“BY LAND AND WATER:” FLEEING FORCED LABOR IN COASTAL COLONIAL GEORGIA

by

ROBERT JAMES CARPENTER

(Under the Direction of Akela Reason)

ABSTRACT

This thesis considers the circumstances of African and European individuals escaping slavery and servitude in Colonial Georgia and asserts the significance of the colony’s maritime environment. These issues are placed in the context of political conflict within the British colony over whether to allow slavery, cultural and economic influences from across the Atlantic and Caribbean, ongoing negotiations between Native and British Authorities, and the Georgia lowcountry’s coastal landscapes. Crossing these landscapes with watercraft was a defining sensory experience in early Georgia, even if it was so common as to escape mention, and controlling waterways was vital to economic and military power, and thus to attaining or abridging freedom. As settlers attempted to import first indentured servitude and later slavery into a landscape under the sway of native nations, enslaved and indentured individuals took advantage of that tenuous coastal landscape to subvert the oppressive systems forced upon them.

INDEX WORDS: African American Culture, Atlantic World, Colonial Georgia, Early America, Maritime Cultural Landscapes, Race and Slavery.

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DEDICATION

In memory of Alice Anne Carpenter, 1967-2022.

She taught me to read and write.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1763, a man named Jasper took a chance at liberty and fled from slavery at a plantation near Savannah, Georgia. Seizing a canoe, he took to the water and disappeared from sight and record. We do not know the man's home, family, or if Jasper was truly his birth name.[1] We do not know where he was born, if he was born enslaved, or how long he had been in Savannah. Nor do we know what happened to him after his flight from captivity. This is but one of a litany of runaway slave advertisements found throughout the *Georgia Gazette*, the first newspaper in Georgia, which began publishing weekly issues in 1763.[2] The notice was issued by one Andrew Lambert, who offered a reward of 10 shillings for "a negroe man named Jasper" who fled his land, and was "about 30 years of age, five feet two inches high has his country marks down his temples, has been used to a boat, talks good English, and is very well known about town; he took away with him a canoe."[3] The purpose of these ads to forcibly return people to slavery is undoubtedly horrific, yet they offer glimpses of lives that might otherwise be missing from archives. While the vast majority of these fugitives were people of African descent fleeing from slavery, a small but significant proportion came from European backgrounds and sought to escape some form of servitude. While their efforts to flee could be nearly identical to escapes by enslaved people, there were crucial differences between their experiences, since while they too faced punishment they were legally defined as lawbreakers, not possessions to be

1 *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, 1763.
2 *Georgia Gazette*, April 7, 1763.
3 *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, 1763.

reclaimed.[4] Although sometimes sudden and dramatic, these escapes happened in the context of everyday interactions with the coastal environment of the Georgia lowcountry, in a borderland on the edge of the ocean where access to water was a means of power and freedom.

The 1733 founding of Georgia in the lowcountry landscape is a curious story of wild ambitions and sober realities. Unlike the first British colonies at Jamestown or Plymouth, the settlement of Georgia was no bumbling venture into unknown lands, and yet the original Georgia plan recalls aspects of the British settlements a century prior. The Georgia trustees' vision espoused utopian hopes of a socially upright refuge for the poor, with economic justifications to finance these philanthropic aims (see Appendix A, figure 1). Georgia's charter was intended to provide immigrants from a diverse array of European backgrounds with the opportunity to improve themselves and their communities through physical labors, demonstrating their good moral and spiritual character. If the colony's most ebullient supporters were to be believed, the Georgia lowcountry could soon become one of the most significant economic regions of the British empire, due to the abundant resources ready to be extracted from "the finest land on all the continent."[5] Such idealistic hopes co-existed uneasily with the brutal traffic of the transatlantic slave trade. Slavery had been prohibited under the colony's initial charter as part of its experimental nature as both a refuge for poor Europeans and a military buffer zone against Spanish controlled Florida.[6] By banning slavery, the Georgia trustees intended to protect the labor of white servants of good moral character and give them the opportunity to attain full personal freedom, if they proved themselves according to the trustees' expectations. While this

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4 Georgia Legislature, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, comp. Allen D. Candler, vol. 18. (Atlanta, Ga.: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1904), 225-235, 649-488, 780-85. (Hereafter *Colonial Records*).
5 *Colonial Records,* 1:363-66, 401; *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. 2 (Boston: Freeman and Bolles, 1842), 38–53, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000542648. (Hereafter *GHS Collections*).
6 *Colonial Records*, 1:40-53.

prohibition was hardly a moral indictment of slavery itself, and was in fact justified as a measure to protect slavery in other colonies, the opinion of the colony's landowning elite gradually turned against the ban.[7] This initial prohibition of slavery rendered Georgia's early development distinct from other colonies like South Carolina, which many white Georgians deeply wished to emulate, and compelled slavery's proponents to explain why enslaved labor was superior to indentured labor.[8] As a result, when slavery was permitted in Georgia, it was imported by settlers who left behind a record of their developed understanding of trans-Atlantic slavery.[9]

The story of early Georgia is not purely or even primarily European, and the native peoples of the southeast, such as the Muscogee or Creek Nation, have increasingly entered the focus of scholarly research.[10] Despite the support of the British crown, the European settlers of Georgia were highly aware that they were intruding into a densely traveled region under the sway of influential native nations (see figure 2), and the settlers knew from the beginning that their fortunes depended on negotiations that would be defined by Creek communities' own

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7 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:251–62, 279-281.
8 *Colonial Records*, 25:390-91, *GHS Collections*, 6:71-74.
9 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:161–262.
10 Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816*, Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999), https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=e000xna&AN=112477&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733-1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010); John T. Juricek, *Endgame for Empire: British-Creek Relations in Georgia and Vicinity, 1763-1776*, Contested Boundaries (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=879243&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Julie Anne Sweet, *Negotiating for Georgia : British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733-1752* (University of Georgia Press, 2005); Joshua Aaron Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Harvard University Press, 2004), https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=cat06564a&AN=uga.9930541513902959&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Christopher B. Rodning, *Center Places and Cherokee Towns : Archaeological Perspectives on Native American Architecture and Landscape in the Southern Appalachians*, UPCC Book Collections on Project MUSE (Tuscaloosa, AL: University Alabama Press, 2015), https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=e000xna&AN=1021454&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," *The Journal of Southern History* 57, no. 4 (1991): 601–36, https://doi.org/10.2307/2210598; Patrick Riordan, "Finding Freedom in Florida: Native Peoples, African Americans, and Colonists, 1670-1816," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (1996): 24–43.

understandings of diplomacy.[11] Georgia's border with Spanish Florida posed additional complications for slaveholders, since the Spanish authorities had offered freedom to any enslaved Africans who reached Florida, which according to historian Patrick Riordan "made Florida a magnet for slave migration" from the British colonies through native land, creating a porous border that had to be continually renegotiated through diplomatic and military battles.[12]

For decades the native nations such as the Creek formed the majority population in Georgia, and the colonial governors had to carefully negotiate to maintain favor with Creek towns.[13] Contrary to later dismissive attitudes towards native land, political necessity demanded that early European settlers were highly attentive towards Creek control over Georgia's land and waters. Well after the Seven Years War, colonial governors felt the need to publicly reiterate

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11 For perhaps the currently definitive study of Creek society's evolution in the 18th century, see Claudio Saunt's *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816*, which reconceptualized property and power within the Creek Nation from 1733 into the early 19th century, arguing that in the early to mid-18th century power within the Creek nation was conceived as a persuasive force, not a product of coercive might, and that property and land rights were seen as a collective and mutual process, though this system broke down through the "disruptions of warfare, trade, and disease" and the actions and ideas of cultural intermediaries, leading to a gradual centralization of wealth in Creek communities. Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 1-20. For a detailed study of specific negotiations between representatives of the colony government and varied Creek towns and leaders, see John T. Juricek's pair of works *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian diplomacy on the southern frontier*, 1733-1763, and *Endgame for Empire: British-Creek Relations in Georgia and Vicinity, 1763-1776*, that address Creek-British diplomacy in Georgia through the colonial period. Like Saunt, Juricek emphasizes the importance of persuasive influence, and he holds that in Creek Culture diplomacy was conceived as a continual process of renegotiation and affirmations of friendship on behalf of the whole community as embodied in the physical and symbolic concept of a path between cultures, which required constant upkeep, as opposed to the British model of static treaties between authorities. His work thus studies the process of understanding and misunderstanding that underlaid all diplomacy between the British and Creek, as each side attempted to attain its goals through negotiation even as they misunderstood each other. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 1-30. Another key examination of negotiations is Julie Anne Sweet's *Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee era, 1733-1752*, which gives an alternate view by specifically focusing on the trustees' approach to diplomacy, and takes a more positive view of Oglethorpe's negotiations.

12 Riordan, "Freedom in Florida," 26.

13 Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 1–30; Juricek, *Endgame for Empire*, 130–40; Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 330–50, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=188063&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Riordan, "Freedom in Florida," 28–34; Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 1–12; Claudio Saunt explained that the total population of the Upper and Lower Creek towns was approximately 8,000 in the mid 18th century, which outnumbered the population of the Georgia colony until around 1760. Saunt went so far as to describe the "presents" provided by the English to the Creek as "tribute," though the English preferred not to acknowledge this fact.

native sovereignty and threaten prosecution against English settlers who intruded on their lands or traded there without a license.[14] From the earliest negotiations with the Creek, the British sought to use this relationship to gather Creek support for returning runaways.[15] While many scholars have acknowledged this, they have often mentioned these agreements only in passing, even though they appear from the very founding of the colony.[16] In these negotiations the Creek consistently compelled colonial authorities to exert their legal power to restrain unauthorized English intrusion in order to maintain their alliance, including any support in recapturing fugitives.[17] Although escape to the Creek nation posed cultural obstacles in addition to the constant danger of recapture, throughout the 18th century it presented African and European refugees from slavery or indentured servitude with an imperfect but viable alternative to the strict

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14 Juricek, *Endgame for Empire*, 8-12, 130-40. As part of Georgia's military purpose, a strong alliance with the Creek and other nations like the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Chickasaw was key to maintaining a balance of power against the Spanish. Juricek held that this situation gave Creek negotiators a strong advantage through the early colonial period, but that the Seven Years' War was a "disaster" for the Creek since they were no longer able to engage in this kind of "playoff diplomacy," leading to increased land sessions under pressure from the expanding Georgia colony. While this is accurate in the long term, in the short-term colonial authorities still felt the need to placate Creek emissaries. For royal policy guaranteeing native sovereignty, and notices by royal agents threatening prosecution against traders who violated regulations on trade with the Creek, see the *Georgia Gazette*, June 30, November 24, December 22, 1763, August 5, 1766, March 25, 1767; *Colonial Records*, 10:566-590.

15 *Colonial Records*, 10:566-90, 14:332-34, 17:247, *Georgia Historical Society Archival Collection*: Item 36: "Articles of Friendship and Commerce between the Georgia Trustees and the Chief Men of the Lower Creek, true copy."

16 Although these runaway agreements formed a recurrent pattern throughout the colonial period, neither Juricek nor Sweet devote significant space to analyzing these agreements or their practical consequences for African fugitives in the Creek nation, or indeed to slavery in general except as a source of political strife in the colony. In Juricek, *Endgame for Empire*, 120-21, Juricek only gives a passing allusion to these agreements in a dispute over "another treaty violation." This is likely due to limitations on research and because slavery is not their focus, but is a striking omission in works that seek to recreate the political and cultural geography of the region, especially given existing work from 1991 by Kathryn Braund "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," which is significant as a dedicated study of a vital but unrecognized dynamic with colonial Georgia of Creek-African cultural relations and the situation of fugitives to the Creek nation. Braund displays a complex landscape of evolving racial concepts, where some African refugees would have been able to find different forms of "asylum" and refuge among the Creek or by working for white traders in the Creek nation, in some cases becoming full members of Creek communities, though flight to Creek territory demanded difficult cultural accommodations, while others were taken captive into pres-existing creeks slavery. Braund, "Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," 610-630. Saunt's work *A New Order of Things*, 34-40, acknowledges the presence of runaways but gives little recognition to these fugitive slave agreements in the early colonial period of Georgia, as Saunt instead focuses on African American cultural intermingling with Creek in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

17 Juricek, *Endgame for Empire*, 120–40; Riordan, "Freedom in Florida," 34; Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," 610–20.

hierarchy imposed by British planters.[18] The power of these sovereign native nations thus limited the British elite's authority and was a constant source of uncertainty for would-be slave holders.

In addition, as previous scholars like Karen Bell, Philip Morgan, and Paul Pressly have noted, plantation slavery in Georgia coexisted uneasily with models of race and class across the Atlantic that had developed in early colonial eras when people of African heritage were able to achieve higher social status and economic freedom. Moreover, even within a strictly race-based plantation slavery system, relying on enslaved African labor would mean that enslaved laborers would be responsible for the fundamental work of remodeling the coastal landscape and generating the colony's wealth. This strange conflict and the diverse ethnic heritage of black Georgians is attested to by the extraordinary cultural legacy of the Gullah and Geechee peoples, who formed thriving societies across the barrier islands despite attempts to suppress them. The British colonies were thus on the edge of an enticing but uncontrollable Atlantic world which threatened to destabilize the sort of hierarchy white planters sought to import whole into Georgia.[19] Many planters sought to enforce this uneasy order through retaliatory violence that appears throughout surviving records alongside a constant pattern of resistance.

Jasper's escape by water testifies to the crucial importance of waterborne transport to the colonial economy, and to the region's distinctive cultural landscapes along coasts and rivers.[20]

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18 Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," 610–20.

19 Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 1–30, 60–90, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=516915&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Saunt, *A New Order of Things*; Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*; Philip Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry: The Atlantic World and the Gullah Geechee*, Race in the Atlantic World, 1700-1900 (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 2010), https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=e000xna&AN=458446&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Karen B. Bell, "Rice, Resistance, and Forced Transatlantic Communities: (Re)Envisioning the African Diaspora in Low Country Georgia, 1750-1800," *The Journal of African American History* 95, no. 2 (2010): 157–82, https://doi.org/10.5323/jafriamerhist.95.2.0157.

20 Drew A. Swanson and Paul S. Sutter, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation: The Environmental History of a Lowcountry Landscape*, Wormsloe Foundation Publication: V.24 (University of Georgia Press, 2012), 1–30; Paul S. Sutter, *Coastal Nature, Coastal Culture: Environmental Histories of the Georgia Coast*, Environmental History of

Crossing these landscapes with watercraft was a defining sensory experience, even if it was so common as to escape mention.[21] The maritime history of the colonial lower south has been relatively unexamined, since the maritime history of the early United States has generally favored New England and the Chesapeake due to their earlier establishment and more visibly maritime economies. Although some scholars have used the term maritime generally, it more specifically refers to oceans, while the terms littoral and riverine encompass coasts and inland waterways.[22] It is true that commerce in early Georgia was not as obviously maritime as a region like New England, nevertheless, without boats, canoes, and other vessels, Georgia's coastal society would be unable to function. As slave labor became the predominant workforce, African-descended individuals were chiefly responsible for managing waterborne traffic, giving them access to the key transportation networks of the 18th century Atlantic world.[23] Consequently, controlling waterways became essential to maintaining slavery once it was introduced into Georgia's coastal environment where access to movement by water was vital to economic and

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the American South (University of Georgia Press, 2018), 10–15, 40–55; Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795*, Early American Places (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 80–150.

21 William C. Fleetwood, *Tidecraft: The Boats of South Carolina, Georgia, and Northeastern Florida – 1550-1950* (WBG Marine Press, 1995), 31-61.

22 Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1–50; Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870*, Gender and American Culture Series (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 15–50; John R. Stilgoe, *Alongshore* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 1–20; William S. Dudley, *Maritime Maryland : A History* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 1–17. For examples of maritime histories that address these trends and the uniqueness of coastal cultural landscapes, see the above titles. For an example of the well-established historiography of maritime New England, see *Young Men and the Sea* by Daniel Vickers, who insisted on viewing maritime communities from a local, ocean facing perspective. Lisa Norling's *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* provides an insightful and necessary assessment of gender and culture in maritime New England. For a dedicated study of coastal cultural landscapes, see works of John R. Stilgoe such as *Alongshore* which studied the constantly changing coastal environment of New England. Where many other scholars glance over the many faceted distinctions between maritime, riverine, and coastal life, Stilgoe makes this complexity central to his work.

23 *Colonial Records*, 18:649-88; Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*, 1–40; Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 70–130; Betty Wood, "Some Aspects of Female Resistance to Chattel Slavery in Low Country Georgia, 1763-1815," *The Historical Journal* 30, no. 3 (1987): 617.

military power.[24] Nor was open flight from slavery the only prospect that troubled slaveholders. Although less blatant, the notion of enslaved people traveling and communicating with any freedom from observation threatened the stability of a slave society.

Consequently, the notices for fugitives posted in the *Georgia Gazette* between 1763 and 1768 form a central part of this thesis. The beginning of the *Gazette* is the earliest possible point for a systematic study of fugitive notices in colonial Georgia, and coincides with rapid political and economic changes created by the end of the Seven Years' War. Between 1763 and 1768 the *Gazette* documents the rapid demographic growth, economic expansion, and growing political unrest in Georgia during the 1760s, including the uproar over the Stamp Act which led the *Gazette* to cease operation in protest between November 1765 and May 1766.[25] By the end of 1768 Georgia's slave code had been briefly vetoed by the British Crown, and the royal Assembly and Governor clashed over support for revolutionary activity.[26] The issues from 1763 to 1768 show continuity with key legislation concerning slavery and give context to the only direct accounts of the lowcountry left by enslaved people, providing a historically significant representation of slavery in Georgia during the relatively stable period between the disturbance of the Seven Years' War and the upheavals of the Revolutionary Era.

Despite the severe consequences of attempting to escape or harboring refugees, both indentured and enslaved people in early Georgia regularly took chances to break out of captivity. The second chapter of this thesis contextualizes their actions with an overview of the question of slavery in Georgia between the colony's founding in 1733 and its reorganization into a royal colony in 1750, when slavery was officially permitted. This chapter considers a series of debates

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24 Swanson and Sutter, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation*, 1–30; Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 100–130; Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*, 15–45.
25 *Georgia Gazette*, June 30, 1763, November 29, 1764, May 2, 9, 1765, January 21, 1767.
26 Colonial Records, 10:459, 14:572-74, 15:16, 17:419-27, *Georgia Gazette*, December 28, 1768.

over slavery from around 1740 and places them in the context of labor's social significance, diplomacy with the Creek nation, and the colony's maritime environment. The third chapter studies the situation of enslaved and indentured laborers in Georgia through runaway ads in the *Georgia Gazette* from 1763 to 1768, and analyzes different aspects of origin and status that influenced their lives and liberties. The fourth chapter examines early Georgia as a meeting point of oceanic and riverine commerce, and applies a maritime understanding of coastal space and travel to reveal the opportunities for mobility created by the liminal tidewater environment and the difficulties faced by slave owners in enforcing racial restrictions across a coastal landscape. The fifth chapter then considers how slave laws established in Georgia between 1755 and 1765 enacted measures to restrict the personal freedoms and mobility of black laborers, and studies the punishments imposed on white and black fugitives as described in formal legal measures and vivid firsthand accounts. The chapter ends by re-examining the ongoing significance of the Creek Nation in maintaining control over the enslaved population in Georgia through the 1760s; even as the Creek towns sometimes provided a tentative refuge from servitude and slavery. This political borderland was a key aspect of early Georgia's physically and socially tenuous situation, which is brought to a resolution in the sixth and concluding chapter. Early Georgia's distinct geopolitical circumstances thus present a striking example of European settlers accommodating indentured servitude and plantation slavery to a coastal landscape that had never seen such labor systems before, and of individuals taking advantage of that tenuous coastal landscape to subvert the controlling systems forced upon them.

CHAPTER 2

"THE EXPENSE OF A WHITE MAN'S LABOR:" PRE-SLAVERY GEORGIA

"A single negro would run away thither without companions, and would only have a river or two to swim over … in South Carolina … some have fled in periaguas and little boats to the Spaniards, and have been protected, and others in large bodies have been incited to insurrections." -Benjamin Martyn, 1742.[27]

Late in 1735 aboard a ship in the harbor of Portsmouth, England, "a boy, as he was playing, fell overboard: a man being near him and seeing him fall, threw him a rope, and he got in again," recalled Francis Moore, storekeeper for the two ships the *Symond* and *London Merchant* bound for Georgia carrying German immigrants to establish the settlement of Frederica near the mouth of the Altamaha river (See figures 3 and 4).[28] This 1735-6 voyage provides some of the most vivid literary and artistic images of early Georgia, including a remarkable series of drawings left by Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck, who sketched the people, landscapes, fauna, and watercraft he encountered (see figure 5).[29] Francis Moore wrote in the established genre of travel narratives, and his journal blends practical accounting with an eye for descriptive flair. After reaching the mouth of the Savannah river, the convoy was obliged to travel "one hundred and thirty miles passage in open boats" south to Frederica, "which might take up to 14 days, and could not be performed in less than six."[30] From the foggy shores of England to the muggy coasts of Georgia, the ocean and its tributaries posed a constant danger

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27 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:280.
28 *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. 1 (Boston: Freeman and Bolles, 1840), 85, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000542648.
29 Philipp Georg Friedrich von Reck and Kristian Hvidt, *Von Reck's Voyage : Drawings and Journal of Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck* (Beehive Press, 1980), 7–9. Also see the Royal Library of Denmark, Center for Manuscripts and Rare Books, University of Denmark, for a digitally accessible set of von Reck's drawings.
30 Reck and Hvidt, 111.

even to experienced watermen, and much more so to the untrained, fundamentally shaping the physical and societal progression of the young colony (see figure 6).

