UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

"POSSESSED OF THE MOST EXTENSIVE TRADE, CONNEXIONS AND INFLUENCE": THE ATLANTIC INTIMACIES OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY INDIAN TRADER

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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Norman, Oklahoma
2014

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“POSSESSED OF THE MOST EXTENSIVE TRADE, CONNEXIONS AND INFLUENCE”: THE ATLANTIC INTIMACIES OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY INDIAN TRADER

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has been a long time coming, and it is only natural that my intellectual, financial, and personal debts are many. While the years of research and writing is often a lonely and solitary process, this work could not have been possible in the first place without the support of so many people, institutions, and organizations.

Writing one's "Acknowledgements" is essentially charting the course of one's own life over the past decade. Therefore, I must start with those who encouraged me at the earliest stages of my career. This is for Dr. Richard St. Germaine (Ojibwe) and Dr. James W. Oberly at the University of Wisconsin – Eau Claire who made me truly believe that history is much more than just dates and names, and took a naive undergraduate under their wing and opened his eyes to the world of Native Peoples and their pasts. Similarly, I cannot put into words how indebted I am to Dr. Kristen Foster at Marquette University. Her guidance, mentorship, and friendship has been a source of inspiration throughout my academic life; a life that would not have been possible without her support. Also, Dr. Thomas Jablonsky and Dr. Steven Avella provided constant encouragement and sagacious advice; Dr. Lezlie Knox showed me how to be a true professional in the academic world; Dr. John Krugler and Dr. Julius Ruff displayed great patience with an easily excitable student; and Dr. James Marten read and edited much of my early work.

At the University of Oklahoma, I could not have asked for a more remarkable advisor than Dr. Joshua Piker. So many times you hear the "horror stories" about doctoral advisors, but he is far from that. His insight in every manner of academia – and life in general – has been, and continues to be, a source of inspiration. More

importantly, he not only tolerated my volatile ramblings in person and on paper, but gave me direction and a purpose. I would not be here if it was not for his confidence in me and his unwavering support, especially during the dissertation process. I only hope one day that I might be able to replicate even a fraction of his scholarship or mentorship. My deep and sincere thanks also goes out to Dr. Paul Gilje who taught me what it is to be a scholar of early and revolutionary America, how to read and write like a historian, and how to love this profession. His dedication to our work as historians, patience, and "tough-love" approach remains a source of motivation. To complete the triumvirate that molded me into who I am as a scholar, I am eternally grateful for the insight and support of Dr. "Cathy" Kelly. As her teaching assistant, editorial assistant for *Common-place*, and a student in her seminars, she taught me what it is to be a responsible historian, pushed and challenged me when I needed it most, and believed in me when I struggled to do so myself. I also owe extensive thanks to Dr. Judith Lewis and Dr. James Hart who taught me everything I needed to know about British and Irish history, and to Dr. Robert Griswold for his abiding support.

My intellectual debts for this dissertation extend even further to those who offered their guidance, assistance, and knowledge throughout the dissertation process. I must single out Dr. Steven C. Hahn, Dr. Kathryn H. Braund, Dr. John T. Juricek, Dr. Claudio Saunt, and the Curator of Published Materials at the South Caroliniana Library, Friedrich Hamer, for their expertise in regards to the Creek Indians and southeastern history. I am particularly obligated to Dr. Braund and Dr. Saunt who provided me with research materials I could not access myself. Additionally, I owe a very special thanks to the genealogist Brent Holcomb, who seemingly lives at the South Carolina

Department of Archives and History, and managed to locate George Galphin's last will and testament after it went missing. At every twist and turn that this dissertation took, various historians were also there to encourage and inspire. Therefore, I must thank Dr. Colin Calloway, Dr. Robbie Ethridge, Dr. Daniel Usner, Dr. Scott Stevens, and Dr. Kariann Yokota. In addition, the support and knowledge of the staff at the South Caroliniana Library (in particular Graham Duncan), Newberry Library in Chicago (John Aubry and Matt Rutherford), David Library of the American Revolution (Katherine A. Ludwig, Brian Graziano, and Meg McSweeney), William L. Clements Library (Brian Dunnigan), Georgia Historical Society, South Carolina Historical Society, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, British Library, and British National Archives were all indispensable to my work.

This dissertation would also not have been possible without the financial aid of several university and archival institutions. I express my sincere gratitude to the History Department at the University of Oklahoma for their funding my month-long research in London. I would also be remiss if not to thank the Graduate College, the College for Arts & Sciences, and Graduate Student Senate for the generous grants that funded my research at the Universities of South Carolina and Georgia. In addition, I gratefully recognize the financial support of the Newberry Library for a fellowship to research at their institution and the American Philosophical Society. I am similarly indebted to the David Library of the American Revolution for their resident research fellowship. Finally, I thank the national office of Phi Alpha Theta at the University of South

Florida for their doctoral scholarship that allowed me to travel to the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

Friends and family have been my biggest cheerleaders and advocates throughout this process. It goes without saying that my parents and in-laws have been a constant source of support over the years. From their willingness to listen – and even reading my work – to giving me sanctuary in the basement to research and write, I owe them so much. To Jeff Fortney and Rowan Steineker, they together lent me their intellectual wherewithal, priceless humor, and constant companionship. Even when I was down in the deepest recesses of dissertation hell, they were always there for me. To Dustin Mack, he served in a number of supportive capacities, but none more important than as my chief reader who spent many days pouring over various drafts of my chapters. To the rest of my graduate cohort – Matt Bahar, Julie Stidolph, Matt Pearce, Brandi Hilton-Hagemann, Doug Miller, Nate Holly, and Stephen Vickory – your friendship and knowledge has been instrumental in shaping me as a scholar and friend. Also, to my fellow "fellows" at the David Library – Christopher Minty, Mark Boonshoft, and Dr. Michelle Orihel – you provided an invaluable intellectual support, a wealth of insight and research resources, and most of all, your friendship. I eagerly await our next "Chipotle" and "Wegmans" antics.

Finally, Bridget Rindfleisch has been a rock amid the stormy seas of the past five years. Her tireless love and enthusiasm for life has kept me going throughout the dissertation. She not only endured the ups and downs of this process, but found ways to make me smile, laugh, and persevere every day. This is why I dedicate this work to her, because she never once lost faith in me. She is the light of my life.

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ABSTRACT

This project examines the life of George Galphin, an Indian trader in Georgia and South Carolina during the eighteenth century. In particular, my work represents a historiographical intervention in Atlantic World scholarship. As the concept of the Atlantic continues to grow more and more expansive, the paradigm itself is losing its explanatory power. But through an intimate look at Galphin's life and the people that he surrounded himself with, I argue that eighteenth century individuals did not necessarily understand or think of the world in Atlantic terms. Instead, individuals navigated the world around them through the local circumstances from which they came, and with the personal relationships that they forged throughout their lives. As a consequence, the Atlantic World was comprised of intensely local and intimate peoples and relationships that tied the various places of that world together. In other words, Galphin reveals to us the very personal and local contours of the Atlantic World.

This dissertation also serves as a connective bridge between colonial, Native, imperial, and Atlantic histories. Specifically, we see how the lives of countless peoples from disparate worlds intersected with Galphin's own, and often in very intimate ways. Such peoples included Irish emigrants, Creek Indians, London merchants, colonial governors, African slaves, imperial agents, Euro-American settlers, and a host of others. Needless to say, the many and dissimilar persons who interacted with Galphin do not fit neatly into one specific category of history, but can together tell a larger story that encompasses the histories of Colonial America, Native Peoples, the British Empire, and Atlantic World. Such a framework in turn remedies a fundamental flaw of Atlantic World scholarship: That Native Peoples were inherently a part of that world, despite a

scholarly neglect that situates Native actors as passive bystanders to an Atlantic system. Therefore, we see how Creek peoples engaged with Atlantic processes through their relationships with Galphin, in spite of the fact that the Creeks lived far from the ocean's waters. In short, the history of Colonial America, the British Empire, and Atlantic World cannot be understood without Native Americans, and vice versa.

Finally, George Galphin allows me to show how marginal individuals in the eighteenth century exerted political and commercial purchase in Colonial America, the British Empire, Atlantic World, and Indian Country. Through the relationships that he forged with the peoples and places of those worlds, Galphin found the means to shape the events that unfolded in Georgia and South Carolina, Creek and Cherokee Country, and even the British Empire and Atlantic World, even though he was only a fringe figure who lived on the periphery of those worlds. By way of his intimacies with others – again, those personal and locally-centered relationships – Galphin accumulated political capital, commercial resources, social prestige, and other sources of power and influence that radiated outward to influence the peoples, places, and events within the colonial, Native, imperial, and Atlantic worlds.

INTRODUCTION

Nothing is more intimate than the relationship between spouses, or the connection between a parent and their child. That is why, in January 1764, the Indian trader and merchant, George Galphin, waited anxiously at his Silver Bluff plantation for Rachel Dupre to give birth to their daughter, Martha. Amid his anticipation though, Galphin found his attention repeatedly pulled elsewhere because of his other "intimate" relationships. In a letter Galphin received from his sister, Martha Crossley, who still lived in Ireland, she pleaded for her brother's assistance to pay for her family's passage to South Carolina, and to make room for her family of seven at Silver Bluff. Galphin penned his response in the affirmative, promising his sister that he would do all in his power to see her family safely to his home. At the same time, Galphin composed two other letters destined for Ireland; one to his other sister, Judith, and another to his cousin, Robert Pooler. Within these letters, Galphin instructed Judith and Robert to inform him of any "masters of families that think it proper to come over to me," part of Galphin's efforts to give poverty-stricken Irish families another chance in North America. Meanwhile, Galphin labored feverishly to finish a petition to the Georgia assembly in which he requested lands around the Ogeechee River where he intended to build a trade store and a second plantation to be staffed by "thirty Slaves," "his Indian Traders," and other "Hireling[s]." If his plate were not full enough already, Galphin also dealt with the logistics for sending his annual harvest of deerskins to Savannah and Charleston. Once loaded aboard the ship, "Union," those commodities would set sail for London where Galphin's merchant partners, Greenwood & Higginson, eagerly

awaited them. Needless to say, Galphin had a lot on his mind in January 1764.[1]

As Galphin attended to each of these demands on his time and attention, he was violently interrupted when one of his traders burst in with ominous news – Creek Indians had killed "fourteen people, Settlers on [the] Long Canes." This violence produced such a "Fright and Hurry" in the British colonies that "the Out Inhabitants are all flocking to the Forts." The news proved not only unwelcome as it disrupted Galphin's various obligations, but also disheartening because Galphin had spent the better part of the year negotiating a treaty with the Creeks that brought an end to the Seven Years' War in the southeast. After digesting the details, Galphin immediately set out on horseback for Creek Country "to get what Information he could concerning the Murder of the White People and by whom done," thereby leaving his pregnant consort and unfinished business behind. Because Galphin cultivated a well-known reputation as "possessed [of] the most extensive trade, connexions and influence, among the South and South-West Indian tribes, particularly with the Creeks," he undoubtedly "thought twas a Duty Incumbent on me" to defuse the situation.[2]

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[1] "In Memory of Martha Milledge, wife of John Milledge, and daughter of Geo. Galphin Esq. of Silver Bluff SC," Summerville Cemetery, Augusta GA (Martha age); Janie Revill, ed. *A Compilation of the Origin Lists of Protestant Immigrants to SC, 1763-1773* (The State Company, 1939), 48 ("Crossley"); 4 March 1766 (1764), *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough: Rev. David E. Bothwell and Letter to the Widow Bothwell*, ed. Smith Callaway Banks, Georgia Southern University, Statesboro GA, 48-49 (Judith Galphin, Robert Pooler, "masters"); 6 March 1764, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume IX: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from January 4, 1763 – December 2, 1766*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: The Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 141-142 ("thirty Slaves"); "Creek Complaints to David Taitt over Nonperformance of terms of 1773 Treaty," 3 January 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XII: Georgia & Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 134 ("Indian traders," "Hireling"); "Manifest of the Cargo on Board the Ship Union, James Smith Master, for London," 6 January 1764, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: American and West Indies, Original Correspondence: Shipping Returns, South Carolina 1736-1765*, CO 5/510-511, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Union").

[2] John Stuart to Togulki, 2 February 1764, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Volume 13, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("fourteen"); "Lieutenant Barnard's Letter to his Excellency James Wright," 28 December 1763, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. IX*, 111-114 ("Fright," "flocking"); George Galphin to the Georgia Governor Wright,

Galphin later reported to the Georgia government, "I knowing where some Indians were at Camp about 20 miles off," met "ten Creeks with about twenty or thirty Women and Children going to [Silver Bluff] for Corn." When Galphin interrogated the Creek party about the killings, they "were surprised and said it could not be any of their People without their knowing it." While speaking with the Creeks, Galphin sent ahead "a very trusty Indian" to inquire at the "Indians' Camp at Buffalo Licke," accompanied by "one of my Traders" to form a "better judgement" of the situation. Galphin likely entrusted this task to his right-hand man, Daniel McMurphy, "several years in Mr. Galphin's employ" and "an honest sober man." Afterward, Galphin let the Creek party go to Silver Bluff and asked them to tell "my People" there "that I would be back in 3 days [and] that I was going to find out who did the murther[s]."[3]

Soon after, Galphin met with Togulki, a headman from Coweta, one of the leading Lower Creek towns, who explained that "As soon as I was acquainted in the Woods who the Persons were that had killed the White People[,] I came immediately to Acquaint my Friend Galphin of it." Those familiar with Galphin knew that his acquaintance with the Creeks stemmed from his "Connections and influence by having been long amongst the Indians" at Coweta, as well as "his connexion with one of their

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Council, and Assembly, January 1764, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. IX*, 114-116 ("Information"); Thomas P. Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels & Other Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1996), 259-261 ("connexions"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 7 February 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XI: Jan. 5, 1776 – Nov. 1, 1777*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 93-97 ("Duty").

[3] George Galphin to John Stuart, 6 January 1764, *Records of the Colonial Office: Original Correspondence, Plantations General, 1689-1952*, CO 323/17, Document 178, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("I knowing," "Indians Camp," "trusty fellow," "traders," "3 days"); George Galphin to Georgia Governor, Council, & Assembly, January 1764, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. IX*, 114-116 ("Corn," "surprised"); 7-14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Better judgement"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Microfilm 687, Reel 17, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("McMurphy," "employ," "sober"); 1 April 1767, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("my People").

women of Indian family distinction, by whom he had children." Therefore, when Togulki spoke to Galphin, he conversed with a man whom many of the Creeks "looked upon as an Indian" and as a man with personal ties to the Cowetas. In their exchange, Togulki pleaded with Galphin to "write down and Acquaint both Governours and the beloved Men" of the murder, and to assure them that the Lower Creeks were blameless in the affair. True to his word, Galphin communicated Togulki's talk to John Stuart, the southern Superintendent of Indian affairs, and the Georgia governor James Wright. He also provided Stuart and Wright the use of "my Boats" and said that "in case you should have any letters to send to the [Creek] nation, there will be always some Traders at my House that will go." Stuart and Wright in turn transmitted Galphin's intelligence to the Board of Trade in London, who upon receiving such news waited nervously for further word from the American colonies.[4]

In the immediate aftermath of what became known as the "Long Canes murders," it was readily apparent that imperial authorities, London merchants, Irish emigrants, Creek Indians, and the Euro-American peoples of South Carolina and Georgia all placed their faith in one man to repair the damage to Creek-British relations – George Galphin. In addition to expediting word throughout the Anglo settlements that he "thought it unsafe" to be out "till he should hear from thence [the Creeks]," Galphin

[4] George Galphin to Georgia Governor, Council, & Assembly, January 1764, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. IX*, 114-116 ("Woods," "friend Galphin," "Acquaint"); John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 21 July 1777, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: American and West Indies, Original Correspondence: East Florida, 1 Jan. 1763 – 31 Dec. 1766*, CO 5/557, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 648-654 ("long amongst"); Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia (Athens, GA), 270-272 ("family distinction"); "Tallassee King's Talk delivered to Georgia Governor & Council," 22 September 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837*, W.P.A. Georgia Writer's Project, MS #1500, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 161-163 ("as an Indian"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 6 January 1764, CO 323, Doc. 178 ("Boat"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 8 January 1764, CO 323, Doc. 180 ("at my House").

also wrote to his family and friends in Ireland to make them aware of the situation. He instructed them to calm any fears among the Ulster families who awaited passage to North America. Galphin then invited a Creek delegation to meet with him at Silver Bluff, and in a matter of days, Galphin reported that "forty men, women, and children [are] here and I expect a great many more down." At the same time, Galphin wrote to his London merchants who worried that the "fresh murders & Insults…wou'd make a great abatement in our export of Skins." To alleviate their concerns, Galphin sent "2 or 3 traders…to look after what goods was in the Nation." Galphin also told Creek leaders "I could not think of sending of any goods to [the] nation till I heard what the Headmen had concluded upon," thereby forcing the Creeks to give satisfaction for the violence so that commerce might resume. In a sign of good faith, when Creek dignitaries trekked back to their towns, they "left their Presents [at Galphin's] 'till they come in again." After they departed, Galphin confided to imperial officials "he thought the Murders were not done by the lower Creeks…[and] thinks the Cherokees had a hand in it and perhaps some Villains of the Creeks along with them." The whole affair eventually concluded with the return of peace and commerce, and observers noted it was only because of Galphin's influence as "a great favourite with most of the Creeks" that further bloodshed had been averted.[5]

Galphin's name was therefore synonymous with Creek-British relations and trade in the southeast during the eighteenth century. However, Galphin came from very

[5] 7-14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("unsafe," "thence," "great favourite"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 6 January 1764, CO 323, Doc. 178 ("many more done," "Presents"); Henry Laurens to Cowles & Harford, 24 January 1764, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume IV: Sept. 1, 1763 – Aug. 31, 1765*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1974), 145 ("fresh murders"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 8 January 1764, CO 323, Doc. 180 ("Headmen," "2 or 3 traders," "concluded upon"); George Galphin to Georgia Governor, Council, & Assembly, January 1764, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. IX*, 114-116 ("not done by the lower Creeks," "Villains").

humble beginnings, the eldest son of a poor linen-weaving family in Ulster Ireland. During his childhood and young adulthood, Galphin toiled ceaselessly in the flaxseed fields and in weaving linen until the death of his father, which prompted Galphin to seek his and his family's fortunes in North America. In 1737 he sailed to South Carolina, never to return to Ireland. Over the course of several decades, Galphin reinvented himself as a trader and merchant in the lucrative deerskin trade – or "Indian trade" – in the North American southeast. Eventually, Galphin established himself as one of the most reputable, trustworthy, and dependable intermediaries for Native and European peoples, which only added to the weight of his political and commercial importance in the southeast. Galphin's command of the deerskin trade in turn attracted a host of London authorities, colonial governors, imperial agents, Native leaders, and transatlantic merchants who all sought out relationships or partnerships with Galphin in order to tap into his influence. As a consequence, all of these peoples had to take Galphin and his trade firm very seriously, which forced Native, colonial, imperial, and transatlantic peoples to factor Galphin into their agendas and plans for the southeast. For when it came to Creek-British relations and trade, nothing seemed to happen without Galphin knowing about it or having a hand in it. Even with the onset of the Revolutionary War, Galphin remained an influential figure, appointed by revolutionary governments in Georgia and South Carolina, as well as the Continental Congress, as "Commissioner of the Southern Department of North America for Superintending Indian Affairs." In other words, Galphin was vital to the peoples and places of – and the events that transpired in – the southeast during the eighteenth century.[6]

[6] 13 November 1775, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*, in *Henry Laurens Papers*, Roll 17: Papers Concerning Indian Affairs, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston SC ("Commissioner").

Yet of even greater importance, the personal connections that Galphin created with a host of disparate peoples in different places ultimately linked all of these persons and spaces together, which translated into a web of relationships that Galphin could collectively call upon to pursue a particular interest of his own. During the "Long Canes" crisis, Galphin deliberately and shrewdly maneuvered his connections with peoples who lived worlds apart – the Creek Indians, Anglo traders, imperial officials, British settlers, Irish emigrants, African slaves, and London merchants – to calm the violence. Even though Creek hostility, imperial anxiety, settler and emigrant fears, and merchant panic threatened to cripple commercial and political fortunes in the southeast, Galphin deployed his relationships in ways that forced these peoples and groups to compromise with one another. Consequently, the countless men and women who considered Galphin a relative, friend, partner, ally, patron, master, or employer found themselves connected to one another through the ties they shared to this one man. In the process, these culturally and spatially differing peoples learned that their intersecting lives and livelihoods depended on Galphin's ability to yoke their diverse interests together, as he navigated the many twists and turns of their relationships. In short, Galphin was at the center of a network of intimacies that spanned the transatlantic world, a broker of relationships who knit peoples and places together despite oceanic, imperial, and cultural barriers.

Scholars have long explored the lives of cultural intermediaries like Galphin in colonial and indigenous societies, often to articulate the intersections between European empires and local communities around the globe, or how imperial power functioned on the peripheries of empire. These themes have been particularly salient in Native

American and Latin American histories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although scholars apply different names or labels to these intermediaries. For instance, James H. Merrell describes the Indian traders at the forefront of British-Native relations in eighteenth century Pennsylvania as "Go-Betweens," whereas William B. Taylor refers to the Spanish curates who mediated for their local villages with the Spanish Empire as "Hinge-Men." Regardless of titles, these individuals all shared common experiences as cultural brokers, or "actors in the local economy and public life…with links to distant markets and higher centers of formal power." These individuals in turn connected peripheral or local places "to [imperial] centers." Such intermediaries also provided the means for communities to exert influence in their relations with an imperial authority, at the same time that such individuals represented imperial power. Taylor concludes that the study of such cultural brokers "offer[s] different angles of inquiry into the…relationships and structures that mediated between local groups and global processes, relationships and structures that often were hidden." Building off of Taylor's premise, this dissertation charts the life of one such cultural intermediary to reveal new insights into the eighteenth century past, particularly the interplay between Native, imperial, colonial, and transatlantic histories.[7]

Historians also demonstrate that the seventeenth and eighteenth century Atlantic world was defined by the connections between peoples, places, objects, and events. But it is the nuances of those connections that are rarely if ever explored in depth. It is only

[7] James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Colonial Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000); William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Parish Priests and Indian Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); William B. Taylor, "Between Global Process and Local Knowledge: An Inquiry into Early Latin American Social History, 1500-1900," in *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History,* ed. Olivier Zunz (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985): 148 ("actors"), 150 ("Hinge-Men"), 165 ("angles of inquiry").

in recent scholarship that scholars realize that what is truly lost in pursuing "grander geographical scales" like the Atlantic and global history is what Brian Connolly identifies as "the intimate," or the relationships that bound peoples together across transoceanic borders. New and innovative studies by David Hancock, Emma Rothschild, Sarah Pearsall, and Susanah Shaw Romney, reveal that transatlantic linkages, such as kinship and commercial partnership, were defined by a personal familiarity that bound individuals together "in an Atlantic beset with considerable disruption." Hancock in particular illustrates the existence of a very "complex [system] of producers, distributors, and consumers" within the commercial traffic of Madeira wine, a system that hinged on the personal affability that both London merchants and Madeira planters cultivated among family, friends, suppliers, and customers. On the other hand, Romney explores what she calls "intimate networks" in New Netherlands in the seventeenth century, or the "web of ties that developed from people's immediate, affective, and personal associations [that] spanned vast geographic and cultural distances." These "intimate networks" proved critically important to Dutch imperial expansion around the Atlantic basin, which reveals that "people built and negotiated early modern empires" through the personal connections they forged in their interactions with other Europeans, Native Americans, and African slaves. Romney concludes that it is "only by taking seriously the intimate networks people created together can we understand the origins of empire in the early modern world."[8]

[8] Brian Connolly, "Intimate Atlantics: Toward a Critical History of Transnational Early America." *Common-place: The Interactive Journal of Early American Life* 11:2 (Jan. 2011) http://www.common-place.org/vol-11/no-02/connolly/ ("scales," "intimate"); Sarah M.S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5 ("disruption"); David Hancock, "Self-Organized Complexity and the Emergence of an Atlantic Market Economy, 1651-1815," in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. Peter A. Coclanis *(*Columbia: University of South Carolina

What is also lost in translation is the fact that not all personal connections were created or treated as equal. In other words, scholars have not yet waded deep or far enough into the world of relationships that preoccupied the eighteenth century world. For example, Romney focuses more on the functionality of "intimate networks" that created and sustained a Dutch empire in North America, which requires an analysis of a very large cast of characters and networks. In contrast, this dissertation will offer an extended look at a single individual and his family, or a single "intimate network" within a world of "thousands of overlapping…intimate networks." Consequently, this dissertation will explore how eighteenth century individuals organized the world around them according to their relationships with others, and how this process unfolded

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Press, 2005), 30 ("complex system"); Susanah Shaw Romney, *New Netherland Connections: Intimate Networks and Atlantic Ties in Seventeenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 5, 18; Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

In addition to historical scholarship, I have consulted works by "Social Capital" and "Social Network" theorists to develop my understandings and conceptions of the personal and intimate connectedness of the eighteenth century world. The most significant works from that discipline include Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 6, No. 1 (January 1995): 65-78; Nan Lin, *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Pierre Boudieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Dario Castiglione, Jan W. van Deth, and Guglielmo Wolleb, ed. *The Handbook of Social Capital* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Stephen Baron, John Field, and Tom Schuller, ed. *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 91, No. 3 (November 1985): 481-510; James Farr, "Social Capital: A Conceptual History," *Political Theory* Vol. 32, No. 1 (February 2004): 6-33; Francis Fukuyama, "Social Capital and Development: The Coming Agenda," *SAIS Review* Vol. 22, No. 1 (Winter-Spring 2002): 23-27; Karen Schweers Cook, "Networks, Norms, and Trust: The Social Psychology of Social Capital – 2004 Cooley Mead Award Address," *Social Psychology Quarterly* Vol. 68, No. 1 (March 2005): 4-14; James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 94, Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure (1988): S95-S120; John Field, *Social Capital*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge Press, 2008); Claude S. Fischer, "Network Analysis and Urban Studies," in *Networks and Places: Social Relations in the Urban Setting*, ed. Claude S. Fischer (New York: Free Press, 1977); Ronald S. Burt, "The Contingent Value of Social Capital," *Administrative Science Quarterly* Vol. 42, No. 2 (June 1997): 339-365; Xavier de Souza Briggs, "Social Capital and the Cities: Advice to Change Agents," *National Civic Review* Vol. 80: 2 (Summer 1997): 111-117; Alejandro Portes," Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 24 (1998): 1-24.

in vastly complex ways.[9]

In Galphin's case, he consciously privileged certain personal connections over others, and thereby created a hierarchical system of relationships that he ordered according to the value that he invested in each and every one of those connections. In particular, Galphin segregated his relationships into three subsets that I call his "Intimates," "Allies," and "Dependents." In this tripartite division, Galphin's "Intimates" consisted of his family and close friends who were his most trusted, prized, and frequently employed relations. In contrast, Galphin's "Allies" included Creek headmen, London and Euro-American merchants, imperial authorities, and colonial agents, people who sought out partnerships and alliances with Galphin due to the commercial and political opportunities that a relationship with him promised. Finally, Galphin constructed paternal connections with entire communities of "Dependents,"[10] composed of Anglo, Irish, African, and Creek families who owed Galphin their very lives, labors, and other obligations.

