The Georgia charter is recorded in *ibid.*, pp. 116-139. See also BPRO, XV, 143-144, 146-148, 228.

¹⁸ *S. C. Gazette*, Oct. 7, 1732.

¹⁹ Horace Walpole to Johnson, Nov. 5, 1732, Egmont Papers, 14207, p. 53.

²⁰ Duke of Newcastle to Johnson, Nov. 8, 1732, *ibid.*, p. 55. A duplicate of this letter was sent to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, Barbados, and North Carolina. See also *CRG*, I, 86.

confer with a committee from the Upper House to determine how to aid the Georgia settlers. Accordingly, a committee of seven was named.²¹

On the following day, Richard Allein received unanimous House approval for the committee report concerning gifts and services to be earmarked for Georgia. Capt. James McPherson and fifteen Rangers should go immediately to Georgia "to cover and protect Mr. Oglethorpe." Johnson was authorized to direct the Port Royal scout boat to attend the new settlers, and a "Present" of one hundred "breeding cattle and five bulls . . . , twenty breeding sows, and four boars, with twenty barrels of good and merchantable Rice" was made to Oglethorpe and his colony at the public expense. Boats were authorized to carry the settlers from Port Royal to the site of the new colony, and Col. William Bull was instructed to attend the colonizers, offering what "advice & assistance" was at his command.²² Though some minor changes were subsequently made by the legislators, Johnson could, with satisfaction, truthfully write to the Board of Trade and to Newcastle that the recommendations to the Assembly had been followed. South Carolina, he proudly asserted, voted to Oglethorpe "all the assistance the Country is able to afford."²³

The South Carolina governor and Council then wrote Oglethorpe wishing him "all imaginable Success" and assured him that Carolina lay at his command. In addition, a resolution of the General Assembly was enclosed which praised Oglethorpe as a man wholly motivated by charity and philanthropy. Under his "Prudent Conduct" the Georgia experiment could not fail.²⁴

The *Anne*, with her load of anxious settlers, arrived from Charleston at Beaufort, Port Royal Island, on January 20, 1733.²⁵ William Kilbury wrote that the Carolinians were "very generous" to the Georgia group.²⁶ The settlers were housed temporarily in army barracks,²⁷ but Thomas

²¹Jan. 18, 1733, Journals of the Commons House of Assembly, I, Part 2, 893. (Hereinafter cited as SCJCHA.) See also SCCJ, Jan. 17, 1733, No. 5, Part 1, 346-347; Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 25.

²²SCJCHA, Jan. 19, 1733, I, Part 2, 894-895; SCCJ, Jan. 18, 1733, No. 5, Part 1, 349-351; Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 26; *S. C. Gazette*, March 31, 1733; *Gentleman's Magazine*, III (April 1733), 168.

²³Johnson to the Board of Trade, undated postscript to letter dated Jan. 8, 1733, BPRO, XVI, 31; Johnson to Newcastle, Jan. 1733, *ibid.*, p. 38.

²⁴SCCJ, Jan. 26, 1733, No. 5, Part 1, 266. See also Government and Council to Oglethorpe, Jan. 26, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 21.

²⁵Oglethorpe to the Trustees, Feb. 10, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 33; *CRG*, III, 380.

²⁶William Kilbury to Francis Harbin, Feb. 6, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 29.

²⁷Oglethorpe to the Trustees, Feb. 10, 1733, *ibid.*, p. 33; *CRG*, III, 380.

Causton, later the stormy petrel of the Georgia colony, rather uncharitably noted that Port Royal was but a poor place. Even he, however, had to admit the inhabitants were "very Gallant" to the passengers of the *Anne*. In fact, "every one found some body to entertain them in some Shape or other."²⁸

After recuperating from the rigors of an ocean voyage, and after Oglethorpe's return to Carolina from a scouting expedition at Savannah's future site, the settlers left by boat for the location chosen to be the first town in the new province: Yamacraw Bluff on the Savannah River. Oglethorpe and the settlers arrived at the bluff on February 1, 1733,²⁹ and were soon actively engaged in organizing the colony. William Bull appeared with encouraging words from Carolina, and he brought with him four Negro sawyers who were to help in the erection of shelters for the inhabitants. On February 9, Bull and Oglethorpe "mark'd out the Square, the Streets, and 40 Lotts for Houses."³⁰

Meanwhile, in Charleston all efforts were being made to make the Georgia settlers as secure as the older province knew how. Johnson, it was reported, had personally "subscribed very handsomely, towards the Settling of *Georgia*."³¹ From London, the secretary to the Trustees, Benjamin Martyn, wrote the governor and thanked him sincerely for the many favors granted. The Trust, Martyn continued, was happy to see the Georgia project "Directed by your advice." Martyn concluded by thanking the governor for his personal subscription and recommended Georgia yet again to Johnson's attention.³²

²⁸ Thomas Causton to his wife, March 12, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 53.