On Moore's journey, the British and Germans settlers were assisted by Creek watermen, and their military security relied on maintaining favor with the Creek.[31] While the British were able to exercise naval strength along the edges of the barrier islands, once they sailed past the coastline their political and economic security relied on information and permission granted by Creek communities.[32] Already in the initial agreement between James Edward Oglethorpe and the Creek nation, the British felt the need to reinforce their right to control enslaved people's movement from the coast to the interior. As part of its promise of "inviolable peace, friendship, and commerce," one article of the 1733 treaty between Oglethorpe and Creek leaders stipulated that the British would reward Creek towns who would return fugitives from slavery, or else kill them for resisting for a lesser reward. This agreement was a tacit acknowledgement of slavery's crucial place in the British colonies and that slavery would be present in Georgia even if owning slaves was formally prohibited.[33] Despite the colony's lofty ideals, even before the introduction of slavery to Georgia the colonial authorities sought to extend surveillance over the surrounding region, and the financial and physical difficulties entailed by surveilling and recapturing runaways soon became a point of political contention.[34]

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31 Despite his inexperienced viewpoint, Moore's narrative is a vivid portrayal of the precarious state of European intrusion into native lands and politics. Moore observed meetings between British leader James Edward Oglethorpe and Creek leader Tomochichi over the prospect of a feared Spanish attack, while Tomochichi insisted they had been wronged by native nations allied with the Spanish. These negotiations reveal the strange contradiction of projecting imperial power whilst acknowledging the practical fact that those lands were controlled by native nations.
32 Reck and Hvidt, *Von Reck's Voyage*, 101–2, 118–19, 121–27, 140–52.
33 Georgia Historical Society Archival Collection: Item 36: "Articles of Friendship and Commerce between the Georgia Trustees and the Chief Men of the Lower Creek, true copy."
34 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:67–85.

"A Greater Propensity to Idleness:" The Debate over Slavery

By 1740, amidst the War of Jenkins' Ear, the potential effect of slavery on Georgia had become a key point of division in the colony's nascent political makeup, and its proponents posed an increasingly significant challenge to the original plan established by Oglethorpe and the trustees.[35] This dispute between supporters and opponents of the trustees, the latter referred to dismissively as "malcontents," has been frequently analyzed.[36] Andrew C. Lannen summarized these mixed historical appraisals, writing that historians view the "malcontents" with sympathy, though they mourn the passing of the trustees' plan.[37] Slavery was not the sole issue in dispute here, since these polemics addressed it together with regulations on inheritance and land allotment, but nevertheless slavery emerges as the most significant and bitter point of contention.[38] It is key to recognize that in this debate the trustees and their supporters did not primarily oppose slavery due to any moral objection to the institution itself. Instead, both sides portrayed themselves as protecting the labor and fortunes of white settlers and increasing the colony's security and prosperity. The prohibition of slavery was meant to support both Georgia's charitable purpose and its military objectives, and slavery's proponents claimed that allowing it

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35 *Colonial Records*, 3:367-427, vol. 4 Supplement, 230-80, 5:302-8, 475; Noeleen McIlvenna, *The Short Life of Free Georgia: Class and Slavery in the Colonial South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 58–60, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=e700xna&AN=978188&site=eds-live&custid=uga1.

36 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:155–57.

37 Andrew C. Lannen, "James Oglethorpe and the Civil-Military Contest for Authority in Colonial Georgia, 1732-1749," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 2 (2011): 203–4.

38 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:79, 270-280. For examples of these debates, see the *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vols. 1 and 2, and the *Colonial Records of Georgia*, vol. 3 appendix and vol. 4 appendix. For a more in-depth study of the controversy and Georgia's transition to royal government, see Andre C. Lannen's article "James Oglethorpe and the Civil-Military Contest for Authority in Colonial Georgia, 1732-1749," where he acknowledges the debate over slavery, but argues that the chief dispute was between civil and military authority, due to Oglethorpe's failure to delegate power and create a stable government. For a counterpoint to scholarly criticism of the trustees, and a regrettably rare detailed study of white indentured servants, see McIlvenna, "The Short life of Free Georgia," which blames "self interested parties" for the adoption of slavery, and argues that prior historians have regurgitated classism in their treatment of the majority of Georgia's white population. McIlvenna, "The Short life of Free Georgia," 71-72.

would attain the same ends. Nor can it be said that all these dissenters were rabble rousers, despite the invective at the time, as they included the likes of James Habersham, a devout and dutiful merchant and a key member of the president's council. Habersham became "instrumental in the legalization of slavery in Georgia" in the late 1740s, according to historian Betty Wood, but "he did not dogmatize on that point," as historian Frank Lambert concluded.[39] While Habersham had a "preference for a colony of yeomen farmers," he held that slavery was needed to clear and cultivate land, "and thereby to render it more valuable."[40] This debate was not over morality, but whether slavery was viable in Georgia and which economic system would encourage a prosperous white population of the colony to provide military security.[41]

Spokesmen for the trustees, like William Stephens, their representative in Georgia, and Benjamin Martyn, their secretary in England, maintained that introducing slavery would destroy the colony's purpose as a charitable refuge. If slavery was allowed, they argued, white farmers and laborers would be unable to compete and would have to sell their land, increasing the estates of large landowners. Moreover, according to the trustees, slavery "would introduce … a greater propensity to idleness among the poor planters," by corrupting their morality, industry, and watchfulness. Martyn expounded on the military perils of slavery, in that "the white man, by

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39 Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion : African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830*, Book Collections on Project MUSE (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 93, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=nlebk&AN=41044&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Frank Lambert, *James Habersham: Loyalty, Politics, and Commerce in Colonial Georgia*, Wormsloe Foundation Publications: No. 24 (University of Georgia Press, 2005), 78, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=cat06564a&AN=uga.9913735341502931&site=eds-live&custid=uga1.

40 Lambert, *James Habersham: Loyalty, Politics*, 78; *Georgia Historical Society*, vol. 6, *The Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1775*, 239-43. See *Colonial Records*, 6:332-36, 13:29-45, 16:33-70, 266-98, 25:390-91, 26:135, for examples of Habersham's concerns over the colony's state, and his role in the colonial government. A detailed account of Habersham's life and political views can be found in Frank Lambert's book *James Habersham: Loyalty, Politics, and Commerce in Colonial Georgia*, which especially emphasizes Habersham's sense of religious and political duty alongside his Loyalist stance during the revolution. See Noeleen McIlvenna *The Short Life of Free Georgia* for a more critical assessment of Habersham.

41 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:77–82, 91–94, 165, 200–201, 226–33, 279–82.

having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labor himself; and that his whole time must be employed in keeping the negro to work, and in watching against any danger he or his family might apprehend from the slave." Large landowners, the trustees reasoned, would soon follow the example of Caribbean plantations and "absent themselves and live in other places," leading to a dwindling white population which would leave the colony vulnerable to slave insurrection like "South Carolina, which was much exposed by the small number of its white inhabitants."[42]

Furthermore, Martyn asserted that allowing slavery would encourage enslaved people to flee to Florida, since according to their policy granting freedom to African fugitives "the Spaniards at St. Augustine would be continually enticing away the negroes, or encouraging them to insurrections," which might "easily be accomplished, since a single negro would run away thither without companions and would only have a river or two to swim over." Martyn reasoned that this would distract settlers from their agricultural labors and their military watch, while delivering additional manpower to the Spanish authorities. To demonstrate his point, Martyn pointed to the example of South Carolina, "where, though at greater distance from St. Augustine, some have fled in periaguas and little boats."[43] This would destabilize the other British colonies as well, since "admitting in negroes of Georgia would facilitate the desertion of the Carolina negroes, and consequently this colony, instead of proving a frontier and adding strength to the province of South Carolina, would be a means of drawing off the slaves of Carolina, and adding thereby a strength to Augustine." Contrary to the purpose of the colony, "the introduction of them so near to a garrison of the Spaniards would weaken rather than strengthen the barrier."[44]

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42 *GHS Collections*, 2:82, 278–82.
43 "Periagua," alternatively perriagua or pettiaguer among other spellings, is a vague and intriguing term for a variety of large boats that ranged in size between the European categories of canoe and schooner. They likely included various African, European, and Native American construction techniques, could be open or decked, and could be rowed or rigged in multiple ways. See Rusty Fleetwood, *Tidecraft*, for one of the few dedicated studies of small boats of the colonial southeast.
44 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:280–82.

The trustees' essential argument was that enslaved labor would cripple the work ethic among white settlers, distracting and diminishing Georgia's white population. They maintained that the region's network of intercoastal waterways would encourage enslaved people to rebel, thereby jeopardizing security against Florida as the colony would be "reduced to the precarious property of a few, equally exposed to domestic treachery, and foreign invasion." They thus justified the prohibition on slavery on the grounds of protecting white workers in order to advance both charitable and military goals through community building, spiritually uplifting labor.

The dissenters, among them William Stephens' own son Thomas Stephens, countered that banning slavery was one of multiple violations of English liberties and that without slavery Georgia was unable to compete economically with other colonies, and so small planters and laborers would have no chance anyway but to fall into poverty.[45] Thomas Stephens bemoaned the state of Georgia's colonists, declaring that "the wisdom and justice of the regulations they have smarted under, are truly too profound for their comprehension."[46] Pointing to the example of South Carolina, they presented slavery as a simple issue of economics, since a slave could be forced to work "four hours each day more than a white man can do" on land "which does not answer the expense of a white man's labor."[47] Thomas Stephens lambasted the trustees' prohibition of enslavement, arguing that "in spite of all efforts to disguise this point, it is as clear as light itself, that negroes are as essentially necessary to the cultivation of Georgia as axes, hoes, or any other utensil of agriculture," To Stephens, slaves were an evident prerequisite to prosperity, so much so that "Georgia, as a colony, can barely exist without them."[48] Other

45 *GHS Collections*, 2:87–163.
46 *GHS Collections*, 2:92.
47 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:251, 120. Betty Wood's "Some Aspects of Female Resistance to Chattel Slavery in Low Country Georgia, 1763-1815," 606, also alluded to the "bitter debate" over slavery, and affirmed that the white participants in the debate viewed slavery economically, with the debate over how to extract profit "at minimal cost to the white community.
48 *GHS Collections*, 2:93.

advocates for slavery cast doubt on authenticity of the trustees' religious goals, and accused missionaries like the Anglican minister John Wesley of being lackeys who "never desired to see Georgia a rich, but a religious colony," sent by the trustees to "enslave our minds, as a necessary preparative for enslaving our bodies" through legalism and persecution.[49] Prohibiting slavery, they argued, reduced white laborers to a condition of effective slavery by forcing them to work long hours in brutal conditions with little to show for their efforts. In their view, introducing slavery would actually "occasion greater numbers of white people to come here."[50]

In their explanations of the necessity of slavery, its proponents often relied on the then-common trope that Africans were more suited to labor in southern climates, making them supposedly the only effective labor force in Georgia, and the trustees did not entirely disagree.[51] A testimony provided by William Stephens from one Lt. Dunbar proclaimed how his unit of white soldiers had performed construction at Frederica,[52] ferrying goods from ships "often up to their necks in water" while craftsmen worked "without standing still, by reason of heat," and Dunbar asserted "nor did I hear, that any of the men ever made the heat a pretence (sic) for not working." Dunbar also mentioned that black residents of other colonies labored as "ships carpenters and caulkers," yet maintained that the quality of white artisan's work was superior. Dunbar thus denied that heat was enough to make white labor insufficient, while casting aspersions on the quality of enslaved peoples work.[53] At the same time, Martyn accepted that slavery might be required for growing rice "which is a work of hardship proper for negroes," but

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49 *GHS Collections*, 2:208–14.
50 *GHS Collections*, 2:93, 220, 226.
51 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:200–201, Karen Bell, "Rice, Resistance," 161. Karen Bell also observed this trope, but argued it gave way to a more practical stance, as she held that planters in South Carolina and Georgia ultimately selected enslaved people primarily based on prior experience with rice agriculture in Africa. The notion was not unchallenged at the time. John Wesley denied it in his 1774 pamphlet "Thoughts on Slavery," 40-44, pointing to his time in Georgia "felling of trees and clearing of ground" alongside the Salzburghers.
52 On St. Simon's Island north-east of modern day Brunswick..
53 *GHS Collections*, 1842, 2:82.

not for Georgia's purposes.[54] Both free and enslaved labor systems emphasized physically transforming the landscape, but where the trustees saw this as an embodiment of a spiritual social transformation, the proponents of slavery interpreted it as an economic transformation of the landscape to create prosperity for the white population. While the trustees and their supporters held that slavery was incompatible with a moral system of free labor, their arguments also implied that African individuals themselves were unable to form the independence and moral character to meet the trustees' expectations. Thus, it is certainly possible to exaggerate the ideological differences of the sides in this debate, since despite their animosity they shared many assumptions. Even in defending their prohibition on slavery, colonial authorities acknowledged widely held assumptions about the environment and race.

Only in a single petition noted by the trustees, from the Scots-highlanders of Darien on the north bank of the Altamaha River, can one find any trace of empathy for the enslaved. Their chief concern was still personal security, declaring that "we are laborious, and know that a White man may be more usefully employed by the year than a negroe," and that it would be perilous "to have an enemy without, and more dangerous ones in our bosom!" Yet they showed a glimmer of recognition for enslaved people's humanity, declaring that "it's shocking to human Nature, that any Race of Mankind, and their Posterity, should be sentenced to perpetual slavery." Consequently, slavery would inevitably lead to a revolt, "and as Freedom to them must be as dear as it is to us, what a Scene of Horror must it bring about!" While their argument displayed a striking amount of sympathy, and even implied that such a rebellion might be morally justified, it was their concerns over security that were reiterated in the trustees' official statements. The

54 *GHS Collections*, 2:280–81.

trustees' intention was to preserve their model for Georgia, and even such a limited challenge would be too close to rebuking slavery as a whole.[55]

"Impracticable without a few Negroes:" Slave Economics and Politics

Despite their disagreements, both slavery's proponents and opponents acknowledged that introducing slavery would fundamentally reshape Georgia's physical and economic landscape, and forever alter the colony's demographics. They effectively acknowledged the inherent instability of a slave society, although they only saw this as problematic on practical grounds. Fundamentally, the debate was whether slavery would advance or obstruct the prosperity of the European settlers, though the groups differed on which settlers should be chiefly protected. Ultimately, slavery was legalized after 1750 after a decade more agitation.[56] While slavery only existed under the colonial system for a mere twenty-five years prior to the War of Independence, it rapidly expanded to become a vital part of Georgia's economy and was condoned by no less a moral authority than the famous evangelist, George Whitefield.[57] Although Whitefield proclaimed a form of spiritual equality that had wipe appeal among both black and white Americans, and he at times clashed with slaveholders over the treatment of enslaved people, he declared the need for slave labor to sustain his orphanage school at Bethesda, since maintaining its crops would be "impracticable without a few Negroes."[58] Whitefield's more dour and

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55 *Colonial Records*, 3:427.

56 See *Colonial Records*, 3:56-62, for the measures legalizing slavery. The trustees' logic prevailed as late as 1748, when a petition for land was rejected on the grounds that the petitioners had "for several years past been negro overseers in South Carolina and have as We apprehend a Design to introduce the Use of Negroes into this colony." *Colonial Records*, 6:221.

57 Wood, "Female Resistance," 604; Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 60–90; Bell, "Forced Transatlantic Communities," 160–70; McIlvenna, *The Short Life of Free Georgia*, 65–68.

58 Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*, 15–17, 87–80; McIlvenna, *The Short Life of Free Georgia*, 65–68; Georgia Historic Society Archives, Item ID 95005559, Whitefield, "An account of money received and disbursed for the orphan-house in Georgia … to which is prefixed a plan for the building," 1741. See also *Georgia Gazette*, January 17, 1765. See Vincent Caretta, "Eighteenth-Century Black Accounts of the Lowcountry," in *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry* by Philip Morgan, and Edward J. Cashin, *Governor Henry Ellis and the Transformation of British North America* (University of Georgia Press, 1994), for additional details on religion and slavery in Georgia.

unlikable associate John Wesley would later denounce slavery entirely, but such a stance remained an outlier in the white population of the British Empire.[59]

The idealism of Georgia's founding was not entirely lost. Some of the more devoutly Christian members of Savannah's elite were disquieted by the violence slavery entailed, and comforted themselves that they had at least restrained its excesses.[60] The devout James Habersham, a close friend and ally of George Whitefield, who could be pious to the point of absurdity, would proudly claim that Georgia's slave code was humane by comparison to other colonies.[61] By the 1770s, Habersham bemoaned how "the souls of my poor benighted Blacks have long lain heavy on my Heart," that he would "not chuse (sic) to make use of force and violence," and "that we do not treat our Negroes as some people imagine," even as he profited from sales of newly imported slaves.[62] Historian Edward J. Cashin maintained that Joseph Ottolenghe "the supervisor of the silk filature" objected to brutal treatment of enslaved people, and "conducted a school" where they "learned to read the bible and memorize the catechism," but saw political measures as doomed to failure.[63] In the last decades of the colonial period the

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59 John Wesley, "Thoughts on Slavery," 1774.

60 For a brief but informative analysis of different evangelical Christian responses to slavery in the mid 18th-century British colonies, and the conflict between "abolitionist" and "amelorationist" views of reform, see Caretta, "Black Accounts," 78-82. For a more substantial survey, see Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830*, which both Morgan and Caretta drew from in their works.

61 *Georgia Historical Society*, vol. 6, *The Letters of Hon. James Habersham*, 1756-1775, 71-71. *Georgia Gazette*, January 17, 1765. *Colonial Records*, vol. 4. Supplement, 18. William Stephens noted how when Habersham preached in the Sunday service, his enthusiastic portrayal was so "vehement" that "many people looked on it as ridiculous."

62 *GHS Collections*, 6:239-242. Habersham made these comments in a letter to the Countess of Huntingdon, a benefactor of the Bethesda Orphanage that Whitefield had founded, and Habersham helped administer. See Vincent Carretta, "Black Accounts," for a summary of the Countess' role as a religious benefactor. See the *Georgia Gazette*, October 22, 1766, March 23, 1768, for sales of enslaved people arranged by Habersham and his nephew Joseph Clay.

63 Edward J. Cashin, *Governor Henry Ellis and the Transformation of British North America* (University of Georgia Press, 1994), 114–15. See Cashin for further details on such views about the "welfare in slaves" in Georgia from Joseph Ottolenghe and governor Henry Ellis..Cashin speculates that Ellis held anti-slavery views, though the evidence he is able to muster is slim, aside from one reference by Ottolenghe to how he and "the present humane governor" were unable to bring about legal changes. Cashin also cites later statements by Ellis on his intention to

white landowning elite in Georgia thus faced the difficult task of importing the supposedly natural system of plantation slavery into a coastal region that complicated surveillance.[64] For enslaved and free black people before and after the revolution, this ever-shifting tidewater landscape could become a means of independence, despite constant attempts to suppress them.

Periphery or "Microcosm:" Historiography of Early Georgia

A core question for scholars studying colonial Georgia is what significance these comparatively miniscule settlements have in the broader patterns of history. As the last of the thirteen British colonies, founded with idealistic goals that failed to materialize, and a relatively small population and economy through the 18th century, it could be seen as an outlier.[65] Compared to the more prosperous colony of South Carolina, one might easily question early Georgia's place in American history.[66] Indeed, some scholars of colonial South Carolina dismiss colonial Georgia entirely, while others acknowledge it as a mere periphery of Charleston.[67] Early Georgians were themselves highly aware of their comparative insignificance, and resented it in their hopes of achieving similar importance.[68] Phillip Morgan confronts this question of marginality in his introduction to an anthology on Gullah-Geechee culture, when he

provide conditional freedom to enslaved people and "mulattoes in Georgia, but in Cashin's words "the timing was wrong for any serious consideration of changing plantation slavery."

64 Wood, "Female Resistance," 604. Betty Wood's study of Georgia's population found that over the from 1750 through the 1770s the "white population grew from less than 3,000 to 18,000 whilst the black element soared from under 350 to 16000. See Wood for more detailed demographics statistics of Georgia's Growth over the late 18th century.

65 Wood, "Female Resistance," 604–10; Bell, "Forced Transatlantic Communities," 161–70; Lannen, "James Oglethorpe and the Civil-Military Contest for Authority in Colonial Georgia, 1732-1749," 203–4.

66 Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 69–70.

67 Emma Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 51, 52; https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=e000xna&AN=388828&site=eds-live&custid=uga1; Lynn B. Harris, *Patroons and Periaguas: Enslaved Watermen and Watercraft of the Lowcountry*, Studies in Maritime History (University of South Carolina Press, 2014). When analyzing Charleston as an urban environment, Hart referred to Savannah as a "satellite of the Charleston market" which was part of Charleston's "regional urban system."