At the center of this hierarchical world of relationships were Galphin's immediate and extended family members in Ulster and North America, and his "well beloved friend[s]" on both sides of the Atlantic. Galphin instinctively trusted these persons because they were the most intimate relations, or those most familiar to him. Further,

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[9] Romney, *New Netherland Connections*, 29.

[10] It should be noted that Naomi Tadmor similarly uses the term "Dependants" to refer to those servants, boarders, and other non-kin individuals who lived within a person's household in eighteenth century England. However, she considers "dependants" as those who physically occupied a space within a household, as opposed to the distinct communities of Galphin's "dependents" that existed outside of the household. While both Tadmor's "dependants" and Galphin's "dependents" owed some form of obligation to a paterfamilias, Galphin fit his "dependents" into a larger and even more fluid and inclusive concept of family and the household that will be explored throughout this dissertation. As Tadmor herself admits, "there were other concepts of the family that existed alongside, or in conjunction with, [her] concept of the household-family," or that "family could be perceived differently from different points of view." Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 23, 30, 41-42.

Galphin confided in and counted on his real and fictive kinsmen more than anyone else, regardless of the circumstances, which stands a testament to the trust that he invested in these kith and kin. For Galphin then, he invested his confidence in these intimates, and delegated the greatest responsibilities to them, all on account of their bonds of blood and friendship. In return, these family and friends offered him a constant physical and emotional support that proved essential for his commercial and political ventures.[11]

Even within Galphin's circle of intimates though, he separated these relationships into a hierarchy that distinguished family and friends from each other. Of all these relations, Galphin's Anglo, Creek, and African children, along with Galphin's immediate and extended kinsmen from Ireland, were his most valued and indispensable connections. To these intimates, Galphin acted as a family patriarch and the primary caretaker, largely due to the wealth and prestige that he accumulated as a trader and merchant. Therefore a seemingly endless wave of siblings, cousins, and other relatives emigrated from Ireland to join Galphin in North America, where they labored as vital cogs in his trade firm. Meanwhile, for those family members who remained in Ireland, they deferred to his expertise and demands when he asked them to coordinate the logistics of his emigrant ventures in the 1760s and 1770s. Eighteenth century observers frequently noted that Galphin "placed the greatest Confidence" in his family, and delegated the most important commercial and political roles to his kin. These responsibilities included acting as his proxies to the Creek Indians or London merchants, "tak[ing] care of the [most] principal Store[s]," supervising his communities of dependents, as well as expediting his relations with business partners, imperial

[11] Will of Bryan Kelly, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822, Book A: Colonial Will Books,* MS #4000, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("well beloved friends").

authorities, and other allies. For Galphin, he trusted his kinsmen as surrogates who mediated, inspected, and facilitated his relationships with allies and dependents.[12]

Galphin also relegated important responsibilities to the intimates he considered his "trusty friend[s]," although he initially maintained a distance between himself and these men until they proved themselves dependable and loyal – the primary attributes Galphin required of his intimates. Even then, Galphin always put the interests of his immediate and extended family members ahead of these "worthy friend[s]." However, Galphin relied on these men to perform many of the same roles as his kin, as they served primarily as surrogates with Creek, merchant, and imperial allies. But Galphin's close friends also provided services and opportunities for Galphin that his family could not. Such opportunities for Galphin included his "well beloved" friends' political, commercial, and cultural connections to persons and places outside of the Galphin family's sphere of influence, which offered Galphin access to uncharted markets, capital, resources, and peoples. Through these relationships then, Galphin developed lifelong associations, partnerships, and even brotherly bonds with men like Lachlan McGillivray, John McQueen, John Rae, and other traders and merchants on both sides of the Atlantic. In fact, Galphin likened this circle of friends to "sworn brothers" not only so that he could wed their interests to his own, but also as a genuine expression of the filial loyalty that existed between them. Moreover, some of Galphin's closest associates among these men, like William Dunbar and Daniel McMurphy, transcended the bonds of friendship to become actual kinsmen by marrying into Galphin's family.[13]

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[12] Archibald Campbell, *Journal of an Expedition against the Rebels of Georgia in North America under the Orders of Archibald Campbell, Esquire, Lieut. Colol. of His Majesty's 71st Regimt.* (Darien, GA: Ashantilly Press, 1981), 52-53 ("Confidence"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("principal Store").

Of greatest importance, Galphin's family and friends equipped him with the means to attract a wealth of commercial and political suitors and allies. Galphin owed much of his personal influence in the Native southeast to his Creek wife Metawney. She not only ushered Galphin into the Creek world, but also expedited his relationships with her clansmen Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, men who in turn propelled Galphin to a prominent role in Creek-British politics. Likewise, Galphin's intimates in the traffic of deerskins, such as McQueen, Rae, and McGillivray linked Galphin into the world of imperial politics and transoceanic commerce, where Galphin gradually accumulated a personal and commercial capital with men of empire and influential merchant firms. This is not to suggest Galphin did little of the legwork in creating a far-flung network of relationships, but it is important to recognize that his kith and kin presented him with the means to meet potential allies and to cultivate relations with prominent individuals. In short, eighteenth century peoples like Galphin owed much to their family and friends who gave them that first push into a larger world beyond the local and familiar.

Under these circumstances, Galphin literally and figuratively moved out into the world as he sought out relationships with non-intimates in Creek Country, North America, and the British Empire, all of whom comprised a second subset of relations – his allies. Galphin forged very different relationships with these peoples, particularly since these personal contacts were far more formal and contingent affairs, and lacked the bonds of trust and familiarity that came with kinship and friendship. Instead, these personal connections required Galphin's constant care and attention, especially when

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[13] Will of Bryan Kelly, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822, Book A: Colonial Will Books* ("trusty friend"); 10 June 1767, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* [micro-film], University of North Texas, Denton TX ("worthy friend"); 30 March 1768, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* ("sworn brothers"); 12 June 1767, *Last Will and Testament of Lachlan McGillivray of Vale Royal*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA [accessed through Ancestry.com, 26 October 2012] ("loving friend").

Galphin and these associates found themselves separated by an ocean or involved in risky or uncertain ventures. Consequently, these relationships needed and thrived on use rather than disuse, communication over dereliction, and the coordination of interests as opposed to conflicting agendas. Out of such negotiations, Galphin and his allies established partnerships founded upon reciprocal obligations and expectations, in which each party performed a given role to accomplish their mutual purpose. But such relationships between Galphin and these allies could only be consummated if they fulfilled their respective responsibilities. In essence, Galphin's connections with his allies were very calculated and negotiated affairs, which offered the potential for great gains despite the risks involved and provided incentive for future collaboration.

Out of such partnerships, Galphin and his allies established a personal rapport that revolved around the trust that they invested in one another. Over the course of several years in doing business, or attending to Creek-British relations, Galphin accumulated a great trust with his allies, as he carved out an impeccable reputation as an "Eminent Trader" whose name "was well known over all the continent of America." One imperial official put it best, that Galphin "[had] it more in [his] power than any person I know to induce the Creeks" to act in a particular way. In turn, the Creeks considered Galphin a "beloved man" and kept his talks in "continual remembrance" because, according to the Cusseta King, he "always supplied me and my people with goods." By living up to such reputations, Galphin strengthened these relationships with trust and familiarity, while attracting new allies who witnessed the power of Galphin's personal connections within the Native southeast, North America, and the empire.[14]

[14] "Memorial of David Milligan in behalf of himself & his late Partner John Clark of the City of London Merchants," *American Loyalists Claims, Series II: Georgia,* Audit Office Records, AO 13/36c,

Of all his allies, Galphin's relationships with the Creeks of Coweta were far and away his most important, since he depended on these connections to facilitate and maintain commerce and peace in the southeast. Without the personal, logistical, and political support of the Cowetas – most notably Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee – Galphin could not conduct the lucrative trade which attracted new partners and allies. In return, the Cowetas demanded Galphin pursue their town's interests as part of his commercial and political interactions within the empire, and they hoped that he would act as their surrogate to imperial authorities and within the Atlantic world of goods. Although Galphin and the Cowetas expected different things and asserted dissimilar interests in their relationships with one another, they ultimately shared a mutual appreciation and obligation to each other.[15] In short, Galphin and his Coweta allies established a relational reciprocity in which they offered one another a means to their own ends, all the while abiding by their respective expectations for each other. In the end, Galphin's world hinged on the support of his Coweta allies, while at the same time these Creek townsmen relied on Galphin's personal and commercial connections within the imperial and Atlantic worlds.

The relationship between Galphin and the Cowetas provides a fundamental insight into the eighteenth century past that scholars, for the most part, have ignored or

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Document 971, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Eminent Trader"); Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Nashville: Promontory Press, 1973), i-v ("continent"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 8 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842,* MS #1787, Folder 4, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("induce"); "Talk delivered by the Tallassie King to the Governor & Council," 20 September 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837,* 159-160 ("continual remembrance"); "A Talk from the Cussita King, sent from the Nation by an Indian Warrior called Capt. Aleck," 19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XVII: Revolution and Confederation,* ed. Colin G. Calloway (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 210-211 ("beloved man," "supplied me").

[15] This is in stark contrast to Romney's work in which the intimate interactions between the Dutch and their Hudson Valley indigenous neighbors suffered from the "failure to form strong, personal, intimate, or kinship ties," which led to pervasive cultural misunderstanding and violence. Romney, *New Netherland Connections*, 172.

downplayed – Native Peoples like the Creeks were inherently a part of the Atlantic world.[16] In spite of the fact that the Cowetas lived far from the ocean's waters, indigenous peoples like Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee used their personal alliances with individuals like Galphin to navigate the waters of transoceanic commerce and empire. Through marriage and ritual adoption, clan obligations and expectations, as well as constant interactions with non-Indians who were themselves enmeshed in transatlantic processes, Native Peoples gained access to a world of Atlantic politics and goods. To the leaders of Coweta, such transatlantic access translated into an alternative source of commercial and political power, which allowed the Cowetas to subvert imperial agendas or to redirect Atlantic commerce in ways beneficial to their town. Native Peoples were not simply idle spectators to the Atlantic system then, but shrewd actors who used their relationships with individuals like Galphin to negotiate with and shape the Atlantic world in their own ways.

Men in positions of political and commercial power flocked to Galphin because of the relationships he maintained in Creek Country, which these allies desired for their own use within the imperial and Atlantic worlds. Because Galphin established alliances

[16] For the most part, scholars of early America, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World have not taken seriously the relationship between Native Americans and transatlantic systems, processes, and places or peoples. As John G. Reid asserts in his overview of this scholarly neglect, most scholars either omit Native Americans or trivialize their importance in the Atlantic world as subjects of literary representation, as military proxies and puppets of European empires, or static and dependent consumers of transatlantic commerce. Reid scathingly concludes that the Atlantic paradigm "has limited explanatory power as an interpretive representations of…North America in the early modern era" without a "close articulation with Aboriginal history." But in recent years, works by Brett Rushforth, Joshua Piker, and most recently, Jace Weaver, demonstrate that Native Americans in fact belong in the Atlantic realm, and this dissertation is intended to add to that growing body of work. John G. Reid, "How Wide is the Atlantic Ocean? Not Wide Enough," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region* Vol. 34:2 (Spring 2005): 81-87; Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

among the Cowetas and other Creek peoples, this provided him with a political and economic clout within the deerskin trade and particularly Creek-British politics. Galphin, therefore, attracted a horde of political and commercial suitors, which included merchants and imperial administrators in London, North American authorities, and other Native headmen. Fortuitously for Galphin, many of these allies were themselves politically and commercially influential in their own right, which strengthened Galphin's pull within the Native, imperial, colonial, and Atlantic worlds.

Galphin's final subset of relations proved vastly different from his intimates and allies, since these dependents were locked into inherently inequitable and one-sided relationships often dictated by Galphin. These persons included the traders and other "Hirelings" who worked for Galphin, the "Out Inhabitants" and Irish emigrants who relied on Galphin for protection, the Creek families who ventured to Silver Bluff, and Galphin's African slaves. Similar to his allies, these dependents were drawn to Galphin because of his trade firm, which promised these men and women employment, a roof over their heads, a semblance of community and safety, or for slaves – an "indulgent master." Once bound to Galphin, though, these peoples found that they were beholden to Galphin, since he supplied all of their necessaries like food and shelter, or paid their wages in credit for use at his stores. In short, these dependents provided Galphin with a pool of labor for his commercial ventures that ranged from the deerskin trade to plantation agriculture, but such labor came at the expense of their independence.[17]

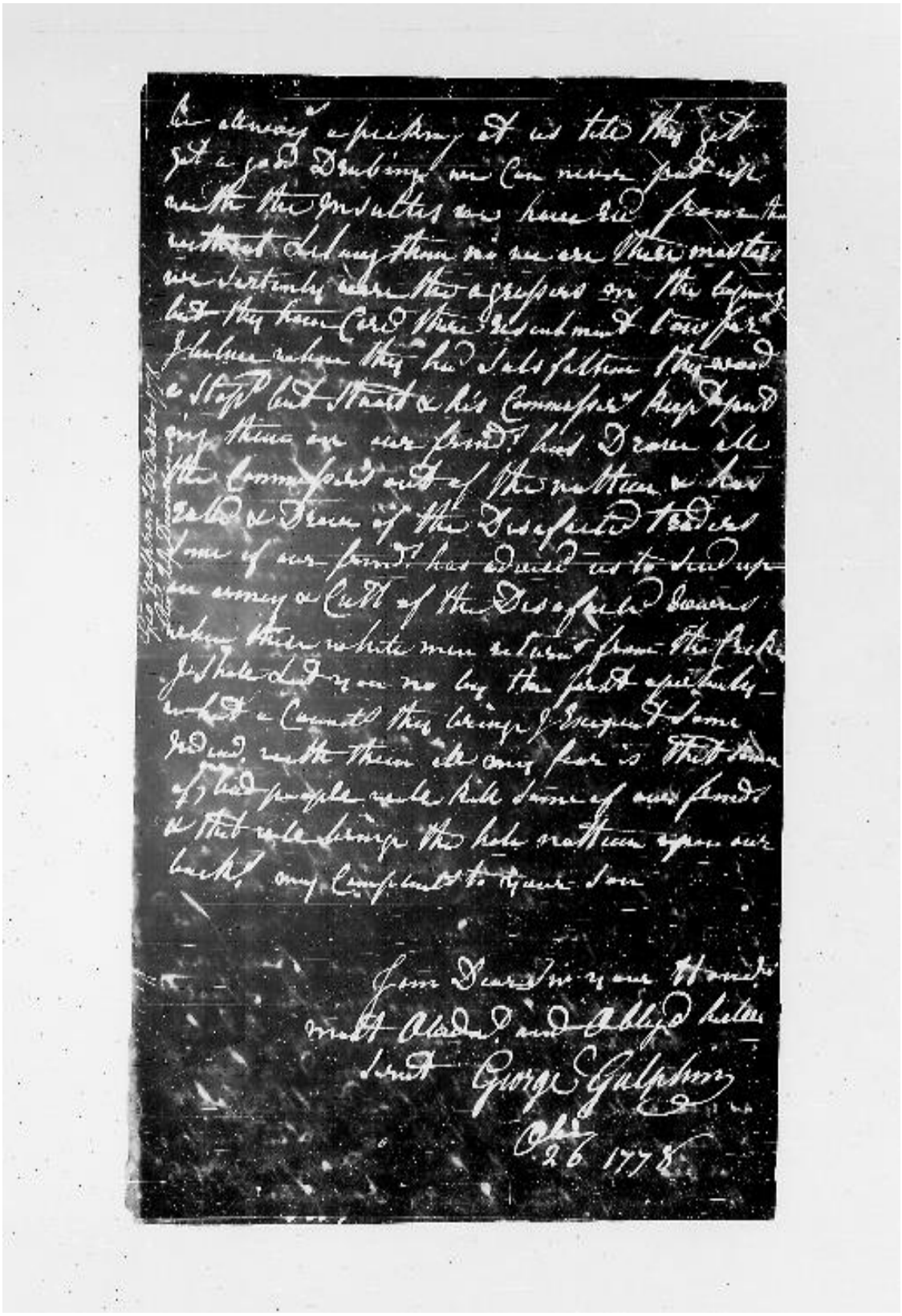
While Galphin relied on his dependents to staff his trade firm, this ultimately lent them an iota of leverage in their relationships with him. Galphin's slaves like Ketch,

[17] George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 16 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Vault Box Ayer MS 313, Folder 3, Newberry Library, Chicago IL.

Tom Bonar, and David George strayed far from their master's watchful eye as they transported his skins back and forth between Creek Country and Silver Bluff. Galphin was therefore forced to invest a limited yet wary trust in those slaves in hopes they would not run away or engage in disruptive behavior. Such permissiveness offered slaves a measure of mobility and independence, enough to carve out an enclave of African families at Silver Bluff and an African Baptist church to serve their spiritual needs. However, this does not discount the very uneven balance of power in these relationships as Galphin used the threat of prosecution or violence to assert his prerogative with his dependents. To coerce the obedience of his slaves, Galphin utilized punishment, sexual coercion, and threats to sell troublesome individuals to the West Indies to reassert his power and control over these relations.

More importantly for Galphin, though, his ability to command a legion of dependents intersected with his efforts to attain social respectability as a "Gentleman" among the colonial elite in North America. Due to his poverty-stricken origins in Ulster, Galphin possessed at best a rudimentary education, which several of his allies frequently commented on. As one ally wrote, "He is so far from being an intelligible scribe that I am often at a loss in collecting his meaning" (fig. 1). Surrounded by his more lettered peers, Galphin sought to counter his insecurities by reinventing himself as a patron, master, landlord, creditor, and patriarch to his dependents, all of which lent him a social capital that might elevate him into the ranks of the colonial elite. By establishing entire communities of Euro-American, African, and Irish dependents that lived on lands set aside by Galphin – as well as catering to Creek hunters and customers who flocked to him for trade – Galphin proved himself to his would-be peers as "a

Figure 1: George Galphin's "scrawle" to Henry Laurens, South Carolina Historical Society



Gentleman, distinguished by the peculiar Excellency of his Character…incapable of the least Degree of Baseness."[18]

Galphin also segregated his dependents into the same hierarchically-ordered relationships that he used to structure ties to his intimates and allies. First and foremost, Galphin favored the Anglo, Irish, and other European men and women who resided at Silver Bluff, whom he referred to as "my People." This community of dependents looked to Galphin as a patriarch and patron who provided land, work, and protection. In exchange, they served as Galphin's traders, boatmen, overseers, packhorsemen, stock-minders, storekeepers, and wharf attendants, performing labors vital to Galphin's commercial ventures. Yet from the outset of their relationships with Galphin, these dependents undoubtedly realized their livelihoods and futures hinged upon this man, particularly on account of the goods and services he provided for their communities that in turn led this constituency into a vicious cycle of debt and dependency.[19]

Galphin similarly privileged his relationships with the Irish families who settled lands set aside for them at the Queensborough Township in Georgia. As part of a joint venture between Galphin and his intimates in Ulster and North America, he designed Queensborough as an auxiliary community to Silver Bluff, complete with its own stores, plantation fields, cowpens, and warehouses that supported his trade firm. In fact, Galphin strategically planted the "Irish Settlement" along the Lower Path that

[18] Martin Campbell to George Galphin, 15 February 1765, *George Galphin's Mesne Conveyance Records, 1752-1778*, Book C-3, Register Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston County Courthouse, Charleston SC, 639-641 ("Gentleman"); "Indenture between James McHenry and George Galphin," 9 April 1767, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book S, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 93-94 ("Esquire"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("scribe"); 14 February 1774, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("Excellency").
[19] George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 9 January 1780, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Folder 3 ("my people"); "Creek Complaints to Taitt over nonperformance of terms of 1773 Treaty," 3 January 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 134 ("hireling").

connected Creek Country and British North America, equidistant from the Lower Creek towns and Augusta, the center of the deerskin trade. Galphin demanded that the families who lived at Queensborough – in exchange for free passage, land, and "milch cows and horses" – cultivate those lands and labor as part of Galphin's commercial enterprises. At the same time, Galphin intended this community as a genuine safe haven for Irish families who came from the same poverty-stricken origins as himself. It is no accident then that Galphin emphasized those families who settled at Queensborough might live on lands free of quit-rents for ten years, unlike Ulster landlords who charged exorbitant rents that shunted many of these families into poverty. For Galphin then, he framed himself as a benevolent paternalist who attended to his Irish dependents welfare and subsistence in return for their labor.[20]

Galphin further accommodated Creek peoples who frequented Silver Bluff where they exchanged deerskins for trade goods and other necessaries. These Creeks treated Silver Bluff as a Creek town and assumed its doors and coffers were always open, which observers frequently noted because Galphin "always receiv[ed] them with good humor and furnish[ed] them amply with such necessaries as they stood in need of at his hospitable dwelling." Galphin epitomized what historians describe as the eighteenth century business man who offered concessions and incentives to his customer base – in this case the Creeks – because "the most important asset" in Atlantic commerce "was [one's] customers." Therefore Galphin regularly outfitted Creek hunters and their

[20] "Georgia and Indian Land Cessions, ca. 1770," *Southern States Manuscript Maps*, Maps 6-E-11, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI; "Petition of John Rae and George Galphin," 1 March 1768, *Colonial Records of Georgia, Vol. X: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from Jan. 6, 1767 to Dec. 5, 1769,* ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 435 ("Irish Settlement"); 10 June 1768, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough*, 18-19 ("cows").

families with goods and necessaries in exchange for their deerskins and as part of his efforts to endear those Creeks to him. Such commercial success was evidenced by the fact that Creek hunters often found themselves indebted to Galphin as the value of their skins failed to keep pace with the value of the goods that they consumed. Creek dependents, then, unwittingly joined the ranks of Galphin's debtors, which was strikingly evident during the Treaty of Augusta (1773) when the Creeks ceded three million acres of land to pay off their debts, much of which they owed to Galphin.[21]

Similar to the social and racial stratifications of the era, Galphin's African and "half-breed Indian" slaves occupied the lowest rung in the hierarchy of his relationships, acting primarily as support staff for his trade firm or slaving away in his plantation fields. These men, women, and children provided the main source of labor at Silver Bluff. They experienced a brutal toil and interference in their daily lives, quite similar to most slaves in the southeast during the eighteenth century. For Galphin, like many slave masters, he coerced labor out of his enslaved bondsmen and often used violence to encourage their obedience. However, Galphin ironically earned a reputation in Georgia as an "indulgent master," or as one of Galphin's slaves described him, "a great man…[who] was very kind to me." In particular, Galphin allowed his slaves to marry and start families, permitted the construction of an African Baptist church, and invested a limited, albeit wary trust in his slaves because he required that they move about so much. In the end, evidence suggests that Galphin mirrored other Georgia slave owners who accumulated large numbers of slaves, employed coercive and violent

[21] Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943,* Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, 270 ("humor"); David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Organization of the Atlantic Market, 1640-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 220 ("asset," "customers"); "Claim of George Galphin," 6 June 1775, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943,* Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, 246 (debts).

means to ensure loyalty, and yet cultivated very paternal and affectionate relationships with their slaves.[22]

Due to the hierarchical nature of Galphin's relationships – and because his political and commercial influence hinged on his connections complementing one another – Galphin required some sort of cohesive glue to bind these discordant peoples and interests together. In the end, Galphin settled on a lingua franca of family. To Galphin, family acted as the organizing principle by which he lived his life and understood the larger world around him, a lesson learned early on during his childhood in Ireland where family provided the only source of support admist his degraded existence. The importance of family conditioned the rest of Galphin's life and allowed him to develop far flung connections and relationships as he moved into new environs. Galphin's use of family to invite non-family members into his fold aligns with what historians of the Atlantic describe as "creative uses of family and family forms," or "flexible understandings of kinship in the construction of new communities." Specifically, Galphin deployed malleable and permeable ideas about family, and an inclusive notion of what constituted a "household," to knit disparate persons, places, and interests together. In short, Galphin extended the hand of kinship to those who were not kinsmen, and thereby turned impersonal relationships into personal associations that led to trust and fellowship.[23] In the end, family and the "household" emerged as more

[22] George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 16 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Folder 3 ("indulgent"); David George, *An Account of the Life of David George,* Canada's Digital Collection ("great man").