²⁹ *S. C. Gazette*, March 31, 1733; *CRG*, III, 380. The date is Feb. 12, 1733 (new style).

³⁰ *CRG*, III, 90; *S. C. Gazette*, March 31, 1733. Though the square named after Johnson was marked off on Feb. 9, 1733, the streets apparently were not named until July 7, when Oglethorpe also held the first court, gave oaths of allegiance, formally presented each family with a house lot, and so on. See Oglethorpe to the Trustees, Aug. 12, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 106. William Bull was honored by having Savannah's main street named for him. A 1753 land plat, including a contemporary map of Savannah, shows twelve streets, nine of them named: Abercorn, Drayton, Bull, Whitaker, Barnard, Bryan, St. Julian, Eveleigh, and Broughton. At least seven are named for Carolinians. The wards were named after the Trustees. See Jonathan Bryan's plat for Jonathan Bryan, Jr., July 24, 1753, Georgia Miscellaneous Papers, Colony, 1727-1753, Duke University Manuscript Collection, Duke Library, folder 1.

³¹ *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 3, 1733.

³² Martyn to Johnson, Jan. 24, 1733, Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, ed. Candler and Knight, 14 volumes, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, XXIX, 3-4. These typescript, bound volumes are not numbered consecutively (Hereinafter cited as MSCRG.)

The degree of interest South Carolina felt concerning Georgia is indicated by the fact that one of the *Gazette's* February numbers devoted virtually the entire front page to a eulogistic poem honoring Oglethorpe. Speaking of his activities in Parliament on behalf of imprisoned debtors and his self-sacrificing departure from Britain to establish Georgia, the poet wrote:

Senates so lately charm'd with Ease he flies,
While from Neglect augmented Glories rise.
But say O truly Great, if words can shew
The honest Joys thy generous Bosom knew,
When first the ever blooming Clime you found,
Where GEORGE's Name adorns the teeming Ground.

Concerning empire, when Georgia had grown strong under Oglethorpe's enlightened leadership:

IBERIA's motley Race a Bound shall know,
And Slave contented in the Mine below;
Nor GALLIA's Sons of new Encroachments dream,
Glad while they taste the MISSISSIPPI Stream.⁸³

So, with South Carolina's cooperation, the effective settlement of Georgia would prevent French and Spanish expansion and encirclement. This threat had been voiced years before by the Carolinians and had been frequently repeated. Now that there seemed a good chance to check their enemies the Carolinians were determined to cooperate with the Georgia leaders as long as feasible—or as long as the aims of the two provinces did not seem to conflict.

Upon his return to Charleston, St. Julian informed the governor that Oglethorpe needed still more carpenters at Savannah. Johnson conveyed this information to the Assembly, along with the remark that "20 or 30 barrels of Pork" were requested as well as other provisions.⁸⁴ Apparently the Assembly turned a deaf ear. At any rate, Oglethorpe is found writing the Trustees in March complaining that he was "obliged to make many Expences here [in Savannah], the Rice given by the Assembly not being near Sufficient."⁸⁵ The initial enthusiasm was waning.

⁸³ *S. C. Gazette*, Feb. 10, 1733.

⁸⁴ SCJCHA, Feb. 24, 1733, I, Part 2, 943; SCCJ, Feb. 24, 1733, No. 5, Part 1, 381.

⁸⁵ Oglethorpe to the Trustees, March 12, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 45.

In the spring, when Oglethorpe returned to Charleston, he utilized his considerable political acumen to encourage the Carolina Assembly to grant additional aid to his pet project. After being fêted by the governor and Assembly, he invited Johnson and both houses to dinner on May 31. That evening Oglethorpe "gave a Ball, and a cold Supper, to the Ladies, at the Council-Chamber. There was the greatest Appearance of People of Fashion, that has been known upon such an occasion."³⁶ Shortly thereafter the legislators went to work in earnest. On June 9, 1733, the governor gave his assent to an act to raise £8,000 currency for the colony of Georgia from a fund to be collected after December 1, 1733, by a duty of three pence on each gallon of rum imported into South Carolina.³⁷ Quarterly payments were to be made to the treasurer of the province who, in turn, handed the receipts to Oglethorpe or a person designated by him.