68 *Colonial Records*, 25:390-91. *GHS Collections*, 2:87, 213-35.

acknowledges that their population was minimal compared to African-American culture as a whole, but defends their significance through their lasting cultural influence, the lowcountry's role as an entry point for enslaved people brought to the United States, and because Georgia's singular position on cultural and physical edges gives perspective on many key issues, making it "an exemplar…a microcosm of broader forces at work in the Atlantic world." Specifically Morgan points to the persistence of African culture and Islam, burgeoning black Christian churches, and the inklings of a broader anti-slavery movement.[69] Likewise, environmental historian Marc Stewart emphasized Georgia' position on the tidewater boundary that creates "enormous quantities of ecological energy," that "have provided a hospitable habitat for marine species" in this turbulent span between fresh and saltwater, that in Stewart's view also embodies a meeting of geographic and human systems.[70] Savannah and Georgia may have been marginal to the Atlantic world as a whole, but Georgia's marginality rendered it a borderland that was simultaneously on the edges of many physical and cultural different systems, and a meaningful if peripheral connection between them.[71]

The short-lived experiment of the Georgia plan forced the colony to recognize a bothersome question, namely, whether personal and communal moral improvement would be attained by rigorous control of one's own labor, or through controlling the labor of others. In the trustees' plan it was important for white laborers to modify the landscape themselves as part of their moral transformation, which advocates of slavery such as Thomas Stephens saw as a deluded attempt to impose unattainable ideals onto an unforgiving environment. And yet by minimizing their criticism of slavery itself, the trustees attached the immorality of the institution

69 Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*, 1–40.
70 Sutter, *Coastal Nature, Coastal Culture: Environmental Histories of the Georgia Coast*, 1–20, 45–50.
71 Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 1–30; Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*, 1–12, 14–45.

to those trapped in it. Even so, this prohibition which was meant to avoid economic conflict instead caused unusually intense strife over slavery, which was given urgency by Georgia's position in a politically contested tidewater environment on the edge of British influence. As previous scholars have written, Georgia's place in this transitional environment at a transitional time in American history placed the colony at a nexus of physical and cultural boundaries. In fleeing from slavery, enslaved people in Georgia were thus moving through a liminal area where neither terrain nor authority was certain, offering both obstacles and opportunities, and this pattern can be seen emerging in ever-recurring runaway notices found in the *Georgia Gazette*.

CHAPTER 3

"RUN AWAY FROM MY PLANTATION ABOUT EIGHT DAYS AGO:" RUNAWAY NOTICES IN THE *GEORGIA GAZETTE*

"The said Crawford was stabbed and murdered by a negroe fellow named Scipio, the property of the said Mr. Milledge, which said negroe has made his escape … a reward of Five Pounds Sterling will be give, by the owner of the said negroe, and to any person or persons who shall apprehend the said negroe…"[72]

By the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Georgia had become more integrated into Atlantic trade, and the first source to provide a consistent sample of runaways in Georgia began the very same year on April 7 when James Johnston printed the first issue of his newly formed paper, the *Georgia Gazette*, which would be the only paper in Georgia through the 1790s (see figure 7). Following the loss of many colonial records, this paper is a chief source of records of slave voyages and sales in colonial Georgia.[73] Runaway notices ads are a constant feature of the *Gazette*, with multiple notices nearly every month through the colonial period. From 1763 through 1768, the Gazette published 213 unique notices which describe 340 individuals (See Table 1).[74] While through the 1750s slaveholders in Georgia had bought and sold enslaved people within North America, the founding of the *Gazette* nearly corresponds with the beginning of regular transatlantic slave voyages to Savannah, reflecting a situation where slavery was widespread and Georgia planters were increasingly moving beyond trade with other colonies to

72 *Georgia Gazette*, April 7, 1763.
73 *Colonial Records*, vol. 1, Introduction; Wood, "Female Resistance," 613–14; Bell, "Forced Transatlantic Communities," 161–62; Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*, 53–90.
74 This total counts both "runaway" and "captivity" ads, and both African and European fugitives. It does not count notices that clearly refer to the same person. In many cases it is impossible to know if enslaved people with the same name were actually the same person, particularly as the names provided are basic anglicized names.

participate in Atlantic commerce.[75] Numerous scholars have analyzed the conventions of runaway ads in the 18th and 19th centuries, focusing on the everyday details they reveal, such as clothing, hair, national origin, trades and skills, and presentation.[76] Regrettably, the *Georgia Gazette* does not cover the first three decades of the colony, and thus begins when slavery had been established in Georgia for a full decade. Yet as previous works have found by studying fugitive ads, for the time it does cover, the paper still provides details of enslaved people's everyday lives on the coastal plain that are only obliquely present in official records.

The initial issue of the *Gazette* contained several distinct runaway ads that demonstrated the pattern future notices would follow. The very first typical runaway ad in the *Gazette* was for a woman, described as "a tall negroe wench named Jeanie, this country born, and speaks good English." The notice was issued by John Sacheverel, who declared that the woman had "run away from my plantation about eight days ago." In the same issue, Joseph Gibbons of South

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75 In the period from 1763-1768, the *Gazette* documents roughly 158 slave sales, including advertisements for arriving slave ships, estate sales, and sales of specific individuals. See Karen Bell, "Rice, Resistance," for a numerical study of slave voyages to Georgia and their origins, using the online Slave Voyage Database and NARA records. The *Gazette* is hardly comprehensive and often lacks specific numbers but still documents several ships carrying between 100 and 150 individuals, multiple ships with between 50 and 100 individuals, and at least one ship carrying 200 enslaved people, totaling over 2283 enslaved people sold between 1763 and 1768.

76 Jonathan Prude, "To Look upon the 'Lower Sort': Runaway Ads and the Appearance of Unfree Laborers in America, 1750-1800," *The Journal of American History* 78, no. 1 (1991): 124–59, https://doi.org/10.2307/2078091; David Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1999): 243–72, https://doi.org/10.2307/2674119; Sharon Block, "Making Meaningful Bodies: Physical Appearance in Colonial Writings," *Early American Studies* 12, no. 3 (2014): 542–47; Shane White and Graham White, "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Past & Present*, no. 148 (1995): 149–86; Shane White and Graham White, "Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 1 (1995): 45–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/2211360; Patricia Hunt-Hurst, "'Round Homespun Coat & Pantaloons of the Same': Slave Clothing as Reflected in Fugitive Slave Advertisements in Antebellum Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 83, no. 4 (1999): 727–40. Jonathan Prude provides guidelines for analyzing runaway ads in an Atlantic context influenced by elite perspectives in an 18th century culture that increasingly placed emphasis on detailed observation. David Waldstreicher provides a more literary critique of enslaved peoples' agency in such notices. See Sharon Block's work for further details on interpreting physical appearance and its cultural implications in the 18th century, and Shane and Graham White's studies on specific implications of hair and clothing, and the cultural blending that occurred as African individuals adopted and adapted forms of European dress and maintained traditions of customary appearance and hairstyles. Hunt-Hurst provides a useful examination of clothing in Georgia runaways ads in the early 19th century.

Newport advertised for "a negroe man, named Primus," who had "run away from my plantation near Savannah, about five or six weeks ago."[77] The majority of those mentioned in such ads are men between their twenties and forties and usually alone or two together. Yet these tendencies are broken by many examples of enslaved women, young or elderly individuals, and larger groups escaping from slavery.[78] In a notable example on January 3, 1765, Patrick MacKay declared that nine enslaved men had broken away from his plantation, all with anglicized first names.[79] Six months later, John Mullryne gave notice for four men "named Quash, Quou, London, and Quamina, belonging to Mr. James Daly," who had fled. They were all "well known in Savannah, where it is supposed they are harbored." As they considered enslaved people as property to be reclaimed, planters were chiefly concerned with characteristics that could aid or hinder a refugee's flight, and the *Gazette* contains a plentiful record of repression as well as resistance.[80] Alongside runaway notices there are notices for enslaved people who had been recaptured. Between 1763 and 1768 the *Gazette* published roughly fifty-five notices of captivity for 109 individuals.[81] These ads, too, are limited, as they were only needed when an enslaved person's "owners were not immediately known or identifiable," and as a rule they provide even less information than runaway ads, with rarely any details beyond a name and age.[82]

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77 *Georgia Gazette*, April 7, 1763.
78 *Georgia Gazette*, August 2, August 30, January 3, June 6, August 22, 1765, contain references to groups larger than two who escaped slavery together, from 1763 to 1765. For a more detailed survey of gender breakdowns in black communities, see Betty Wood's "Some Aspects of Female Resistance to Chattel Slavery in Low Country Georgia," and her chapter "High Notions of their liberty" in Philip Morgan's 2010 anthology.
79 *Georgia Gazette*, January 3, 1765.
80 Wood, "Female Resistance," 619-620. For further information on imprisonment faced by enslaved people, see Wood's analysis where she extrapolated from the limited information in the best source available, the Savannah Gaol book of 1809 to 1815.
81 Comprising fifty-five of the 190 notices for enslaved people, not counting republished notices. There is some overlap in notices that record individuals who escaped multiple times.
82 *Colonial Records*, 18:560.

Table 1: Slave Sales and Runaway Notices in the *Georgia Gazette*, 1773-168				
Dates:	Sales		Refugees	
Years:	Notices	Individuals	Notices	Individuals
1763	13	254	15	18
1764	28	152	30	45
1765	25	229	46	73
1766	16	484	35	48
1767	35	324	33	48
1768	41	840	54	108
1763-8	158	2283	213	340

Aside from their unreliability, the variety of these ads is challenging because despite sharing a general format they provide different information. Even so, this abundance of notices gives glimpses into the diversities of enslaved peoples' experiences, and their influence on the colony. Some were "used to the sea" or "used to a boat," and many others had experience cutting timber as sawyers.[83] Some took boats or canoes with them, and others carried away tools and weapons.[84] Some were new arrivals, speaking little English, others were "well-known about the country and in town" and fluent in English, while some were fluent in other European languages such as French, Portuguese, or Spanish. Some may have fled to Florida or to Creek towns, but often we cannot know their destinations or if they even had a clear idea of how to escape. It is likely that many simply preferred the risks of escape to continued bondage. Most of these ads have little indication of where the refugees intended to go, and when they do it remains a challenge to parse out the refugees' guesswork. Even so, while in

83 See the *Georgia Gazette*, June 21, August 4, 1763, June 20, 1765, for references to black watermen, and March 8, July 5, July 12, 1764, July 18, August 22, 1765, for references to sawyers.
84 *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, August 25, 1763, February 7, April 11, May 9, 1765, August 31, 1768.

estate sales enslaved people were usually reduced to numbers, with at most a gender or age, these runaway notices grant fleeting glimpses of individuality, albeit only granted as a necessity.

"The Said Wench and Her Children:" Gender and Scholarship

The *Gazette* also provides a rare if limited sample of the experiences of black women in early Georgia. They faced many of the same circumstances as black men, though different social expectations posed unique difficulties for women seeking to escape slavery. Enslaved women listed in estate sales were often noted by their abilities, like enslaved men, though they were more likely to have experience in domestic labor.[85] In a rare example that charts a refugee's course, a runaway notice posted by Thomas Cater on 12 April 1764 mentions an enslaved woman who fled from Sunbury on the Midway River. This enslaved woman defied retribution despite having been recaptured, by fleeing from the Ogeechee ferry "with handcuffs on," such were the lengths people would go to to seek freedom. If the notice was accurate, rather than flee to Florida, this woman fled north from Sunbury towards the Ogeechee river and Savannah.[86] Although such notices are striking, until 1768 the *Gazette* documented only twenty-six notices for twenty-seven individual women who fled from slavery, and 168 notices for 246 individual enslaved men (See Table 2). Female slaveholders also sought to recapture enslaved women, including Elizabeth Anderson who advertised for "a young new negroe wench, named Sidney, who "has her country marks on her breast and arms."[87] While discrimination based on race and gender did not always align, enslaved black women faced additional burdens compounded by legal frameworks which did not respect their familial relationships.[88]

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85 *Georgia Gazette*, February 14, March 28, May 30, July 18, 1765.
86 *Georgia Gazette*, April 12, 1764.
87 Georgia Gazette, March 17, 1765.
88 For a more a specialized study of enslaved women's circumstances in colonial Georgia, see the article by renowned scholar Betty Wood, "Some Aspects of Resistance to Chattel Slavery," which charts changes in runaway ads post-revolution, including "the virtual doubling of advertisements for female runaways between 1783 and 1795."

A key scholar to interrogate the *Georgia Gazette* was Betty Wood, a formative scholar who helped reorient works on early Georgia to examine black culture and women's history. Wood compiled runaway ads from across the *Gazette* to quantify origins and destinations as part of the challenging but vital task of highlighting enslaved women's history despite sources such as the *Gazette* ignoring or belittling them.[89] Wood held that black women "were regarded primarily as workers rather than as potential mothers," which she attributed to the constant influx of enslaved people from other British colonies, though "an essential, continuing, and often successful aspect of the struggle waged by black men and women was that of trying to ensure the integrity of family life," forming a key part of "black resistance." She maintained that slaveholders intruded on enslaved peoples' intimate lives, and sometimes saw "monogamous relationships as a useful way to maintain stability, while "enforced separation" could be "a powerful motive for running away."[90] One woman who sought refuge for herself and her children was named in May 1764, when the same Alexander Wylly posted a runaway notice for a woman named Sally, whom he had bought at auction the month prior. This woman had taken her two children and fled "into the woods," despite the risks of violence if recaptured. Wylly suspected "the said wench and children are harbored and concealed from him," and asked for information on anyone hiding her and her children.[91] Women were most likely to be associated with children, and as a consequence women invested with childcare faced additional struggles in any attempt to seek freedom.[92] Betty Wood also acknowledged this burden on women. She argued that "slave mothers did not lack the will to run away in search of their husbands," and

89 Wood, "Female Resistance," 601-6, 613-14. For a numerical survey of ads in the *Gazette*, see Betty Wood's article where she estimated fugitives' paths of escape. Wood counted notices between 1763 and 1775, and produced a total of 148 ads for 122 women and 22 men. She likely only counted "runaway" ads, and not notices for enslaved people who had already been recaptured.
90 Wood, "Female Resistance," 607–10.
91 *Georgia Gazette*, April 19, May 10 1764.
92 *Georgia Gazette*, May 10, 1764, March 28, May 30, 1765, 18 July 18, 1765.

while "the torment of separation was no less severe for slave husbands," enslaved men "were not confronted by the same logistical problems confronted by the mothers of their children" arguing that one such consequence was that women were less likely to be hired if they acted as free laborers.[93] Enslaved women thus faced additional barriers to escape, though this did not preclude more subtle forms of resistance that were less likely to draw official attention.

"The Above-Mentioned Thieves:" Indentured European Laborers

The prospect of bound labor in the 18th century British colonies was not limited by skin color. After slavery was allowed in Georgia, many Europeans found themselves constrained into forced labor by debts, indentured servitude, military service, and perhaps most significantly for Savannah, as crewmen on ships. The *Gazette*'s typical treatment of white runaway servants is shown in a notice from September 1765, when Joshua Vaughn and Peter Blyth declared that "two irish indentured servants," Morrice Crawney and Jeremiah Herrington, had fled from their service. The employers carefully noted the men's appearance, as Crawney was "about 5 feet 8 inches high, a fair complexion, with his own hair" while Herrington was "about 5 feet 5 inches high" with "fair hair." Furthermore, they could be known as "their conversation will convince any person that they are natives of Ireland."[94] These white laborers, many from outside the predominant English culture of the colony, could also desire to escape restrictions and labor.

Compulsion was required to maintain the very military service the colony was originally meant to provide. One member of the "First Troop of his Majesty's Rangers" in Georgia thought so, and deserted his post in January 1764. His name was Richard Williams, and according to the *Gazette* he was "25 years of age, about five feet six inches high, pretty much freckled, has a ruddy complexion, and red hair, went off in his uniforms." His commanding officer, Captain

93 Wood, "Female Resistance," 610–17.
94 *Georgia Gazette*, September 19, 1765.

John Milledge, put notice in the *Gazette* to offer a reward for his capture.[95] Over the 1760s the *Georgia Gazette* published occasional notices for Europeans who had unlawfully left service, such as one Thomas Barwick, an apprentice who "eloped" from his service to Peter Blyth, who informed the reader that Warwick was "about 5 feet 10 inches, of a fair complexion," and had "a coat of blue german ferge and a black jacket."[96] The form, content, and purpose of these notices is virtually identical to runaway slave ads, but these white individuals are generally described with more detail and a greater awareness of their identities.

Table 2: Breakdown of Fugitives from Forced Labor in the *Georgia Gazette*, 1763-1768

Dates:	Women		Children		Enslaved Men		Indentured Men	
Years:	Notices	Total	Notices	Total	Notices	Total	Notices	Total
1763	1	1			14	17		
1764	2	2	1	2	25	38	3	3
1765	2	2	2	2	36	60	7	9
1766	8	8	1	1	25	32	4	7
1767	4	4			28	36	3	8
1768	9	10	4	4	40	63	6	31
1763-8	26	27	8	9	168	246	23	58

These ads contain the same identifiers as notices for escaped enslaved people, and likewise the intention was to help identify the fugitives, yet white servants fleeing were far more likely to have a full name noted, more precise physical details, and a clearer sense of their origin. These notices thus have the same function and banality of "runaway slave" ads yet notices for "eloped" white servants are a mere handful compared to the constant ads for fugitive enslaved people. Between 1763 and 1768 the *Gazette* documents only twenty-three notices for fifty-eight

95 *Georgia Gazette*, January 12, 1764.
96 *Georgia Gazette*, July 18, 1765.

Europeans fleeing from some form of compelled labor, all of whom were men, compared to approximately 190 notices for Africans who attempted to escape slavery (See Table 2). Furthermore, notices for black and white fugitives may have used the same format, yet ultimately the *Gazette* treats white servants as criminals, rather than property to be reclaimed. The presence of extensive indentured labor alongside slavery complicated the colony's racial and social hierarchies by imposing distinctions of class and servitude that crossed racial boundaries.

"Their dress cannot with certainty be described:" Clothing and Presentation

Fugitives were also marked by the quality of clothing available to them.[97] Although not universal, refugees are often described as wearing various colors of "negroe cloth," indicating inexpensive fabric specifically designed for use as clothing for enslaved people, or "oznaburg,"[98] another term for common, cheap fabric, derived from the German town Osnabrück.[99] Such textiles were often put up for sale in notices throughout the *Gazette*.[100] Indeed, in the August 16, 1764 issue, Johnson and Wylly advertised for "two new negroe men" who had fled captivity, "one a tall fellow, the other short and well-made" to be brought to the workhouse, and then advertised the sale of "A few bales of white negroe cloth," which they touted was free of the smallpox.[101] As both landowners and merchants, many of those who profited from the enslaved labor in colonial Georgia also profited from its attendant necessities.[102] Thus, the very clothing

97 *Georgia Gazette*, 29 September, 21 July 1763, 26 January, 2 August, 16 August, 1764, 3 August, 5 September 1765.
98 White and White, "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 135–55; Hunt-Hurst, "Round Homespun Coat & Pantaloons of the Same," 735–40.
99 "Osnaburg, n. and adj.". OED Online. March 2023. Oxford University Press.
100 *Georgia Gazette*, August 29, 1765. This issue contains a representative sale by the partnership of Morel and Telfair.
101 *Georgia Gazette*, August 16, 1764.
102 See Shane and Graham White's "Slave Clothing and African-American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," and Patricia Hunt Hurst's "Round Homespun Coat & Pantaloons of the Same:" Slave Clothing as Reflected in Fugitive Slave Advertisements in Antebellum Georgia" for further information on homemade and imported textiles in the Southeast and their social connotations.

given to enslaved people marked their status, acting as another means of observation when immediately identifying someone as enslaved may have been difficult otherwise.[103] Yet at least some runaways took measures to disguise their dress, such as two enslaved carpenters named Dick and Pompey, both men, who broke away from "Mrs. Butler's plantation on Great Ogeechee. In addition to taking two guns, the men carried away "all their cloaths (sic), that their dress cannot with certainty be described."[104]

Strikingly, these descriptions of slave clothing are substantially different from the stereotyped images of enslaved people held by many Europeans. The *Gazette* features occasional reused images of ships in notices announcing voyages and sales, pictures of horses for sale, escaped livestock, and depictions of fugitive enslaved Africans (see figure 8). This choice of subjects reflects key property investments by colonial elites, namely shipping, livestock, and humans in captivity, and thus the layout of the *Gazette* equates enslaved people, chattel property, and the maritime landscape of the colony. Sales of enslaved people and notices asking for their capture and return are placed side by side with announcements of sales of land, goods, and livestock, reduced to objects whose only value is their labor to their enslavers. The image in question, which has two variations, depicts a black man with exaggerated features, dressed in a skirt of fronds holding a stick. This by no means reflects the typical clothing of enslaved people in colonial Georgia as described in the ads themselves, and instead projects a highly stereotyped representation of African garb. Even if from the perspective of Georgia's white landholding class the limited details given in runaways ads were an uncomfortable recognition of enslaved people's agency, by repeatedly using the same caricature, *The Gazette* works to undermine

103 *Georgia Gazette*, June 6, 1765.
104 *Georgia Gazette*, May 26, 1765.

enslaved people's individuality, and replace it with an image that reassured slaveholders that they remained in control and that enslaved people were replaceable property.[105]

These "runaway" ads must also be interpreted within the context of the newspaper itself. The *Gazette*'s issues typically open with a section of "intelligence" from Europe and other colonies gathered from passing ships. The literate European populace of Georgia were eager for news from across the Atlantic, and as the *Gazette* began publishing in 1763 it appeared that the British Empire was emerging ascendant in its oceanic struggles. The *Gazette*'s content thus fulfills the tastes of white Georgians seeking to establish themselves as prosperous English subjects, with the result that it prioritizes their concerns and excludes the visceral consequences of slavery and servitude. While they can be shocking to a reader, in a contextual sense these ads are hardly remarkable at all, as they differ little from other notices for property. Advertisements for enslaved people regularly appear adjacent to ads for missing livestock such as horses, and human beings are dispensed with little more attention than any other property put up for sale.[106] This mixture of horror and banality characterizes the *Gazette*'s treatment of slavery in general. The paper's style and conventions work to deny enslaved individual's humanity, despite the constant evidence of resistance it provides.