[23] This phenomenon can be seen as part of Galphin's attempts to create what historians Charles Tilly and Pierre Force refer to as "trust networks," in which a person "would not do business across the ocean with someone [they did] not know, but if [their] partners [were] a sibling or a cousin, the closeness of the family connection makes up for the physical distance, and [one] can effectively maintain business interests far from [one's] place of residence." In lieu of actual family connections to his allies, Galphin sought to engender trust between himself and others to forge such "trust networks," using this familial

than just a bond that Galphin shared with family and friends. The language of family and household – and the relationships invoked by that language – became a technology that fused the many and dissimilar peoples of Galphin's world together.[24]

In the absence of affection or the personal rapport that Galphin shared with his kinsmen and "sworn brothers," he effectively employed this language of family and "households" to liken his allies to intimates, or to create deeper and more meaningful relationships with them. Moreover, many of Galphin's Creek and British allies proved well-versed in this vernacular of family and used it to similar effect. Galphin not only cemented alliances and partnerships with non-kinsmen through this dialect, but also gained access to a wealth of new connections through these allies, who provided alternative sources of commercial and political influence. Galphin's relationships with colonial governors and imperial agents ushered him into the confidence of the Board of Trade in London, whose members learned of and depended on Galphin to restore peace and commerce to the southeast. These connections in turn amplified Galphin's reputation as "a great favourite" with his Creek and imperial allies. Galphin's partnership with the London firm, Greenwood & Higginson, similarly expanded his horizons as he encountered new markets and peoples throughout the Atlantic world. Meanwhile, his personal ties to Creek headmen like Escotchaby, Sempoyaffee, Captain Aleck, and the Old Tallassee King extended his connections into other Lower and Upper Creek towns besides Coweta. For Galphin then, family served to create and

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vernacular to invite trust and to create a fictive kinship with his allies. Charles Tilly, "Trust Networks in Transnational Migration," *Sociological Forum* 22 (March 2007): 3-24; Pierre Force, "The House on Bayou Road: Atlantic Creole Networks in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of American History* Vol. 100, No. 1 (June 2013): 21-45.

[24] Julie Hardwick, Sarah M.S. Pearsall and Karin Wulf, "Introduction: Centering Families in Atlantic Histories," *William & Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Series, Vol. 70, No. 2 (April 2013): 216 ("creative uses"); James H. Sweet, "Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World," *William & Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Series, Vol. 70, No. 2 (April 2013): 257 ("flexible").

expedite relationships, which propelled Galphin into a number of commercial and political circles that profited him and his family quite handsomely.[25]

Such familial reckoning pervaded and proved vitally important to Galphin's relationships with his allies. Galphin and his London merchants – William Greenwood, William Higginson, and John Beswicke – all referred to themselves or were described as men of "Hospitable Houses," "connected in one House," and a "House…versant in the…deer skins…& the several markets for it." It does not take much of a logical leap to see that Galphin and these merchants believed that when joined in partnership with one another, they in essence merged their "households" or firms together. In doing so, these men sought to invoke familial bonds to offset the risk and impersonality involved in transoceanic trade, thereby pledging their support and trust to one another. In other words, this vernacular of family and households resembled an exchange of promises between Galphin and his London merchants to live up to their respective ends of the bargain or partnership.[26]

Galphin's imperial allies also perceived their relationships with Galphin on a household basis. According to Robert Paulett, imperial administrators viewed traders like Galphin as the head of their respective "households" or trade firms, which the empire relied on to impose and maintain order in Georgia, South Carolina, and the Native southeast throughout most of the eighteenth century. It is no coincidence that British officials identified Galphin as "a good Sort of Man in his own House" and a

[25] 7-14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("favourite").
[26] Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians*, i-v ("Hospitable Houses"); Henry Laurens to Babut & Labouchere, 25 February 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 301 ("one House"); Henry Laurens to William Cowles, 29 May 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VIII: Oct. 10, 1771 – Apr. 19, 1773*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 349 ("versant").

"very sensible trader," familiar with "all being transacted in the Houses of the [Creek] Head Men." In the case of one imperial agent who disliked Galphin, he found it necessary to find "an Interpreter unconnected with that House." Galphin encouraged this familial reckoning of his relationships with imperial allies, offering the services of "my House" and "my Home" to the empire on several occasions. This linguistic turn of family and household endeared Galphin to imperial leaders, who needed his services to maintain the vitality of the Creek-British alliance. Needless to say, the empire absorbed "[Galphin's] House" into the imperial fold.[27]

Meanwhile, Galphin's Creek allies "looked upon [him] as an Indian" due to their broad sense of social belonging in which the Creeks transformed cultural "outsiders" like Galphin into "insiders" through marriage and ritual adoption. Galphin's inclusion in the Creek world offered him the means to appeal to other Creek townsmen and leaders in Coweta as "brother," who for all intents and purposes considered Galphin a "Creek man." Galphin in turn capitalized upon such familial-like ties to build a personal rapport with some of the most influential headmen in Creek Country during the eighteenth century, most notably Chigelli, Malatchi, Sempoyaffee, and Escotchaby. In a sense, Galphin used and treated his Coweta relationships in the same way that he used family and the "household," to wed his Creek allies and their interests to his own.

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[27] Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 149 ("households"); "Deposition of William Frazier," 16 March 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 41-43 ("in his own House"); James Glen to the Lords Commissioners, 2 October 1750, *Dalhousie Muniments Papers, 1746-1759*, MS mfm R.1085a-b, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("sensible trader," "transacted"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 21 September 1772, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 6, Vol. 74 [micro-film] (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 28-29 ("unconnected with that house"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 19 February 1771, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 95 ("my House"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 2 June 1768, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 78 ("Home"); 7-14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("his House").

Consequently, when Galphin and his wife's clansmen referred to one another as "Brother," they invoked their relationships via the clan connections of Galphin's wife. Galphin and other Creek leaders similarly framed their relationships with one another in familial terms, as Galphin often addressed these allies as "Friends & Brethren" and as "one and the same people…nursed by the Breast of the Same Mother." In return, Creek headmen called Galphin "my old Friend" or as "my Father." Through such personal ties and a familial vernacular then, Galphin and his Creek allies cemented the relationships between them.[28]

These Creek confederates also spoke the language of "households" with Galphin, and perceived Galphin's many trade stores in Creek Country as extensions of Galphin's "household" at Silver Bluff. During an Upper Creek raid on the Buzzard Roost settlement in 1768, the Creeks plundered every trade store except "Mr. Galphin's …[which] was not in the least molested." This and other instances of Creek allies protecting or leaving Galphin's stores alone suggest Creek leaders considered these sites off-limits or safeguarded by Galphin's supporters in Coweta. Creek headmen in a sense recognized that "Mr. Galphin's House" extended into Creek Country, designated by the trade stores he settled within Creek towns. The Creeks therefore spoke the same

[28] "Tallassee King's Talk delivered to Georgia Governor & Council," 22 September 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837,* 161-163 ("as an Indian"); Andrew K. Frank, *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 35 ("Creek man"); George Galphin to Escotchaby of Coweta, February 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII,* 137-138 ("My Friend"); "A Talk from the Patucy Mico to George Galphin Esq. Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 4 November 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Brother"); "A Treaty of Peace and Commerce held at Old Town on Ogeechee River," 6 November 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Father Brother and Friend"); George Galphin to Head Men & Warriors of the Creek Nation at the Treaty of Old Town, 17 June 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Friends & Brethren,"; "Friends and Brother," "Breast"); "Talk delivered by the Tallassie King to the Governor & Council," 20 September 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837,* 159-160 ("old friend"); "A Talk from the Young Tallassee King from the Upper and Lower Towns of the Creeks, to George Galphin," 15 December 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780,* Folder 2 ("Father and Oldest Brother"); "Journal of the Conference between the American Commissioners and the Creeks at Augusta," 16-19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII,* 183-190 ("Elder Brother").

lingua franca of family and "households" as Galphin's other allies, and this acted as a cohesive agent that affirmed the ties of trust and familiarity between them.[29]

Galphin's dependents similarly proved fluent in this metaphorical vernacular, particularly since Galphin styled himself as each community's patriarch and the head of their respective "households." In fact, Galphin seemingly created a quasi-manorial system with his dependents, in which these men and women owed their labors and allegiances to their patron in return for employment and community services. It is hardly a coincidence that contemporaries referred to Galphin's Silver Bluff as a "hospitable Castle," surrounded by outlying communities inhabited by his tenants, or as Galphin called them, "his People." By commanding a community's loyalties and dependencies, Galphin asserted his own independence and gentility, while placating his dependents with a paternal care for their settlements. In short, Galphin not only used family as a technology to tie the disparate peoples and interests of his expansive network together, but to also impose control over them.[30]

As a patriarch writ large to his dependents, Galphin enfolded all of these peoples and families into his own proverbial "household," particularly since many of these Anglo, Irish, African, and Creek persons labored as part of Galphin's "house."[31]

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[29] "Deposition of William Frazier," 16 March 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 41-43 ("molested"); Emistisiguo to John Stuart, 7 September 1768, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies: Indian Affairs, Series 1,* Vol. 70, Reel 4, Document 61 [micro-film] University of Oklahoma, Norman OK ("Mr. Galphin's House").

[30] Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 2 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VII: Aug. 1, 1769 – Oct. 9, 1771*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 210-211 ("hospitable Castle"); Emistisiguo to John Stuart, 7 September 1768, *Records of the Colonial Office, Indian Affairs, Series 1,* Vol. 70, Reel 4, Doc. 61 ("his People").

[31] Tadmor argues that for families in eighteenth century England, the familial household extended beyond the family members themselves, and often referred to the larger canvas of people who shared kinship and social relations with a particular household, such as the "servants, apprentices, wards, or even long-term guests." In other words, those "people [who] left households and joined them" day in and day out during the eighteenth century. Therefore, the "concept of the family emanated from relationships

Galphin confided as much to his allies, that "there will be always some Traders at my House," or "People [at] Silver Bluff" available for any situation or emergency. Galphin also treated his dependents with a fatherly care born of the paternal relations that he cultivated with those communities. For instance, Galphin's debtors like Stephen Forrester remained forever unable to pay off what they owed Galphin. But instead of taking his pound of flesh, Galphin allowed these men and their families to "liv[e] on a Place of his (Galphin's)" choosing. Galphin even sponsored his debtors despite their financial obligations, such as the time Forrester pled with the Georgia government to grant land to his son, which was "postponed until Mr. George Galphin attends."[32]

This technological use of family and the "household" also reveals the very permeable nature of Galphin's world, as his relationships with intimates, allies, and dependents blended into each other around the edges. Because Galphin relied on family and friends to coordinate and supervise the emigration of Irish families to Silver Bluff and Queensborough, this brought these intimates and dependents into continual contact and dialogue with one another. Even though Galphin privileged his intimates, this did not mean that he could not demote his intimates to such a dependency as the Queensborough Irish. Such demotion often stemmed from the excessive debts that some family and friends, such as Robert Holmes, owed him. In the reverse case, several of Galphin's merchant allies like Henry Laurens transcended their partnerships to become intimates. Such permeability and fluidity opened up a world of endless

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of co-residence" as much as it was "relationships of blood and marriage." Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 10, 20.

[32] George Galphin to John Stuart, 8 January 1764, CO 323/17, Doc. 180 ("at my House"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 17 December 1774, *Records of the Colonial Office, Indian Affairs, Series 1*, Vol. 76, Reel 7, Doc. 37 ("People"); South Carolina Council of Safety to Georgia Council of Safety, 24 July 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume X: Dec. 12, 1774 – Jan. 6, 1776*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981), 243-244 ("on a Place"); 3 November 1767, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. X*, 343 ("postponed").

possibilities for Galphin; where intimates, allies, and dependents could be supportive and advantageous at one moment, but then fickle and destructive the next. To deal with this, Galphin evolved into a very shrewd and calculated manager of his relationships, able to manipulate his personal connections on the one hand, while pulling his intimates, allies, and dependents in various directions with the other. Even when the world turned upside down, or when the interests of his allies or dependents turned against him, Galphin adapted to the situation by moving his relationships around like pieces on a chessboard until they realigned in support of his interests.

In this process of creating, organizing, fusing, and managing his relationships, Galphin provides a final insight into the eighteenth century past that scholars have not yet fully articulated – these relationships that connected peoples also linked places and communities in and around the Atlantic basin to one another. Galphin demonstrated as much during the "Long Canes" crisis when he maneuvered his connections in ways that defused the conflict, which in turn reverberated throughout his world of relationships and influenced local situations in North America, the Native southeast, Ireland, and England. The different peoples of those localities in turn looked to and depended on Galphin – and paid very close attention to the events that unfolded at Silver Bluff – to resolve disruptions or threats to their particular communities. In essence then, Galphin connected places as much as he connected peoples.

Spatial connections helped people like Galphin understand the world around them, a worldview rooted in the very local and particular environs and circumstances that they came from and encountered throughout their lives. Galphin's mental world revolved around the local and the intimate, and this conditioned his incessant drive to

create relationships with the many dissimilar peoples whose lives intersected with his own. To Galphin, the world remained a spatially and emotionally local place where his enactment of relationships reflected his understanding of how personal connections turned the unfamiliar and the impersonal into the familiar and intimate. Galphin did not necessarily see the world around him as interconnected or networked, then, but he interpreted and filtered such macro-processes, events, or forces through a local or spatial lens. In fact, the Atlantic world that Galphin inhabited might better be thought of as a world comprised of intensely local places connected by individuals like Galphin, who perceived the relationships that they forged with peoples in various places according to this locally based understanding of the world. In other words, the eighteenth century world was not as much a transatlantic place as it was a world of *intimacies* and *localities*.

Take for instance the spider-web analogy that historians of the Atlantic often use to demonstrate the interconnected nature of that world. According to Romney, Dutch maritime peoples "wove a complicated web from one port to another, made up of the old relationships they took with them and the new ones they formed along the way." Using this same analogy, think of Galphin as the spider who spun web-like relationships at each particular locality he lived and interacted with; from Ulster, Charleston, Coweta, Savannah and Augusta, to Silver Bluff, then to London, Bristol, Cowes, Queensborough, East Florida, Africa, the West Indies, and many other transatlantic communities, ports, and markets. From one place to another, the personal connections Galphin produced at each of these localities followed him wherever he went. For example, when Galphin immigrated to North America, he carried with him

the real and fictive kin ties he built in Ulster. The friendships and contacts Galphin forged in Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston similarly followed him into Coweta, and so on. Cumulatively then, Galphin's relationships from one place to another intersected and coalesced into a web of personal and spatial connections that tied the peoples and places of those localities together. Where Galphin the spider moved, then, his relationships trailed along behind him, connecting those peoples and places together.[33]

When Galphin made his home at Silver Bluff, this place emerged as the heart, or the hub, of his web, the place to which all of his relationships connected. From Silver Bluff, each locality where Galphin cultivated personal linkages emerged as anchor points for his web, in which the connections of each particular place provided foundational or infrastructural support for the hub. Meanwhile, Galphin kept watch for any and all potential disturbances to his relational network, similar to the spider that sits at the web's center, attentive to the vibrations that alert it to any dangers that threatened the relationships that held the web together. In such an event like the "Long Canes" crisis, Galphin moved like the spider, mobilizing quickly and efficiently to counteract the threat and restore equilibrium to the web.

The structure of this study[34] revolves around such a spatial framework, in which each section corresponds to a different place that Galphin lived and interacted with. In

[33] Romney, *New Netherland Connections*, 70.

[34] This study is rooted in the historical approach pioneered by Rebecca J. Scott, Jean M. Hebrard, and Pierre Force who all pursue "micro-historical studies" to unearth "Atlantic…trajectories" through "painstaking archival and genealogical research in more than one location." In particular, the sources available for these types of studies are decidedly weighted toward the latter end of the eighteenth century and are especially rich for the nineteenth century. This unfortunately leaves gaps in the historical record in trying to recreate Galphin's life and larger world during the early to mid eighteenth century. Consequently, I use what limited historical documentation there is for Galphin and supplement it with the larger documentary record pertaining to those he associated with and called his intimates, allies, and dependents. Additionally, I rely on what historians know about the early to mid eighteenth century to recreate Galphins' place within the colonial American and Atlantic worlds, and when in the absence of

part one, the scene is already set as we are introduced to Galphin's hub, Silver Bluff, in the 1760s and 1770s; the apex of Galphin's career as a trader, merchant, and go-between. While non-linear and non-chronological in approach, this structure allows me to lay out the entirety of the world that Galphin anchored at Silver Bluff. In part two, we take a step back to witness how Galphin accumulated these personal and spatial relationships in the first place, a story that unfolds in successive chapters centered in County Armagh in Ireland, the Creek town of Coweta, and the British ports and cities of Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, and London. It is in each of these sections that Galphin created the connections that coalesced into his world of intimacies and localities that lay rooted at Silver Bluff.

Part three returns the narrative back to Silver Bluff and focuses on the conflicting interests and peoples within Galphin's web of relationships. In particular, the animosity between the Creeks of Coweta and the Ulster Irish families at Queensborough created a vicious and ultimately irreconcilable divide between the peoples of Galphin's world.

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actual proof, offer plausible explanations for his role in the events of the eighteenth century world. Rebecca J. Scott and Jean M. Hebrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 4-5; Pierre Force, "The House on Bayou Road: Atlantic Creole Networks in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of American History* 100:1 (June 2013): 21-45.

I have also taken a page out of the work by Martha Hodes, who pieced together the story of Eunice Richardson Stone Connolly – an ordinary American woman whose life spanned most of the nineteenth century – through evidence that "rarely appears in formal historical records." Instead, Hodes turned to anything and everything that she could get her hands on, from the "writings of others" to the current historical scholarship, all in her effort to "piece together…[and] fill in the contours of Eunice's life." Additionally, Hodes used Eunice's life to illustrate the larger or "grand themes of American history" that Eunice lived through and experienced. In the process, Hodes "came to understand the secrets of circumstances and sentiment [were] as important to Eunice's story as [what was] revealed in the historical documents." The historical context for Hodes – in lieu of the spoken or written word – offered opportunities to tell Eunice's story in ways that Eunice herself did not, or how Eunice's life gestured at the larger processes and themes that unfolded within American society during the nineteenth century. Such themes included race and slavery, the Civil War, the "Second Great Awakening," industrial capitalism, etc. As Hodes insightfully suggests about her work, "In place of fiction, I offer the craft of history, assisted by the art of speculation," while always sensitive in her efforts "to be faithful to Eunice's presentation of experience, even as I have discerned a deeper historical significance for her life." Martha Hodes, *The Sea Captain's Wife: A True Story of Love, Race, and War in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2006).

When combined with Galphin's own intrigues during the Treaty of Augusta (1773), Galphin's Coweta allies violently renounced their personal connections to him, which in turn threatened to upend his world of relationships. Although Galphin managed to restore equilibrium by forging connections with new allies and partners, as well as sustaining his pre-existing relations with other allies and dependents, the loss of his Coweta allies haunted Galphin for the rest of his life. Such violence and chaos only grew worse with the onset of the Revolutionary War, which set in motion a series of events that brought a destructive end to Galphin's world.

Finally, it should be noted that George Galphin is likely the exception to the norm for peoples of the eighteenth century. His ability to command a powerful influence that defied oceanic, imperial, and cultural barriers was quite specific to the time and place that he lived. If he had lived in the seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries when relations between Creek and British peoples were far more precarious and violent, or the nineteenth century when the United States desired to sweep southeastern Native Peoples out of the way, Galphin's world would not have functioned – or exuded power and influence – in the ways that it did. However, Galphin's life can be used to gesture at the broader experiences and processes that defined the eighteenth century past. Through Galphin, we can see how individuals organized their lives in very local and intimate ways, in which one's relationships connected different peoples and places in and around the Atlantic basin. At the same time, such relationships played a fundamental role in how an individual understood and navigated the eighteenth century world. Galphin also illustrates the hierarchical nature of these relationships, or how people privileged certain personal connections over others. Further, Galphin's personal

linkages to the Creeks demonstrate how Native Peoples actively engaged with transoceanic systems, processes, and events, every bit as much as their European and African counterparts. In the end, despite being atypical, Galphin reveals to us the very intimate, locally connected, hierarchically ordered, and indigenous-influenced contours of the eighteenth century.

PART I: GEORGE GALPHIN'S ATLANTIC WORLD OF INTIMACIES AND LOCALITIES, 1764-1776

Chapter 1 – "In whom he placed the greatest Confidence": George Galphin, his Intimates, and the World of Familial Intimacy at Silver Bluff

In April 1776, the famed natural scientist, William Bartram, departed from Charleston and navigated the "high road leading from Savannah to Augusta" (fig. 2), ultimately destined for Creek and Cherokee Country. During his sojourn, Bartram came upon Silver Bluff, "a very celebrated place" and the "property and seat of G. Golphin." Marveling at its "considerable height upon the Carolina shore of the Savanna river," and obsessed with recording every detail of that place,[35] Bartram wrote fondly and often of Silver Bluff. In fact, he believed "Mr. Golphin's buildings and improvements will prove to be the foundation of monuments of infinitely greater celebrity and permanence than the preceding establishments." In measuring the man himself, Bartram and others referred to Galphin as a "gentleman of very distinguished talents and great liberality," who always "endeared [himself] to all [his] acquaintances and to all who heard [his] name," which only added to the luster and celebrity of the "famous Silver Bluff."[36]

Bartram even interrupted his travels to "call at Silver Bluff" where he spent several days with "the honourable G. Golphin," whom Bartram recalled from his time

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[35] Bartram painstakingly recorded details about Silver Bluff, that its "steep bank rises perpendicularly out of the river, discovering various strata of earth; the surface for a considerable depth is a loose sandy loam, with a mixture of sea shells, especially ostrae…The surface of the ground upon this bluff, extends a mile and a half or two miles on the river, and is from an half mile to a mile in breadth, nearly level, and a good fertile soil; as is evident from the vast Oaks, Hickory, Mulberry, Black walnut and other trees and shrubs, which are left standing in the old fields which are spread abroad to a great distance; and discovers various monuments and vestiges of the residence of the ancients; as Indian conical mounts, terraces, areas, &c. as well as remains or traces of fortresses of regular formation, as if constructed after the modes of European military architects, which are supposed to be ancient camps of the Spaniards who formerly fixed themselves at this place in hopes of finding silver." Thomas P. Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels and Other Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1996), 259-261.

[36] Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels and Other Writings*, 259-261 ("high road," "celebrated," "property," "heights," "improvements," "talents"); Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Nashville: Promontory Press, 1973), i-v ("endeared"); 10 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 33:1 (Dec., 1942): 25-26 ("famous").