It is not inconceivable that Oglethorpe exerted pressure on some of his numerous friends among the Carolina legislators to secure such favorable treatment for Georgia. After all, Oglethorpe since 1722 had been a member of Parliament, was a friend to Newcastle and other prominent English politicians, had high-placed and influential associates on the Georgia Trust, and was privy to the queen's ear. In his turn, Oglethorpe apparently promised to do Carolina a good turn when he next visited England. On June 2, the day the Georgia bill was first submitted, a committee was formed in the Commons House "to draw up a Representation" setting forth the condition of South Carolina.³⁸ This representation, addressed to the king, was to be carried to England by none other than James Oglethorpe. The Assembly desired Oglethorpe to espouse Carolina's cause, and Oglethorpe was, of course, equally anxious for South Carolina to become irrevocably committed to Georgia's interests. At any rate, the two colonies appeared to be working together uncommonly well.

On June 9, adjournment day, Oglethorpe addressed the assembled representatives.³⁹ He thanked the South Carolinians for the "universal Zeal" and the "handsome Assistance" rendered Georgia. Speaking of the "dangerous Blows" Georgia would ward off for South Carolina, he noted that "every Plantation will increase in value" because of Georgia's strategic location. Indeed, Oglethorpe maintained, lands in the southern parts

³⁶ *S. C. Gazette*, June 2, 1733.

³⁷ SCJCHA, June 9, 1733, I, Part 2, 1100-1101; *Statutes At Large of South Carolina*, ed. Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, 14 volumes (Columbia, 1838-1875), III, 362-364.

³⁸ SCJCHA, June 2, 1733, I, Part 2, 1093.

³⁹ *S. C. Gazette*, June 16, 1733.

of Carolina "already sell for above double what they did when the new Colony first arrived." The Georgia Trustee, who was accustomed to expressing his opinions quite bluntly, then had the temerity to say that the aid rendered by the Assembly, though admittedly "very large," was "not quite equal to the Occasion." Still, he noted that he must soon return to Great Britain, and he asked "further protection" for the infant colony on the Savannah. Oglethorpe felt confident the older province, in its "Generosity and Wisdom" would protect Georgia from danger and render it "the utmost Support and Assistance."⁴⁰

In truth, the Trustees seriously feared that their colony would shatter into pieces once the strong personality of Oglethorpe left Georgia. At an October 10, 1733, meeting of the Trust this preoccupation became apparent. Johnson must be written, it was decided, and thanked for his tireless efforts on Georgia's behalf. A "Continuance" of his paternal attitude "which will be so much wanted when Mr. Oglethorpe returns home" should be implored.⁴¹ Accordingly, the Trustees wrote Johnson they had a "just Impression of the great Service the Contributions in South Carolina have been" to Georgia. The Georgia Board felt "under the greatest Obligation" to Johnson and hoped for an extension of his "kindness to the Georgians when Mr. Oglethorpe leaves them."⁴²

The relationship between the two colonies continued warm and friendly throughout 1733. Oglethorpe described William Bull as "a man of extraordinary Abilities" who had been of real service to Georgia. In some respects, though, aid was slow coming and the Carolinians refused "to hire out their Negroes though we offered Security for them."⁴³ Finally Bull and another gentleman "came up . . . to assist us with 20 slaves whose Labour they gave as a free Gift to the Colony."⁴⁴

As Oglethorpe's time of departure for England drew near, the South Carolina Commons House formed a committee to draw up a representation to the king.⁴⁵ It was decided to write Oglethorpe asking him to come to Charleston and "joyn with us" in composing the representation of "the State of Both Provinces."⁴⁶ Oglethorpe complied, consulted with the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1733. Oglethorpe reported to the Trustees that land on Trench Island, located in S. C. near the mouth of the Savannah River, which sold for £5 per acre before Georgia's settlement, changed hands at the end of May for £40 per acre. See Oglethorpe to the Trustees, June 9, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 81.

⁴¹ *CRG*, I, 141.

⁴² Martyn to Johnson, Oct. 18, 1733, Egmont Papers, 14207, p. 145.

⁴³ Oglethorpe to the Trustees, c. Dec. 1733, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 125.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴⁵ SCJCHA, Feb. 8, 1734, No. 2, [11].