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105 Of the "runaway" ads from 1763 through 1768, forty-nine contained such images. The first was the August 4, 1763 notice for the man named Jasper. Though these images likely required an additional charge from the Printer, there is little indication of what traits motivated slaveholders to incur this expense. The images are associated with men from their 20s through their 50s, as well as adolescents. those who "spoke good English" and those with minimal fluency in English. Ten slave sales in this period also contained images, though these instead depict several African peoples, indicating a man, woman, and child. These were likely selected by merchants who desired their "cargo" to be more eye-catching, and two also tout the fact that the enslaved people were brought directly from Sierra Leone. For specific examples, see the *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, 1763, September 29, 1763, January 26, April 12, October 18, 1764, July 25, 1765.

106 See the *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, 1763, August 25, 1763, February 14, 1765 for examples of these juxtapositions.

"Carolina born, and speaks very proper English:" Origin and Fluency

Although written from the perspective of slaveholders, such ads give rare glimpses at the extraordinary variety of backgrounds present in the nascent colony. The most common details in these notices other than physical appearance were whether the fugitive had been born in the Americas, the Caribbean, or Africa, and to what extent they were able to speak English. Although many records by Europeans at the time assess the black population of Georgia as a monolithic whole, in reality black communities were made up of individuals from across the Atlantic.[107] Scholarship on the lowcountry's black populations has established that the population of enslaved people in Georgia at this time would have reflected an immense variety of cultural backgrounds, including individuals from across the British colonies in North America, the Caribbean, and Africa.[108] These individuals retained skills and values which shifted through complex processes of creolization, blending into distinct but interrelated cultures that retained African heritage.[109] Many black Georgians had experience negotiating race and slavery in the Atlantic world.[110] Although former scholars have addressed the culture of the Gullah and

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107 References to origin are frequent but imprecise. Between 1763 and 1768, fourteen notices described "country born" runaways, twelve as being from Angola, while approximately forty-eight enslaved people were identified as "new." Six other notices documented "Guiney born" fugitives. Roughly twenty "well-known" enslaved people were documented in the same period, both as individuals and in groups.

108 For a detailed breakdown of different African nationalities and ethnicities in colonial Georgia, see Karen Bell "Rice, Resistance, and Forced Transatlantic Communities: (re)envisioning the African Diaspora in Low Country Georgia, 1750-1800," 166, which provides a quantitative analysis of slave voyages to Georgia in the second half of the 18th century. Bell challenges work by scholars including Philip Morgan, who deemphasized the transportation of African rice agriculture to the SC/GA lowcountry, she critiques extant databases of slave voyages, which she maintains "still undercounts the number of voyages from Africa, especially the number of direct voyages from the rice and grain coasts to South Carolina and Georgia." Bell demonstrates a greater proportion of voyages from the regions around modern Gambia and Sierra Leone, and analyses "cultural retentions and syncretization."

109 Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*, 1–15, 30-40,; Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 70–130; Sutter, *Coastal Nature, Coastal Culture: Environmental Histories of the Georgia Coast*, 126–30; Swanson and Sutter, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation*, 1–40; Bell, "Forced Transatlantic Communities," 162-172.; Wood, "Female Resistance."

110 Morgan's anthology collates work from numerous scholars to explore the evolution of black communities in Georgia from the colonial period to the present. See his introduction for an analysis of colonial Georgia from an Atlantic perspective. Pressly's work interrogates Savannah's economic and cultural connections with Caribbean communities and towns, while Swanson briefly explores the environmental history of enslaved people at the Wormsloe plantation historic site, suggesting how they were instrumental in altering the coastal landscape.

Geechee peoples, there are still areas of uncertainty within their work. In consequence, Edda Fields Black argued that the terms Gullah and Geechee developed in the early 19th century, and instead proposed the term "lowcountry creoles" for the black residents of early Georgia, to reflect their diverse backgrounds amid an ongoing process of cultural change.[111]

On July 11, 1765, Mary Douglass posted a notice for two enslaved men, one a "well-made fellow" named London who was "Angola born," the other "a sensible well made lad" named Dick, "country born," explaining that "both of them speak very good English."[112] Of course, these individuals' exact origins were of little interest to the planters outside of their role in identifying them. The ads thus rarely give exact descriptions and generally use the phrases "this country born," "Guinea born," or "of Angola country.[113] Although white Georgians possessed a vague awareness of different cultural regions in the Atlantic, they only reported them insofar as they would help identify an individual by their speech, accent, or appearance. Some notices mention "country marks," but these were seen not as culturally significant choices, but as tools to recapture lost property.[114] One of the very first notices, for an enslaved woman named Jeanie, noted that she "speaks good English," and similar assessments of fluency are common features of later notices.[115] The very next issue provides the *Gazette*'s first instance of an enslaved person being recaptured, and describes a man "who calls himself Abraham," who was "a likely young fellow, very black .. and speaks but little English."[116]

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111 Sutter, *Coastal Nature, Coastal Culture: Environmental Histories of the Georgia Coast*, 126–30.
112 *Georgia Gazette*, July 11, 1765.
113 *Georgia Gazette*, June 2, 1763 "Carolina born," July 14, 1763 "Country born," "of the Angola country," March 1, 1764 "of Angola country," January 10, 1764 "Guiney born, April 12, 1764 "Guiney born," November 22, 1764 "of the Angola country," April 18, 1765 "this country born," July 11, "Angola born," "country born."
114 *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, 1763, March 7, September 5, 1765. Such "country marks" are referred to in roughly twenty-three notices between 1763 and 1768, while one notice specifically mentions their absence.
115 *Georgia Gazette*, April 7, 1763.
116 *Georgia Gazette*, April 14, 1763.

While some enslaved people knew little English, others were fully fluent, such a man "named York, Carolina born, and speaks very proper English" described on June 2, 1763, while the following issue a man "named Jemmy" who "speaks proper English" was recaptured.[117] As Georgia increasingly engaged in direct trans-Atlantic slave trades, it would have had a growing proportion of enslaved people with both significant and minimal proficiency in English.[118] Some enslaved people would have had less experience with the language, as indicated by a notice on March 1, 1764 by Grey Elliot for a "new" man "of the angola country," who "speaks no English."[119] At the same time, lack of fluency in English did not preclude familiarity with other European languages, as Georgia included individuals from across the varied cultures of the Atlantic. In October 1764, James Gray reported that an enslaved man named Frank had escaped, who "speaks broken English, with the Spanish accent, having been several years at the Havanna."[120] And yet fluency was by no means restricted to black people born in British America, as shown in a notice by John Oates for an enslaved man "Named Stepney." The man was "of the Angola country," and about "40 years of age, speaks good english." This notice was immediately followed by another posted by Frederick Treutlen for a man "Named Nero … upwards of 30 years of age, talks tolerable good English."[121] The culturally and ethnically diverse populace of colonial Georgia was likewise diverse in linguistic fluency.

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117 *Georgia Gazette*, June 2, 9, 1763. When a fugitive's level of fluency was identified in notices between 1763 and 1768, thirty-three were noted as speaking "good English" or speaking English "very well," twenty-three as knowing "little english" and twenty-nine as speaking "no English" or not enough English to express their master's name. Six more were noted as speaking "broken English," In roughly eighty notices, no fluency is noted. This is usually the case when an individual is clearly noted as being born in Africa, the British colonies, or for European fugitives, so it may indicate individuals who were either clearly fluent or clearly spoke no English, and so no clarification was deemed necessary.

118 Wood, "Female Resistance," 616. Wood's study also emphasized the significance of "birthplace" and "length of time spent in the Americas," as "newly imported Africans" would have "had only a hazy knowledge of the Georgia landscape," though her article does not extensively examine experience in other regions of the Atlantic.

119 *Georgia Gazette*, March 1, 1764.

120 *Georgia Gazette*, October 18, 1764.

121 *Georgia Gazette*, April 4, 1765.

Each individual notice within the *Gazette* is a fractional glimpse of an entire human life in a complex world of many cultures and languages, if heavily mediated through conventions of 18th century printing and the views of those attempting to control those lives. These notices testify to the growing significance and diversity of Georgia's black population, the ongoing presence of indentured white labor, and white slaveholders' determination to ensure their authority. Their access to written means of communication was a key aspect of maintaining control over enslaved and indentured individuals through both private and public financial backing. While undoubtedly a means of coercion, even this limited personal recognition was a discomforting acknowledgement of enslaved peoples' individuality. At the same time notices for white runaways challenged the ostensible goal of the colony to protect white labor and separate society on a racial basis. Such notices were grudging acknowledgements of the ongoing efforts by enslaved and indentured men and women to establish their own relationships outside the authority of landholders, and white landholders projected caricatured assumptions of race and class partially to minimize the unsettling implications of these unusually detailed descriptions. The widely varied backgrounds and abilities of Georgia's population therefore complicated efforts to enforce cultural separation between the colony's white, black, and native populations throughout the tidewater expanses of the lowcountry.

CHAPTER 4

"HE TOOK AWAY WITH HIM A CANOE:" MARITIME AND COASTAL ESCAPE

"At that instant a rage seized my soul, and for a little I determined to resist the first man that should offer to lay violent hands on me, or basely use me without a trial; for I would sooner die like a free man, than suffer myself to be scourged by the hands of ruffians, and my blood drawn like a slave." - Olaudah Equiano, 1789.[122]

Those fleeing slavery and servitude in colonial Georgia were moving through a region where any significant act of transportation was defined by waterways and their wetland environs. Traveling from north to south through the lowcountry, one would be faced by a sequence of rivers flowing from the interior and branching out into winding channels and inlets and then widening into vast sounds meeting the incoming ocean, rimmed by wide expanses of marshland. Transportation through this landscape involved a complex medley of different vessels, as larger oceangoing ships relied on pilot boats and small craft to navigate the harbors and move goods between ships and the shore (see figure 9). On Moore's journey to Georgia over the winter of 1735-6, he oversaw the movement of supplies back and forth in "sloops and other vessels" between Savannah and settlements on barrier islands like Tybee and St. Simon's.[123] As he was placed in charge of his expedition's stores, Moore was at the center of the complex movement of goods between maritime and coastal networks. Moore's ability to transfer supplies was limited by the ability of ships to access the "narrow and shoaly passages amongst the marshes" of the Georgia sounds, and by the availability of local boats. To a historian's chagrin, Moore declared

122 Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African*, vol. 2 (London, 1789), 25, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15399/15399-h/15399-h.htm.
123 *GHS Collections*, 1840, 1:112–13.

that "I believe a journal of the winds and days of the month will be but dry to the reader."[124] Nevertheless, his account gives a vivid sense of the struggle inherent to such a voyage. Transferring the colonists to Frederica caused additional logistical issues, as Moore was briefly unable to transport the "bespoke boards, timbers, and boats" for constructing Frederica "for want of boats to bring it down," since large ships could not sail into Jekyll Sound. Moore also noted that "we wanted a great many periaguas to carry the families to the southward through the channel between the islands," causing further delays (see figures 10 and 11).[125] Compared to a journey by land where travelers had to take ferries or circumvent wetlands, moving over water in the 18th-century lowcountry could effectively shorten the distance between two points, for both African and European fugitives from slavery. This relied on specific training and equipment which after 1750 were increasingly provided by the colony's growing black population.

"Consisting of coopers, sawyers, boatmen, house wenches, field slaves, and likely boys and girls:" Professions Within Slavery

Given the diverse makeup of Georgia's working population, debates over the efficacy of enslaved and free labor did not cease with the introduction of slavery. As enslaved black workers became a larger part of the colony's labor force, some white laborers sought to establish control over their trades through legislation, clashing with the interests of white landowners. In 1758, during Henry Ellis' term as governor, while also considering bills to regulate the colony's militia and fortifications, the assembly passed "An Act to encourage white tradesmen to settle in the several Towns within the province of Georgia by preventing the employing of Negroes and other Slaves being handicraft Tradesmen in said towns," which limited black participation in certain skilled trades. While white artisans petitioned in favor of the bill, some white merchants and

124 *GHS Collections*, 1:87.
125 *GHS Collections*, 1:112.

landowners petitioned against it, and the final law was a strange compromise between their different interests. The law acknowledged the colony's original purpose by declaring that "employing negroes and other slaves in handicraft towns in American provinces … hath proved a great discouragement to white tradesmen becoming settlers therein," but crucially the law exempted black "ship wrights calkers, sawyers, coopers, porters, or ordinary labourers." This provision conceded some exclusivity to white "carpenters joiners bricklayers and plasterers," services that took more gradual implementation, while preserving the presence of enslaved laborers in the colony's daily maritime commerce. Furthermore, the law asserted further control over enslaved labor by permitting the assembly to employ enslaved people to construct "forts or other publick works" and in the event of "any calamity happening by way of fire invasion by an enemy or otherwise." While the presence of slavery was a decided question, the tensions it brought persisted, leading to this concession to skilled white laborers. Yet the law carved out so many exceptions that slaveholders could avoid paying free white artisans with only minimal delay, while giving the state the power to utilize enslaved labor as it saw fit.[126]

The specific professions held by enslaved people are documented less often in the *Gazette*'s runaway ads than an individual's appearance, origin, or fluency, but nevertheless reveal the activities of enslaved people in every area of colonial Georgia's varied economy. One of the most consistent professions mentioned in the *Gazette* ads is that of sawyers, responsible for felling and shaping timber.[127] In August of 1765 six men fled from slavery on the plantation of Mark Carr near Sunbury. The men, named Prince, Sampson, Stromness, Cook, Malcolm, and

126 *Colonial Records*, 13:262-80.
127 For a selection of notices referring to enslaved people working as sawyers, see the *Georgia Gazette*, June 30, 1763, March 8, July 5, July 12, October 18, 1764, May 30, March 8, July 12, July 18, July 25, August 22, September 19, 1765, July 2, September 24, 1766, October 21, December 23, 1767, August 30, 1769.

Jeffrey were "all sawyers."[128] Whether for export or simply for clearing land, felling trees was vital to Georgia's economy, and it is significant that many men who escaped slavery had experience as sawyers or felling timber, attesting to the vital activity of black Georgians in physically remodeling Georgia's landscape. The significance of timber to Georgia is shown through many ads that reference enslaved men working as sawyers, notices seeking overseers for sawyers, and land sales touting properties' abundant timber reserves to prospective buyers.[129] Enslaved workers were certainly key workers in harvesting timber for sale and export, but this would undoubtedly also have included harvesting timber for shipbuilding. As enslaved people became the majority workforce,[130] it would have fallen to them to construct and maintain the watercraft required to transport goods through the lowcountry and for their own needs.[131]

"Coast, Rivers and Inlets:" Cartography in Early Georgia

This maritime and coastal cultural landscape, a vital element of early Georgia's history, is evoked throughout maps by cartographers such as John Gerar William De Brahm, Henry Yonge, and Joseph Avery (see figure 12). Their works reveal the complex cultural geography of the time, as they struggled to reconcile European mapmaking conventions with knowledge gained from Native Nations and the ever-changing tidewater environment of the Georgia coast, as has

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128 *Georgia Gazette*, August 22, 1765.
129 *Georgia Gazette*, September 6, 1764.
130 For a more detailed overview of the development of Agriculture in Georgia, and the extraordinary environmental engineering it entailed, see Mart Stewart's seminal work *What nature suffers to groe:" life, labor, and landscape on the Georgia coast, 1680-1920*, Joyce Chaplin's study "Tidal Rice Cultivation and the Problem of Slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, 1760-1815," and Karen Bell's article "Rice, Resistance, and Forced Transatlantic Communities: (re)envisioning the African Diaspora in Low Country Georgia, 1750-1800."
131 Pressly, *Rim of the Caribbean*, 120-32, 163-165. Pressly places great importance on the agency of the growing enslaved population in the culture of early Georgia and includes a useful if brief study of enslaved shipwrights in the colony who produced some of the relatively few locally built large ships, though he devotes less space to small boats and coastal vessels. Also see Paulett, *An Empire of Small places*, 66-76, and Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," 610-620 for studies of black watermen's economic role in colonial Georgia's cultural landscape. Paulett addresses the crucial economic importance black watermen manning "river boats," in the deerskin trade, and Braund assesses riverine trade as the primary mechanism that brought Creek and African individuals into contact in the early colonial era. For other references to local boatbuilding, see William C. Fleetwood, *Tidecraft: The Boats of South Carolina, Georgia, and Northeastern Florida – 1550-1950* (WBG Marine Press, 1995), 31-61.

been studied by Robert Paulett and Max Edelson.[132] While Paulett gives an insightful analysis of colonial southeastern cartography, he gives little weight to the salient point that these maps demonstrate a fundamentally maritime and coastal conception of space.[133] While political and economic geography was indeed informed by trade networks, in the colonial southeast access to those networks fundamentally shaped by access to water.[134] Edelson comes closer to grappling with the maritime aspects of maps, as he contrasts the organic flow of rivers and coastal waterways with the mathematical precision of land grants, though he does not fully incorporate this into his method.[135] Often the only clear features of these early maps are the coast and rivers, with no sense of interior landscape whatsoever (see figure 13). Some larger maps reduce the organic shapes of islands to indistinct blobs fully separated from the mainland, ignoring the liminal landscape of the tidewater plain (see figure 14). By the end of the colonial era, formal surveys more accurately represented the tangle of waterways between the barrier islands and the mainland (see figure 15), yet their focus remained on the contours of the oceans, not its terrestrial surroundings.[136] The progression of these early maps undoubtedly displays European cartographers' varied attempts to reconcile the complex terrain of the Georgia coast with mapmaking conventions, but across the colonial era the key features of maps are not the topography of land, but the paths of inlets and rivers flowing into the sea, which were the key avenues for projecting economic and military influence.[137]

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132 Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*, 12–48; Sutter, *Coastal Nature, Coastal Culture: Environmental Histories of the Georgia Coast*, 91–123.
133 For the maps discussed and pictured here, see the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library Rare Map Collection, at the University of Georgia.
134 Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*, 40–42.
135 Swanson and Sutter, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation*, 99–110.
136 Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 40–48; Sutter, *Coastal Nature, Coastal Culture: Environmental Histories of the Georgia Coast*, 110–17.
137 For a detailed discussion of maps and space in the 18th century southeast, see Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*. Where some scholars have viewed these maps as essentially extensions of imperial power and enlightenment rationality in order to dispossess native peoples, but Paulett proposes a more nuanced view that such maps did

"The Boat was Heard to go Up River:" Coastal Watercraft and Waterways

Ships transported goods to and from Georgia, but they would be nothing without their crews, and this required masters on vessels to strictly discipline their crews to prevent them from jumping ship. And yet as the port at Savannah grew, both black and white sailors made their escapes into the interior, and traces of this maritime life are found throughout the *Georgia Gazette*. On April 8, 1767, Zachary Burchmore issued a noticed for an enslaved man "called Jamie," who was fluent in English, and escaped "from on board the sloop Alexander," with "all his cloaths (sic)." In one of the most striking notices of 1768, four crewmen aboard the brigantine Industry took "the ship's boat and sundry other things" and slipped away by water. The *Gazette* published an advertisement for "The above mentioned thieves," with a typical description of their names, heights, and dress, and a reward for the return of them and the stolen boat.[138] Another such case was twenty-two year old Cornish mariner William Rickard, who fled from Francis Goffe's schooner in March 1764. Rickard, the paper informs us, was an "indentured servant" with a "light complexion" who spoke "very broad English."[139] The notice for Rickard follows two advertisements for escaped enslaved men, showing both the nearly identical format of these notices and a greater awareness of distinct European groups.[140]

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support imperial claims but also relied heavily on knowledge from traders that was ultimately derived from native communities themselves. Consequently, Paulett highlights changing trends in British maps and how they incorporated indigenous and European knowledge. Although written nearly a decade later, Edelson's chapter "Visualizing the Southern Frontier: Cartography and Colonization in Eighteenth-Century Georgia," in Paul Sutter's *Coastal Nature Coastal Culture* has virtually the same concept. Edelson looks more closely at the trustees' plan, and poses Georgia, as an attempt to right the wrongs of prior colonies and "impose a vision of spatial order." Edelson takes a more straightforward view of maps as imposing European concepts on Georgia, though he frames this through the contrasting aims of the trustees and settlers who promoted plantation agriculture.

138 *Georgia Gazette*, November 16 1768.

139 *Georgia Gazette*, March 15, 1764.

140 *Georgia Gazette*, November 4, 1767. In November 1767 Jone Earle issued a similar notice identifying "the three following seamen" who left his brigantine the *Dominica*, named Duncan McMellen, John Smith, and John Roberts, describing their appearance and clothes. The first two men were "born in Scotland," while the third was "born in guerney."

Georgia could also be a refuge for sailors jumping ship by way of the more established port at Charleston. James Parsons of Charleston published a notice in May 1765 for two servants he thought had "gone towards Georgia." The offenders were "a german or dutch servant" and "ship carpenter" known as John Smith, who had escaped from Parson's schooner "where he was employed as a Mariner," and "an Irish servant lad" named John Sullivan, with "a pale complexion, tight made, marked a little with smallpox, and remarkable for having one of his under eyelids cut." Sullivan had "a blue fearnought jacket" among his clothes. Parsons suspected they had gone to Georgia "where Smith the German said he had a brother or some relation."[141] Nor was it impossible for women to make maritime escapes. In march 1768 Adrian Loyer issued a notice for "a negroe wench, named Jenny," who escaped from "on board the schooner Jane, bound to Charlestown," "on the 29th of February last," who had been sold between merchants in Charleston, but fled "as she does not chuse to live in Charlestown."[142] Even as Georgia's local culture developed, Savannah's Atlantic commerce brought together mariners from a variety of backgrounds across Europe and the Atlantic. Although separated from their homelands, they could also form connections through the trade networks they helped sustain.