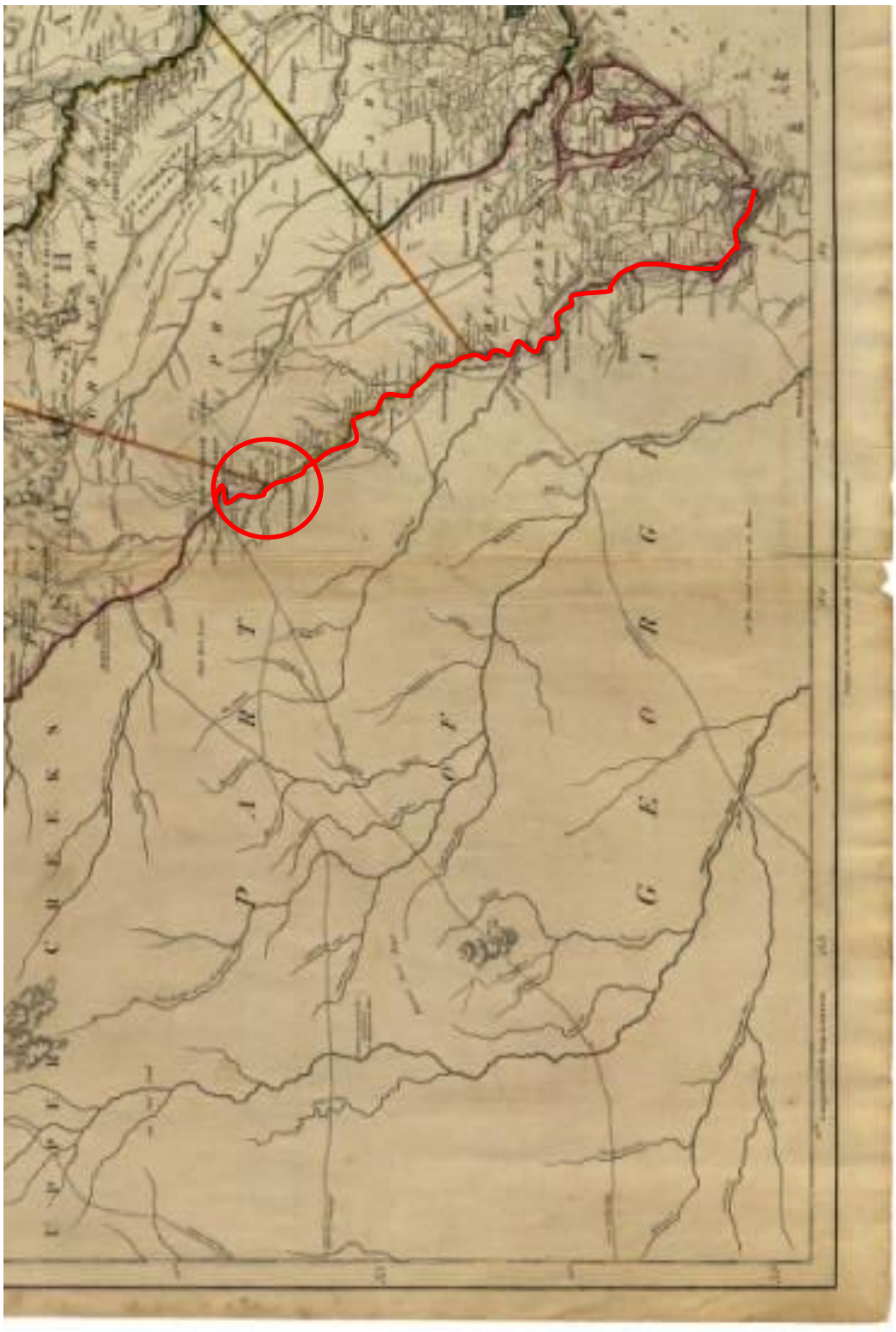


Figure 2: Map of the Boundary Line between South Carolina and Georgia (with Silver Bluff, as part of New Windsor Township, circled in red). The red line is the road that William Bartram traversed from Savannah up to Augusta.[37]

[37] Henry Mouzon, *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina with their Indian Frontiers*, HMap1775s6, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA.

as a boy when he first visited that place in the company of his father, the "Royal Botanist" for King George III. During that visit, Bartram's father wrote that "we rode about 8 miles to one Mr. Galphin to whome I wasrecommended from Charlestown, [and] who received us very kindly." Upon setting foot on Galphin's lands, father and son both admired "this Gentleman's plantations, which were, indeed, very delightful," and produced everything from indigo and cotton, to corn, rice, and tobacco. The Bartrams also noted that because Silver Bluff lay alongside the Savannah River (fig. 3),

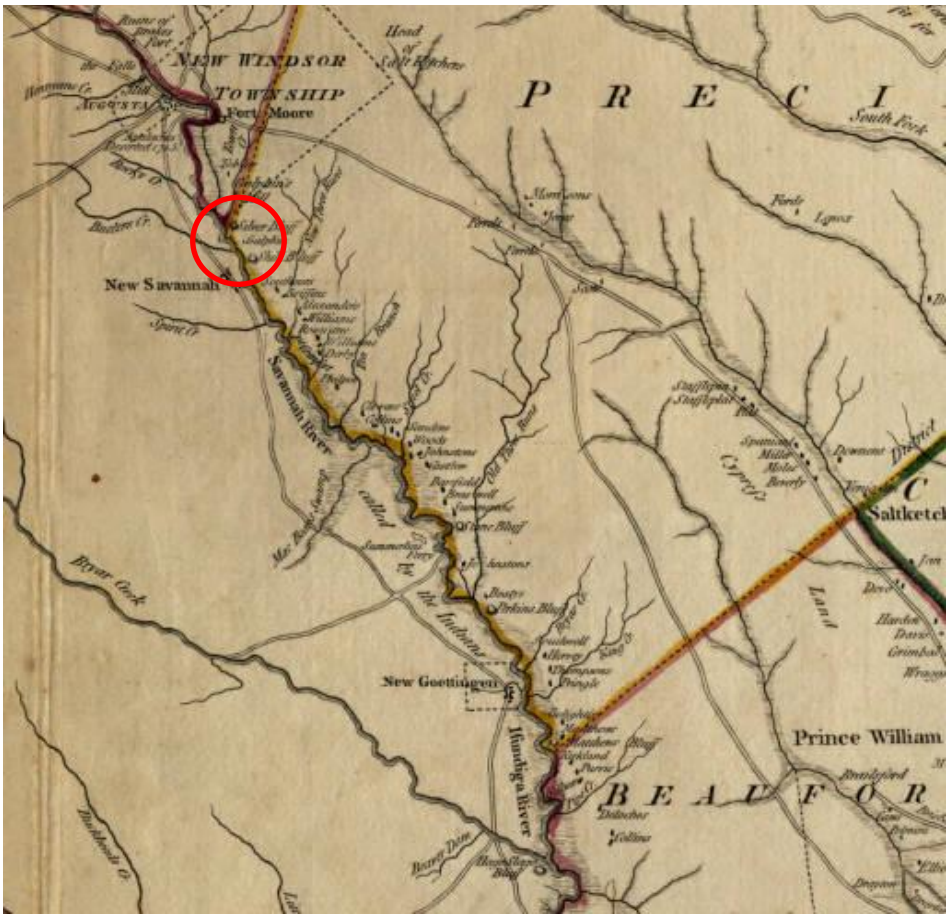


Figure 3: Map of Silver Bluff (circled in red) and the Savannah River.[38]

Galphin shrewdly tapped that natural waterway to transport his crops down to market, where merchants in Savannah sent his produce to the West Indies, New England,

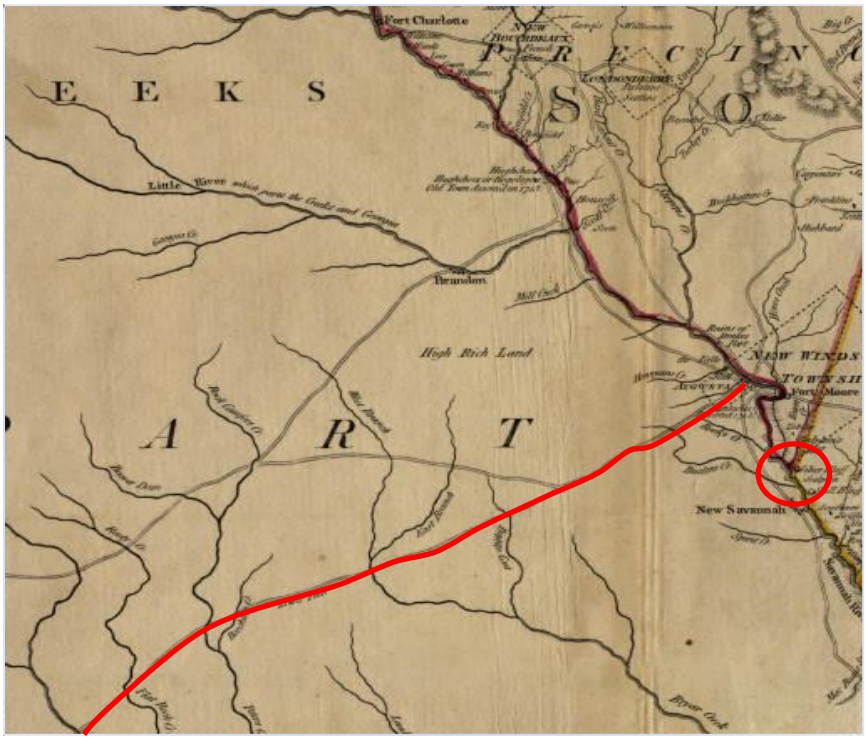
[38] Mouzon, *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina with their Indian Frontiers*, HMap1775s6.

Florida, and Europe. During their stay, the Bartrams also visited Galphin's cowpens, which they deemed "the greatest curiosity [that] this country affords." There, Galphin's African slaves "look[ed] after a number of cattle of various kinds, that occupy a range of country of six to ten miles." The Bartrams observed these African ranchers also bred and slaughtered Galphin's livestock, which Galphin then sent to the Caribbean, North America, and Europe. Finally, the Bartrams surveyed the great abundance of "Oaks, Hickory, Mulberry, Black walnut, and other trees" at Silver Bluff, a natural wealth that Galphin reaped with his sawmills and lumber yards that he similarly sent down the Savannah River. After touring such an expansive plantation, it was undoubtedly apparent to the Bartrams that Galphin was a man of affluence, with a reputation "more illustrious than…any high sounding titles."[39]

While "lodged at Mr. Galphins," the Bartrams perceived that Silver Bluff doubled as "Mr. Galphin's Trading House" with the "Creek[s]…Chicasaws, Chactaws, and other Indian tribes, who are supplied with European commodities in exchange for [deer]skins, bever, and other peltry." Father and son also noted the Lower Path – the commercial and diplomatic lifeline between Creek Country and Britain's colonies – passed within a hair's breadth of Silver Bluff (fig. 4, 5). Galphin fully capitalized on such topographic fortune by blazing his own personal pathway that one mapmaker labeled "Godolphin's Path," which connected Silver Bluff to the Lower Path and thereby ensured the traffic in deerskins and commodities flowed through his

[39] Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels & Other Writings,* 259-261 ("Oaks"), 371 ("honourable," "called"); 9-10 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," 24-25 ("rode"), 25-26 ("delightful"); *A Map of the Indian Nations in the Southern Department, 1766,* HMap1766d4, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA (Savannah River); 18 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," 27 ("curiosity," "negroes," "cattle"); Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians,* i-v ("illustrious").

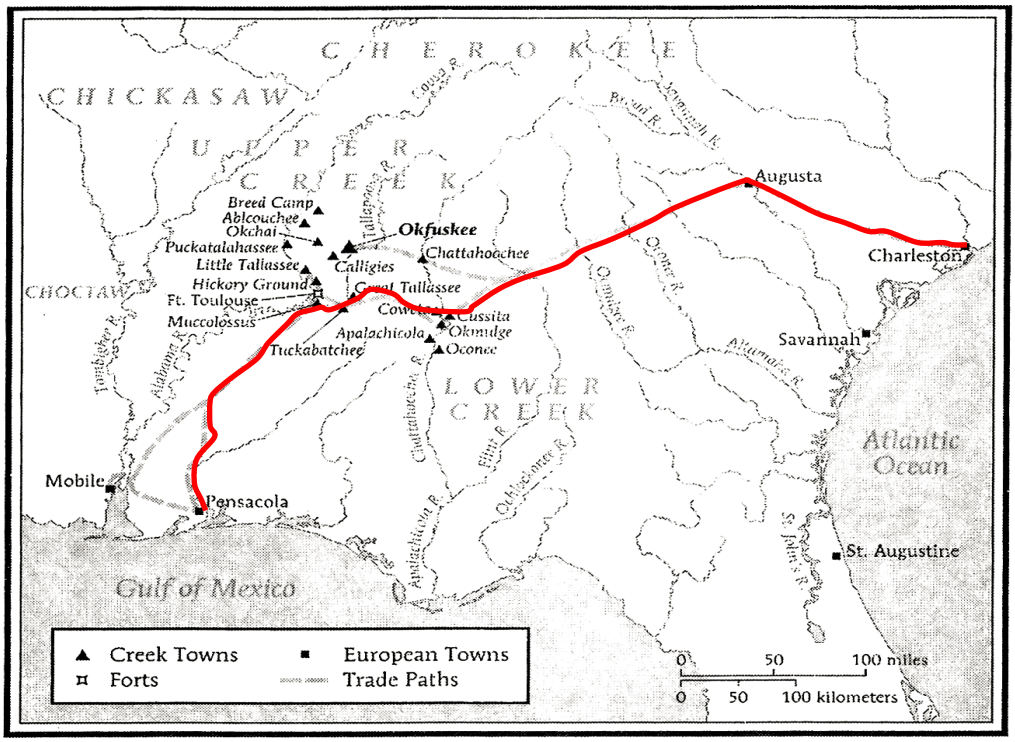
Figure 4: Map of Silver Bluff (circled in red) and the Lower Path (red line) that connected the Lower Creeks to Augusta[40]



hands. A depot for the deerskin trade then, Silver Bluff attracted a plethora of Native and British peoples. British observers often commented that up to "70 Creek Indians were at Mr. George Galphin's," or as Galphin himself mentioned, there could be more than "100 of our [Creek] friends down at my place" at one time. In addition, Silver Bluff served as a diplomatic ground for Native and British leaders, which William Bartram witnessed in 1773 when he arrived at Galphin's plantation on the eve of an "Indian Congress." While there, he met a great "Numbers of People...& Indians" who ate, slept, and loitered at that place. Without a doubt, Galphin encouraged such intersections of commerce and politics at Silver Bluff, which contributed greatly to his repute as "possessed [of] of the most extensive trade, connexions, and influence, amongst the South and South-West Indian tribes."[41]

[40] Mouzon, *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina with their Indian Frontiers*, HMap1775s6 (fig. 4); Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) (fig. 5).

Figure 5: Map of the Lower Path from Creek Country to the British Colonies



However, it is quite curious that both Bartrams, for all of their attention to scientific and cultural detail, failed to observe what was truly at the center of Galphin's world at Silver Bluff – the astonishing number of family and friends he surrounded himself with and depended on to manage his trade and plantation operations. Unlike the Bartrams, other visitors to Silver Bluff could not contain their wonder at Galphin's "mixed breed daughters, politely enough educated with music," or the fact that Galphin maintained "five varieties of the human family…and no doubt would have gone the

[41] Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels and Other Writings*, 259-261 ("possessed"), 371 ("Trading House"), 471 ("Congress"); 9 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," 24-25 ("lodged," "Creek"); Louis De Vorsey Jr., ed. *DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 151 ("Godolphin's Path"); 3 May 1764, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800*, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("numbers"); 7 March 1761, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("70 Creek Indians"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 18 March 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*, in *Henry Laurens Papers*, Roll 17: Papers Concerning Indian Affairs, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston SC ("at my place").

whole hog, but the Malay and Mongol were out of his reach." Galphin's family included his Creek wife Metawney and their children, Galphin's son and daughter from a French-Anglo mistress, as well as the Anglo-African and "half-breed Indian" girls he fathered with several of his female slaves. British imperial agents also noted Galphin populated Silver Bluff with a multitude of relatives and friends from Ireland, such as his sisters and their families, a host of cousins, and a number of family friends. Galphin further allocated space at Silver Bluff for his Anglo cousins, nephews, and "loving friends." In short, Galphin molded Silver Bluff into a distinctly familial world.[42]

In fact, the familial milieu Galphin created at Silver Bluff reveals the *modus operandi* by which he lived his life – the compulsive search for intimacy, and the use of relationships with the peoples around him to structure the larger world both spatially and emotionally. Galphin's relationships with others helped him to make sense of the imperial and transatlantic forces he encountered throughout his life, and allowed him to cope with those impersonal and at times disruptive processes. Galphin's worldview evolved specifically in response to his poverty-stricken childhood in Ulster, the scars of which he carried with him for the rest of life. In fact, Galphin's perpetual use of relationships reflected his traumatic experiences in Ireland and led him to think of the imperial and transatlantic worlds in very personal terms, which translated into an intensely local and intimate understanding of the wider world. Galphin, then, forged a network of relationships that linked particular peoples and places together throughout

[42] Joseph W. Barnwell, ed. "Bernard Elliott's Recruiting Journal 1775,"*South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 17:3 (July 1916): 98-99 ("mixed breed"); Thomas S. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians,* ed. Peter A. Brannon (Tuscaloosa: Weatherford Printing Co., 1939), 105-106 ("whole hog"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Microfilm 687, Reel 17, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("trust," "employ").

the British Empire and Atlantic basin, which he ultimately embedded at Silver Bluff. To use the spider analogy, Galphin spun connective threads that tied various peoples and localities together as he moved from place to place throughout his life, and these relationships in turn followed him wherever he went, all of which eventually converged upon and intersected at Silver Bluff.

Galphin, therefore, presided over an integrative and networked world of relationships that expanded beyond Silver Bluff into the imperial and transatlantic worlds, all the while aided by the family and friends he trusted and valued the most. Remarkably, Galphin's synthetic web of connections transformed into his family's own little commercial empire on the imperial margins, which lent Galphin a source of influence and control within the deerskin trade and Creek-British politics. Due to the fragility of imperial power on the fringes of empire, Galphin discovered the opportunities to redirect and even shape the ways that politics and trade unfolded in the North American interior, where the local and the intimate proved more powerful and influential than the coercive forces of imperial law, government, and militaries. As historian Joshua Piker argues, colonial settings "offered individuals the opportunities to craft novel but effective forms of power." For Galphin and his kith and kin, they manufactured such "forms of power" through their relationships within the empire and on its periphery. Galphin's world reveals, then, an alternate system of power in the eighteenth century that privileged the local and personal over imperial or metropole.[43]

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[43] Patrick Carr to George Galphin, n.d., *Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Command"); Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stores in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 293 ("power").

To set the stage for the intensely local and intimate world that existed at Silver Bluff, one must first understand how Galphin structured that world. Spatially, Galphin's Silver Bluff consisted of 7,247 acres in the New Windsor township of South Carolina, although his lands bordered the Savannah River and at certain places protruded into Georgia. Archaeological excavations demonstrate that Galphin divided Silver Bluff into two distinct zones of interaction and use. While he set aside the northernmost lands for his family's residence and dedicated the surrounding area to plantation agriculture, Galphin reserved the southernmost parts of Silver Bluff for the deerskin trade and merchant operations. To protect his "Hospitable Castle," Galphin erected a large wooden palisade that encircled most of Silver Bluff, except for lands adjacent to the river. Outside of Silver Bluff, Galphin populated the adjoining countryside with the families, tenants, and laborers who considered him their patron, landlord, and employer. Doing so extended the borders of Silver Bluff even farther.[44]

The first thing that visitors noticed about Silver Bluff was the large two-story brick house that Galphin and his family lived in, which stood in stark contrast to the wooden "post-in-ground frame dwellings [or] log cabins" built by most families in eighteenth century South Carolina and Georgia. This luxury is a visible testament to the wealth that Galphin accumulated through his commercial enterprises. Moreover, Galphin started construction on an even larger "new brick house" in the late 1760s to accommodate his continuously growing family. Those who walked the perimeter of Galphin's brick homes would have observed numerous "out-buildings" that jutted from

[44] Tammy R. Forehand, Mark D. Groover, David C. Crass, and Robert Moon, "Bridging the Gap between Archaeologists and the Public: Excavations at Silver Bluff Plantation, the George Galphin Site," *Early Georgia* Vol. 32: No. 1 (June 2004): 56-58 ("7,247," two zones), 62 (palisade); Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 2 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VII: Aug. 1, 1769 – Oct. 9, 1771*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 210-211 ("Castle").

the sides of those houses, which included kitchens, storehouses, privies, and other domestic structures. Nearby the Galphin residence, and separated only by a series of water wells dug in close proximity to the living quarters, visitors billeted and dined at one of Galphin's several "public houses." From their rooms, guests could admire Galphin's sweeping cropland that stretched as far as the eye could see; a breathtaking scene to be sure, but at times interrupted by the dozens of "negro cabins" that sheltered Galphin's African and Native slaves.[45]

At some point during a visitor's stay,[46] Galphin insisted that they explore the rest of Silver Bluff, often "accompanied by that Gentleman" who found great delight in showing off his estate to his guests. The first thing that they came upon after leaving the residential area was an endless expanse of corn, tobacco, cotton, and rice, not to mention Galphin's celebrated "Indigo fields" and his "Spiral Pumps" that hydraulically powered his mills. For miles on end, Galphin led his guests down Silver Bluff's "rough road" where they passed his slaves and white laborers who toiled in the plantation fields, the latter of which were working off their debts or obligations to Galphin. Along the way, visitors passed one wooden building after another – warehouses for storing crops, sheds to house equipment and machinery, barns for cows and horses, and a "regional public warehouse for tobacco." After "about three miles," Galphin stopped

[45] Forehand, et.al, "Bridging the Gap between Archaeologists and the Public: Excavations at Silver Bluff Plantation, the George Galphin Site," 56 ("post-in-ground"), 58 ("cabins"), 59 ("new brick house"), 60-63 ("out-buildings"), 64 ("public houses"); Isabel Vandervelde, *George Galphin, Indian Trading Patriot of Georgia and South Carolina: Families of his Children of Three Races* (Aiken, SC: Art Studio Press, 2005), 39 ("negro cabins").

[46] Galphin took great pleasure in showing off his plantation to his visitors, which ranged from intimates such as Henry Laurens, to those allies like James Habersham, John Stuart, William and John Bartram, and Bernard Elliott. Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 2 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VII: August 1, 1769 – October 9, 1771,* ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 210-211; Barnwell ed., "Bernard Elliott's Recruiting Journal 1775," 98-99; Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels and Other Writings*, 259-261 ("possessed"), 259-261; "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," 24-27.

his guests at the mouth of a creek that ran through Silver Bluff, where he pointed out that this small stream powered his sawmills and gristmills. Before crossing the bridge to move on, visitors may even have noticed a small wooden structure that adjoined one of Galphin's mills, which served as a "Baptist Church" for Galphin's slaves who gathered at that place on "Saturday evening[s]," and used the "Mill stream" on Sundays for baptisms.[47]

After several more miles of crop fields and with the Savannah River coming into view, Galphin and his guests reached the grounds where he conducted the deerskin trade. On either side of the road, wooden framed stores lured Creek and Anglo customers who sought to sell their deerskins, homespun, or other domestically produced goods for the commodities that Galphin imported from London and other parts of the empire. Galphin's visitors likely marveled at the bustling nature of these stores as Creek hunters, Silver Bluff residents, and Galphin's traders came together to barter and negotiate with one another, often followed by bouts of eating, drinking, and carousing. Next to Galphin's stores stood large wooden structures where he stored the deerskins and "Indian goods," where Galphin also kept the hundreds of "hogsheads of rum" that he kept on hand to lubricate his customers. Nearing the end of the road, Galphin showed his guests around the "Silver Bluff landing," or the wharf where Galphin docked his boats. Galphin's vessels included his very own sloop that he

[47] 19 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," 27 ("accompanied); Barnwell, ed. "Bernard Elliott's Recruiting Journal 1775," 98-99 ("spiral pumps," "Saw Mills," "rough road," "three miles"); James D. Scurry, J. Walter Joseph, and Fritz Hamer. "Initial Archeological Investigations at Silver Bluff Plantation Aiken County, South Carolina" (Research Manuscript Series 168), prepared by Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina (October 1980): 20 ("tobacco"); Forehand, et.al, "Bridging the Gap between Archaeologists and the Public: Excavations at Silver Bluff Plantation, the George Galphin Site," 56 (warehouses, mills); *An Account of the Life of David George.* Canada's Digital Collection. http://www.blackloyalist.com/cdc/documents/diaries/ george_a_life.htm ("Church," "Saturday," "stream").

uninspiringly christened the *Galphin*, the "public boats" that carried his harvests and deerskins down to Savannah, and the smaller "battoes," paddle boats, and canoes that served more for personal transport than commerce. On their way back to the main residence, Galphin likely took his guests on a small detour away from the road to "visit his cowpens, being a kind of house, or hut, near a good spring." This place is where Galphin's slaves and Anglo tenants attended to his cattle which roamed up to ten miles west of Silver Bluff. Upon leaving Galphin's cowpens and returning to his manor house, Galphin customarily invited his guests to dine with him that night and enjoy what many considered his "great…hospitality."[48]

It was here at the dinner table where visitors observed firsthand the intimate setting and familial milieu that Galphin cultivated at Silver Bluff. On one side of the table, guests exchanged pleasantries with Galphin's Anglo-Creek children – George Jr., John, and Judith. Before settling at Silver Bluff in 1750, Galphin served as the resident trader for the Creek town of Coweta where he attracted the notice of that town's leaders, who fatefully matched him with Metawney,[49] the "daughter of the Great

[48] Forehand, et.al, "Bridging the Gap between Archaeologists and the Public," 58-59 (stores, warehouses, landing); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772*, MS #269, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah ("hogsheads"); "Sloop Galphin," *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, Book Y-1: 13 July 1772 to 16 May 1774, MS #4000, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 403; Thomas Rasberry to Josiah Smith, 29 January 1759, *The Letter Book of Thomas Rasberry, 1758-1761*, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society Volume XIII (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1959), 36 ("boats"); 10 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," 25-26 ("battoes," "cowpens"); Barnwell, ed. "Bernard Elliott's Recruiting Journal 1775," 98-99 ("hospitality").

[49] Because the Creeks were a matrilineal society, Galphin's Creek sons and daughter joined their mother's clan, which was reputed to be of "Indian family distinction." In fact, Metawney's clan proved to be so influential in Creek society that the "kings, head men and Warriors of the Creek Indian Nation" called her "our beloved Sister Matawny" and that out of their "natural love and affection" for her, granted more than 88,000 acres of land to "[her] three children." Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, Book D, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 270-272 ("distinction"); 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book BBB, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 95 (Metawney, "Warriors," "Sister," "affection," 88,000, Creek intimacies).