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1734, p. 16.

legislators particularly on Indian affairs, and returned to Georgia on March 11, 1734, taking with him Paul Jenys, speaker of the Carolina Commons House.⁴⁷ The two men toured the Georgia settlements, helped lay out a town intended for the recently arrived Salzburgers, and returned to Charleston after a two week stay in the new plantation.⁴⁸

The joint representation, dated April 9, feigned shock to hear of a petition of London merchants against Carolina paper money issues. Such measures were necessary owing to the Yamasee War, fear of the French, and liberal aid to the new province of Georgia. In fact enormous expenses had been incurred for Georgia's sake, it was claimed.⁴⁹ Indian affairs had been "concerted" with Oglethorpe whose influence among the Lower Creeks had been salutary. Now, Oglethorpe wanted a fort built among the Upper Creeks, the cost of which already had "in part" been footed by Carolina.⁵⁰ Still, though Oglethorpe had labored unceasingly and had secured his colony from the Spanish, "the back Exposition of both these Colonys [lies open] to the vast numbers of French and Indians."⁵¹

Oglethorpe sailed from Charleston on May 7, 1734, and he took the joint representation with him to Peregrine Fury, the Carolina agent in London. Johnson also entrusted several letters to Oglethorpe's care, as well as a remonstrance on the currency.⁵² Before leaving with the eight Indians who accompanied him to London, the Georgia leader was treated by the Commons House "to an elegant Supper."⁵³

With his departure the first phase of the settlement of Georgia had come to an end. Thanks to the open-handed help of the Carolinians the new colony had been placed upon a relatively sound foundation. And Oglethorpe in England returned the favors, championing Carolina's

⁴⁷ Isaac Chardon to the Trustees, March 14, 1734, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 165; *S. C. Gazette*, March 30, 1734.

⁴⁸ *S. C. Gazette*, March 30, 1734; Oglethorpe to the Trustees, April 2, 1734, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 169.

⁴⁹ SCJCHA, April 9, 1734, No. 2, 131. This representation was printed as Appendix 4 of Benjamin Martyn's *An Account, Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from its First Establishment* (Annapolis: reprint of the 1741 London edition by Jonas Green, 1742.) Martyn's booklet can be consulted in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections*, 13 volumes to date (Savannah, 1840—), III, [265]-325.

⁵⁰ SCJCHA, April 9, 1734, No. 2, 146-147.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵² Johnson to Newcastle, May 2, 1734, BPRO, XVI, 326; Johnson to the Board of Trade, April 30, 1734, *ibid.*, pp. 345-346; *S. C. Gazette*, May 11, 1734.

⁵³ *S. C. Gazette*, April 13, 1734.

cause before the Board of Trade⁵⁴ and performing numerous personal acts for Johnson, merchant Samuel Eveleigh, Arthur Middleton, and others.⁵⁵ In Carolina, Johnson extolled the virtues of the Trustee to the Assembly,⁵⁶ and the *Gazette* yet again waxed poetic. "Thy great Example will in Story shine,/A fav'rite Theme with Poet and Divine."⁵⁷

As long as Oglethorpe could maintain his stature in the eyes of the older colony, Georgia and its leader would be coddled. It was, though, only a matter of time before clashing objectives and differing means were to divide the 'inseparable' interests of South Carolina and Georgia.

The Georgia Trustees capped the period of good relations between the colonies by the publication of the names of individual South Carolina contributors to the Georgia cause. The collection was made in South Carolina on April 11, 1734, by Samuel Eveleigh and Gabriel Manigault. Personal gifts amounted to the considerable sum of £1,251.16.3. Johnson himself donated £100 on April 11, and then gave an additional £75 two weeks later. Eveleigh gave £100, Manigault £25, and so on.⁵⁸ At the same time, the receipts from the first four quarters of the rum duty were recorded as bringing in £2,002.11.0 for the benefit of the Georgia cause. The contributions and the duty totaled £3,254.7.3 Carolina currency, or £464.18.2 sterling money.⁵⁹ The less tangible contributions were also meticulously published by the Trust, as well as one unusual item granted by Robert Hume of "a Silver Boat and Spoon for the first child born in Georgia."⁶⁰

A severe blow was struck intercolonial accord when Governor Robert Johnson, after a long illness, died on May 3, 1735.⁶¹ Georgia had no better friend than the amiable and diplomatic Johnson who was also able to quiet the bitter factional disputes that periodically threatened to

⁵⁴ BPRO, XVI, 235-236.

⁵⁵ Eveleigh to Oglethorpe, Nov. 7, 1734, Egmont Papers, 14200, p. 292; Arthur Middleton to Oglethorpe, Feb. 20, 1735, MSCRG, XX, 244-245; James Abercrombie to Oglethorpe, March 29, 1735, *ibid.*, pp. 567-568.