The man called Jasper who fled from Andrew Lambert's property was not alone in making his escape by water. Roughly fifteen of the runaway or captivity notices in the Gazette between 1763 and 1768 explicitly mention some form of escape by water. In spring 1765 Alexander Wylly was again troubled by runaways, as "two new negroe men" "one a tall fellow, Colerain," and "the other a slender fellow, called Derry," both wearing "white negroe cloth jackets," fled from his plantation. Wylly reported that "it is fully expected that they carried away

141 *Georgia Gazette*, May 25, 1765.
142 *Georgia Gazette*, March 9, 1768. Within the same notice, Loyer advertised his willingness to rent out her service as "a good house wench," even though she had not been recaptured.

a small canoe with a forecastle, and ring bolts in her head and stern," Wylly offered a ten shilling reward for each man “above the charges allowed by law,” and added that “neither of the negroes can speak any English.” Flight by water also provided opportunities for larger groups. Prominent planter Jonathan Bryan faced a similar issue in fall 1768, when he reported that ten men “took a canoe from the landing” and that “the boat was heard to go up the river.”[143]

Previous scholars of early Georgia including Paul Pressly and Phillip Morgan have investigated the unique situations of enslaved people in maritime and coastal societies, and the difficulties faced by slave owners in enforcing racial oppression across a coastal landscape.[144] A valuable reference is David S. Cecelski’s study of the role of black watermen in the development of North Carolina’s maritime communities. Cecelski argued that the particularities of waterborne commerce gave black watermen a comparatively greater level of freedom from oversight, which they were able to use to assert independence and carry information between plantations and coastal ports, though this led to increasing levels of retaliation against them.[145] In Georgia as well, whether through building small watercraft, working as shipwrights, or sailing on the high seas, the labor of enslaved people was key to the colony’s nascent economy, placing them in constant proximity to the intricate water systems of the lowcountry tidewater environment, requiring access to watercraft. This had the result that implementing slavery in the colony meant relinquishing some level of control over the maritime landscape to enslaved people, much to the discomfort of the very people who sought to profit from their labor, which Morgan also

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143 *Georgia Gazette*, February 7, 1765. From 1763 to 1768, there are eight distinct notices that refer to escape in some form of canoe, documenting twenty-four individuals, twenty-one of whom were enslaved Africans, along with three indentured European servants. *Georgia Gazette*, August 4, 1763, February 7, 1765, July 2, August 27, September 10, 1766, July 8, July 15, 1767.

144 Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 60–90; Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*, 1–50.

145 David S. Cecelski, *The Waterman’s Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 26–56, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=e000xna&AN=365251&site=eds-live&custid=uga1.

recognized. This strange conflict was a root cause of the colonial assembly's many attempts to restrict mobility without jeopardizing their own profits. Robert Paulett has been one of the most attentive historians of early Georgia in this regard.[146] His work on the growth of Augusta as a center of the deerskin trade applies spatial theory to riverine marronage and mobility through the Savannah River's connection with the interior, presenting "water as a path from bondage to freedom." Paulett, too, points to Cecelski's work on North Carolina as an influence, and proposes that black watermen used the mobility provided by water to form covert networks that could not be fully suppressed, succeeding through their very "invisibility."[147]

"By Land and Water in the Night-time:" Recurrent Resistance

The intertwined coastal waterways provided access between plantations and between enslaved communities, enabling subtle networks that defied slaveholders' efforts to constrict movement. Permanent escape was not the only form of defiance open to enslaved people in Georgia that troubled the white landowners. Some individuals defied restrictions on movement by briefly running away multiple times.[148] In one unusually striking notice from September 1763, Patrick MacKay was exceedingly distressed by the vulnerability of his plantation which was "grievously and unsufferably (sic) annoyed and disturbed by negroes. MacKay bemoaned how enslaved people from other plantations were trespassing on his land, and had "come there by land and water in the night-time," to socialize, steal livestock, and form relationships with

146 See Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*, 66-77, 138-40, where he also studies notices from the *Georgia Gazette* concerning flight by water. Paulett speculates that these networks formed a key part of resistance and marronage in Georgia, while acknowledging the difficulty posed by sparse evidence, and he qualifies his argument by acknowledging that this trade occurred on European terms, lending uncertainty to his argument. Furthermore, Paulett's study focuses primarily on black watermen in riverine travel, and not their connections with coastal and maritime trade. His work also does not extensively consider Georgia's previous history with slavery and runaways, or Georgia's complex coastal landscape and Atlantic connections that also affected individuals without specific duties on water, but his work is a significant contribution to developing a picture of Georgia's maritime cultural landscape.

147 Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 66–76, 128–40.

148 *Georgia Gazette*, August 25, 1763, July 11, 1765.

enslaved women, or in MacKay's words to "create very great disorders … by debauching his slave wenches."[149] MacKay saw these relationships as flagrant assaults on his property, and threatened to shoot and kill any enslaved person found on his land without permission.[150] Running away was not always a single irrevocable event, but part of a pattern of pushing against restrictions as far as possible despite the severe consequences they might bring.[151] Such forms of quiet resistance would be less frequently documented by design. Citing the work of Peter Wood, Betty Wood posited that women may have been more likely to make short absences from plantations, that would not be mentioned in the *Gazette*.[152] The issue at hand was not just of open flight, but of covert gatherings, as black communities challenged the physical and social bonds placed upon them, through transportation by water through the coastal plain.[153]

"For two Years Been used to a Coasting Vessel:" Mobility and Creolization

The possibility that such communication networks would allow enslaved people to find shelter with other black residents, sympathetic white settlers, or in the Creek nation, or that they could be abducted into slavery under someone else was a constant concern for colonial Georgia's planters. Worse still, from the planter's viewpoint, was the possibility that enslaved people might be able to "pass themselves off as free" through their experience in the colony and fluency in English, as Betty Wood also observed.[154] A few unusually detailed notices concerned those who slaveholders judged more likely to "pass for free," and who had successfully evaded recapture

149 Ironically alcohol, once forbidden in the colony, was now chastised as a source of problems for enslavers.
150 *Georgia Gazette*, September 22, 1763.
151 Wood, "Female Resistance," 607-609 provides a summary of scholars' work on temporary escapes within the context of spousal relationships and separation.
152 Wood, "Female Resistance," 613–14.
153 For a similar rumination on runaways in the late colonial period, especially concerning flight to and from Savannah, Augusta, and Pensacola, see Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*, 138-40, where he discussed flight from slavery within the cultural, social, and political context of roads and travel. Like Betty Wood, Paulett considers the importance of family ties, arguing that these relationships were sustained through "mobility, not proximity," despite the enforced separation enslaved people faced.
154 Wood, "Female Resistance," 615–17.

over an extended time.[155] The most substantial runaway notices are generally for individuals whom slaveholders viewed as providing the most valuable service and as being more likely to successfully escape. This often aligned with fluency in English, familiarity with the British colonies, and experience as a mariner on coastal or oceanic vessels.[156] Early in the *Gazette*'s history, in the summer 1763, Grey Elliot put out notice for "a negroe fellow called Francois, used to the sea, is an artful plausible fellow, and may attempt to pass for free," and further warned that "all masters of vessels are hereby cautioned against carrying the said negroe off the province."[157]

The extent of enslaved workers' skills and mobility was show more clearly late the next year, when Samuel Shelton issued a notice in the *Gazette* all the way from Albemarle county, Virginia, giving word for "a mulatto slave man name Isaac," who could "hew, draw boards, tan leather, make shoes and chairs," and might "endeavor to pass for a free mulatto."[158] In May 1765, an enslaved man who fled from Pensacola was suspected of returning to his home in Carolina, occasioning a notice in the *Georgia Gazette* describing him as "a tall sensible well made negroe fellow, named Prince, six feet high, an exceeding good carpenter and cooper," and stating "he is an artful cunning fellow, and may attempt to pass for a free man." In the same issue, Samuel Dickinson put out notice for one "Joe" who "speaks good english, has for two years been used to a coasting vessel" "as he is a sensible fellow he may endeavor to pass for a

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155 *Georgia Gazette*, March 23, 1768: "He is a very artful fellow, and may endeavour to pass for free."
156 *Georgia Gazette*, August 31, 1768: Notice by John Mulryne at Thunderbolt, "As these fellows are very artful, they may endeavour to get off the province by pretending to be free; therefore all masters of vessels, and others who it might concern, are cautioned against it." Wood, "Female Resistance," 615–17. Wood correctly identified that "the possibility of escape by sea," was an opportunity for the enslaved and a danger to enslavers, and held that it was additionally difficult, though not an "impossibility" for women, but she does not extensively place this concept within the context of Georgia's Atlantic network comprised of European and native spheres of influence. While she mentions enslaved men having "legitimate…'knowledge of the sea,'" her article does not include the critical importance of this experience to colony economy, or distinction between travel maritime and coastal systems. While she counted flights to Florida in her examination of ads, she does not emphasize the importance of fugitive enslaved people in early Georgia's geopolitical position, and how slave owners were influenced by a constant fear of Spanish influence to the south and its ability to undermine or overthrow the British colonial order.
157 *Georgia Gazette*, July 21, 1763.
158 *Georgia Gazette*, December 6, 1764.

free man," yet again cautioning that "masters of vessels are desired to not carry him off the province.[159] Furthermore, although those who were "well-known about town" may have been easier to identify, their greater experience would have made it easier for them to move through the British Colonies, spread information, and reinvent themselves. Thus, these abilities that rendered an individual more valuable in the eyes of planters also increased their prospects for escape, making them inherently dangerous but too valuable to be dispensed with.

One such African man who plied the lowcountry waters on multiple voyages between 1764 and 1766 as both a mariner and waterman left the most substantial direct account from any free or enslaved black person in colonial Georgia. Olaudah Equiano was still enslaved on his first voyages to Georgia, and was far from writing his famous work *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, but he was already an experienced sailor, and as the ship's mate grew ill on later voyages he was increasingly charged with managing the ship's affairs and overseeing transferring cargo safely up and down river in small boats.[160] When recounting his time in the Georgia and South Carolina lowcountry, Equiano recalled how he was "used frequently to go up and down the river for rafts, and other parts of our cargo, and stow them when the mate was sick or absent."[161] Understanding the personal lives of African and African-descended individuals, enslaved or free, in colonial Georgia is made difficult by the paucity of direct accounts in their own words. Beside Equiano's narrative, which Vincent Carreta described as "by far the fullest account we have of the dangers faced by a person of African descent, enslaved or free" in colonial Georgia, there are but a handful of direct accounts left by black people in Georgia.[162]

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159 *Georgia Gazette*, June 20, 1765.
160 Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African*, vol. 2 (London, 1789), 28–35, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15399/15399-h/15399-h.htm.
161 Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African*, vol. 1 (London, 1789), 271–74, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/15399/15399-h/15399-h.htm.
162 For a scholarly, literary study of such accounts by African-descended men in colonial Georgia, see Vincent Carretta, "18th century Black Accounts of the Lowcountry," in Morgan *African American Life in the Georgia*

While Equiano's narrative may be one of the most widely studied sources of the era, it remains a singularly vivid account of early Georgia, with an emotional frankness given by Equiano's experiences as a visitor to the lowcountry. As a relative outsider with experience throughout the Atlantic and the Caribbean, Equiano was able to view Georgia outside the biases of local politics and witnessed firsthand the hostility directed at black individuals whose presence challenged the strict order imposed by planters. Over the course of his trips to Georgia, Equiano was assaulted without provocation, intimidated by a local merchant with the help of constables, imprisoned by the town watch, and nearly kidnapped by a country patrol, all the while working to establish himself as an independent individual. Although Equiano's visits to Savannah were little more than routine stops on Atlantic trade routes, in the comparatively brief time he spent in the colony as an outsider, the violent discrimination he faced gave him a lasting dislike for the region, which he had once considered a refuge from captivity in the Caribbean, and his account directly parallels legal developments in Georgia affecting the complex status of black watermen.[163]

The physically and politically liminal tidewater landscape of Georgia fundamentally shaped the colony's development from its founding, and determined the locations and ethnic makeup of Georgia's scattered settlements. Throughout the colonial era both before and after the introduction of slavery, the colonial authorities in Georgia attempted to reconcile this tangled reality of the Georgia lowcountry with their cultural and economic preconceptions. Access to maritime means of mobility was no perfect refuge from the brutality of slavery, and the labor itself was difficult and treacherous for all mariners and watermen, enslaved or free. Yet coastal

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Lowcountry, 53. Caretta's research identified only five accounts by black individuals in the colonial lowcountry, and as four were told through intermediaries and publishers, Caretta concluded that "Equiano tells his story most directly," though Caretta considers how his story was shaped by the common genre conventions of religious conversion narratives at the time.

163 Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 1789, 1:269–76.

and maritime commerce required constant movement brought watermen into association with individuals from outside Georgia, which innately challenged the isolation planters tried to impose upon enslaved people. As the enslaved population of Georgia and thus the proportion of black laborers acting as watermen expanded, the Georgia legislature, led by influential merchants and landowners, would increasingly seek to constrict their freedoms through a series of slave codes intended to curtail the mobility of black watermen between the sea and coastal waters.

CHAPTER 5

"DANGEROUS TO THE PEACE AND SAFETY OF THIS PROVINCE:"

GEORGIA'S SLAVE LAWS

"Some thing similar to this was construed, as tho' he meant to raise rebellion amongst the negroes. In consequence of this … the Person who kindly entertained him, for suffering him to preach Doctrine in his house contrary to the Peace of Society … is prosecuted and must stand his Tryal and abide by the consequence. Our Laws are very severe and pointed in this respect." - James Habersham, 1775.[164]

The dangers entailed by fleeing through the coastal landscape were compounded by the colonial "negro laws" which defined the status of enslaved people in Georgia and restricted whatever freedoms they were granted as an absolute necessity. In 1755, as the newly functioning assembly considered measures to complete Georgia's transformation into a typical royal colony, such as establishing church parishes and funding roads, they also passed Georgia's first comprehensive slave code, modeled on the example of South Carolina.[165] The law limited enslaved people's rights to free movement, trials, and any right to privacy.[166] The slave codes present in the colonial statutes clearly reflect attempts to constrain enslaved people's mobility through the lowcountry, and the issue of runaways was even more directly addressed in a revision of the slave law passed in 1765. Among many other new provisions, the 1765 slave law forbade any slave from "keep(ing) any boat, periagua, or canoe," without written permission. Along with prohibiting enslaved people from raising their own livestock, this was one of several measures passed to limit freedom of movement "by which means, they have not only an

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164 James Habersham, *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. 6 (Georgia Historical Society, 1904), 252, http://archive.org/details/collectionsofgeo06habe.
165 Habersham, 6:71–74.
166 *Colonial Records*, 13:29-45, 18:102-44.

opportunity of receiving and concealing stolen goods but to plot and confederate together and form conspiracies dangerous to the peace and safety of the province"[167]

This fear of black communities was reiterated even more strongly when the law declared that "it is absolutely necessary to the safety of this province that all due care be taken to restrain the wandering and meeting of negroes and other slaves at all times," and thus prohibited unlicensed gatherings, carrying weapons, or playing instruments, "which may call together or give sign and notice for their wicked designs and purposes." On his third voyage to Savannah, Equiano faced the everyday consequences of these suspicions. One night he was brutally attacked and beaten by "one Doctor Perkins," "a very severe and cruel man," who "came in drunk," and found Equiano "with some negroes in the master's yard in Savannah," "and, not liking to see any strange negroes in his yard, he and a ruffian of a white man he had in his service beset me in an instant." After leaving Equiano unconscious, his attackers followed legal precedent and "early in the morning they took me away to the jail." Equiano benefitted from the intercession of his ship's captain, who was able to free him and get him medical care from "one Doctor Brady of that place." The captain "went to all the lawyers of the town," Equiano recounted, "but they told him they could do nothing for me as I was a negroe."[168] The slave law also sought to compel other slaveholders to enforce this order, by imposing fines for not preventing "any public meetings or feastings of strange slaves in their plantations."[169] The slave codes penalized anyone who would consider hiding an enslaved person, by incentivizing reporting on anyone who would harbor a runaway. Likewise, runaway notices in the *Gazette*

167 *Colonial Records*, 18:18, 678-79.
168 Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 1789, 1:271–74.
169 *Colonial Records*, 18:680-81.

threatened legal action against any conspirators. Through these measures slaveholders worked to deny refugees shelter by transforming the coastal landscape into an area of constant supervision.

While having these statutes written down may have reassured landowners that they would be able to suppress the dangers of slavery, actually applying them given the myriad inlets, marshes, and woods of the coastal landscape was another matter. The ban on owning boats and other vessels could function as a tool of surveillance over black people's activities, by empowering overseers to interfere with them at a moment's notice, but would not change the material reality of black watermen whose work required them to produce and use watercraft and who continued to navigate the waterways of Georgia. The law, as amended over two decades, primarily speaks to the paranoia of the slaveholding elite of Georgia, but undoubtedly it contains some glimpse of enslaved people's own ambitions. They clearly took advantage of their access to the coastal waterway system to travel between settlements and form relationships, and they defied their oppressors through clandestine communication.[170]

"Without Judge or Jury:" Freedom and Law

While some laws afforded nominal legal status to the free black population of Georgia, the constant aspersions that enslaved people would "pass for free," worked to make any black person traveling independently a target of suspicion.[171] Equiano recognized that even after he had purchased his freedom he risked retaliation dealt "without judge or jury." When he was pestered by an enslaved man during a voyage to Georgia in late 1766, he reasoned with the man "with all the patience I was master of, to desist, as I knew there was little or no law for a free negro here." Equiano knew the power of false accusations and hysteria, from "the many

170 See the *Georgia Gazette*, July 21, August 4, 1763 and June 20, 1765, for references to refugees with maritime or coastal experience as sailors and watermen.
171 *Colonial Records*, 18:102-144.

instances I had seen of the treatment of free negroes," in Georgia, including "a free black man, a carpenter, that I knew, who, for asking a gentleman that he worked for the money he had earned, was put into gaol; and afterwards this oppressed man was sent from Georgia, with false accusations, of an intention to set the gentleman's house on fire, and run away with his slaves."[172] Even as a free man, Equiano continued to face the consequences of the colony's race-regime. He found himself in a complex position where he commanded respect as a skilled member of British Atlantic society but remained subject to constant discrimination on account of his ethnic background. Equiano's position on the water gave him greater mobility, but likewise subjected him to further persecution, since his movement between communities challenged the homogeneity imposed by planters.

"Obstinate or Disorderly:" The Savannah Workhouse

The colonial government's role in enforcing slavery was redoubled in April 1763, the very month the *Gazette* began publishing, with the establishment of stricter measures for punishing enslaved people who were recaptured, through "an Act to establish a work house for custody and punishment" of enslaved people. This law establishing the workhouse revised provisions of the slave law by adopting even more governmental responsibility for enforcing slavery and the "punishment of such as are obstinate or disorderly." The law provided for appointing a "master or warden," with the authority to punish enslaved people, to "set (them) to work and labor," to forcibly examine them, and also "and to punish them by putting fetters or shackles upon them and by moderate whipping not exceeding twenty stripes in one day." The warden was also paid out of the profits from work done by enslaved people in the workhouse.[173] The colonial government then sponsored the ads placed in the "*Gazette* of this province," to be

172 Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 1789, 2:2–25.
173 *Colonial Records*, 18:559-61.

paid by the owner after an enslaved person was reclaimed. To ensure the treasury would recoup its expenses, enslaved people would be sold if the owner refused to pay fees for the advertisement and their provisions, or if left in captivity for 18 months.[174] The workhouse was specifically intended as a mechanism for recapturing refugees from slavery even when their owners were not "immediately known or identifiable."[175]

Attempted escape was not necessary to be interned in the workhouse, since constables could deliver enslaved people to the workhouse for supposed crimes, while any enslaved person deemed "obstinate or disorderly" could be delivered to the workhouse at any time, so the warden could "correct" them through violence.[176] On his last visit to Georgia, Equiano directly experienced the implications of these laws, when he went to visit a friend "whose name was Mosa, a black man," only for Mosa's house to be approached by a patrol who gladly accepted refreshments of punch and limes, and then threatened the two men with beatings for violating curfew. After being arrested, Equiano reported the violence he saw when "the next morning these imposing ruffians flogged a negro-man and woman that they had in the watch-house, and then they told me that I must be flogged too." Equiano challenged his captors by asking "if there was no law for free men?" He declared that "if there was I would have it put in force against them." They nearly assaulted him in retaliation for speaking out before "one of them, more humane than the rest, said that as I was a free man they could not justify stripping me by law." Equiano had the resources to call on acquaintances to intercede on his behalf, and narrowly escaped further violence, but those without his independence would be left with no recourse.[177]

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174 *Colonial Records*, 18:562.
175 *Colonial Records*, 18:560; *Georgia Gazette*, June 13, July 18, August 1, 1765; Wood, "Some aspects," 611, 619-21. In her analysis of female resistance to slavery, Wood briefly acknowledged the workhouse as well a key tool for "the processing of black runaways," especially "fugitives who could not be identified, or refused to identify themselves." She also observed slave owners' reluctance to keep enslaved people in jail.
176 *Colonial Records*, 18:556-65.
177 Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 1789, 2:69–72.