Warrior of…Cowetaw called Tustenogy Micco." Through this marriage, the Creeks of Coweta ushered Galphin into their confidence and depended on him to act as their commercial and political intermediary within the British Empire. For over a decade, Galphin lived among his wife's people in Coweta, where she eventually gave birth to George Jr. and Judith. After 1750, Galphin relocated his Creek family to Silver Bluff, where they built their own home and plantation, and where Metawney gave birth to their third child, John.[50] Despite leaving Coweta, the Galphins remained in contact with their kin, clansmen, friends, and allies in Creek Country, which included some of the most influential leaders during the eighteenth century, such as Chigelli, Malatchi, Sempoyaffee, Escotchaby, and Captain Aleck. These Creek relatives and allies in turn continued to depend on Galphin to facilitate the deerskin trade and to conduct their political business with imperial agents, which transformed Silver Bluff into a commercial and diplomatic hub for Creek and British peoples. In fact, because the Creeks invested so much of their time, energy, and capital in Galphin, they designated Silver Bluff as a "white ground," which elevated Galphin's plantation to a space of cultural, economic, and political importance in the Creek world. At other times,

[50] Galphin came into possession of Silver Bluff sometime between 1750 and 1752. Before this, the Yuchis occupied the Silver Bluff area, but later removed their settlements into Creek Country after being "called Home when they [Creeks] broke out War with the Cherokees." Afterward, the Indian trader Kennedy O'Brien inhabited Silver Bluff until his death, after which Robert McMurdy of Charleston purchased the region, settled a cowpens, and erected a few habitable structures until he sold that land to Galphin, "whose Family has lived some Years [before] at Silver Bluff on the Carolina side." 25 September 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VI: Proceedings of the President and Assistants from October 12, 1741 to October 30, 1754*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1906), 331 (Galphin 1750, "family"); James Glen to the President and Council of Georgia, 15 June 1751, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1958), 170-171 (Yuchis); John Shaw Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, in *Hammond, Bryan and Cumming Family Papers, 1787-1865*, MS mfm R. 1068a-c, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC (Kennedy); Deed of Sale from Robert McMurdy to George Galphin, 1 September 1752, *George Galphin's Mesne Conveyance Records, 1752-1778*, Book S-S, Register Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston County Courthouse, Charleston SC, 99.

Galphin's Creek relations and allies simply frequented Silver Bluff to see their "friend" Galphin, their "beloved Sister" Metawney, and the couple's children. Consequently, Silver Bluff emerged by the 1760s as a prominent locale for both the deerskin trade and Creek-British politics.[51]

On the other side of the table, visitors conversed with Galphin's Euro-American children. Because Galphin pursued several affairs outside of his marriage to Metawney, he fathered children by his mistresses. In this particular case, Galphin's liaison with a French-Anglo woman, Rachel Dupre, produced a son Thomas and a daughter Martha, both of whom joined Galphin at Silver Bluff while their mother remained in Savannah.[52] Rather than segregating his Creek and Euro-American children from one another, though, Galphin encouraged his sons and daughters from different mothers to associate intimately with each other. Therefore, Martha and Judith forged a lasting friendship as they spent nearly every waking moment in their childhood and adult lives by each other's side. Galphin's daughters trained under the same tutor, went together "to Charlestown or Savannah to School," and later returned to Silver Bluff where they assumed custodianship over the plantation as their father advanced in age. Galphin's son Thomas also befriended George Jr. and John, as they endured a far different education than that of their sisters by learning the ropes of the deerskin trade from their

[51] 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books,* Book BBB, 95 (Metawney, "daughter," "Sister"); 8 January 1764, Togulki to George Galphin, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XII: Georgia & Florida Treaties, 1763-1776,* ed. John T. Juricek (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 8 ("friend"); *Benjamin Franklin Papers, Part XIII: Miscellaneous Franklin Materials, 1640-1791,* Mss B.F85inventory13, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia PA (Galphin's "Houses" as "white grounds"); "A Treaty of Peace and Commerce held at the Old Town," 6 November 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("white ground").

[52] Galphin stipulated in his last will and testament that Rachel Dupre would only receive her legacies from Galphin (slaves, horses, cows, furniture, china, money, and land) "as long as She is Virtuous or lives Single," and thereafter "live upon any of their [children's] land." 6 April 1776, *The Last Will and Testament of George Galphin,* 000051 .L 51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC.

father. George Jr. and John often accompanied Galphin when he trekked into Creek Country where they met and affirmed the bonds of kinship and friendship with their Creek relatives and allies, while also observing the ins and outs of their father's trading and politicking with the Creeks. Ultimately, these sons assumed the responsibility for managing the logistics of Galphin's trade along with his relationships among the Creeks and Cherokees. Meanwhile, Galphin brought Thomas along with him when he traveled to Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston, where Thomas watched his father consign their skins to merchants who transported those goods to Britain. Like his Creek brothers, Thomas eventually assumed those responsibilities for his father. By 1774, Galphin's sons officially took over the reins of the family business and together enjoyed a very lucrative partnership.[53]

Galphin's visitors likely looked on with even greater wonder or disbelief at the young African and Native children also seated nearby Galphin, whom he introduced as his daughters Barbara, Rose, Rachel, and Betsy.[54] While he kept their mothers in chains,[55] Galphin ensured that these children were "forever free and discharged from all and all manner of Slavery and Bondage." Galphin cherished these daughters as much as his other children, particularly Barbara whom Galphin endearingly called his "dear Barbary."[56] During their adolescence, Galphin provided his African and "half-breed

[53] *An Account of the Life of David George.* Canada's Digital Collection, (tutor); 6 April 1776, *The Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (Dupre, "School," "Charlestown").
[54] Galphin's Creek son, George Jr., also fathered two African children – Brian and Sally – with his father's slaves, Hannah and Clarissa. While Brian and Sally both lived with Galphin's African daughters at Silver Bluff and were later freed by Galphin in his last will and testament, Galphin did not free their mothers who were bequeathed to George. 6 April 1776, *The Last Will and Testament of George Galphin.*
[55] Galphin's slave mistresses were Rose, Sapho, and Nitehuckey, all of whom remained in bondage throughout their lives. 6 April 1776, *The Last Will and Testament of George Galphin.*
[56] Galphin's African daughter Barbara was named after Galphin's mother. It is also quite revealing that Galphin's final days in December 1780 were spent defending the lands he set aside for "Miss Barbara

Indian" daughters with the same schooling as their Creek and Anglo sisters, where they all learned together about the cultural manners and accoutrements that came with being the daughter of a gentleman. Therefore, when observers noted the polish and refinement of Galphin's "mixed breed daughters," these remarks reflected the fact that these women were extensions of their father, in addition to displaying Galphin's own sophistication as a gentleman. On account of such constant proximity with one another, Galphin's mixed-race daughters like Barbara and Rose grew very close to Martha and Judith, all of whom worked together to manage the Silver Bluff plantation as their father grew increasingly unable to do so himself. In spite of the violence Galphin perpetrated by ripping his daughters away from their mothers whom he kept enslaved, Galphin fully integrated these children into his familial world.[57]

Beyond Galphin's children, guests at Silver Bluff marveled at the number of extended family members that Galphin surrounded himself with. For instance, the Barnard family lived at Silver Bluff on lands set aside for them by Galphin, and "Galphin's nephews" like Timothy and Edmund joined his sons in the deerskin trade. The Barnards fulfilled a number of important functions for the Galphin firm that ranged from staffing his out-stores and settlements deep within Creek Country (Edmund), to "suppl[ying] all the Indian Traders with Goods from Pensacola" (Timothy). Through the kinship between the Galphins and Barnards, these nephews developed into lifelong companions to Galphin's sons, all of whom worked in tandem for the Galphin trade company. Similarly, Moses Nunez and his family settled at Silver Bluff, where his

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Galphin," "Memorial of James Gray," 2 December 1780, *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Volume 46, No. 4 (December 1962): 397.

[57] 6 April 1776, *The Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* ("half breed," "Bondage"); Barnwell, ed. "Bernard Elliott's Recruiting Journal 1775," 98-99 ("mixed breed"); John Billings, "Analysis of the Will of George Galphin," *Richmond County History Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 1-2 (1981): 47 ("Barbary").

youngest daughter Frances married Galphin's son George Jr. Consequently, Galphin invited his many Nunez relatives to not only share his table, but to also partake of his deerskin trade. Moses Nunez and his sons – Samuel, James, Robert, and Alexander – in turn labored alongside Galphin's children and the Barnards, where they managed and facilitated the exchange of skins among the Creeks and Cherokees.[58]

If Galphin's guests were not yet overwhelmed by the number of intimates crowded into the dining room, then they had yet to meet Galphin's sisters and their families who recently arrived from Ireland. During the mid to late 1760s, Galphin invited his siblings to join him at Silver Bluff, and several of them immigrated to North America in order to start anew with their brother's help. This makes particular sense when put into the context of Galphin's childhood as he and his siblings were born into a life of poverty in Ireland, a consequence of their father's lowly employment as a linen weaver. Whereas Galphin left Ulster on account of such poverty, his siblings – Judith, Martha, Margaret, Barbara, Susannah, and Robert – remained behind. Upon attaining the wealth and resources that allowed Galphin to carve out a niche in North America, he sent for his relatives to join him and promised land, employment, and plenty. The response was overwhelming. Immediately after hearing from their brother, Galphin's sisters Margaret[59] and Martha[60] moved their families – the Holmes and Crossleys –

[58] Patrick Tonyn to John Stuart, 9 September 1777, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: East Florida, 1763-1777*, CO 5/558, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 467-468 ("nephews"); Patrick Tonyn to John Stuart, 16 June 1777, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: East Florida, 1763-1777*, CO 5/557, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 623-628 ("Pensacola"); 14 October 1785, *Last Will and Testament of Moses Nunez*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA [accessed through Ancestry.com, 26 October 2012] ("Frances Nunez/Galphin," sons); "Indenture between George Galphin and John Galphin with Richard Call," 29 September 1783, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book BBB (Nunez-Galphin connections).

[59] Margaret Galphin left Ireland for Silver Bluff with her husband, William Holmes, and their children, David, Robert, and William. Galphin's nephew, William Holmes (son of Margaret), married directly into

across the Atlantic. True to his word, Galphin provided his sisters and their families with large plats of land to call their own, tools and resources to make a living from that land, and more. Naturally, the Holmes and Crossley children found work with their uncle, who employed his nephews and nieces in the skin trade or to assist his daughters in managing his plantations. Take, for instance, David Holmes,[61] who joined in partnership with his Galphin cousins, and became an integral part of the Galphin firm by handling its stores in Florida and managing Galphin's relations with several Upper Creek towns. Those siblings who stayed behind in Ireland still maintained contact with their brother and acted on Galphin behalf throughout his attempts to attract Ulster emigrants to North America during the late 1760s and early 1770s.[62]

While Galphin's visitors certainly detected the Irish accent of those seated around them, they likely had to be told that not all of those Irishmen were Holmes and Crossley relatives, but other cousins and extended family members who similarly left Ireland to

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the Galphin family when he entered into matrimony with Galphin's own mulatto daughter, Barbara, which further cemented the ties of kinship between the Galphin and Holmes families. 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (Holmes); Henry H. Claussen, "George Galphin in Ireland and America," *Richmond County History Journal* 13: 1-2 (1981): 15 (Crossley family); Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, 52 (Holmes); 20 September 1789, *Winton (Barnwell) County, South Carolina: Minutes of County Court and Will, Book 1: 1785-1791*, ed. Brent Holcomb (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1978), 88 (Barbara).

[60] Martha Galphin also departed Ulster for Silver Bluff with her daughters Susannah, Mary, and Ann in 1765, where her husband William Crossley later joined her with their other children, Elizabeth, George, John, and Henry in 1768. 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (Crossleys); Janie Revill, ed. *A Compilation of the Origin Lists of Protestant Immigrants to South Carolina, 1763-1773* (Columbia, S.C.: The State Company, 1939), 48 ("Martha"); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772* ("Ann," "John," "William"); Claussen, "George Galphin in Ireland and America," 15 (Crossley family); Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, 52 (Crossleys).

[61] David Holmes came under Galphin's tutelage during the 1760s and emerged as one of the most influential traders in the Native southeast. As Galphin confided to his imperial allies, Holmes "is a Nevey of mine and as I am going to give business in faver of him." During his time with Galphin, Holmes met his future wife Jane Pettycrew, the daughter of one of Galphin's Indian traders, and they built a home at Silver Bluff where they continued to live alongside Galphin. George Galphin to James Grant, 26 March 1770, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 19; William H. Dumont, *Colonial Georgia Genealogical Data, 1748-1783*, Book Z-25 (Washington, D.C.: National Genealogical Society, 1971), 8-9 (Holmes-Pettycrew).

[62] "Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle, 6 February 1734/1735," *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files*, Box 8, Folder 530: Beech Island: George Galphin, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC.

settle at Silver Bluff. After news from the Holmes and Crossley families reached Galphin's other kinsmen in Ireland, Galphin received a flood of his Pooler, Rankin, and Foster kin who likewise made their way across the Atlantic. Led by Galphin's cousins the Poolers, these families flocked to Galphin's plantation in hopes of a new beginning, especially with the chance to own land. Take the case of Quinton Pooler, a man of relatively obscure origins and worth in Ireland, just like Galphin and the rest of their relations.[63] Through Galphin's connections with merchants like Henry Laurens and his favors with men of empire such as Governor James Wright, Pooler became one of the more prosperous merchants in the deerskin trade. Galphin's self-interest no doubt played a role in Pooler's rise to wealth and renown, since Pooler transacted business on Galphin's behalf with some of the most influential London firms. Yet Pooler's experiences encapsulate the ways that Galphin privileged and utilized his relationships with family and friends to structure the world around him at Silver Bluff.[64]

If not to crowd the dining room even further, Galphin shared his table with a host of family friends who also left Ireland to join Galphin in the deerskin trade, including lifelong companions like Daniel McMurphy, William Dunbar, and John Parkinson. To Galphin, these men were every bit as much a part of his family as were his immediate

[63] Quinton Pooler emigrated from Ulster to join Galphin at Silver Bluff in 1767. Shortly after his arrival, Pooler came under Galphin's tutelage in the Indian trade and Galphin ushered him into Savannah and Charleston's merchant circles. From there, Pooler went into business with the firm Sellers & Graham, before setting up his own business with a Galphin family friend, John Parkinson. Together, the firm of "Pooler & Parkinson" became one of Galphin's primary merchant contacts and intermediaries for the Indian trade, coordinating the shipment of deerskins and trade goods between Silver Bluff, London, and the other parts of the British Empire. E.R.R. Green, "Queensborough Township: Scotch-Irish Emigration and the Expansion of Georgia, 1763-1776," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 17:2 (April 1960): 189; Theresa M. Hicks, ed. *South Carolina Indians, Indian Traders, and Other Ethnic Connections Beginning in 1670* (Spartanburg SC: The Reprint Co. Publishers, 1998), 116.

[64] United States Supreme Court, *Milligan v. Milledge* 7 U.S. 3 Branch 220 220 (1805), University of South Carolina, Columbia SC (Pooler firm, connections to Greenwood & Higginson).

and extended kinsmen. Galphin considered McMurphy as his right-hand man.[65] McMurphy managed a wealth of Galphin's personal, commercial, and political relationships within Creek Country, oftentimes laboring alongside George Jr. and John. Meanwhile, Dunbar emerged as Galphin's left-hand man who assumed all of the responsibilities associated with coordinating the logistics of the deerskin trade from Silver Bluff.[66] As for Parkinson, Galphin partnered him with Quinton Pooler, who together acted as intermediaries for Galphin with his London partners and allies.[67] It should be noted that McMurphy and Dunbar even transcended the bonds of friendship to become actual family to Galphin, when McMurphy tied the knot with Susannah

[65] In the words of McMurphy, "he came under the auspices of George Galphin the celebrated Indian agent of that time. He was associated in business with Galphin and their trade was very extensive, extending as far South as Mobile and carried on both overland and by sea." A pupil of Galphin, McMurphy served as a resident trader "in some of the trading Villages or towns" where he gained hands-on experience, after which he became Galphin's "right-hand man" during the 1760s and 1770s. Galphin endearingly called McMurphy "Dan" as the relationship grew stronger between these men, particularly when McMurphy married Galphin's niece, Susannah Crossley, the daughter of Galphin's sister Martha. Robert R. Turbyfill, "Daniel McMurphy and the Revolutionary War Era in Georgia," *Richmond County History Journal* 24:2 (Winter 1995): 7-11; 26 September 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Volume 78 [micro-film] (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 541-542.

[66] William Dunbar hailed from Belfast and came under Galphin's tutelage in the Indian trade when he immigrated to British North America sometime in the early 1760s. As Galphin's principal manager for the Indian trade at Silver Bluff, Dunbar met Galphin's daughter Judith, whom he eventually married, which further cemented the bonds of kinship between Galphin and Dunbar. The friendship between these two men proved so lasting and powerful that Galphin assigned Dunbar as the primary executor for his last will and testament. Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 29 March 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XI: Jan. 6, 1776 – Nov. 1, 1777*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 197; "Milligan, Administrator of Milligan & Clark v. Milledge and Wife Martha Galphin," *Reports of Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States, Complete Edition with notes and references, Book II* (Newark, NY: The Lawyers' Co-operative Publishing Co., 1882), 417-418 (Judith-Dunbar); 6 April 1776, *The Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*.

[67] John Parkinson left Ulster with Quinton Pooler to join Galphin at Silver Bluff in 1767, a testament to their friendship that evolved into a merchant partnership as the firm, Pooler & Parkinson. At first, their firm owed much to Galphin, who set them up in business with money, resources, and connections in London to Greenwood & Higginson. By the early 1770s, Parkinson and Pooler emerged as established merchants in their own right, although they remained intimately associated in business with Galphin and as intermediaries for his partnerships with London firms. When Galphin retired, he considered Parkinson one of his closest friends, and he joined Galphin's sons and nephews in inheriting the Galphin's firm in 1774. As Galphin wrote his London contacts, "Mr. Parkinson…[is] a worthy honest man that has lived [for] several years with me." "Grantee of Land in Queensborough Township," in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough: Rev. David E. Bothwell and Letter to the Widow Bothwell,* ed. Smith Callaway Banks, Georgia Southern University, Statesboro GA, 13-14; George Galphin to Greenwood & Higginson, 27 August 1773, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, 58.

Crossley and Dunbar coupled with Galphin's own daughter, Judith. These Irishmen demonstrate that Galphin constructed a world predicated upon fluid and inclusive relationships, which knit Galphin's family and friends together.

Finally, it is entirely possible that Galphin's visitors dined with some of his "loving friends" such as Lachlan McGillivray, John Rae, and Henry Laurens. For Galphin's "sworn brothers," Silver Bluff's doors were always open to them and their families. Prior to becoming his own trader and merchant, Galphin worked his way up the ladder of several trading firms alongside McGillivray and Rae in the 1740s and 1750s, where he also came into contact with merchants like Laurens. When Galphin left to establish his own trade firm in the mid to late 1750s, all of these men remained in contact with one another and repeatedly offered commercial and political support to each other. Galphin's close friends, in a sense, became surrogate family members, or like uncles to Galphin's children.[68] Consequently, Galphin's "sworn brothers" and their families frequently ventured to Silver Bluff, including Laurens who thanked Galphin on several occasions "for your politeness and civilities when I was lately at your… Plantation." Laurens also wished Galphin "many happy years" and relayed to him that "My Son John desires me to present his respects to You, [who] says he shall never forget Mr. Galphin's kindness."[69]

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[68] McGillivray served as the chief executor of the deeds in trust for Galphin's children as well as the primary witness and guarantor for a number of the Galphin children's land petitions. Galphin returned the favor for McGillivray by fulfilling these same responsibilities for McGillivray's will and in securing title to land for McGillivray's Scottish-Creek son, Alexander. Deed of Trust by George Galphin to Lachlan McGillivray, 2 February 1775, *George Galphin Mesne Conveyance Records, 1752-1778*, Book Z-5; Bond between Phillip Helveston and George Galphin, 5 May 1774, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, MS #4000, Book S, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA; Conveyance by George Galphin to Lachlan McGillivray, 10 April 1767, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book S; 12 June 1767, *Last Will and Testament of Lachlan McGillivray of Vale Royal*.

[69] 12 June 1767, *Last Will and Testament of Lachlan McGillivray of Vale Royal*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA [accessed through Ancestry.com, 26 October 2012] ("loving friends"); Henry

Galphin's guests, then, had a front row seat to the world of intimacies and localities that Galphin carved out at Silver Bluff. For Galphin, this world revolved around – and functioned according to – the relationships he forged with others, which he used to organize his world both spatially and emotionally. To provide stability to that world, though, Galphin relied on those relations that he trusted more than any other, which explains why he invested Silver Bluff with those most familiar to him: his family and close friends. In other words, Galphin's relationships with his kith and kin provided him with the means to make sense of and structure the larger world around him. Even though Galphin's intimates hailed from different cultures, places, and circumstances, Galphin effectively molded them into a cohesive family unit who together forged an intensely local and personal world at Silver Bluff.

To say then that Galphin structured his world through the relationships he shared with his family and friends is an understatement, for he entrusted these intimates with the most important responsibilities necessary to sustain his world. First and foremost, Galphin's children and Irish relatives acted as social networkers who reinforced Galphin's relationships in Creek Country, North America, and Ireland. Martha and Thomas both watched over and expedited their father's relationships within colonial society. So when Galphin sent Martha and Thomas "to Charlestown or Savannah to School" and set aside lands for them in Augusta, he deliberately sought to usher his son and daughter into that British world. In addition, Galphin armed his Anglo children with a wealth of land, resources, and other property – which Galphin "[had] suffered

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Laurens to George Galphin, 2 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VII,* 210-211 ("civilities," "respects," "Years").

many hardships to acquire" – to ease their introductions into that society. Contemporaries noted that Galphin's "white children were of the highest and most polished order" due to their upbringing in an Anglo world and the inheritances they received from their father. In return for setting his children up in colonial society, Galphin expected them to serve as his surrogates in that world; to sustain his relations and partnerships with British allies and to initiate new friendships and contacts on their father's behalf. Martha's marriage to John Milledge, for example, cemented ties between Galphin and the influential Milledge family, who dominated colonial and state politics in Georgia during and after the Revolution. Meanwhile, Thomas befriended a number of prominent men from the Habersham, Telfair, McIntosh, Twigg, and Elbert families whom he met in school and the colonial militia, all of whom eventually counted Galphin among their allies.[70]

Galphin simultaneously turned to George Jr. and John to strengthen his relationships in Creek Country, in a sense replicating the same labors Martha and Thomas performed in British society. George stated as much when he divulged that "My brother [has] a good deal of influence in the Cowetas through our connexion[s] there…[and] myself with the Cussetahs," a testament to the influence Galphin and his children wielded in those towns through their relations with Creek headmen. Such "connexion[s]" stemmed from Galphin's time as a resident trader at Coweta and his family's kinship and clan ties throughout Creek Country. Accordingly, Galphin

[70] 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* ("School," Augusta); 30 March 1768, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* [micro-film], University of North Texas, Denton TX ("hardships"); Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians* 105-106 ("polished order"); *Milligan v. Milledge.* 7 U.S. 3 Branch 220 220 [1805] (Martha-Milledge); *Edward Telfair Papers,* MS #793, Box 15, Item 475, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA (Telfair); James Habersham to George Galphin, 30 December 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842,* MS #1787, Folder 3, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA; 13 August 1778, "Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimke," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 13:1 (January 1912): 47 (militia).

entrusted his Creek progeny with looking after his relationships with Creek relatives and allies, who ranged from the usual suspects Escotchaby, Sempoyaffee, and Captain Aleck, to other leaders like the Tallassee King, Cusseta King, Blue Salt King, and Sallichie. In other words, Galphin's Creek children enacted and fortified Galphin's relationships within Creek Country through their kinship and clan connections, which affirmed Galphin's influence among the Creeks.[71]

Galphin also deployed his sisters, their families, and other Ulster relatives to support the connections that extended between Silver Bluff and Ireland. Despite the distance between them, Galphin maintained a correspondence with Margaret, Martha, Susannah, and Judith, by which they preserved their familial ties. Such relationships came in handy for Galphin when he embarked on settling "a Township in [Georgia] with Protestant Families from the north of Ireland." During that venture, Galphin asked Judith to act as his intermediary with any families "incline[d] to embrace this favourable Opportunity." Judith in turn circulated "printed Copies" of Galphin's promotional literature around County Armagh, and later reported "a Number of good Families [were] willing to come to" him. In addition, Galphin's letter-writing with Martha and Margaret convinced those sisters to relocate with their families to Silver Bluff, which extended Galphin's world of relationships to his new Holmes and Crossley relatives in Ireland and North America. For instance, Galphin wrote letters to his uncle-in-law, William Crossley, who assisted Judith in mediating with the families who intended to leave Ulster for Queensborough. Galphin also communicated with

[71] George Galphin to the Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the Southern Department at Augusta, 27 May 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, United States Congress (Buffalo NY: W.S. Hein Publishers, 1998), 35-36 ("My brother"); Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, 270-272 ("distinction"); 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book BBB, 95 (kin/clan ties).

extended family members in Ireland like the Poolers, Rankins, and Fosters, some of whom fulfilled the same roles as Judith and William Crossley. In short, Galphin's correspondence with his Irish relatives and the movement of those kinsmen across the Atlantic facilitated and reinforced his relationships in Ulster. Altogether then, Galphin's intimates acted as the catalysts that made it possible for his world of intimacies and localities to expand beyond Silver Bluff and take hold in new places.[72]

The second set of responsibilities Galphin allocated to his family and friends revolved around their roles as his principal traders in Creek Country. Led by his Creek children, as well as his most trusted relatives and friends, Galphin wagered his business on the abilities of these intimates to ensure a steady trade back and forth between Creek communities and British North America. Because the traffic in deerskins hinged upon the personal connections between Galphin and Creek leaders, these relationships required Galphin's constant attention and care. Therefore, Galphin invested his trust in those relatives and friends who acted as his surrogates in Creek Country. In other words, Galphin's intimates assumed the responsibility for managing and strengthening his relationships at the grassroots level, and often took his place in negotiating, transacting, and collaborating with the Creeks. Leaders like Cusseta's Nea Mico understood this arrangement, as these family and friends acted as Galphin's voice

[72] 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (Galphin's sisters, Poolers, Rankins, Fosters); 6 February 1734/35, *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files*, Box 8, Folder 530 (sisters); 19 February 1768, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XVII: Journal of the Upper House of Assembly – January 17, 1763 to March 12, 1774*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1908), 401-402 ("Township," "Copies," "Number"); 19 June 1768, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough*, 51 ("Opportunity"); 6 August 1771, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough,* 60 ("William Crossley"); 4 March 1766, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough,* 48-49 (cousins).

within Creek Country, which allowed headmen to still meet "Face to Face" with Galphin even though he was at Silver Bluff.[73]

More often than not, Galphin employed his "Indian son[s]" of "family distinction" as his primary intermediaries in Creek Country, since Creek peoples received his sons as "friends and brothers."[74] In return for such receptiveness, the Creeks expected George and John to acquaint Galphin with their "every particular" want and need. To assist his children, Galphin deployed his nephews David Holmes and Timothy Barnard to fulfill similar go-between roles. Holmes interacted with and eventually exerted "a great…influence among the [Creek] Indians," many of whom like Escotchaby, Sempoyaffee, and the Cusseta King considered "Holmes…[our] Friend." Barnard similarly supervised Galphin's trade among the Yuchis, where he cultivated friendships with leaders such as Captain Aleck, King Jack, the Blue Salt King, and Thunder.[75] On several occasions, Galphin's sons and nephews trekked from Silver Bluff to Creek communities on his behalf, and oftentimes stopped in town squares to proclaim that "All your Nation has heard the talks Mr. Galphin gave you," who "[is] our great

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[73] "A Talk from the Head Men of the Upper and Lower Creeks to George Galphin," 13 October 1777, *Georgia Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Face to Face").