⁵⁶ *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, November 8, 1734-June 7, 1735*, ed. A. S. Salley, (Columbia, 1947), p. 4. See also SCCJ, Nov. 8, 1734, No. 6, Part 1, 1-2; *S. C. Gazette*, Nov. 16, 1734.

⁵⁷ *S. C. Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1734.

⁵⁸ *CRG*, III, 66-67. Some of the other prominent contributors were Isaac Chardon, £50; Paul Jenys, £40; Robert Pringle, £15; James Abercrombie, £10; John Bee, £50; Alexander Parris, £25; and Charles Pinckney, £15. William Bull and Reverend William Guy collected £551.7.6 from the members of St. Andrew's parish for the Georgia fund.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁶¹ *S. C. Gazette*, May 10, 1735.

dissolve his province into a state little better than anarchy.⁶² Johnson was succeeded in South Carolina by his brother-in-law Thomas Broughton. Broughton was a man less capable, less experienced, less cognizant of imperial realities, and less diplomatic than his predecessor. The storm signals were up.

Under Broughton the two colonies became enmeshed in a bitter quarrel over control of the Indian trade—a quarrel that ultimately had to be resolved in Great Britain. Georgia's and Oglethorpe's efforts to enforce the particulars of the new colony's Indian Act were resented deeply in Carolina. The provision concerning annual purchase of trading licenses in Savannah for all who intended to trade within Georgia's chartered limits was the sorest point of contention between Oglethorpe and Broughton. Though the Carolinian himself died in November 1737, and was succeeded in power by men friendly to Oglethorpe and Georgia,⁶³ the old plateau of mutual trust and friendship was never again reached. Oglethorpe had crossed swords with the Carolinians, and this rather testy and high-handed Englishman could never fully forgive or forget.

Though Carolina and Georgia cooperated fully in the early days of the War of Jenkins' Ear, the failure of the St. Augustine expedition, caused the last scales to fall from the eyes of the Carolinians. Oglethorpe, they charged, was incompetent and never again would he lead Carolina troops into war.⁶⁴ On his part, Oglethorpe accused the Carolina soldiers of being unruly rogues more interested in booty than battle. They were poor fighters because they were reared amidst a slave community. Once thrown on their own the spoiled men of Carolina were at sea as to how to act or what to do.⁶⁵ Such sentiments were hardly conducive to amicable relations between the colonies, and in 1742 Oglethorpe found it necessary to meet and expel the Spanish from Georgia soil without the aid of South Carolina. The older colony's leaders sulked in their tents even as the Spaniard, Manuel de Montiano, and his invasion armada passed into St. Simons Sound. Oglethorpe furiously denounced the Carolinians for their negligence and provincialism. Disgusted with the entire colonial ex-

⁶² See Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, passim. Sirmans, after an exhaustive study, concluded that "Johnson was the most remarkable politician in the colonial history of South Carolina." *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁶⁴ In this connection see particularly *The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740*, with an introduction by John Tate Lanning (Columbia, 1954).

⁶⁵ Georgia, of course, was originally constituted as a colony where slavery was prohibited. For the best biography of Oglethorpe, see Amos Aschbach Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe, Imperial Idealist* (Oxford, Eng., 1936).

perience he shook the sands of America from his shoes a year later.⁶⁸ He never returned.

Still, Oglethorpe and his colony owed a significant debt to the older province. Carolina's munificence, in Georgia's early days, was without parallel. Rendered on an unprecedented scale in the colonial period, her aid eased the transition from old to new world for the residents of Georgia. Too, it was a tentative first step on the part of the mother country to encourage, where possible, intercolonial cooperation. This cooperative effort was, however, undermined by military failure and personality conflicts.

The decade of the 1740's saw colonial military cooperation grow more sophisticated with the Cartagena and Louisbourg expeditions. By the 1750's and the French and Indian War, intercolonial cooperation had become, if not the rule, at least common. And in the 1760's allied interests in the various colonies began to shake the very foundation of empire. This is not to imply that the South Carolina-Georgia experience was the first effort at intercolonial military coordination, for such a claim would be palpably absurd. Yet perhaps the affair along the southern frontier was something deeper, more personal, and, in the final analysis, more meaningful. The people of South Carolina, in the initial stages of Georgia's settlement, reached out their hands in unfeigned friendship and offered what they could to the settlers and the new colony. It was, indeed, a modest and a limited gesture. But it was a start.

⁶⁸ *S. C. Gazette*, July 25, 1743.