This workhouse expanded state authority over surveillance, and provided a means to intimidate enslaved people who refused to comply with the burdens of slavery, while ensuring they would continue to generate profits.[178]

"Neglecting or Deserting their Duty:" European Prisoners and Patrols

Likewise, the colonial assembly addressed the issue of sailors deserting from ships, and in 1766 passed a law imposing more stringent punishment for mariners found "neglecting or deserting their duty." The law limited sailors' mobility by requiring permission to spend more than a day away from service, or to take out loans of more than 5 shillings. The law also cast aspersions on sailors' moral character and sought to prevent them "being harbored or running in debt," blaming their conduct on their association with "keepers of taverns and tippling houses, and ill-disposed persons."[179] Such moral failing was also implied in the *Gazette*. In December 1764 the nineteen-year-old James Alexander, from "the Parish of St. George in the east, London," fled from service aboard Charles Maitland's brigantine the *Edgar*. Maitland issued "caution (to) all masters of vessels and others not to harbour him," or risk prosecution. While Maitland was invested enough to issue this notice, he declared that "he will be very little service to anyone, being a dirty, idle, indolent boy."[180] Just as it sought to constrict the mobility of enslaved people and place them under constant surveillance, the assembly also sought to constrain the mobility of fugitive mariners across the lowcountry with a penalty for anyone who harbored a fugitive sailor, and for any ferry-keeper who would "willingly transport … any fugitive seamen or mariner" without the necessary "certificate of discharge."[181]

178 As a consequence, these workhouse notices are republished more regularly than the more sporadic runaway ads.
179 *Colonial Records*, 18:781.
180 *Georgia Gazette*, December 13, 1764.
181 *Colonial Records*, 18:781-85.

Yet in contrast to enslaved black people, the law allotted sailors the right to demand a certificate proving they had completed their service, leveling a five pound penalty to any ship master who refused. In addition, though white sailors faced legal restrictions on their ability to move freely without suspicion, they faced significantly different punishment. If they left their duty for a day without permission, "Justices of Peace" could " commit such seaman or mariner to the jail or workhouse, for any time not exceeding thirty days," which would be paid for out of the sailor's wages. While nominally only a month of captivity, this does not include any further punishment they could face from their ship's master.[182] Furthermore, by confining them in the workhouse, the law placed them in the same situation as recaptured enslaved people, but despite the risk of internment, white mariners risked a month of captivity, while enslaved people faced summary whippings and long term confinement. The colonial assembly further reinforced this distinction with patrol laws. From the 1750s onwards, white servants could be co-opted into the patrols, giving them power to summarily issue beatings to any black person traveling without permission and to summarily search enslaved peoples' homes.[183] Equiano directly faced the intimidation endorsed by these laws. While traveling alone "a little away out of the town of Savannah," on his last voyage there in 1767, two white men "who meant to play their usual tricks with me in the way of kidnapping" attempted to take him hostage under the pretext that he was a runaway, and were only dissuaded because he "talked too good English" and warned them that he "had seen those kind of tricks played upon other free blacks," and carried "a revengeful stick equal to the occasion, and my mind was likewise as good."[184] White indentured servants

182 *Colonial Records*, 18:781-85.
183 Colonial Records, 17:216-232, 18:225-235.
184 Equiano, *Interesting Narrative*, 1789, 2:72–74.

were granted some privileges that placed them above enslaved people in the social hierarchy, if only through the act of reinforcing slavery and protecting the property of landowners.[185]

"That they be immediately sent Back:" **Refugees in the Creek Nation**

Other enslaved people or servants sought to escape by fleeing to the Creek nation, outside the direct control of European powers (see figure 16). On March 15, 1764, Joseph Gibbons continued to offer a reward of ten pounds for an enslaved man named Primus who escaped a year earlier in January 1763, who allegedly had "since been seen in the woods with some Creek Indians to the southward of the Great Ogeechee River, who probably may have carried him into their nation." Like most slaveholders seeking to regain fugitives to the Creek, Gibbons appealed to "the traders and other persons traveling to the nation, to make diligent enquiry after him," and they might recognize him as he "speaks english tolerable well," and "appears to have had the small-pox."[186] One of the most striking notices of flight to the Creek nation detailed an escape northward from Pensacola, held by the British following the British following the Seven year's War, into Georgia. The group was made of three "new negroe men" and "one stout seasoned negroe fellow" named Limerick, who had fled from Pensacola and "may have found their way through the creek nation."[187] While interaction between black and native populations increased after the introduction of slavery, so did attempts to prevent such escapes.[188]

The negotiations between the Creek towns and the British authorities over runaway slave agreements that began as early as 1733 continued throughout the colonial period. As the enslaved population of Georgia grew, slaveholders relied on the Creek or individual European traders in Creek territory to hunt fugitives, and the British authorities had to attain these ends

185 *Colonial Records*, 18:225-35.
186 *Georgia Gazette*, March 15, 1764.
187 *Georgia Gazette*, November 16, 1768.
188 Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery"; Riordan, "Freedom in Florida"; Juricek, *Endgame for Empire*.

through careful diplomacy by respecting Creek leaders' demands for reciprocal commerce. English intrusions onto Creek land remained a sensitive topic, and as hostilities in the Seven Years' war drew to an end, Governor James Wright declared the king's intent to "protect the Indians in amity and alliance with him, in their just rights and possessions, and to keep inviolable the treaties and compacts which have been made and entered into with them by his royal predecessors."[189] This proclamation was accompanied by orders to English settlers to leave lands held by Creek, which were frequently repeated in the *Georgia Gazette*.[190]

The issue of runaways to the Creek-controlled interior came into focus yet again on January 17, 1766, when the assembly considered an address by Governor Wright, concerning land sessions from the Creek and eleven enslaved people suspected of hiding among the Creek towns. He received the assembly's approbation to offer "a cag of rum" for each of these fugitives who any Creek "delivered up to the traders in towns where they are."[191] Such was the worth of a person.[192] One of the more significant and extant examples of Creek-British negotiations preserved in the *Colonial Records* is from September 1768, when Governor Wright held a series of exchanges with Emisteseegoe "one of the principal head men of the creek countrey (sic)," over the current state of Creek-British relations.[193] Emisteseegoe protested the abuses perpetrated by white traders and settlers who ignored prior treaties, and received Wright's promise that the

189 *Georgia Gazette*, June 30, 1763.
190 *Georgia Gazette*, November 24, 1763. See March 25, August 5, 1767, for notices by royal agents threatening prosecution against traders who violated regulations on trade with the Creek and other native nations.
191 *Colonial Records*, 14:332-34, 17:247.
192 Juricek, *Endgame for Empire*, 120-21. While studying 1767 negotiations between British superintendent John Stuart and Creek spokesmen "Captain Allick and Salehi of Ouseechee," Juricek points to the fact that "the Creeks had been harboring runaway negroes" as "another treaty violation," and concludes that the Creek pledged to return them in exchange for "the rewards stipulated in the 1763 treaty," but gives no more details on this agreement or its significance for African-Creek relations.
193 See Juricek, *Endgame for Empire*, 133-40, for a detailed discussion of the background and ramifications of the September 1768 meetings and Emisteseegoe's personal influence and objectives, though Juricek makes no mention of these runaway agreements in his analysis.

British Authorities would take measures to curb such behavior. One matter Wright discussed was the need for Creek towns to hand over fugitives, and the governor offered thanks to the Creek for "delivering up the fugitive negroes who were in your towns agreeable to my talk, and I must again request that whenever any more are discovered to be amongst you, whether they have run away or have been carried up by any of your people, that they be immediately sent back," with a promise of further compensation.[194] The results of such policies were demonstrated in subsequent notices in the *Gazette*. Among other enslaved people held in the work-house in August 1768, one man "named Sampson" who was "aged about forty years," was "lately brought from Augusta, and delivered by the Indians to the white people," and Sampson declared that he "went to the Indian Nation about seven years ago."[195] Escaping to the Creek nation was thus a potentially appealing but also uncertain opportunity.

Kathyrn Braund wrote one of few comprehensive studies of African-Creek cultural blending in the colonial era,[196] and interrogated the slim evidence of experiences of Africans fleeing slavery under the British to the Creek nation.[197] Braund argued that from the outset colonial authorities hoped to use rewards for turning over runaways as a tool to divide African and Creek populations, but that in many cases the Creek were "unwilling" to return enslaved people.[198] Braund presents a complex cultural landscape where some black refugees may have been able to find varied forms of "asylum" among the Creek either by working for traders in

194 *Colonial Records*, 10:566-690.
195 *Georgia Gazette*, August 31, 1768. See also November 25, 1767, April 5, 1769. The same issue another enslaved man named Michael, who spoke "little English," and was "of the coromantee country" was also "brought from the Creek nation, where it's said he had been about two years."
196 Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks and Slavery," 602-10, 628-30. Braund notes many of the same transitional eras as Saunt's later and more comprehensive work, including the founding of Georgia, the Seven Years' War, and the War of Independence. Also like Saunt, she argues that over the colonial era an increasing number of Creek adopted European economics and racial biases, though she maintains that there was conflict between these visions of Creek society into the early decades of the 1800s.
197 Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," 602–20.
198 Braund, 612–15.

Creek territory, through incorporation into Creek culture, or in maroon communities, though flight to Creek territory demanded difficult cultural accommodations and sometimes forced labor in Creek towns as war-captives. According to Braund, through the 1760s most Africans who interacted with the Creek would have been enslaved workers in the deerskin trade, and overwhelmingly men, though she notes exceptions of black women in Creek territory.[199] As African and Creek individuals formed relationships, in certain cases enslaved people were fully adopted into Creek communities, where children by creek women and black men "suffered no discrimination in Creek social organization," since they were considered fully Creek through matrilineal descent.[200] Other African refugees from slavery established independent maroon communities on the Florida-Georgia borderland, supported by relationships with native nations including the Red Stick and Seminole, which later came under assault by US-Creek forces.[201]

At the same time, Braund holds that through the American revolution many Africans were taken by the Creek as war captives along with Europeans and other natives peoples, and incorporated into pre-existing Creek slavery, which differed substantially from plantation slavery in that it was not primarily based on race and had different labor allotments, so that enslaved men were not expected to work in agriculture. According to Braund, some people under Creek slavery could have attained comparative autonomy, and even moved from slavery to full membership in the community.[202] Thus, even when African people were enslaved by the Creek, their labor could

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199 Braund, 602–17.
200 Braund, 602–18.
201 Braund "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," provides a cursory summary of these settlements. See Riordan "Freedom in Florida," 28-34, for a more detailed discussion of these southeastern maroon towns, the alliance between the Creek and the United States that waged war on them, and the enslavement of Seminoles of African descent in the early 1800s.
202 Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks and Slavery," 602-30. Although it provides unique insights, Braund's work has a certain fuzziness, as she reaches across the late 18th century for examples and often discusses intermarriage, runaways, and war-captives together, making it difficult to assess the cultural and social standing of black individuals in the Creek nation at any one point. Her argument is also unclear on the growth of color-based racism among the Creek. Saunt critiques Braund's description of anti-black racism among the Creek in the mid 18th

occur on relatively negotiated terms, though Braund is careful not to idealize this forced labor, stating that "while slavery as practiced by the Creeks may have been more benign than that which developed outside the Indian country, it was still slavery," and that in the late 18th century many Creek increasingly adopted English presumptions on race and labor.[203]

Consequently, it is important to note that life among the Creek was not necessarily preferable to life in predominantly African communities in British territory. Braund and Saunt point to cases where enslaved people returned from the Creek Nation even though it meant re-entering slavery, which Braund attributes to cultural isolation, and Saunt to the lack of demand for certain trade skills among the Creek, including the knowledge of mariners. Braund writes that "though it appears that some runaways were successful in making a place for themselves in Creek society, others found the culture alien and isolating."[204] Saunt also notes examples of returning fugitives, such as an enslaved "sailor" who returned to "Spanish controlled Pensacola" in 1781 because "his skills were of little use in Creek country," in Saunt's interpretation.[205] Flight to Creek towns should not be seen as a universally attractive alternative for enslaved people, but whether or not black individuals decided that the advantages of flight to native held land were sufficient to risk recapture and torture, the mere prospect of escape through the porous coastal plain to the Creek-controlled interior provided an alternative outside of direct British control, challenging the security of colonial landholders and authorities.

From the establishment of Georgia's first comprehensive slave code in 1755, the local assembly attempted to reconcile the brutal violence needed to maintain slavery with the colony's

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century, since the community she discussed was "not representative" of Creek culture as a whole. See Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 119 footnote 4.
203 Braund, "Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," 618–25.
204 Braund, 618.
205 Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 67.

original ideals. The wording of these laws minimized the horrific violence they authorized, but slaveholders would have been fully aware of the brutality dolled out whenever a fugitive was taken by force to the workhouse, as befell Equiano. While these laws made all black individuals targets of suspicion regardless of whether they were slave or free, the colony's economy still depended on the skills and labor provided by its black population, and these slave codes involved careful compromises that limited enslaved peoples' rights without limiting slaveholders ability to control their labor. At the same time, administering punishments for black and white fugitives fleeing forced labor complicated any social order based on strict racial divisions, which colonial authorities sought to circumvent with measures that would separate white and black laborers based on participation in upholding slave codes. Thus, while slavery had been intended to ensure their economic prosperity, it challenged Georgia slaveholders with the contradictory needs to maintain a rigid hierarchy and isolation in a porous environment within an economic system that depended on constant waterborne transportation. This was compounded by the British authorities' dependence on the Creek Nation through the 1760s, which prevented such measures from being fully enforced across the lowcountry. Georgia's distinct situation thus meant that its political environment was as tenuous as its tidewater surroundings.

CONCLUSION

"The grand plea is, 'They are authorized by law.' But can law, human law, change the nature of things? … By no means. Notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right, and wrong is wrong still. … So that I still ask, Who can reconcile this treatment of the negroes, first and last, with either mercy or justice." - John Wesley, 1774.[206]

It may be perilous for historians to pass judgment on those in the past for their actions, but it cannot be said that the cruelty of slavery was unknown at the time. In John Wesley's pamphlet "Thoughts on Slavery" published in 1774, which recalled his experiences in Georgia nearly thirty years earlier, Wesley vehemently denounced slavery and addressed the defense that the institution was "authorized by law," declaring that "notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right, and wrong is wrong still." Shortly after his words were published, slavery in Georgia was briefly thrown into crisis by the American War of Independence, as the fragmentation of the white elite and Georgia's occupation by British forces offered new opportunities to enslaved people to barter their allegiance in exchange for freedom. And yet through and beyond the revolution, the pattern of runaway ads would continue.[207] The truly astonishing thing about the *Gazette* is the sight of constant fugitive ads next to constant sales of enslaved people. Despite the continual rebellion against slavery, the mercantile business of southern ports like Georgia continued unabated. Even so, while the descriptions in runaway ads were meant as tools of coercion, their very existence testifies to the growing black communities of the lowcountry and their determination to seek independence. These acts of defiance obliged greater written attention, leaving a legacy that can be traced through archives. At the same time, enslaved

206 John Wesley, "Thoughts on Slavery," 1774, 33-34.
207 Wood, "Female Resistance," 612–22.

individuals' disappearance from record, although aggravating to a historian, can itself be a sign of their success in escaping the controlling legal structures. Meanwhile, Europeans brought over on charity were meant to prove themselves under the watchful eyes of the trustees through labors to uplift themselves and their communities but many who faced forms of forced labor ranging from indentures to military service instead used the colony as a place to escape such servitude. Ultimately, the Georgia plan, intended as a utopian experiment, accidentally revealed underlying tensions within Anglo-American society of how to define race and class in an increasingly tumultuous and interconnected Atlantic world. Early Georgia did indeed offer freedom to the poor and oppressed, but often directly against the intentions of the colonial authorities.

The coastal plain and barrier islands of the lowcountry were key points of connection between the continental interior and the oceanic transport that sustained British trade and military power. While waterways could act as barriers against flight to isolate individual black communities from each other, they also provided connections and communication between those communities. Insofar as the environment was isolated, it also provided a degree of isolation from enslavers, engendering culturally and economically independent communities that provided some shelter from racial oppression.[208] As scholars of 19th century lowcountry history have recognized, the semi-autonomous black communities of the barrier islands displayed significant organized resistance to slavery and racism during and after the Civil War.[209] The physically and politically tenuous nature of Georgia's coastal plain posed a fundamental problem for slaveholders and political leaders in the colonial period, when they were unable to fully control the surrounding lands and waters. Therefore, refugees' motives for running away and the laws

208 Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*; Wood, "Female Resistance"; Bell, "Forced Transatlantic Communities"; Swanson and Sutter, *Remaking Wormsloe Plantation*; Swanson and Sutter; Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places*.
209 Morgan, *African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry*, 236–39.

meant to constrain them both existed within an economic structure that relied on stability and hierarchy but required mobility and fluidity. As previous historians from Wood to Morgan have observed, this transitory space on the borders of different societies, full of individuals accustomed to crossing geographic and cultural lines, provided the opportunity to remake one's identity and prospects. Early Georgia was curiously both the frontline of vast imperial expansion, and a fringe outpost on the border of established native spheres of influence, rendering it both marginal and a crucial point for cultural and economic exchange. Despite the centuries that have passed, and the work done by previous scholars, the maritime and tidewater roots of the lowcountry's unique culture remain vividly significant for the present-day residents of coastal Georgia, and deserve further consideration from a practical, everyday perspective.

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APPENDIX A: IMAGES

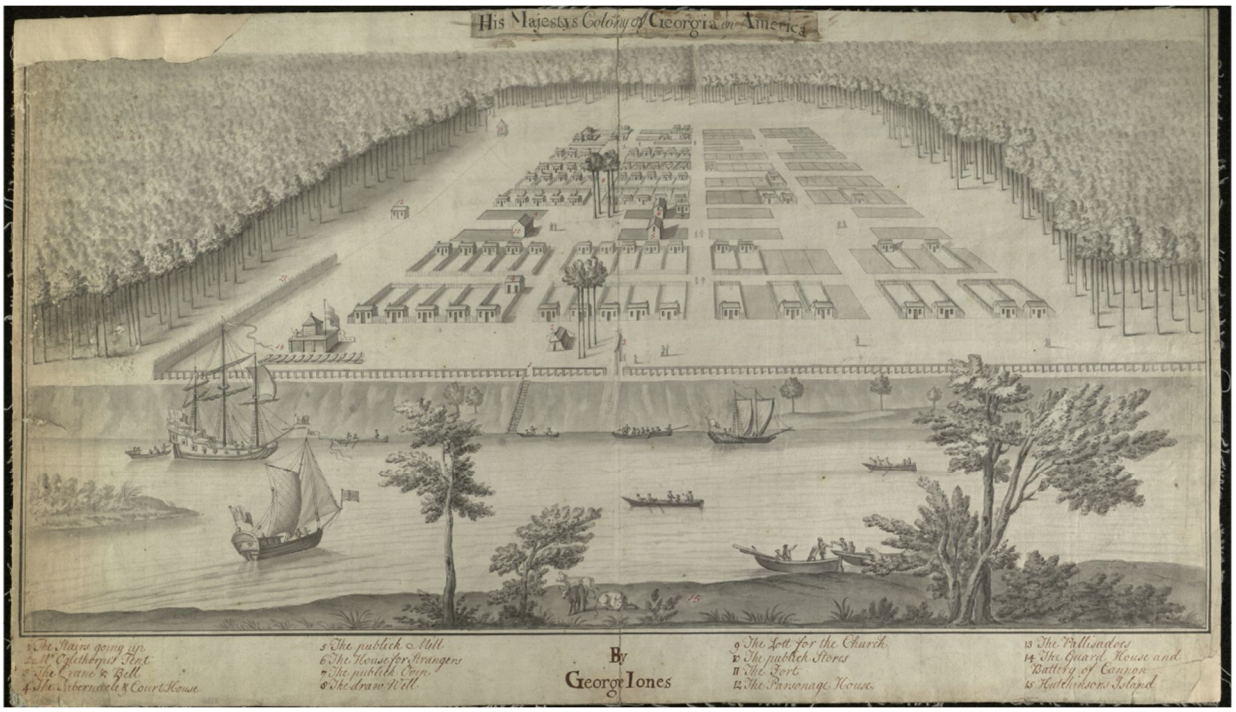


Figure 1: George Jones, "His Majestys (sic) Colony of Georgia in America," 1734. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

Figure 2: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, “An Indian who Lived with Us for a Time,” 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).

Figure 3: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, "The Needles and the Shols (Sic) By the Isle of Wight in the English Channel," 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).