[74] George Jr. and John were constantly referred to as fellow "Indians" by the Creeks, on account of their clan and kinship ties to the Cowetas. Sohonoketchee of the Cowetas confided that "I have a cousin…one John Galphin" who should be looked upon "as another Indian." 22 June 1796, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs,* 601.

[75] Like Galphin, Barnard took a "Uchee woman for a wife and raised a number of [Yuchi] children," which for all intents and purposes made Barnard, like Galphin, "an Indian." Barnard also collaborated frequently with Galphin's other trusted traders like David Holmes and Daniel McMurphy in coordinating the logistics for the trade or to facilitate talks back and forth between Galphin and the Creeks. In fact, Barnard inherited part of the trade firm that Galphin bequeathed to his Creek sons, Holmes, and McMurphy after Galphin retired from the trade in 1774. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians,* 109 ("Uchee woman"); Joshua Piker, "To the Backcountry and Back Again: The Yuchi's Search for Stability in the Eighteenth-Century Southeast," *Yuchi Indian Histories Before the Removal Era*, ed. Jason Baird Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 202-204. See also George Galphin's letter to Barnard on the eve of the Revolution for further particulars to their relationship, George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, [micro-film] (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 559-563.

beloved man and loved the Indians a great deal and never told them lyes." In return, the Creeks entrusted their "Indian talks" or news from Creek Country to Galphin's sons and nephews, such as the time when they "Sent me [Galphin] word by Holmes that I might Depend upon there being Down" to Silver Bluff to resolve a violent episode between Creek and British peoples.[76]

Galphin also employed his closest friends as his principal contacts with the Creeks. As Galphin's right-hand man and future nephew, Daniel McMurphy emerged as one of Galphin's most trusted confidants within the deerskin trade, second only to Galphin's sons. McMurphy enjoyed a strict confidence with Galphin who introduced McMurphy to Coweta and Cusseta leaders like Escotchaby, Sempoyaffee, Captain Aleck, and the Tame King, who endearingly nicknamed McMurphy "Yellow Hair." On a number of occasions, "Galphin availed himself of the Opportunity & sent over McMurphy [from Silver Bluff]…into the Nation," who made his way through the Lower and Upper towns "where he invited the principal Chiefs of the Nation to hear his [Galphin's] talks." Galphin further turned to the family friend, Patrick Carr, to assist his

[76] George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 16 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Edward E. Ayer Collection, Ayer Vault Box MS 313, Folder 3, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("Indian son"); Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, 270-272 ("distinction"); "A Talk from the Chiefs, Head-men, and Warriors of the Lower Creek Nation," 1 June 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, 34-35 ("friends and brothers," "every particular"); John Stuart to George Germain, 10 August 1778, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XV: Transcripts, 1778*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 180-182 ("influence"); George Galphin to the Creek Indians, Fall 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 551 ("D. Holmes"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 7 July 1776, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XII: Transcripts, 1776*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 159-161 (Barnard influence with Cussetas & Yuchis); Timothy Barnard to the Cussetaws, 2 June 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks, & Treaties, 1705-1837*, W.P.A. Georgia Writer's Project, MS #1500, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 140-142 ("beloved man"); George Galphin to the Council of Safety, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume X: Dec. 12, 1774 – Jan. 6, 1776*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1982), 467-469 ("Sent me word," Holmes relationships with Creek headmen).

sons, nephews, and McMurphy in the deerskin trade.[77] Carr operated as Galphin's primary trader to Cusseta where – similar to Galphin's other intimates – he established a personal rapport with that town's headmen who eventually came to consider Carr one of their sincere "old friends."[78]

With these kith and kin cultivating and managing Galphin's relationships in Creek Country, these personal, commercial, and political connections surged back to Silver Bluff and provided a foundation for Galphin's world. In addition to kinship ties, Galphin's Anglo-Creek sons fostered personal attachments with non-kin headmen like the Coweta Warrior, Tuccasee King, Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee, and the Second Man of Cusseta, all of whom called the "Galphin[s]…our friend[s]." Similarly, Timothy Barnard and Patrick Carr labored among Lower towns, where they developed personal affinities with Creek leaders and warriors like Nea Clucko, Toppack, and the head man of the Hitcheta, all of whom conveyed their respects to Galphin through Barnard and Carr. Meanwhile, Holmes and McMurphy established relations in the Upper towns of Okfuskee, Tallassee, Okchai, Tuckabatchee, and Muccolossus where they cemented friendships with the Handsome Fellow, White Lieutenant, Beaver Tooth King,

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[77] Galphin referred to Patrick Carr as "Patt" and considered him as an intimate because of his loyalty to the Galphin family throughout the 1760s and 1770s, as well as the fact that he was one of Galphin's few (if not the only) traders who did not fall into debt and dependency with Galphin. Carr hailed from Ireland until he left that place to join Galphin's firm in the late 1760s; he eventually worked his way up the ranks and attained Galphin's trust, thereafter attached to the Creek town of Cusseta. George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563.

[78] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 563 ("Dan"); Alexander McGillivray to the Georgia Governor, 3 August 1786, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, Digital Library of Georgia, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia ("Yellow Hair," McMurphy-Creek relationships); John Stuart to William Howe, 23 August 1777, *British Headquarters Papers of the British Army in America (Carleton Papers), 1747-1783*, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("Opportunity"); Patrick Carr to George Galphin, 4 November 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* (Carr-Cusseta); Patrick Carr to George Galphin, 10 June 1768, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("friends").

Tallassee King, Opoitley Mico, Sinnettehage, and Wills Friend. Consequently, Creek headmen like the White Lieutenant communicated at will with Galphin through Galphin's intimates like McMurphy, who delivered talks to Silver Bluff from the White Lieutenant, who "was pleased with the Message brought from you [Galphin]," after which "I sent a Talk through the whole Nation." In this instance and others like it, Galphin's family and friends proved vital to sustaining and projecting his world of relationships throughout the Native southeast, which augmented his influence and power within the deerskin trade and Creek-British politics.[79]

In the process of nurturing and propagating such relations with Creek peoples, Galphin and his principal traders established new localities within his world of relationships. Take for instance David Holmes and Timothy Barnard who enlarged Galphin's trade operations to West Florida after 1763. Through the connections that Holmes shared with Upper Creek headmen – whose towns lay nearer to West Florida than Silver Bluff, Savannah, or Charleston – Galphin discovered the means to open new trade stores tailored specifically to his Upper Creek allies. Thus Galphin ordered Holmes and Barnard to erect a trade "house in Pensacola," to set up shop in Mobile, and to take command of "my St. John's trade," all of which "connected [back]…to Mr.

[79] "Talk from the Cussetah King, the Mad Dog, the White Lieutenant, and John Kinnard," 16 May 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs,* 388 (sons' relations, "our friend"); "Talk delivered by Second Man of the Cussetaws," 14 April 1784, *Creek Indians Letters, Talks, & Treaties, 1705-1837*, 145-147 (sons' relations); Patrick Carr to George Galphin, 4 November 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* (Lower Creek relations); Patrick Carr to George Galphin, 10 June 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* (Lower Creek relations); "A Talk from the Head Men of the Upper and Lower Creek to George Galphin," 13 October 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* (Upper Creek relationships); John Stuart to William Howe, 23 August 1777, *British Headquarters Papers of the British Army in America (Carleton Papers), 1747-1783* (Upper Creek relations); "A Talk from Opoitley Mico of the Tallassees, the Tallassees Kings Son, by Ematla," 22 February 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* (Upper Creek relations); "A Talk by George Galphin to the Head Men & Warriors of the Creek Nation," 6 November 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* (Upper Creek relations, "Message," "Talk," "Friend Towns").

Galphin" and added significantly to "[his] Weight" within the deerskin trade.[80] Galphin also deployed McMurphy and Carr to use their ties among the Lower Creeks to expand Galphin's commercial reach into East Florida, where they established "Mr. Galphin's trading houses" at the forts of St. Marks Appalache and Picolata. These sites not only offered the Lower Creeks an alternative and nearer source of trade, but "[were] able to supply [Galphin's] Traders at an easier & cheaper rate.[81]

To complement his Florida localities, Galphin entrusted his principal traders with the care and management of his "out-settlements" that dotted the Creek landscape. These small, satellite trade stores catered to the common Creek hunter who traded their skins in exchange for the goods on hand, but with the convenience of never having to make the trek to Augusta, Savannah, or Charleston. Although these types of establishments were considered illegal under British law, Galphin and his family and friends planted numerous "out-settlements" like the Standing Peach Tree, Buzzard's Roost, and his "Upper Creek stores" that stood as a further testament to Galphin's command of the skin trade. Therefore, as Galphin and his intimates affirmed existing relationships and cultivated new ones among Lower and Upper Creek towns, they incorporated those peoples and places into Galphin's world of relationships.[82]

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[80] Galphin's influence with the Upper Creeks in West Florida grew so pervasive that imperial authorities feared that if David Holmes "was [ever] taken into Custody, Every House in Pensacola would be set in flames if He Holmes was not sett at Liberty." "Deposition of John Williams," 6 June 1777, CO 5/557, 639-640.

[81] "Deposition of John Williams," 6 June 1777, CO 5/557, 639-640 ("House in Pensacola"); Charles Shaw to George Germain, 19 June 1780, *George Sackville Germain Papers, 1683-1785*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI (Mobile); George Galphin to Greenwood & Higginson, 27 August 1773, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, 58 ("St. John's"); Patrick Tonyn to John Stuart, 8 September 1777, CO 5/558, 467-468 ("connected," "Weight"); James Grant to John Gordon, 18 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers,* Reel 17 ("trading houses," St. Marks, Picolata); James Grant to John Stuart, 4 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 ("supply").

[82] *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (Standing Peach Tree, Forks, "Upper Creek stores"); John Stuart to James Grant, 1 December 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers,1740-1819,*

Finally, these family and friends provided managerial oversight for the hundreds of regular traders in Galphin's employ. McMurphy supervised more than his fair share of Galphin employees, such as John and James Burgess who deferred to McMurphy when he informed them that he and "Barnard will be with you [soon] to get the Skins which you will deliver to [us]." McMurphy not only collected skins for the majority of Galphin's stores, but also restocked store shelves, which made it necessary for "Daniel's Horses" to constantly traverse the pathways between Silver Bluff, the British colonies, and Creek Country. Just as importantly, Galphin's sons and nephews kept tabs on all of Galphin's traders to ensure their good behavior, mostly to avoid any conflicts or antagonisms that might threaten Galphin's Creek connections. In other words, Galphin's world hinged upon a few good men.[83]

To support and supply his principal traders in Creek Country, Galphin relied on his kith and kin to act as his contacts, intermediaries, and proxies within the transatlantic commercial world. Accordingly, family members such as Quinton Pooler or "loving friends" like Henry Laurens and Lachlan McGillivray expedited the traffic in skins between Silver Bluff and Great Britain.[84] At the same time, these intimates reinforced Galphin's partnerships with merchant firms like Greenwood & Higginson

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Reel 17 ("out-settlements" illegal); James Durouzeaux to Galphin, Holmes & Co., 15 December 1775, *Henry Laurens Papers, Kendall Collection,* in *William Gilmore Simms Papers,* MS P, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC (Buzzard's Roost).

[83] Daniel McMurphy to John Burgess, 29 September 1776, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: Indian Affairs,* CO 5/77, British National Archives, Kew, 77 ("get the Skins"); June-July 1772, *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* ("Daniel's Horses").

[84] Galphin shrewdly picked his proxies in the transatlantic commercial world, evidenced by the fact that Galphin's very own subsidiary firm, Pooler & Parkinson, operated out of Savannah, while Laurens resided in Charleston and McGillivray in Augusta. This, in other words, provided Galphin with an influential presence in all three major ports for the deerskin trade in North America.

and Clark & Milligan in London, Bristol, and Cowes. In particular, these family and friends worked in concert with Galphin's transatlantic partners to extend his commercial reach beyond the confines of the southeast and the British Isles, largely by exporting his deerskins to – and importing goods from – New England, the West Indies, Africa, and other parts of the empire. As with the Creeks, Galphin's London merchants understood their partnerships with Galphin as adjudicated by his family and friends, who facilitated the "intimate connection that there is between his [Galphin's] interest and mine [the merchant] in the Indian trade," thereby linking "Mr. Galphin's…house" with the merchant "Houses in London and Bristol" and Cowes.[85]

Of singular importance, these intimates plugged Galphin into transatlantic outlets, markets, and commercial circles for the deerskin trade. Quinton Pooler and John Parkinson, who created Galphin's subsidiary firm, Pooler & Parkinson, consigned most of Galphin's skins and crops to Greenwood & Higginson, and shipped those goods "to England per [their] Brig [the] William." Once in London, Galphin's partners sold his deerskins and harvests to merchants in Great Britain, the West Indies, Western Europe, Africa, and India. In exchange, Greenwood & Higginson loaded the brigantine "William" with ruffled shirts, vermillion, trading guns, knives, ribbon, brass kettles, gunpowder, duffle blankets, and other trade goods that returned to Pooler & Parkinson in Savannah. Pooler and Parkinson then relayed those goods back to Silver Bluff, where Galphin distributed them among his stores and traders.[86] Meanwhile, Galphin relied on

[85] John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 ("intimate connections"); James Grant to John Gordon, 18 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 ("houses"); Henry Laurens to Daniel Grant, 27 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VII*, 223-224 ("London and Bristol").

[86] The surviving Silver Bluff account books are littered with references to Pooler & Parkinson supplying Timothy Barnard with goods from Savannah, which Barnard then sent into Creek Country. Additionally, Galphin tasked Pooler & Parkinson with "tak[ing] care of the principal Store" in East Florida, which

friends like McGillivray to gain access to the Clark & Milligan firm in London, who contracted with Galphin during the 1760s and 1770s and used the "Ship Inverness" to transport Galphin's "Cargo[es] of Rice & Deer Skins."[87] Not to be left out, Henry Laurens shipped Galphin's merchandize aboard his own ships to his correspondents in Bristol and Cowes.[88] Altogether, these merchant partners provided the means for Galphin to sustain the flow of trade into Creek Country and to stock "Mr. Galphin's trading houses," all of which enhanced Galphin's influence within the skin trade. It is no coincidence then that merchants on both sides of the Atlantic observed that Galphin was connected to companies like "Greenwood & Higginson…the [firm most] versant in that Article [skins] & the several markets for it." Such partnerships illustrate Galphin's commercial savvy, not only from his end as a "giant of [that] trade" in the southeast, but as a vital partner with Great Britain's most reputable and prosperous firms.[89]

McMurphy presided over. *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (Barnard); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 (East Florida).

[87] It should also be noted that Galphin's intimates, Pooler & Parkinson, consigned Galphin's deerskins to Clark & Milligan, but in far less frequency than McGillivray. Instead, Pooler & Parkinson's primary attachments were with Greenwood & Higginson. United States Supreme Court, *Milligan v. Milledge.* 7 U.S. 3 Branch 220 220 [1805].

[88] Henry Laurens maintained a steady commerce with Galphin during the 1760s and 1770s, whether shipping "a Cask of Coffee…[for] our worthy Friend George Galphin," transporting "Chairs & Tables…imported from Philadelphia…[to] Silver Bluff," or asking Galphin to send "400 bushels of Corn…to Mr. Netherclift to receive it for me." Henry Laurens to Thomas Netherclift, 7 November 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VII,* 399-400 ("coffee"); Thomas Netherclift to Patrick Mackay, 24 March 1773, *Dick McWalty Collection on the House Papers 1772-1882,* MS #1196, Folder 26, Item 76, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("Chairs & Tables"); Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 2 January 1770, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("corn").

[89] "Memorial of Thomas Stringer as a Merchant in Partnership with Quintin Pooler," AO 13/36c, D. 1465 ("brig William"); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (list of goods); 22 November 1768, *Records of the Admiralty, Navy Board: Records, In-Letters, Miscellaneous,* ADM 106/1163/200, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (McGillivray-Clark & Milligan); "Memorial of John Clark & David Milligan," 29 July 1777, *Treasury Board Papers and In-Letters: Minutes, Entry-Books and Correspondence*, T 1/535, Documents 81-89, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Inverness," "Cargo"); 23 May 1767, "Entered Inwards late 1759-1760," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: American and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Shipping Return: South Carolina, 1736-1775*, CO 5/510, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Laurens); James Grant to John Gordon, 18 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 ("Mr. Galphin's Trading Houses"); Henry Laurens to William Cowles, 29 May 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VIII: Oct. 10, 1771 – Apr. 19, 1773*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of

Through such partnerships, Galphin's world of relationships extended into Florida. In addition to his localities at Silver Bluff, within South Carolina and Georgia, and throughout Creek Country and other parts of the Native southeast, Galphin's merchant partners assisted his establishment of new "trading houses" in East and West Florida. This arrangement was bolstered by the fact that the British Empire relied on Galphin to fill the vacuum of power left in those areas after the departure of the Spanish in 1763. Galphin's allies hoped to utilize Galphin's connections with the Creeks to pave the way for imperial power in Florida. Galphin and his principal traders, therefore, utilized their relations with Creek allies to divert a sizable portion of the skin trade away from Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston. In turn, Galphin relied on Pooler & Parkinson to supply his "Stores at St. Marks Appalache…[and] Picolata" with goods from Greenwood & Higginson. Similarly, McGillivray consigned Galphin's deerskins to Clark & Milligan, while Laurens transmitted Galphin's "raw deerskins & Indian drest deerskins" from East Florida to London. In addition, both Pooler & Parkinson and McGillivray partnered with Clark & Milligan to extend Galphin's trade to Mobile and Pensacola, which further accentuated Galphin's command of the deerskin trade.[90]

South Carolina Press, 1980), 349 ("versant"); Edward J. Cashin, *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 26 ("giant").

[90] James Grant to John Gordon, 18 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("Appalache"); John Gordon to James Grant, 12 October 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("Picolata"); "List of Bonds and Notes now in my Possession due to Moore & Panton," 1774, *Records on the Firm of Panton Leslie & Co., 1784-1813*, Joseph Byrne Lockey Collection, East Florida Papers, University of Florida, Gainesville FL (another Pooler connection to Greenwood & Higginson via that firm's intermediary agent, William Panton); "Vessels Entered Inwards, 1769-1770," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State, America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: East Florida*, CO 5/551, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain 123 ("raw," "drest"), 145 (Laurens-Charleston-Florida); 22 May 1769, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Shipping Returns: East Florida*, CO 573, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (McGillivray-Clark-Milligan, "Sally"); 3 November 1768, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: West Florida*, CO 5/620, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (McGillivray-Clark & Milligan-West Florida); George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August

Besides setting up new sites of trade for Galphin in Florida, these merchants broadened his horizons even farther by introducing him to entirely new markets and localities around the Atlantic basin. Both Pooler & Parkinson and Laurens secured Galphin a line of trade in rum, sugar, molasses, and other goods from the West Indies, in exchange for his skins, lumber, cattle, and crops. Pooler & Parkinson sent their "brig William" and "schooner Adventure" back and forth between Savannah and the islands of Jamaica and Tobago, whereas Laurens shipped for Galphin from Charleston to "the foreign West Indies," which included St. Kitts, "Guadeloup," and Havana.[91] In McGillivray's case, he directed Galphin's rice, lumber, skins, and indigo to Antigua and Barbadoes aboard the "Georgia Packet," which returned with rum and sugar. Beyond the Caribbean, both Pooler & Parkinson and Laurens connected Galphin to parts of Africa like "the Coast of Guinea," where these family and friends sold his crops and lumber for some "Cargo[es] of Negroes." Laurens also conveyed Galphin's "deerskins, tanned leather…[and] more skins" to Boston and Philadelphia.[92]

1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I,* Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563 (Pensacola).

[91] It is even likely that Galphin's intimates expanded his trade into continental Europe and potentially even the East Indies. Laurens, Clark & Milligan, and Greenwood & Higginson all sent ships to Gibraltar, Lisbon, and Cadiz, while Greenwood & Higginson even secured one of the contracts for shipping tea from the East Indies to the North American colonies. "Entered Inwards early 1762," CO 5/510, 106-114; Peter Leger to Greenwood & Higginson, 4 December 1773, *Leger & Greenwood Letterbook, 1770-1775, 1788*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI, 138-139.

[92] "Inventory and Appraisement of the Personal Estate of James Dipon," 10 April 1772, *Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905*, MS #1170, Box 38G, Folder 56, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA (Tobago); "Memorial of Thomas Stringer as a Merchant in Partnership with Quintin Pooler," AO 13/36c, D. 1465 (Pooler & Parkinson – Jamaica, "Coast of Guinea"); Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 14 February 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 102 ("foreign West Indies"); Henry Laurens to Devonsheir, Reeve & Lloyd, 30 December 1755, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume II: Nov. 1, 1755 – Dec. 31, 1758,* ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 55-56 (St. Kitts); "Entered Inwards early 1762," CO 5/510, 106-114 (Havana, Guadeloup); "Entered Inwards, late 1758-1759," CO 5/510, 64-70 (Jamaica); "Entered Inwards 1767," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Shipping Returns: Georgia, 1752-1767,* CO 5/710, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Antigua. Barbadoes); Henry Laurens to Brewton & Smith, 10 June 1764, *The Papers of*

Outside the realm of commerce, these intimates also moderated Galphin's relationships with imperial authorities, colonial governors, and British agents who increasingly looked to Galphin to protect – and at times extend – the imperial interest in the southeast. Superintendent John Stuart observed as much, that "Galphin…acquired Connections and influence by having been long amongst the Indians," as well as "constantly employed to transact Business with the Creeks by Sir James Wright, and Lieutenant Governor [Bull] of South Carolina." In administrators' minds, Galphin offered the empire a more efficient means to keep peace between Creek and British peoples, and they therefore relied on Galphin's family and friends to open and maintain their correspondence with Silver Bluff. For instance, McGillivray mediated between Galphin and the governors James Glen, William Bull, and James Habersham, all of who asked McGillivray to solicit Galphin's aid in "acquaint[ing] the Upper and Lower Creeks…to have an Interview with them soon." Pooler & Parkinson similarly delivered correspondence and news back and forth between Galphin and the Georgia governors like Habersham, who admitted to Galphin on one occasion that "Mr. Pooler will probably write to you how much I am perplexed and hurried…you must excuse this hasty Scrawle…[but] Pray seal & forward the enclosed Talk to the Creek Indians." For imperial officials, the simple fact that "Galphin…[is so] well versed in Indian Affairs" led to their constant need for his support in negotiating with the Creeks, which required their good relations with Galphin's family and friends who could pay their "Respects to…Mr. Galphin." Galphin's kith and kin, then, opened his world to the wider imperial

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Henry Laurens, Volume IV: Aug. 31, 1763 – Sept. 1, 1765, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 304 ("Cargo"); "Entered Inwards 1765," CO 5/710, 48 ("tanned leather").

and transatlantic worlds beyond Silver Bluff, North America, and Native southeast.[93]

The transatlantic extent of Galphin's relationships would not have been possible in the first place without the logistical expertise of his family and friends who lived at Silver Bluff. In this particular case, Galphin depended on those intimates constantly at his side who ensured that his businesses functioned and ran smoothly, whether this meant the flow of trade into Creek Country, or the care of his crops and cattle that he sent to the West Indies and Florida. While these family members and friends did not necessarily facilitate Galphin's personal connections, they proved instrumental in supplying and supporting those who did. Moreover, these kinsmen and confidants were vitally important to maintaining the health and vitality of Silver Bluff, which was one of and if not the most critical tasks that they performed for Galphin.

To say that Galphin's firm might have imploded without the administrative savvy of his son-in-law, William Dunbar, is not to exaggerate. Assisted by Clotworthy Robson, Dunbar handled the macro-logistics of the deerskin trade, as he served as Galphin's personal accountant, corresponded on his behalf with traders and merchants, and organized the transport and delivery of deerskins and trade goods. Henry Laurens even styled Dunbar as the financial wizard behind Galphin's commercial success, particularly since Galphin always sent Dunbar to his customers, traders, and merchants "to call upon [them] for money to pay" their debts and to settle accounts. Of similar

[93] John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 21 July 1777, CO 5/557, 648-654 ("Connections," "transact"); Lachlan McGillivray to James Glen, 1 February 1755, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1765*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1970), 38-40 ("Interview"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 20 April 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 3 ("Perplexed"); Rawlins Lowndes to Henry Laurens, 13 October 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XIV: July 7, 1778 – Dec. 9, 1778*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 410 ("well versed"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 23 November 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("Respects").

importance, Dunbar arranged for all of the shipments of presents and "Indian goods" that he sent to Galphin's traders, often delivered by Robson who worked around the difficulties of transport. Dunbar also assumed his father-in-law's place during a number of negotiations with merchants and imperial officials, including the time that Galphin informed one of his allies "I have sent Mr. Dunbar down to your excellency" to "present…[my] Case." Dunbar and Robson even labored as Galphin's legal representatives, either as witnesses to his many indentures and bonds, or as his proxy signatories to court and legal documents.[94]

Meanwhile, Galphin employed his children to take care of his Silver Bluff plantation. Although Galphin maintained a vested interest in supervising his manor, he gradually transferred management of Silver Bluff over to Thomas, Martha, Judith, Barbara, and Rose. Over the course of the 1760s and 1770s, Galphin's children assumed a more active role in governing that plantation, which for Thomas consisted largely of handling his father's correspondence with merchants, suppliers, and customers in North America and Great Britain.[95] When disaster struck one of Galphin's "Boat[s] load[ed] of Corn at Savannah," it was Thomas who immediately wrote to their buyers that they would "[send] you some [more]…before long [and] I hope to be able to [offer] a little Lumber" along with it. In contrast, Galphin's daughters oversaw Silver

[94] George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 13 March 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 157-159 ("money to pay"); *Galphin Estate Papers & Inventory, 1782-1787*, South Carolina, Ninety-Six District, Court of Ordinary, 0000042 .L42235, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC; Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 29 March 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 197 ("Indian goods"); John Wereat, "Account of Colo. Daniel McMurphy against the State of Georgia," *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842* (Robson, superintend); George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 16 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Folder 3 ("excellency"); Deed of Trust from George Galphin to Lachlan McGillivray, 2 February 1775, *George Galphin's Mesne Conveyance Records, 1752-1778*, Book Z-5, 133-135.

[95] One can see in Galphin's surviving correspondence that at some point in the early 1770s, Thomas started to pen Galphin's letters for him. In addition, the surviving account books for Silver Bluff reveal such a transition in 1771 when Thomas started to take charge of the Galphin firm. *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772*.

Bluff's agricultural productions, took care of the brick houses and guest homes, and entertained the many guests that frequented Silver Bluff. Galphin also deputized his sons George and John with overseeing the cultivation of indigo, rice, tobacco, and corn at the family's auxiliary plantations nearby Silver Bluff, in addition to managing Galphin's "Grist Mills" and "Saw Mills."[96]

Galphin even turned to his Irish relations to assist in the managerial oversight of Silver Bluff. They were entrusted particularly with the care of Galphin's ranches. In writing to one of his traders, Galphin remarked that "I woud be obliged to you if you know of any of my Horses in your parts, to get them & deliver them to John Crossley," one of three nephews who cared for the horses that transported deerskins and goods between Silver Bluff, Creek Country, and the British colonies. In addition, John Crossley joined his brothers Henry and George in taking charge of their uncle's cowpens where they corralled, fed, and bred cattle. When Galphin accidently "turned some of his Cattle over Ogeechee on[to] the Indian land," it was his Crossley nephews who went "hunting them up to put [them back] on his own land again." The Crossley brothers also transported their uncle's cattle to Pensacola and Mobile, where British merchants purchased those animals to feed the British army in Florida, or shipped the beef to customers in the West Indies. Galphin reveled in this particularly lucrative traffic when he gloated to Barnard about the Crossleys who returned from a profitable sojourn in Pensacola where they "sold about 300 [Steers]…[at] 50/ to 60/ Sterling each." Altogether, then, these intimates labored as extensions of Galphin himself, as

[96] George Galphin to Greenwood & Higginson, 27 August 1773, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, 58 ("mind my plantation"); Thomas Galphin to Unidentified, 30 April 1788, *Thomas Galphin Floating Files, 1788*, ALS 1444, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Boat load"); 6 April 1776, *The Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (Galphin leaving Silver Bluff to his sons and daughters, gristmills and sawmills).

both managers for his trade firm and his plantation enterprises.[97]

In the end, Galphin structured the world around him according to the relationships he shared with his family and friends, who in turn supported and rooted Galphin's world of intimacies and localities at Silver Bluff. With Galphin's kith and kin flocking to him in droves during the 1760s and 1770s, these intimates emerged as his principal agents for the deerskin trade and all of his other commercial ventures. These family and friends in turn facilitated and reinforced Galphin's relationships in the British Empire and its colonies, the Native southeast, and the transatlantic commercial community. Through his intimates, then, Galphin's intensely local and personal world not only existed, but prospered, and this translated into his own little commercial empire that exerted both political and economic influence within imperial, colonial, Native, and transatlantic worlds.

[97] George Galphin to James Burgess, 28 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 528-529 ("John Crossley"); "Journal of David Taitt's Travels from Pensacola, West Florida, to and through the Country of Upper and Lower Creeks," in *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1916), 550 ("Indian land," "hunting"); George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78 559-563 ("300").

Chapter 2 – "The intimate connection…between his interest and mine in the Indian trade": George Galphin, his Allies, and the Creation of Intimate Partnerships and Alliances

In March 1770, George Galphin sent a letter to Governor James Grant, in which he forwarded the latest "a Count from the Creeks" and, more importantly, reaffirmed a commitment to "Carry on a trade in East Florida." While the British Empire sought to fill the vacuum of power in Florida following the Spanish expulsion in 1763, Grant and other imperial authorities consulted with, and ultimately elected, Galphin to lead the imperial charge into former Spanish territories. In his letter, Galphin unveiled plans to "build a trading house" at St. Marks, which Grant believed "if it succeeds, of which I think there is next to a Certainty…the greatest part of the Trade of the Lower Creeks must Center there." But as Galphin pitched his proposal, he let it slip that "the [Creeks] has sent me word Severall times they wood build a house there for me." Grant likely dismissed Galphin's offhand remark as just another boast of "his influence with the Creeks," yet this statement hints at the other relationships and interests at play in Florida separate from that of the empire. If one reads between the lines of Galphin's correspondence, what emerges is a Native-driven initiative to shape the onset of imperial power in Florida – by setting up Galphin, a man well-connected among the Creeks, as the primary trader and intermediary for Creek and British peoples in that region. It is no coincidence that one of Galphin's merchant contacts, John Gordon, learned in confidence from Galphin that he "for sometime past had it in contemplation to settle a Store at the desire of the Indians on their ground…about St. Marks."[98]

[98] George Galphin to John Gordon, 26 March 1770, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Microfilm 687, Reel 19, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("a Count," "Carry," "house," "Severall"); James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough, 31 October 1771, *Documents of the American Revolution,1770-1783, Volume I: Calendar, 1770-1771,* ed. K.G. Davies

In fact, when put into the context of imperial anxiety after the Seven Years' War, the Florida connection between Galphin and the Creeks becomes quite clear. Even before the ink dried on the Treaty of Paris (1763), Coweta headmen Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee ventured to Havana where they promised "peace…with the Spaniards," and claimed "Apalache" as their own. Over the next seven years, British officials were forced to keep a vigilant eye on Florida for any signs of the "Clandestine correspondence between [Coweta] & the Spaniards." On several occasions, imperial authorities tried to confront Escotchaby about such proceedings, but he pled his ignorance, saying "I know nothing certain concerning the Spaniards otherwise I should not keep it a Secret from my Father." British authorities convinced Creek leaders like the Pumpkin King to find out "what Talks the Cowetas had brought from the Spaniards." He later informed imperial agents that Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee intended to grant the Spanish "Liberty to settle upon this Land [Florida]." With panic threatening to paralyze the imperial interest, Governor Wright immediately "Prevail[ed] on them [Escotchaby, Sempoyaffee] to go to Mr. Galphin."[99]

While imperial authorities knew Galphin frequently collaborated with Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, British officials failed to understand the depths of their relationships

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(Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 419 ("influence"); James Grant to John Gordon, 7 November 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 18 ("greatest part"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 18 ("contemplation").

[99] Juan Josef Eligio de la Puente, 26 December 1777, *The Indian Frontier in British East Florida: Spanish Correspondence concerning the Uchiz Indians, 1771-1783*, ed. Daniel L. Schafer, University of North Florida, Jacksonville FL https://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Projects/uchize/section2.html#12261777 (Havana, "peace"); John Stuart to James Grant, 16 December 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 18 ("Clandestine"); "Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings at Augusta," 12-14 November 1768, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 137, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("nothing certain"); Pumpkin King to John Stuart, 3 May 1769, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 5, Volume 70 [microfilm] (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 373-374 (Pumpkin King, "power," "Liberty"); James Wright to James Grant, 20 October 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 18 ("Prevail").

with one another. As brothers to Galphin's Creek wife Metawney, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee knew Galphin as early as 1741, and over the course of three decades forged a partnership that bound these three "Friend[s]" together. Through their connections, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee acted as Galphin's main contacts, informants, intermediaries, and suppliers of deerskins in Creek Country, while Galphin reciprocated such responsibilities and obligations in British North America. In fact, these three men together climbed the ranks of their respective societies to seize positions of commercial and political power, which only added to the importance of the alliance between them. Galphin presided over one of the largest and most prosperous trading companies in the southeast, and shared a strict confidence with some of the most influential merchants and imperial authorities on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Meanwhile, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee emerged as the "Principal head men" and "Owners of the Town Ground" for Coweta, one of the preeminent towns in the Creek-British relationship. Together, these men maintained a "special channel…between special friends,"[100] and exerted a powerful influence within the deerskin trade and Creek-British politics.[101]

As part of their mutual ambitions for Florida, Galphin utilized his transatlantic relationships with British merchants and administrators to secure logistical,

[100] On one occasion, Galphin promised "My Friend" Escotchaby that "you shall never be poor as long as I live." George Galphin to the Young Lieutenant, 23 March 1774, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Volume 75, 65-66.
[101] George Galphin to the Young Lieutenant, 23 March 1774, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 75, 65-66 ("Friend"); White Outerbridge to William Henry Lyttelton, 2 July 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 11: June-August 1759, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("Principal"); Edmond Atkin to Henry Ellis, 25 January 1760, *Henry Ellis Papers, 1757-1760*, MS #942, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("Owners"); John T. Juricek, ed. *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XII: Georgia & Florida Treaties, 1763-1776* (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1989-), 123 ("channel").

commercial, and political support for Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee. Galphin first approached John Gordon, his merchant contact in London, who urged the firm of Greenwood & Higginson to extend their commercial interests into Florida. The response from London was a resounding "yes," which led Gordon to inquire with Governor Grant about "establish[ing] a Trading House at St. Marks." Grant replied favorably to Gordon's overtures, eager to attain the commercial support of the prosperous Greenwood & Higginson, and afterward confided to Gordon that "I am glad you think so favourably of St. Marks." But Grant warned Gordon that before they could proceed with such plans, they needed "a proper Manager" and a "Creditable Trader" if their enterprise was to succeed. Needless to say, those interested in the Florida region on both sides of the Atlantic had only one man in mind for the job.[102]

Soon after, Gordon sent Grant "a letter from Mr. Galphin…[who] has long been accustomed to supply the Indians about St. Marks…with goods," who "is now in hopes of Your Excellency's permission" to replace James Spalding as the primary trader in Florida. Gordon justified Galphin's "application" to Grant on account of "the intimate connection that there is between his interest and mine in the Indian trade…[which] influenced me to entreat Your…permission." Grant no doubt knew Galphin by reputation, a man with a "thorough acquaintance with the North American Indians, language, rites, and customs…[whose] long application and services in the dangerous sphere of an Indian life, and successful management of the savage natives, are well

[102] James Grant to John Stuart, 5 February 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 2 ("Trading House"); James Grant to John Gordon, 8 November 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 2 ("favourably," "Manager"); James Grant to the Earl of Hillsborough, 28 September 1768, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: East Florida, 1763-1777*, CO 5/544, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 91-92 ("Creditable").

known over all the continent of America." Quite enamored with Galphin, Grant willingly staked the imperial interest in Florida on Galphin, and "deliver[ed] up to him the Fort & Stores at St. Marks Appalache," "the Fort of Picolata," and a store "on St. Johns," which Grant hoped might "draw the Creek Trade from Augusta." Ironically, imperial officials[103] and London merchants never realized the Florida initiative originated with Galphin and his Coweta allies.[104]

While Galphin seamlessly wove together his relationships with Creek headmen, London merchants, and imperial administrators during these Florida intrigues, he made it look considerably easier than it actually was. Unlike his relations with family and friends, Galphin's connections to his allies were inherently contingent and fluid affairs. Absent the bonds of kinship and familiarity that Galphin shared with his intimates, these connections with his allies required Galphin's continuous attention and care. Consequently, Galphin constantly battled to meet the expectations and demands of his allies, which at times coincided with or supported Galphin's own interests, and at other times diverged greatly. But over the course of several decades in the skin trade, Galphin carved out a reputation among Creek headmen, London merchants, and British authorities as a man who could get things done, and sold his self as such to others.

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[103] Spanish officials in Havana perceptively understood that East Florida "belonged to the Province of Cabeta [Coweta]." This Creek town long thwarted "the English [who] were not able to form even the smallest establishment outside of [St. Augustine]." This remained true up until Galphin, Escotchaby, and Sempoyaffee entered the scene and shifted a significant part of the deerskin trade southward in support of Coweta. Juan Josef Eligio de la Puente, 26 December 1777, *The Indian Frontier in British East Florida: Spanish Correspondence concerning the Uchiz Indians, 1771-1783* ("Cabeta," "establishment").

[104] John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 ("accustomed," "hopes," "application," "intimate connection"); Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Nashville: Promontory Press, 1973), i-v ("continent"); James Grant to John Gordon, 18 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 2 ("Appalache," "Picolata"); George Galphin to James Grant, 26 March 1770, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819* ("St. Johns"); James Grant to John Stuart, 1 February 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("Augusta").

Ultimately, Galphin enfolded these partners and allies into his world of relationships, bringing their commercial and political interests into alignment with his own.

Galphin and these allies established personal connections grounded in their respective obligations to and expectations of one another. Although Galphin and his partners entertained differing agendas or demanded different things from each other, they all brought something to the table that made their commercial arrangements or political alliances desirable in the first place. For Galphin, his relationships within Creek Country and the Native southeast endeared him to some of the most powerful London merchants and imperial administrators; whereas Galphin's Creek allies sought to exploit and even co-opt his political and commercial connections to the imperial and transatlantic worlds. Faced with potential conflict and divergent interests, Galphin sought to blend all of these relationships together to pursue his own ends. Galphin's efforts included securing lucrative trade partnerships and commercial contracts, while attaining the confidence of Creek headmen and imperial officials, which augmented Galphin's prestige among his allies and added to the luster of his trading firm.

Over the course of several years – in some cases decades – Galphin acquired powerful partnerships and alliances that evolved beyond mutual interest, obligation, and expectation to include the bonds of trust and familiarity. Because Galphin emerged as one of the premier traders and merchants during the mid to late eighteenth century, he continuously proved himself to his Creek, imperial, and merchant allies as a man who could move mountains within the skin trade and Creek-British politics. Such influence endeared Galphin to these men and attracted other allies. However, Galphin took matters even further by deploying a fictive familial vernacular in all of his

interactions and correspondence with these allies in hopes of reinforcing their partnerships and alliances. Galphin referred to his Creek supporters as his "Brothers" and "Friends," thought of himself and his London merchants as joined at the hip through their "intimate connection" in trade, and styled himself as a man of empire, by which the "house of George Galphin" was an extension of the imperial "household" in North America. For Galphin, then, he sought to wed his allies and their commercial and political interests to his own through a fictive language of kinship in hopes of fortifying the trust and understanding between them.[105]

In the process of creating such partnerships and alliances, Galphin extended the reach of his personal and spatial connections beyond the local and personal world that existed at Silver Bluff, and thereby established a network of relationships that linked Native, imperial, colonial, and transatlantic worlds together. Consequently, Galphin's connections stretched outward from Silver Bluff to take root in the islands of the West Indies, ports in New England and Canada, slave factories in North Africa, Atlantic archipelagos like Madeira, town squares among the Cherokees and Choctaws, markets in Amsterdam and Cadir, the bazaars of Turkey and India, and even the halls of Parliament itself. Such linkages explain exactly how and why Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee conspired with Galphin for Florida in the first place: Galphin's transatlantic connections.[106] Galphin's very local and particular world, then, starts to

[105] "A Treaty of Peace and Commerce held at the Old Town," 6 November 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780,* Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Vault Box Ayer MS 313, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("Brothers," "Friends"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 ("intimate connection"); "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift," 27 October 1809, Book D, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943,* MS #71, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA ("house of George Galphin").

[106] Joshua Piker argues that the Creeks "preferred way" of engaging Atlantic processes was through kin-tied proxies like Galphin "who were themselves connected to Britain" and the Atlantic world. This idea is articulated in Piker's unpublished article, "How to Play in the Atlantic Without Getting Wet: A Creek

look a whole lot bigger when you factor in the multitude of relationships he cultivated with his allies in Creek Country, North America, and throughout the imperial and transatlantic communities.

But Galphin grounded each and every one of these personal and spatial connections within the same local and intimate framework he built at Silver Bluff. In Galphin's mind, he organized the larger world according to the relationships he shared with the peoples and places around him, whether that meant those in close proximity like Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, or those as far away as his merchant partners in London, such as William Greenwood and William Higginson. Succinctly stated, Galphin mentally localized the transoceanic relationships that he forged with the peoples and places of the Atlantic, and integrated them into a coherent network at Silver Bluff. To use the spider analogy, Galphin spun a web of relationships that suffused much of the Atlantic, but that web was ultimately anchored by the localities where Galphin produced those connections in the first place (fig. 6, 7). In other words, when scholars think "Atlantically," Galphin also thought "locally." To understand this part of Galphin's world then, we need to take a step back from Silver Bluff and cast our gaze trans-locally; to see the relationships that Galphin cultivated with his allies in and around the Atlantic basin, all of which converged upon Silver Bluff.

Galphin privileged his alliance with Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee over all of his other Native, colonial, and imperial allies because he was intimately familiar with those two men, and trusted them to handle their mutual business within Creek Country.

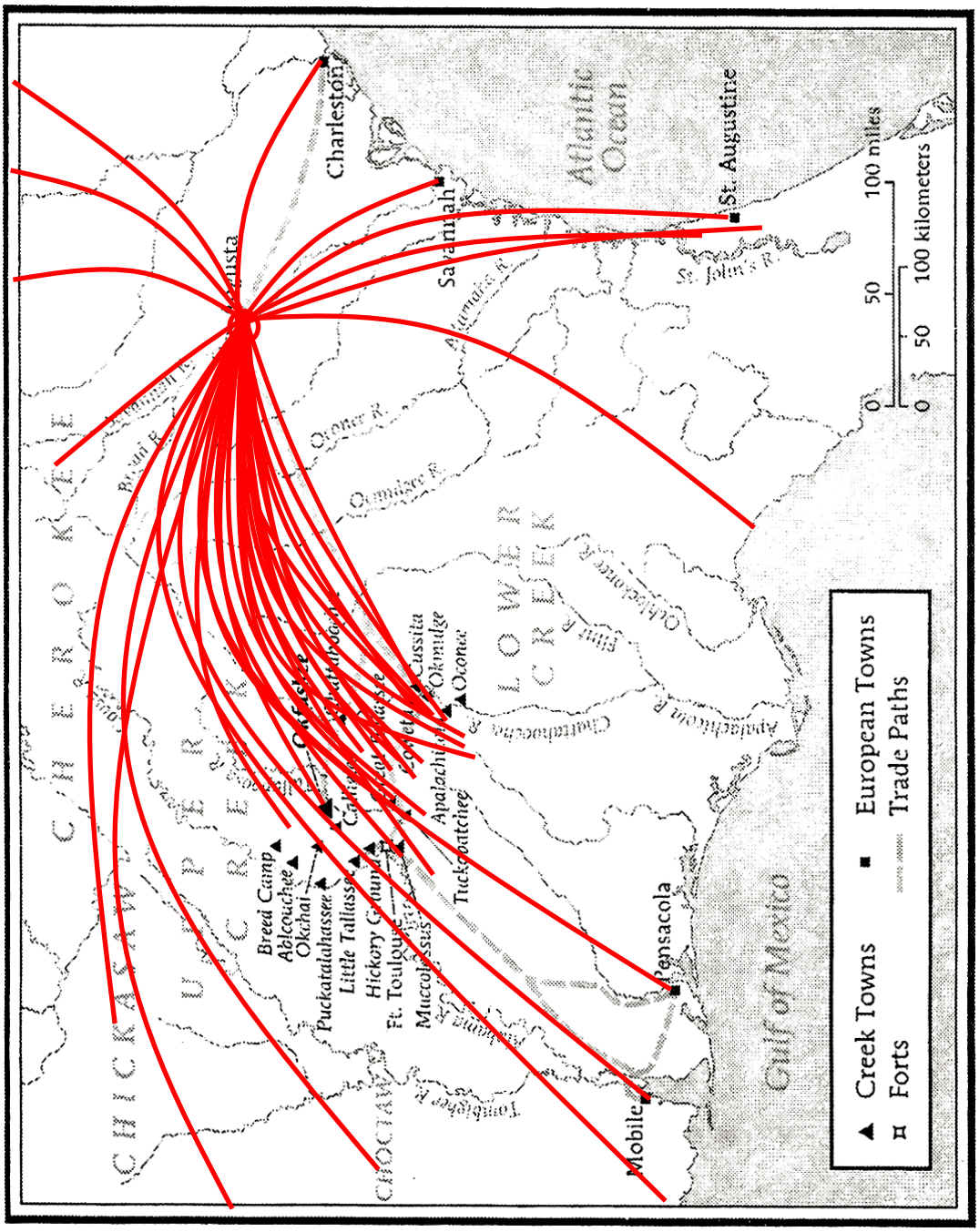
Mico's Transatlantic Politics," and his published monograph, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America*.



Figure 6: George Galphin's Trans-Local "Spider-Web"[107]

[107] Alexander Keith Johnson, *Basin of the North Atlantic Ocean* (Edinburgh: W. & A.K. Johnston, 1879).

Figure 7: George Galphin's Trans-Local "Spider Web" in Indian Country and Florida[108]



Galphin certainly realized that one of the only reasons his other partners and allies gravitated toward him in the first place was because of the connections he established in Creek Country. It is quite another thing to actually see all of Galphin's partners and

[108] Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

allies frame their relationships with him as stemming from "his influence" with the Creeks. In the words of one of Galphin's imperial supporters, "you have it more in your power than any person I know to induce the Creeks" to pursue a certain course of action. Because of such "power," peoples from around the Atlantic flocked to Galphin, including some of the most influential and powerful peoples in the British Empire and Indian Country. At a fundamental level, then, Galphin's attachments among the Creeks provided him with the means to exert a dominant influence within the deerskin trade and Creek-British politics, which attracted imperial authorities, London merchants, and other Native leaders. In other words, Galphin's Creek relationships served as the catalyst by which Galphin's world expanded outward from Silver Bluff to envelop the other peoples and places of the Atlantic. On the other hand, though, Galphin's world hinged precariously on the personal connections that he created and maintained in Creek Country, which forced him to keep a vigilant and continuous watch over his Creek partnerships and alliances.[109]

From the very start of his days as a trader in Coweta, Galphin quickly came to the attention of Escotchaby (also known as the "Coweta Lieutenant" or "Young Lieutenant") and Sempoyaffee ("Fool's Harry"), particularly after Galphin's marriage to their sister, Metawney. Over the course of three decades, this trio regularly collaborated with one another, often in the pursuit of a steady flow of trade between Coweta and Augusta, which more often than not passed through Galphin's hands. These three men also worked together to defuse conflicts and violence that threatened the Creek-British alliance from the 1740s through the 1760s, most notably during the

[109] James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough, 31 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, MS #1787, Folder 4, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("influence"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 8 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("induce").