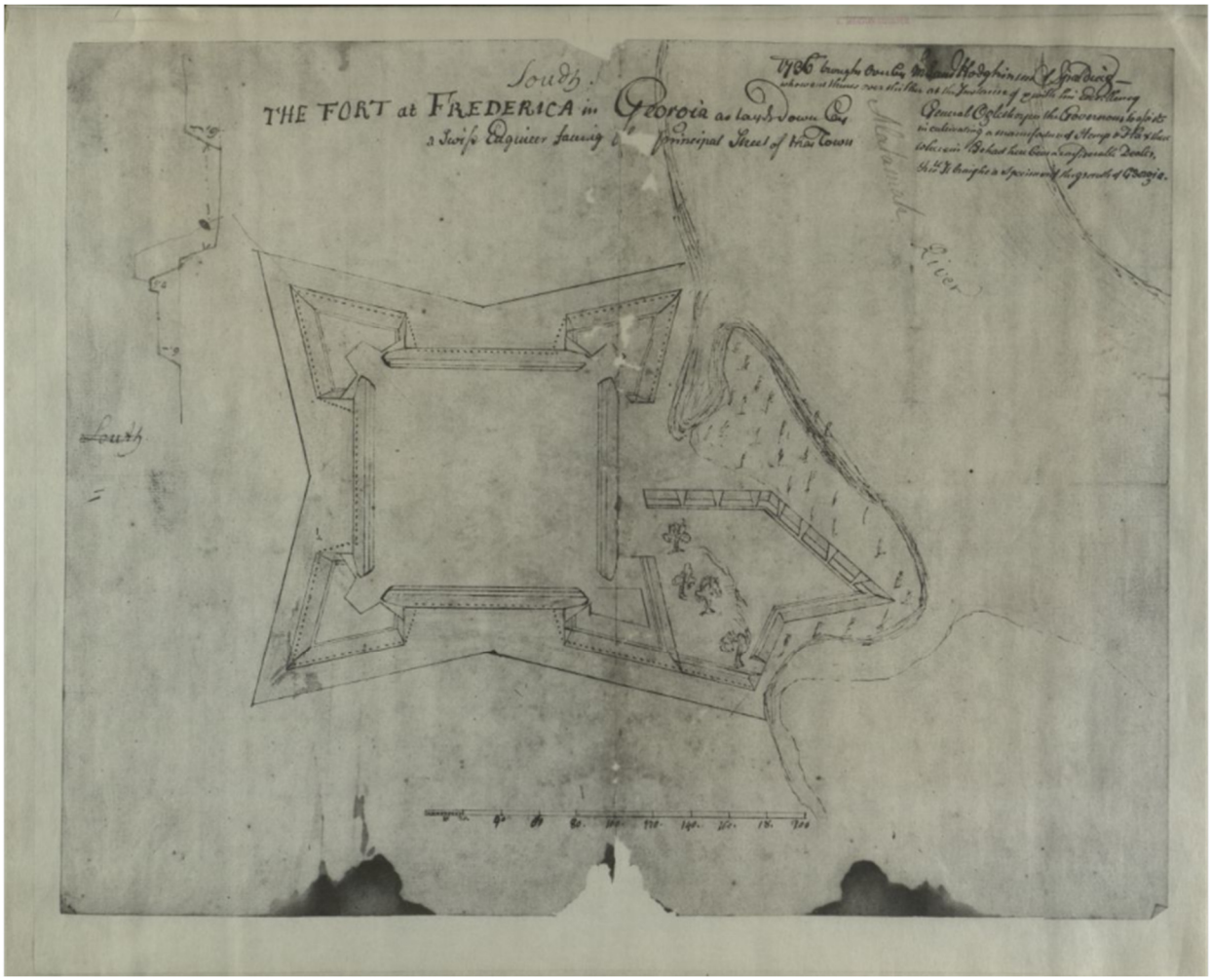


Figure 4: Samuel Augspurguer, "The Fort at Frederica in Georgia as layd (sic) down by a Swiss Engineer facing ---- principal street of that town [photocopy]," 1736. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

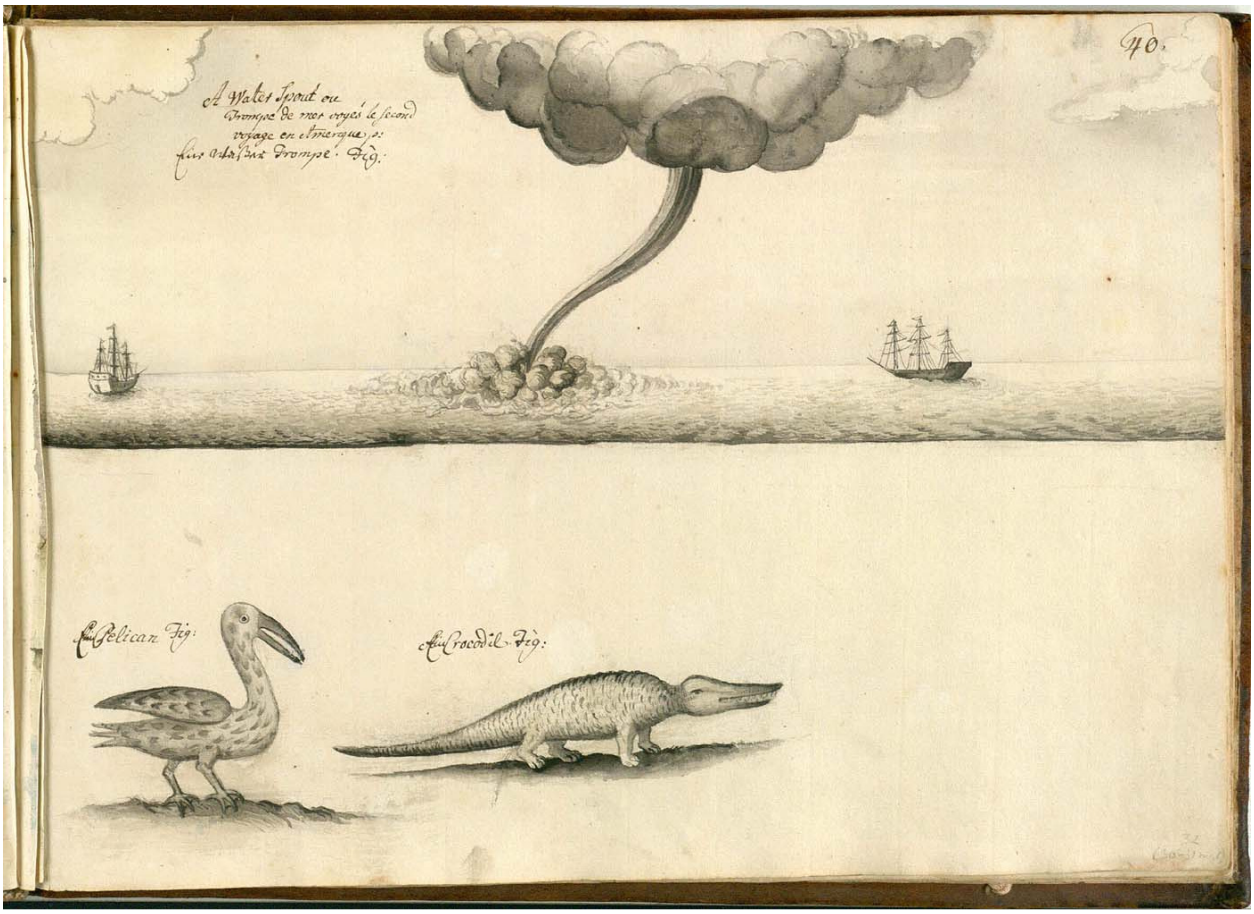


Figure 5: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, "A Water Spout" and "Pelican and Crocodile," 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).

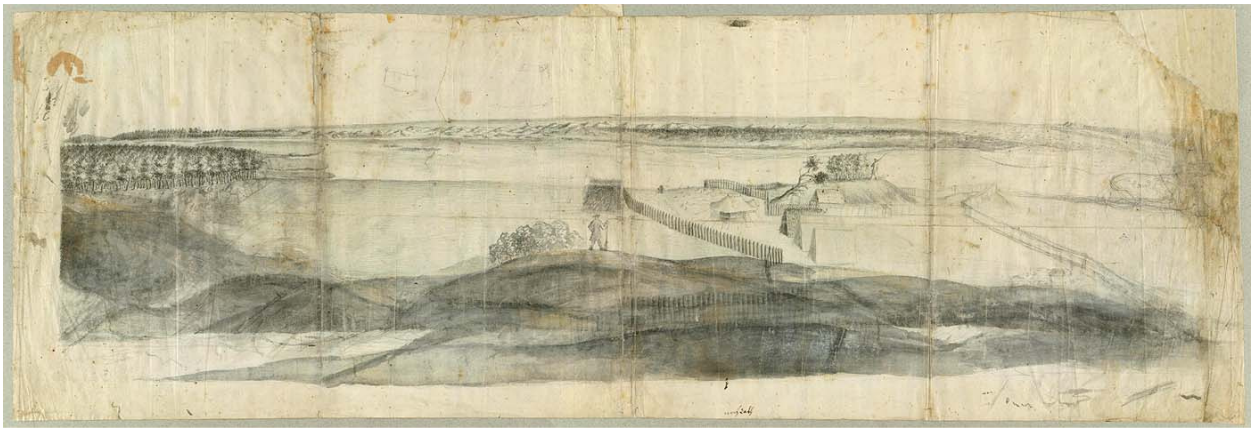
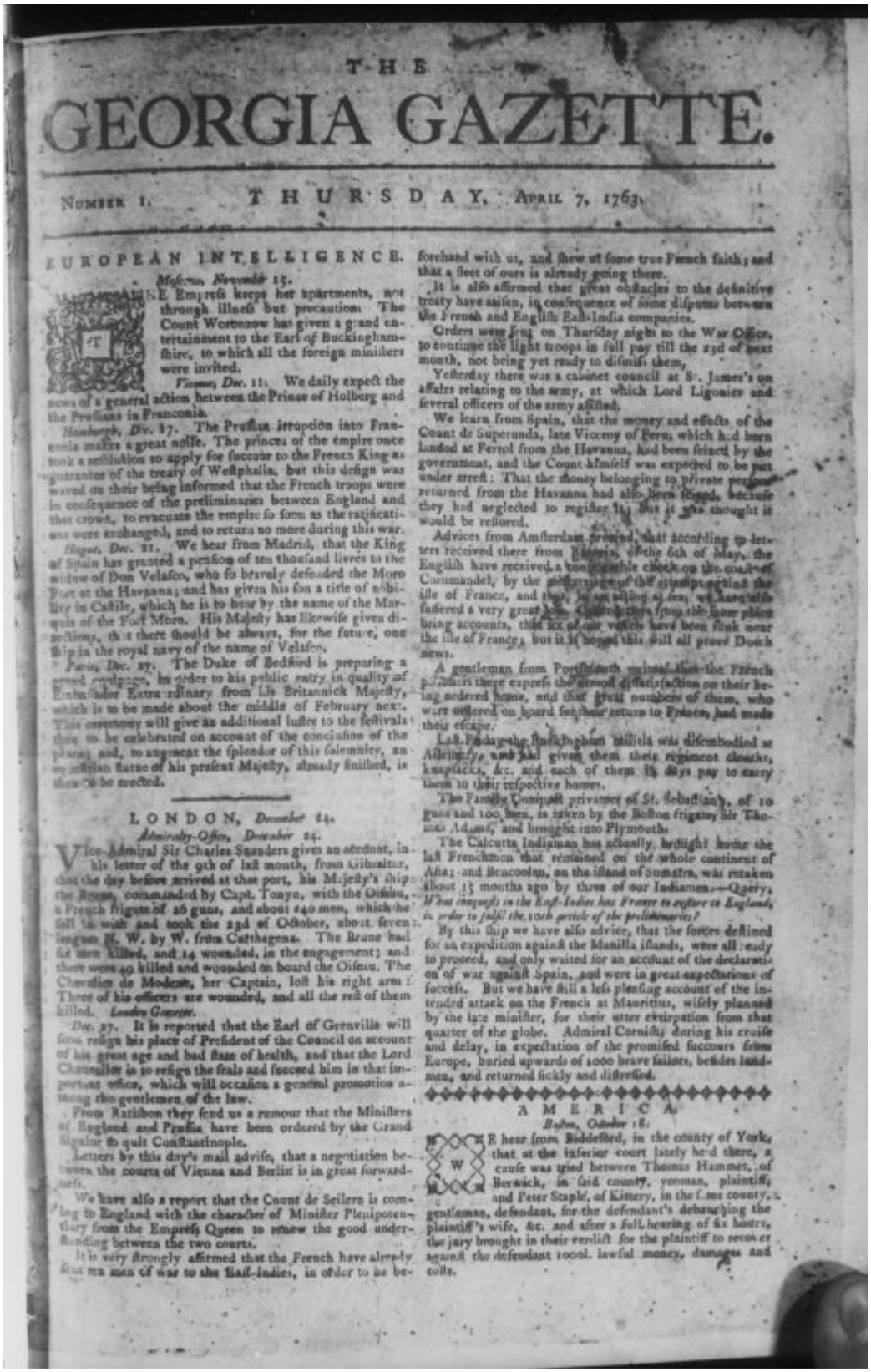


Figure 6: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, Untitled Drawing of Settlement, 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).



THE

GEORGIA GAZETTE.

NUMBER 1. THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1763.

EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

Moscow, November 15.

THE Empress keeps her apartments, not through illness but precaution. The Count Woronzow has given a grand entertainment to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, to which all the foreign ministers were invited.

Vienna, Dec. 11. We daily expect the news of a general action between the Prince of Holberg and the Prussians in Franconia.

Hamburgh, Dec. 17. The Prussian irruption into Franconia makes a great noise. The princes of the empire once took a resolution to apply for succour to the French King as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, but this design was waved on their being informed that the French troops were in consequence of the preliminaries between England and that crown, to evacuate the empire so soon as the ratifications were exchanged, and to return no more during this war.

Hague, Dec. 21. We hear from Madrid, that the King of Spain has granted a pension of ten thousand livres to the widow of Don Velasco, who so bravely defended the Moro Fort at the Havanna; and has given his son a title of nobility in Castile, which he is to bear by the name of the Marquis of the Fort Moro. His Majesty has likewise given directions, that there should be always, for the future, one ship in the royal navy of the name of Velasco.

Paris, Dec. 27. The Duke of Bedford is preparing a grand equipage, in order to his public entry in quality of Embassador Extraordinary from his Britannick Majesty, which is to be made about the middle of February next. This ceremony will give an additional lustre to the festivals then to be celebrated on account of the conclusion of the peace; and, to augment the splendor of this solemnity, an equestrian statue of his present Majesty, already finished, is then to be erected.

LONDON, *December 24.*

Admiralty-Office, December 24.

Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Saunders gives an account, in his letter of the 9th of last month, from Gibraltar, that the day before arrived at that port, his Majesty's ship the Brune, commanded by Capt. Tonyn, with the Oiseau, a French frigate of 26 guns, and about 240 men, which he fell in with and took the 23d of October, about seven leagues S. W. by W. from Carthagena. The Brune had six men killed, and 14 wounded, in the engagement; and there were 40 killed and wounded on board the Oiseau. The Chevalier de Modeste, her Captain, lost his right arm: Three of his officers are wounded, and all the rest of them killed. *London Gazette.*

Dec. 27. It is reported that the Earl of Grenville will soon resign his place of President of the Council on account of his great age and bad state of health, and that the Lord Chancellor is to resign the seals and succeed him in that important office, which will occasion a general promotion among the gentlemen of the law.

From Ratisbon they send us a rumour that the Ministers of England and Prussia have been ordered by the Grand Signior to quit Constantinople.

Letters by this day's mail advise, that a negotiation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin is in great forwardness.

We have also a report that the Count de Seilern is coming to England with the character of Minister Plenipotentiary from the Empress Queen to renew the good understanding between the two courts.

It is very strongly affirmed that the French have already fitted ten men of war to the East-Indies, in order to be beforehand with us, and shew us some true French faith; and that a fleet of ours is already going there.

It is also affirmed that great obstacles to the definitive treaty have arisen, in consequence of some disputes between the French and English East-India companies.

Orders were sent on Thursday night to the War Office, to continue the light troops in full pay till the 23d of next month, not being yet ready to dismiss them.

Yesterday there was a cabinet council at St. James's on affairs relating to the army, at which Lord Ligonier and several officers of the army assisted.

We learn from Spain, that the money and effects of the Count de Superunda, late Viceroy of Peru, which had been landed at Ferrol from the Havanna, had been seized by the government, and the Count himself was expected to be put under arrest: That the money belonging to private persons returned from the Havanna had also been stopped, because they had neglected to register it; but it was thought it would be restored.

Advices from Amsterdam import, that according to letters received there from Batavia, of the 6th of May, the English have received a considerable check on the coast of Coromandel, by the miscarriage of the attempt against the isle of France, and that, in an engagement at sea, we have also suffered a very great loss. Other letters from the same place bring accounts, that six of our vessels have been sunk near the isle of France; but it is hoped this will all prove Dutch news.

A gentleman from Portsmouth informs, that the French prisoners there express the utmost dissatisfaction on their being ordered home, and that great numbers of them, who were ordered on board for their return to France, had made their escape.

Last Friday the Buckinghamshire militia was disembodied at Aylesbury, and had given them their regiment cloaths, knapsacks, &c. and each of them 15 days pay to carry them to their respective homes.

The Family Compact privateer of St. Sebastian's, of 10 guns and 100 men, is taken by the Boston frigate, Sir Thomas Adams, and brought into Plymouth.

The Calcutta Indiaman has actually brought home the last Frenchman that remained on the whole continent of Asia; and Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra, was retaken about 15 months ago by three of our Indiamen.—Query, *If has conquests in the East-Indies has France to restore to England, in order to fulfil the 10th article of the preliminaries?*

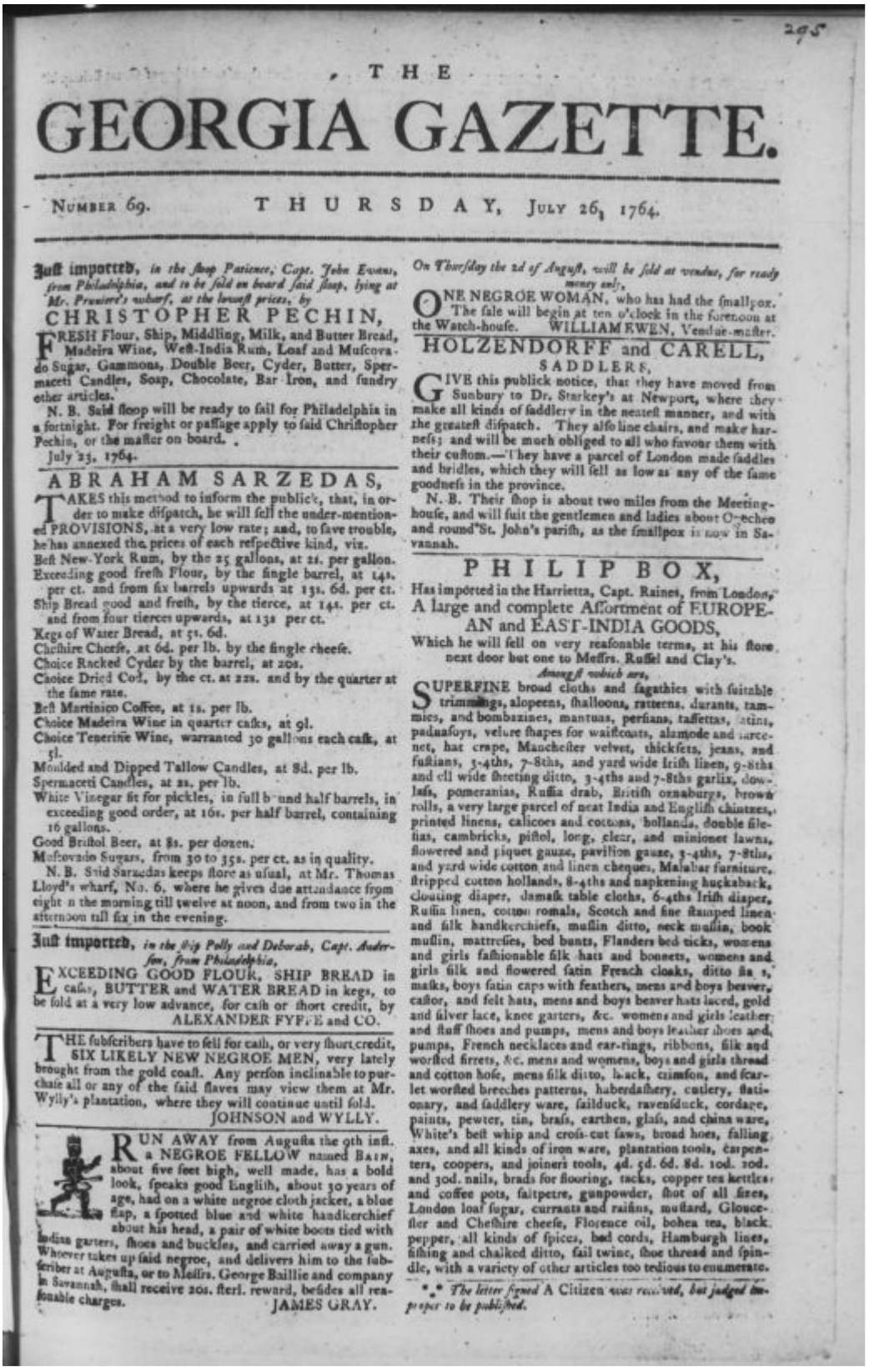
By this ship we have also advice, that the forces destined for an expedition against the Manilla islands, were all ready to proceed, and only waited for an account of the declaration of war against Spain, and were in great expectations of success. But we have still a less pleasing account of the intended attack on the French at Mauritius, wisely planned by the late minister, for their utter extirpation from that quarter of the globe. Admiral Cornish, during his cruise and delay, in expectation of the promised succours from Europe, buried upwards of 1000 brave sailors, besides landmen, and returned sickly and distressed.

AMERICA.

Boston, October 18.

WE hear from Biddeford, in the county of York, that at the inferior court lately held there, a cause was tried between Thomas Hammet, of Berwick, in said county, yeoman, plaintiff, and Peter Staple, of Kittery, in the same county, gentleman, defendant, for the defendant's debauching the plaintiff's wife, &c. and after a full hearing of six hours, the jury brought in their verdict for the plaintiff to recover against the defendant 1000l. lawful money, damages and costs.

Figure 7: The *Georgia Gazette*, April 7, 1763. Courtesy of the Digital Library of Georgia.



THE

GEORGIA GAZETTE.

NUMBER 69. THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1764.

Just imported, *in the sloop Patience, Capt. John Evans, from Philadelphia, and to be sold on board said sloop, lying at Mr. Prevoire's wharf, at the lowest prices, by*

CHRISTOPHER PECHIN,

FRESH Flour, Ship, Middling, Milk, and Butter Bread, Madeira Wine, West-India Rum, Loaf and Muscovado Sugar, Gammons, Double Beer, Cyder, Butter, Spermaceti Candles, Soap, Chocolate, Bar Iron, and sundry other articles.

N. B. Said sloop will be ready to sail for Philadelphia in a fortnight. For freight or passage apply to said Christopher Pechin, or the master on board.

July 23, 1764.

ABRAHAM SARZEDAS,

TAKES this method to inform the publick, that, in order to make dispatch, he will sell the under-mentioned PROVISIONS, at a very low rate; and, to save trouble, he has annexed the prices of each respective kind, viz.

Best New-York Rum, by the 25 gallons, at 2s. per gallon.
Exceeding good fresh Flour, by the single barrel, at 14s. per ct. and from six barrels upwards at 13s. 6d. per ct.
Ship Bread good and fresh, by the tierce, at 14s. per ct. and from four tierces upwards, at 13s per ct.
Kegs of Water Bread, at 5s. 6d.
Cheshire Cheese, at 6d. per lb. by the single cheese.
Choice Racked Cyder by the barrel, at 20s.
Choice Dried Cod, by the ct. at 22s. and by the quarter at the same rate.
Best Martinico Coffee, at 1s. per lb.
Choice Madeira Wine in quarter casks, at 9l.
Choice Teneriffe Wine, warranted 30 gallons each cask, at 5l.
Moulded and Dipped Tallow Candles, at 8d. per lb.
Spermaceti Candles, at 2s. per lb.
White Vinegar fit for pickles, in full bound half barrels, in exceeding good order, at 16s. per half barrel, containing 16 gallons.
Good Bristol Beer, at 8s. per dozen.
Muscovado Sugars, from 30 to 35s. per ct. as in quality.

N. B. Said Sarzedas keeps store as usual, at Mr. Thomas Lloyd's wharf, No. 6, where he gives due attendance from eight in the morning till twelve at noon, and from two in the afternoon till six in the evening.

Just imported, *in the ship Polly and Deborah, Capt. Anderson, from Philadelphia,*

EXCEEDING GOOD FLOUR, SHIP BREAD in casks, BUTTER and WATER BREAD in kegs, to be sold at a very low advance, for cash or short credit, by

ALEXANDER FYFFE and CO.

THE subscribers have to sell for cash, or very short credit, SIX LIKELY NEW NEGROE MEN, very lately brought from the gold coast. Any person inclinable to purchase all or any of the said slaves may view them at Mr. Wylly's plantation, where they will continue until sold.

JOHNSON and WYLLY.

RUN AWAY from Augusta the 9th inst. a NEGROE FELLOW named BAIN, about five feet high, well made, has a bold look, speaks good English, about 30 years of age, had on a white negroe cloth jacket, a blue flap, a spotted blue and white handkerchief about his head, a pair of white boots tied with Indian garters, shoes and buckles, and carried away a gun. Whoever takes up said negroe, and delivers him to the subscriber at Augusta, or to Messrs. George Baillie and company in Savannah, shall receive 20s. sterl. reward, besides all reasonable charges.

JAMES GRAY.

On Thursday the 2d of August, will be sold at vendue, for ready money only,

ONE NEGROE WOMAN, who has had the smallpox. The sale will begin at ten o'clock in the forenoon at the Watch-house.

WILLIAM EWEN, Vendue-master.

HOLZENDORFF and CARELL,

SADDLERS,

GIVE this publick notice, that they have moved from Sunbury to Dr. Starkey's at Newport, where they make all kinds of saddlery in the neatest manner, and with the greatest dispatch. They also line chairs, and make harness; and will be much obliged to all who favour them with their custom.—They have a parcel of London made saddles and bridles, which they will sell as low as any of the same goodness in the province.

N. B. Their shop is about two miles from the Meeting-house, and will suit the gentlemen and ladies about Ogechee and round St. John's parish, as the smallpox is now in Savannah.

PHILIP BOX,

Has imported in the Harrietta, Capt. Raines, from London, A large and complete Assortment of EUROPEAN and EAST-INDIA GOODS,

Which he will sell on very reasonable terms, at his store next door but one to Messrs. Russel and Clay's.

Among st which are,

SUPERFINE broad cloths and sagathies with suitable trimmings, alopeens, shalloons, ratteens, durants, tammies, and bombazines, mantuas, persians, taffettas, satins, padnasoys, velure shapes for waistcoats, alamode and larcenet, hat crape, Manchester velvet, thicksets, jeans, and fustians, 3-4ths, 7-8ths, and yard wide Irish linen, 9-8ths and ell wide sheeting ditto, 3-4ths and 7-8ths garlix, dowlas, pomeranias, Russia drab, British osnaburgs, brown rolls, a very large parcel of neat India and English chintzes, printed linens, calicoes and cottons, hollands, double filetias, cambricks, pistol, long, clear, and minionet lawns, flowered and piquet gauze, pavilion gauze, 3-4ths, 7-8ths, and yard wide cotton and linen cheques, Malabar furniture, stripped cotton hollands, 8-4ths and napkening huckaback, clouting diaper, damask table cloths, 6-4ths Irish diaper, Russia linen, cotton romals, Scotch and fine stamped linen and silk handkerchiefs, muslin ditto, neck muslin, book muslin, mattresses, bed bunts, Flanders bed ticks, womens and girls fashionable silk hats and bonnets, womens and girls silk and flowered satin French cloaks, ditto 8s 9, masks, boys satin caps with feathers, mens and boys beaver, castor, and felt hats, mens and boys beaver hats laced, gold and silver lace, knee garters, &c. womens and girls leather and stuff shoes and pumps, mens and boys leather shoes and pumps, French necklaces and ear-rings, ribbons, silk and worsted firrets, &c. mens and womens, boys and girls thread and cotton hose, mens silk ditto, black, crimson, and scarlet worsted breeches patterns, haberdashery, cutlery, stationary, and saddlery ware, sailduck, ravensduck, cordage, paints, pewter, tin, brass, earthen, glass, and china ware, White's best whip and cross-cut saws, broad hoes, falling axes, and all kinds of iron ware, plantation tools, carpenters, coopers, and joiners tools, 4d. 5d. 6d. 8d. 10d. 20d. and 30d. nails, brads for flooring, tacks, copper tea kettles and coffee pots, saltpetre, gunpowder, shot of all sizes, London loaf sugar, currants and raisins, mustard, Gloucester and Cheshire cheese, Florence oil, bohea tea, black pepper, all kinds of spices, bed cords, Hamburgh lines, fishing and chalked ditto, sail twine, shoe thread and spindle, with a variety of other articles too tedious to enumerate.

*** *The letter signed* A Citizen *was received, but judged improper to be published.*

Figure 8: The *Georgia Gazette*, July 26, 1764. Courtesy of the Digital Library of Georgia.

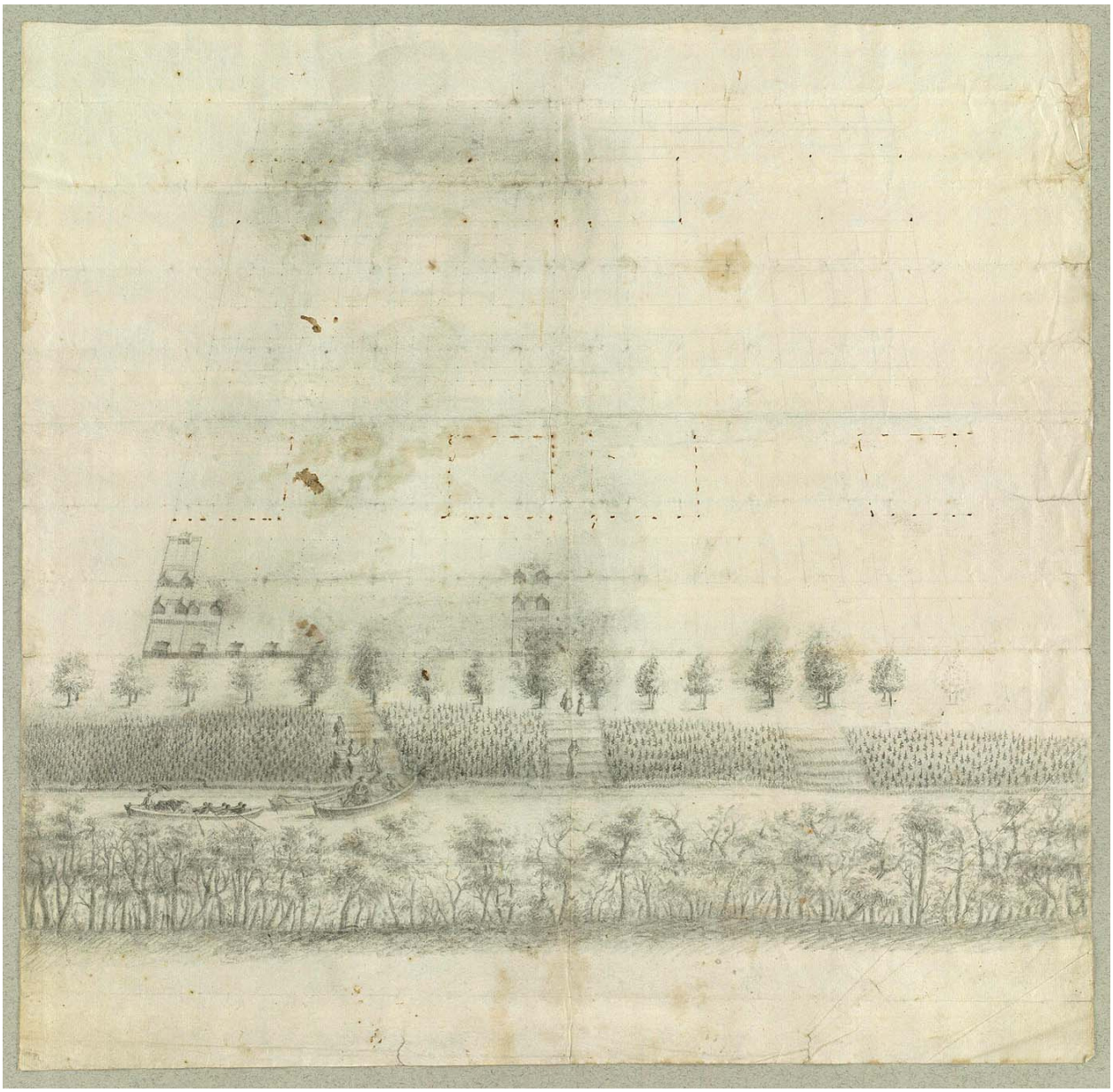


Figure 9: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, “Ebenezer,” 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, University of Denmark.

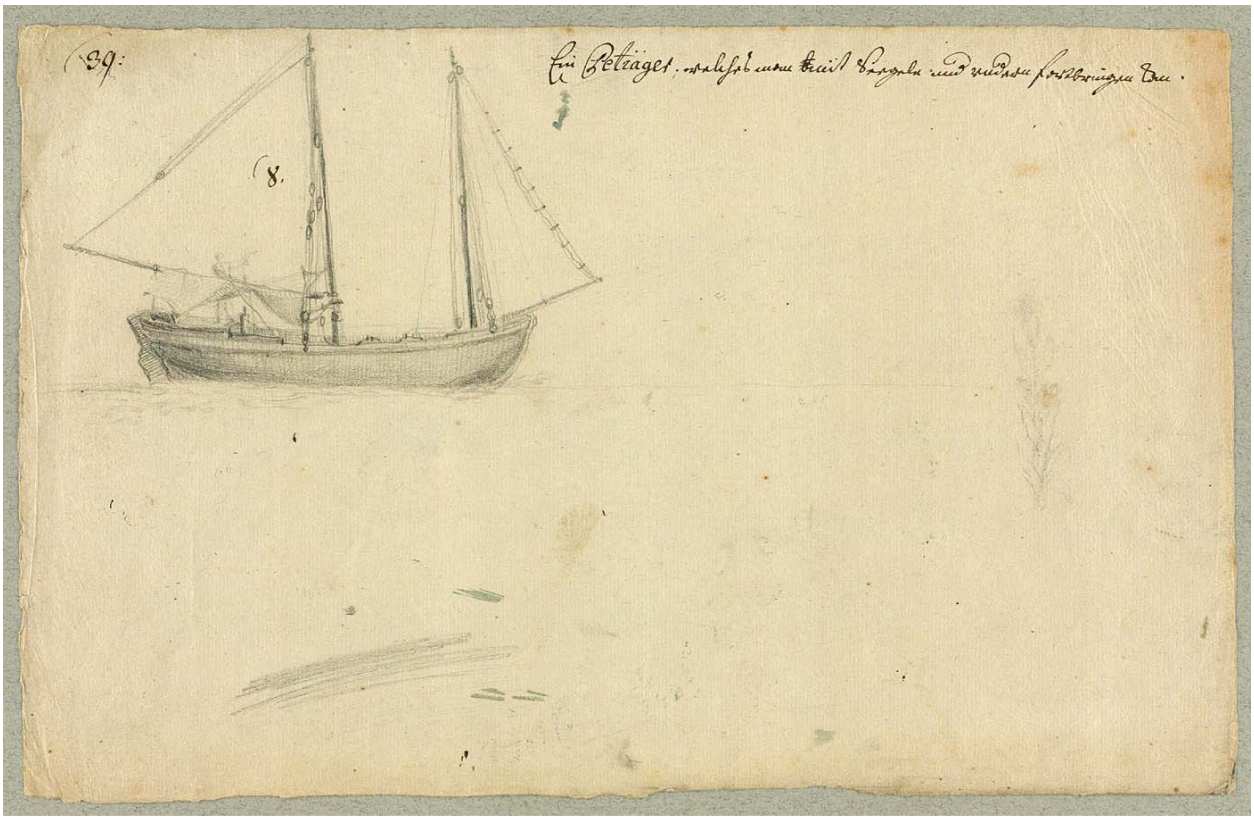


Figure 10: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, "A Pettiagua which can be moved by means of Sails and Oars," 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).

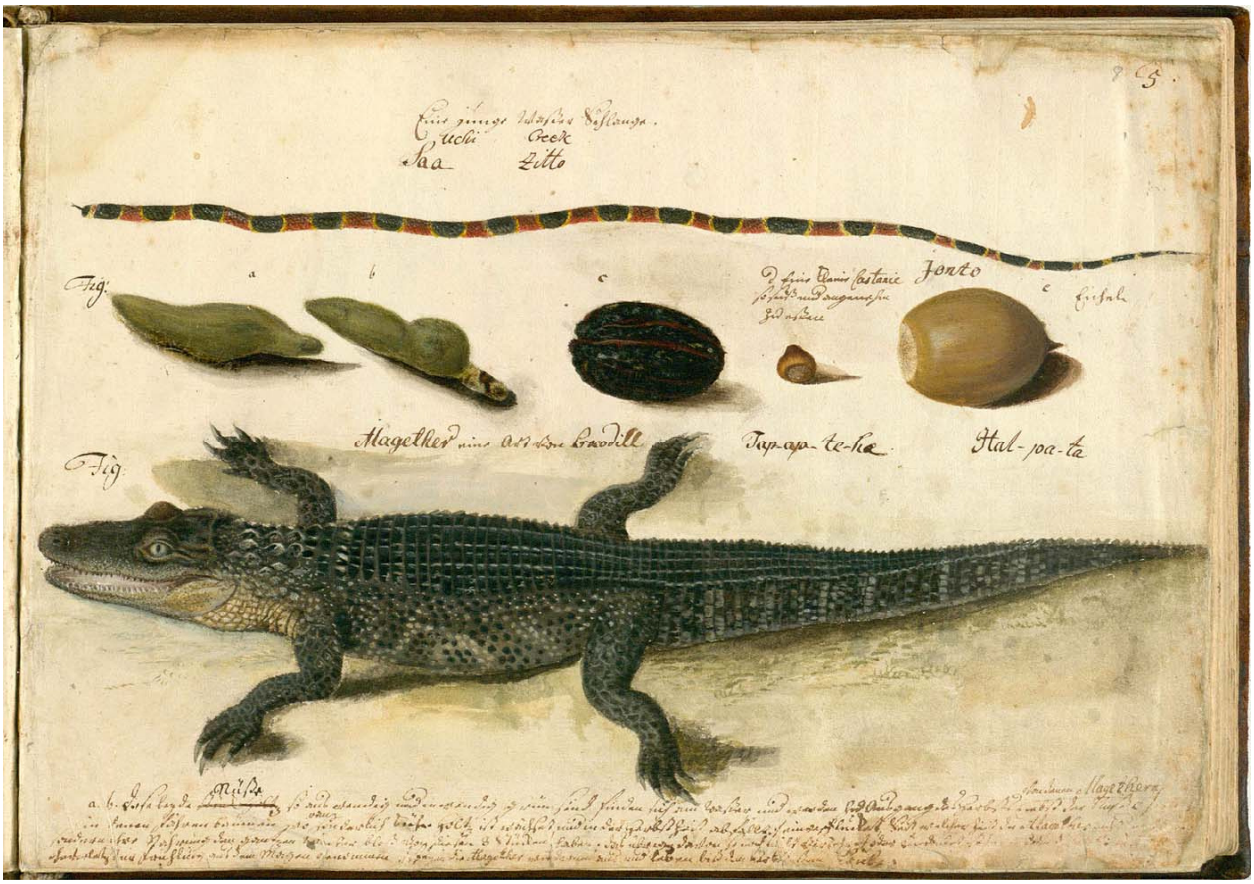


Figure 11: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, “Alligator, a sort of Crocodile,” 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).

Figure 12: Tobias Conrad Lotter, "Map of the County of Savannah," c. 1735-40. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

Figure 13: William Bull, "Map of the Southeast," 1738. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

Figure 14: Emmanuel Bowen, "An Accurate Map of the West Indies," 1740. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

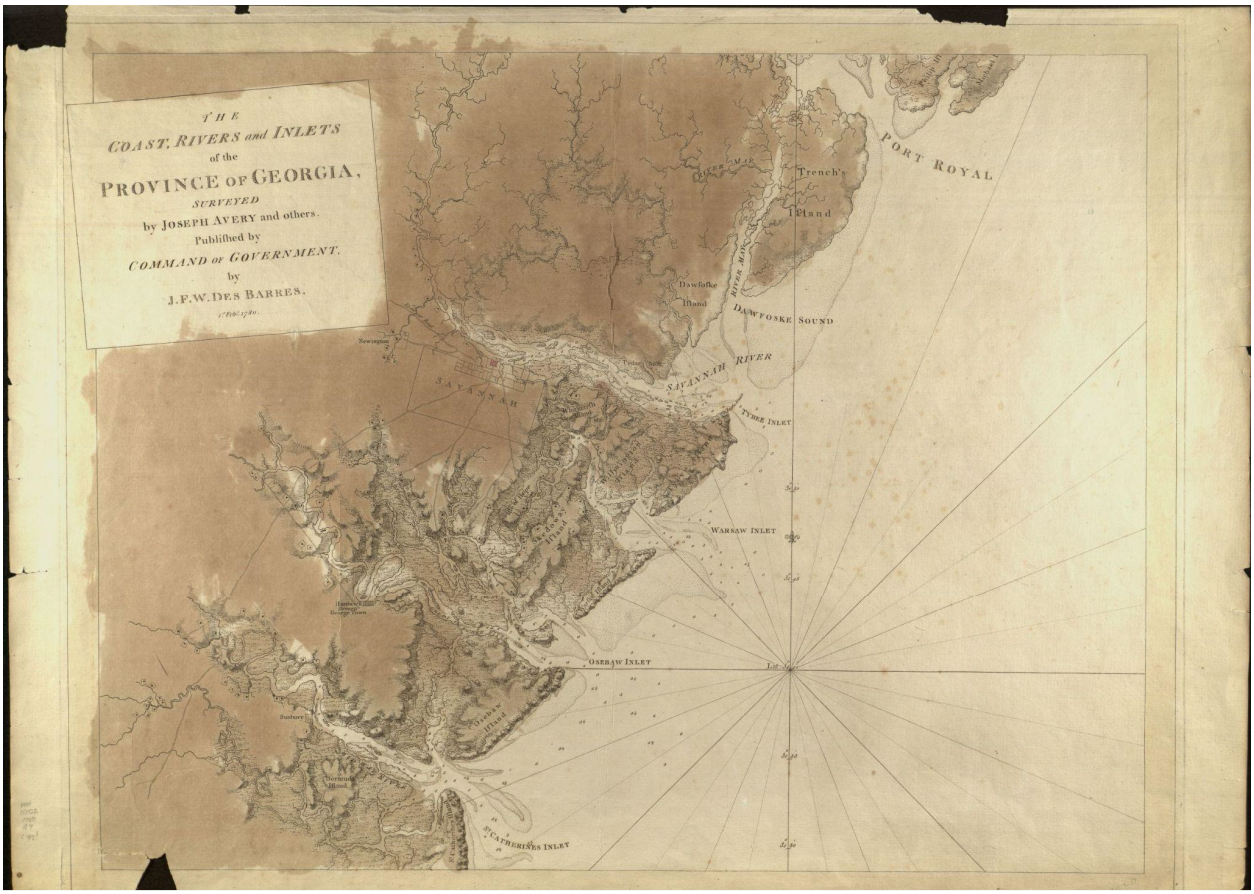


Figure 15: Joseph Avery, "Coast, Rivers and Inlets of the Province of Georgia," 1780. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

Figure 16: Philip Georg Friedrich Von Reck, “Indians Going A-Hunting,” 1736. Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, NKS 565 kvart: Von Recks tegninger og andet til den nordamerikanske Naturhistorie og Geographie (c. 1736).