Seven Years' War. Even after Galphin left Coweta with his Creek family to settle at Silver Bluff, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee frequented Galphin's new home where their collaborations continued. Imperial agents noted that Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee frequently ventured to Silver Bluff where they met and conspired with Galphin. For instance, Edmond Atkin observed in 1760 that "Scochaby…& Simpoyahfy [will] stay some time…at Mr. Galphins," whereas Galphin wrote to John Stuart in 1771 that "the Young Lieutenant of the Cowetas…[who] sett out for the Nation this day from my House…& he went away very well Satisfied." Whether staying "four Days" or "15 days at My Home," Galphin faithfully invited, entertained, and colluded with his Coweta confidants at Silver Bluff.[110]

Galphin could not have asked for better allies than Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee. Both men served consecutively as Coweta's "Tustenogy Mico" – the leading authority in all matters related to war – before they ascended to their roles and responsibilities as "Coweta micos," or the town's civil authorities. Imperial officials also remarked that Escotchaby bore the title of "Cherokee King," the official emissary for the Creeks and Cherokees whose duty it was to preserve peace between both peoples. Escotchaby additionally carried the weight of another important function within Creek Country, as one "who has more to do in Land Affairs, than any other Indian of the Lower Creeks…a privilege annexed to his Family." Further, Coweta itself occupied a very influential position within the Creek-British alliance on account of that town's strategic

[110] Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 7 March 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760,* Box 15: March 1760 – April 1762 ("Simpoyahfy"); George Galphin to James Grant, 26 March 1770, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 19 ("four Days," "My House"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 19 February 1771, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 95 ("sett out"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 2 June 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 46-47 ("15 days").

location along the Lower Path, as well as a long history of Coweta-dominated politics within Creek Country.[111] Galphin, therefore, enjoyed a confidence with two of the most important leaders, in one of the most influential towns, in Creek Country. According to imperial administrators, they admitted time and time again that "nothing could be done effectually without" these two "principal head men of that Town [Coweta]."[112]

After 1763, though, things started to change for Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee. Once the preeminent town in the Creek-British alliance, Coweta's political influence steadily declined as assertive leaders among the Upper Creeks, like Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee and the Mortar of Okchai, challenged Coweta as the premier town in Creek Country, and thereby diverted imperial attention away from the Lower Creeks. John Stuart observed as much, stating that "there is a coolness between the upper and lower Creeks…[and] this has excited great Jealousy." According to historian Steven C. Hahn, Coweta experienced a "peculiar dispersal of political influence" since Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee "never monopolized diplomatic talks in the way [their] predecessors had." Hahn concludes that this led to "Coweta's demise as a center of influence among the Creeks," which now shifted to the Upper towns, while other Lower Creek villages like Chehaw usurped Coweta's once esteemed place. To compound matters, the Lower Creeks who settled in Florida – the "Siminolies" – and

[111] The history of "Coweta-dominated politics" by Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee's predecessors – Brims, Chigelli, and Malatchi – is covered in extensive detail by Steven Hann in *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763.*

[112] "Creek Indian Nation to our Beloved Sister Matawny," 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books,* Book BBB, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("Tustenogy Mico"); "Declaration of Lower Creek Headmen," 14 December 1747, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XI: Georgia Treaties, 1733-1763*, ed. John T. Juricek (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1989-), 155-156 ("War King"); Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 225-226 ("Coweta mico"); White Outerbridge to William Henry Lyttelton, 2 July 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 11 ("Cherokee King," "principal"); John Stuart to James Grant, 15 March 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("Land Affairs"); Edmond Atkin to Henry Ellis, 25 January 1760, *Henry Ellis Papers, 1757-1760* ("nothing").

once deferred to the authority of Coweta spurned Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee's claims to the Florida region and peoples. In short, the situation that Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee confronted after 1763 looked increasingly dire for Coweta.[113]

The Coweta headmen refused to go down without a fight. For the remainder of the 1760s and 1770s they turned to Galphin who used his personal, commercial, and political weight within the empire and Atlantic world to try and restore Coweta's privileged place within the skin trade and the Creek-British alliance. With Galphin, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee set in motion a series of events to monopolize the Florida traffic in deerskins, in hopes of redirecting a sizable portion of that trade away from the traditional centers of that commerce – Charleston, Augusta, and Savannah. In doing so, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee wanted to establish control over access to the Florida trade, which they might in turn withhold from their Upper and Lower Creek rivals, and thereby reassert their relevance within Creek politics and trade.[114] In return, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee agreed to increase Galphin's commercial and political visibility in Creek Country, particularly among Lower Creek towns. In essence, then, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee sought to use Galphin's web of relationships to avert Coweta's impending fate – political irrelevance.

On their end, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee sought to sow disorder and chaos in Florida, after which Galphin would swoop in with his trade to restore order for the

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[113] John Stuart to the Earl of Hillsborough, 28 December 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 347-348 ("coolness"); Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763,* 225-228 ("dispersal," "monopolized," "demise," Chehaw); Patrick Tonyn to George Germain, 26 December 1777, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XIII: Calendar, 1777-1778*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 216 ("Siminolies").

[114] In the eighteenth century Creek world, trade was politics. For further information see Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America*, Joseph M. Hall Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast*, or Steven C. Hahn's *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763.*

empire. From 1763 to 1769, the Cowetas repeatedly reached out and visited Spanish Havana where they declared an interest in having the "Spaniards settle on Land" in the "Neighbourhood of Saint Marks." Such intrigues not only threatened to upset the balance of imperial power, but produced panic among colonial governors who noted that "Estotchabie…is supposed to be the best affected to the Spaniards of any in the [Creek] Nation," with whom "the Spaniards…have for sometime past been carrying on a Correspondence." Over the course of several years, Escotchaby and his sons and nephews frequented Havana where they "received presents of Money rum ammunition and laced Cloaths from the Spanish Governors, who proposed sending an Officer to hold a Congress with the Chiefs of the Upper and Lower Nations." Meanwhile, the Cowetas targeted the stores of James Spalding, the primary trader in Florida, and "took [his] goods, tore open [his] packs," and fled with "the whole…except a few Shirts & some other trifles." When the governors and John Stuart demanded that the Cowetas meet with them to answer for their Spanish intrigues and attacks on Spalding, Escotchaby "Sa[id] he Cannot Split his Body in two, for he Wanted to go to See the Spaniards & to Settle them on the Florida Point Where they are now a Visiting & that he was to go & See them first." While British officials fumed, they failed to realize the ulterior motives at play here. In contrast, the Spanish quickly grasped that their Creek visitors had little intention of inviting Spain back to Florida, and observed that the Creeks bear "great affection" to one "Maestre Galfen…a rich merchant of skins."[115]

[115] John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 6 December 1768, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: Indian Affairs, 1763-1784*, CO 5/65-82, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Neighbourhood," "best affected," "Correspondence"); John Stuart to James Grant, 4 August 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 (Escotchaby kin, "Money"); James Spalding to James Grant, 17 June 1766, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 9 ("packs," "Shirts"); James Wright to James Grant, 20 October 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("Body in two"); Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente to

While Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee stirred up a hornet's nest in Florida, Galphin put his transatlantic partnerships and alliances into play. Through his merchant contact with London, John Gordon, Galphin secured the financial and logistical support of his partners, Greenwood & Higginson, to "establish a Trading House at St. Marks." Galphin also corresponded with Henry Laurens who introduced Galphin to the Florida governor James Grant, who considered Laurens "My Friend…[and] a good man, [who] understands Business, and is more exactly than most men I ever met with." Meanwhile, Galphin used Gordon to further cultivate Grant's trust and to seek his consent "for the purpose of trading" in Florida. For several months, Galphin and Gordon chipped away at Grant's resolve, which also coincided with Coweta's disruptive behavior. After months of negotiation, Grant turned "the Fort & Stores at...Appalache," "the Fort of Picolata," and a third store along the St. John's River over to "Mr. Galphin," granting Galphin, Escotchaby, and Sempoyaffee exactly what they wanted. To cement this newfound control over the Florida trade, Galphin mobilized his most trusted friends and family to manage the operations, entrusting West Florida to David Holmes, East Florida to Daniel McMurphy, while Quinton Pooler acted as Galphin's intermediary in Florida with Greenwood & Higginson.[116]

Diego Joseph Navarro, 1 April 1778, *Transcriptions of Records from Portada del Archivo General de Indias*, Texas Tech University in Seville, Spain, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, MS #1236, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("Maestre Galfen").

[116] James Grant to John Stuart, 5 February 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 2 ("Trading House"); James Grant to Richard Oswald, 20 January 1767, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 2 (Laurens); James Grant to John Gordon, 12 October 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 2 ("purpose"); James Grant to John Gordon, 18 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 2 ("St. Marks," "Picolata"); George Galphin to James Grant, 26 March 1770, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 19 (St. Johns, Holmes); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 (McMurphy, Pooler).

More importantly for Galphin, though, his intrigues with Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee in Florida during the 1760s and 1770s extended his world of relationships beyond Silver Bluff to include much of Creek Country and other parts of the Native southeast. While Galphin already operated sites of trade at the towns of Coweta, Yuchi, and Cusseta, his Coweta "friends" paved Galphin's way into new places such as Claycatskee, Chownogley, "Tomautly," Little Cowetas, Bigskin Creek, and other communities "in sight almost of Coweta." The Coweta headmen also pressured other "Towns on the Chattahoochee River," like Eufalla and Chewalie, to open their town squares to Galphin, especially when Escotchaby promised to "take it upon myself to speak to them" or send "my nephew…to forewarn them." Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee even marched into Chehaw, Coweta's rival among the Lower Creeks, where they declared to imperial officials that they were the "head Men of the lower Creeks," not the leaders of Chehaw. In short, Galphin's trade did not simply flow into Lower Creek communities, but flooded those Creek towns along the Chattahoochee River.[117]

Galphin also collaborated with Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee to establish a series of "out-settlements" throughout Creek Country, the illegal stores that "carr[ied] on an advantageous Trade…in [Creek] Hunting-Grounds." Here, Galphin intercepted Creek hunters and their skins before they reached the licensed traders in Native towns. In

[117] 28 April 1772, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772*, in Newton D. Mereness, ed. *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1916), 548-549 (ClayCastskee, Little Coweta, Bigskin Creek); John Stuart to James Grant, 15 March 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("Tomautly"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 17 June 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 11 ("in sight," Chownogley); Escotchaby to John Stuart, 26 April 1772, CO 5/73 (Eufala, "River," "speak to," "nephew," Chehaw); David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 266 (Chewalie); 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from Aug. 6, 1771-Feb. 13, 1782*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 148-154 ("head Men," Chehaw); Escotchaby to John Stuart, May 1769, CO 5/69 (Chehaw).

public, Galphin's Coweta allies denounced such "out-stores…in the Woods [that] clandestinely traded with the Indians," and promised "if [they] met with any of them in future [they] should look upon them as French or Spaniards…and treat them accordingly." But in private, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee assisted Galphin in settling such illegal villages that were, more often than not, "peopled by Cowetas" at the encouragement of these headmen. It is no coincidence that Galphin's most infamous "out-store," the "Standing Peach Tree" (Pucknawhitla) was also known as the "Coweta Lieutenant's Settlement," or that Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee's own confidant, the "Half-Breed Abraham of Coweta," transported goods back and forth between Silver Bluff and these "out-Villages."[118] Together, Galphin and his Coweta partners created a series of out-stores throughout the Lower towns, such as "Quikalaikey," "Howmatcha's Town," the "Forks stores," and others. Galphin also developed a number of "Upper Creek stores" like the "Euphaly store," which Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee provided protection for in case the Upper Creeks took action against Galphin. Such security came in handy when Emistisiguo and "a Gang of Indians" trekked to "Buzzard's Roost" to plunder Galphin's store in 1768, but ultimately left empty handed.[119] The Coweta leaders not only policed Galphin's illegal stores, but also kept a vigilant eye out for rival traders who impeded Galphin's trade. Such rivals included one "Carter" who

[118] "Half-Breed Abraham" maintained one of the largest accounts at Silver Bluff, a testament to the lucrative (and illegal) traffic in skins and commodities at these "out-settlements." For instance, Abraham on a single occasion brought "1186 lbs. Raw Skins…82 dressed skins…[some] lightly damaged skins …[and] 40 lb. Beaver" to Silver Bluff, and returned to Coweta with coffee, soap, rum, nails, salt, sugar, tin utensils, blankets, belts, trading shifts, handkerchiefs, scalping knives, bullets, gunpowder, vermillion, thread, and other necessaries and luxuries. *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772,* MS #269, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA.

[119] Imperial officials observed that Emistisiguo looted several trade stores around Buzzard's Roost *except* "Mr. Galphin's Store…[which] was not in the least molested," a product of the protection that his Coweta allies provided him with. "Deposition of William Frazier," 16 March 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII,* 41-43.

invoked the wrath of "the Young Lt.," who "took a good many Things" from that trader's store and justified his actions on account of Carter's "making use of my [Galphin's] Name" and his "Trading in the Woods."[120]

Beyond Galphin's growing ubiquity throughout the Lower Creek towns and Florida, he profited greatly from Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee's connections to other peoples and places in the Native southeast, which contributed to Galphin's reputation as a man who commanded an "extensive trade, connexions and influence, amongst the South and South-West Indian[s]." For instance, Galphin managed to "open an intercourse with the Chactaws," a feat that he owed to his Creek allies, who often hosted and negotiated with Choctaw dignitaries in the Coweta square. Similarly, Escotchaby used his position as a "Cherokee King" to usher Galphin into the Lower, Middle, and Overhill Cherokee towns. Because the Cherokees considered Escotchaby a "Brother…[who] was once in the Cherokee Nation," he maintained a measure of influence among the Cherokees and thereby provided Galphin with the means to cement a "mutual intercourse" with those Native peoples.[121] Further, Escotchaby often

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[120] 14 February 1774, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("advantageous Trade"); 14 July 1763, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume IX: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from January 4, 1763 to December 2, 1766,* ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 70-77 ("clandestinely," "French"); Kathryn Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 136 ("peopled"); "Treaty with the Upper and Lower Creeks at Savannah," 20 October 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 153-155 ("Coweta Lieutenant's Settlement"); John Shaw Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin,* in *Hammond, Bryan and Cumming Family Papers, 1787-1865*. MS mfm R.1068a-c, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC ("Quikalaikey"); Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763,* 226 (Abraham's kinship); "A Talk Howmatcha delivered to Escotchaby…of Coweta," 27 August 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series,* Vol. 69 ("Howmatcha"); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772* ("Forks," "Euphaly," "Abraham," "Upper Creek stores"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 2 June 1768, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 73 ("Carter," "Things," "Name").

[121] The Cherokees reflected on the role of the Creek "Cherokee King" in 1838, stating that "between the Cherokees and our brethren the Creeks, there has for a number of years existed, a brotherly, family friendship so that there was no intrusion for members of our trade, to remove on to the lands of the other, and embrace, and enjoy all the privileges, or their near neighbors and brothers." Launey to Lindsay, 18

mediated for the Lower Creeks with "their old friends the Chikkasah," and because Escotchaby "always…shake[s] hands with the Chikkasah," he no doubt led Galphin into those communities as well. Galphin's Coweta allies even created channels of trade between Galphin and the more distant, or smaller, indigenous polities like the Catawba and Quapaw.[122]

Outside of his alliance with Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, Galphin sought relationships with other Creek headmen, which further enlarged his network of peoples and places throughout the Native southeast. In particular, Galphin cultivated a friendship with Captain Aleck, a leading headman for both Cusseta and Yuchi. Galphin often drew upon this relationship in times of crisis or in the event that his Coweta alliances stumbled. For instance, when the British Empire closed off the skin trade to Coweta during the Seven Years' War – in retaliation for Coweta's intrigues with the French – Galphin "was obliged to withdraw his goods from that town" and retreated to the "Uchy Town." While there, Aleck invited Galphin into his home and "told me I should not go without a gard" around Creek Country, and Aleck assigned his brothers

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June 1838, *John Howard Payne Papers, 1794-1842*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Vault Ayer MS 689, Volume 5, Folder 19, Newberry Library, Chicago IL.

[122] Thomas P. Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels & Other Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1996), 259-261 ("connexions," "Chactaws"); 13 July 1749, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, Roll 0707, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC (Coweta-Choctaws); Lachlan McGillivray to William Henry Lyttelton, 14 August 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8: July – October 1758 ("intercourse"); "Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings at Augusta," 12-14 November 1768, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 137 ("Brother"); Launey to Lindsay, 18 June 1838, *John Howard Payne Papers, 1794-1842*, Vol. 5, Folder 19 ("mutual intercourse"); Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians*, 336-340 ("Chikkasah," Coweta-Quapaw); Stephen Forrester to John Stuart, 18 September 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 62 (Coweta-Chickasaw); "The Catawba Headmen to the Creek Headmen," late 1757, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1765*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1970), 420-421 (Coweta-Catawba); William Henry Lyttelton to Paul Demere, 20 March 1759, *The Letterbooks of William Henry Lyttelton, 1756-1759*, Volume II: August 1757 – October 1759, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI (Savannah-Chickasaw); 22 May 1772, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772*, 559 ("New Orleans").

to protect Galphin and his stores. Galphin, therefore, considered Aleck one of his closest confidants among the Creeks, next to Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, and always opened Silver Bluff's doors to "Capt. Aleck" who visited often and, in times of violence "wait[ed] for Intelligence at Mr. Golphins."[123]

Aleck in turn introduced Galphin to a number of Cusseta and Yuchi headmen, such as Nea Mico (Fat King), Cusseta King, King Jack, and others who joined Aleck in calling Galphin their "Elder brother." Such familial reckoning again illustrates how Galphin used a vernacular of kinship to turn non-kin peoples into his fictive relations, which invited trust and familiarity between allies. However, Galphin knew quite well from his decades in Creek society that the Muscogee world revolved around "the intimate, face-to-face, personal relations invoked by family and community," which paralleled the ways in which he organized his own world spatially and emotionally. Together then, Galphin and his Creek allies spoke this invented language of family and came to a mutual understanding about their relations with one another. Galphin, therefore, catered to and looked out for the interests of his Creek "friends" within the empire, while his allies reciprocated the favor in Creek Country.[124]

Galphin's connections to Aleck and the Cussetas also guided him into the world of the Upper Creeks, since the Cussetas shared a "white path…to the Tallasees and to

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[123] Henry Ellis to William Henry Lyttelton, 29 July 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760,* Box 8 ("obliged"); White Outerbridge to William Henry Lyttelton, 24 March 1757, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 4: March – May 1757 ("Uchy Town"); George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, 11 June 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 11 ("gard"); 3 July 1760, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800*, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("wait").

[124] "A Talk from the Cussieta King," 19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XVIII: Revolution and Confederation,* ed. Colin G. Calloway (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 210-211 ("Elder brother"); Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 206 ("face-to-face"); "A Talk from the Cusseta King and Fat King to George Galphin," 4 November 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*, in *Henry Laurens Papers,* Roll 17: Papers Concerning Indian Affairs, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston SC ("friend").

the Okfuskees." Through such interpersonal linkages, Galphin secured alliances with a number of the headmen in Okfuskee and Tallassee, such as the Handsome Fellow, the Tallassee King and his Son, White Lieutenant, Wills Friend, and others who all considered Galphin their "white Friend" and a "Brother and Friend." These relationships helped Galphin convince the Upper Creeks to let him set up stores in the towns of Tuckabatchie, Mucklassee, and Coolamies. Upper Creek headmen also created bridges for Galphin with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, with whom the Tallassees and Okfuskees shared "good Talks" and "wampum belts." Galphin even tapped into the rivalry that Okfuskee and Tallassee cultivated with Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee and the Mortar of Okchai to protect his firm, since Emistisiguo and the Mortar opposed the commercial and political influence of "Mr. Galphin's House." Through his relationships with Lower and Upper Creek towns, then, Galphin's world continued to move well beyond Silver Bluff.[125]

Armed with a legion of Creek allies, Galphin constructed a highly networked system of relationships spanning Creek Country, Florida, and the rest of the Native southeast, which provided him with an influential command over the deerskin trade and

[125] "A Talk from _____ Mico of the Okfuskees to George Galphin," n.d. *Benjamin Franklin Papers, Part XIII: Miscellaneous Franklin Materials, 1640-1791*, Mss B.F85invenstory 13, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia PA (Cusseta-Okfuskee); "A Talk from the Cusseta King and Fat King to George Galphin," 4 November 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("white path"); "A Treaty of Peace and Commerce held at the Old Town," 6 November 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Vault Box Ayer MS 313, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("white Friend," "Brother," "Father," "good Talks," "belts"); "Memo of the Tallassee Kings Son Proposals and Complaints," 1783, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837*, W.P.A. Georgia Writer's Project, MS #1500, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 117-120 ("mouth"); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (Tuckabatchie, Mucklassee); Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin* (Coolamies); "A Talk from Opoitley Mico of the Tallassees," 22 February 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* (Tallassee-Okfuskee-Choctaw-Chickasaw); Piker, *Okfuskee*, 66 (Upper Creek rivalries); Joshua Piker, "'White & Clean' & Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Spring 2003): 317, 324, 330 (rivalry); Emistisiguo to John Stuart, 7 September 1768, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies: Indian Affairs, Series 1*, Reel 4, Volume 70 [micro-film], University of Oklahoma, Norman OK ("House").

Creek-British politics. For Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, Galphin offered them the means to maintain Coweta's political relevance among the Lower and Upper Creeks, as well as to affirm the privileged position of their town to British authorities, who continued to honor the "white path" between Coweta, Augusta, and Charleston. Meanwhile, Galphin's collaborations with his Creek allies extended his personal, commercial, and political connections beyond the very local and particular world that he planted at Silver Bluff. Consequently, Galphin's world stretched outward into new regions and absorbed new peoples. But such connectedness was only the tip of the iceberg as Galphin's relationships in Creek Country attracted a host of merchants and imperial bureaucrats who all sought out Galphin because of his Creek connections. In other words, Galphin's Creek allies propelled his world of intimacies and localities into the wider Atlantic.[126]

Merchants in London descended on Galphin for one, and only one, reason – his personal and spatial connections throughout the Native southeast – which in turn ushered Galphin into the transatlantic world. London firms pursued partnerships with Galphin because of his impeccable reputation as "a very Eminent Trader," who "ha[d] great influence with many of the Head Men," and "acquired Connections and influence by having been long amongst the Indians." In fact, such notoriety traveled along the same lanes of Atlantic commerce as the skins and commodities that Galphin and these merchants trafficked in. Due to Galphin's prestige as one of the premier traders in North America, he attracted a wealth of commercial suitors, but none more powerful

[126] Lower Creek Chiefs to President Habersham, 17 March 1772, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 111.

and influential than Greenwood & Higginson, a firm that seized the lion's share of the deerskin trade and was reputed to be the most "versant in that article & the several markets for it." Together, Galphin and Greenwood & Higginson forged a working relationship founded upon their respective obligations to, and expectations of, one another. From this, Galphin acquired a steady source of trade goods from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East that he sent to the Creeks in exchange for their skins. In turn, Greenwood & Higginson needed an immense and continuous supply of skins to make it all worth their while. Over the course of several years,[127] Galphin attained a familiarity with – and ultimately the trust of – his London partners, especially as he lived up to his end of the bargain and oftentimes exceeded the demands and expectations of Greenwood & Higginson.[128]

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[127] The relationship between Galphin, Greenwood, and Higginson evolved out of Galphin's partnership with John Beswicke, a "London merchant" and "trader to Africa." Once a resident of Charleston and formerly the consul to Tripoli, Beswicke settled in London during the 1740s where he created one of the most profitable firms that trafficked in deerskins. From 1756 to 1764, Galphin and Beswicke enjoyed a strict confidence with one another, in which Galphin deposited the majority of his deerskins in Beswicke's warehouses. At some point within that time frame, Beswicke introduced Galphin to his two nephews by marriage, William Greenwood and William Higginson, who joined Beswicke in partnership and eventually took command of the firm in 1764. Greenwood and Higginson not only maintained their relationship with Galphin, but more importantly expanded the scope and infrastructure of their firm to encompass many more of the British Empire's markets and outlets. 8 August 1764, *Will of John Beswicke, Merchant of London,* Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers, PROB 11/900/540, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("London merchant," Higginson nephew); John Beswicke to Duke of Newcastle, 23 February 1733, *Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, George II: Letters and Papers*, SP 36/29, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 75-77 (Beswicke-Africa, Tripoli); Katharine A. Kellock, "London Merchants and the Pre-1776 American Debts," *Guildhall Studies in London History,* Volume 1, No. 3 (October 1974): 126 ("Africa," Charleston); 2-4 April 1761, *London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post*, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London (Greenwood nephew); 18 February 1764, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Shipping Returns: South Carolina, 1736-1775*, CO 5/510-511, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 73-74 (1761); September 1764, *London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London (Beswicke's death).

[128] "Memorial of David Milligan," 16 January 1786, *American Loyalists Claims, Series II: Georgia,* Audit Office Records, AO 13/36c, Document 971, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Eminent"); James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough, 31 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("great influence"); John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 21 July 1777, CO 5/557, 648-654 ("Connections"); Henry Laurens to James Cowles, 29 May 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens,*

Within Galphin's partnerships with his merchants, trust emerged as the single most important attribute that defined their relationships with one another. Absent the bonds of kinship that Galphin shared with his intimates, as well as deprived of any face-to-face contact due to the ocean between them, trust acted as the lubricant that made their partnerships work. To encourage such trust, Galphin deployed the same fictive familial vernacular that he used with his Creek allies. Galphin and his partners spoke a mutual language of "households," in which Galphin's firm and Greenwood & Higginson were two of the many "Houses concerned in the Indian Trade." In such a partnership, the "house of…Galphin" merged with the "House [of]…Messr. Greenwood & Higginson," and thereby created a single "household" within that trade. Consequently, Silver Bluff became part of Greenwood & Higginson's London firm, and vice versa. Similarly, the ways in which Galphin and his merchants referred to one another through their "connexions" denoted the ways that people invented kinship ties to bridge oceanic distances, particularly in a transatlantic commercial world beset by extreme "uncertainty and risk."[129] Such a familial reckoning, therefore, invited trust and familiarity between Galphin and his London allies, as well as laid the foundation for "trust networks,"[130] which proved critical to the success of Galphin and Greenwood &

Volume VIII: Oct. 10, 1771 – Apr. 19, 1773, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 349 ("versant").

[129] Tadmor suggests that the use of the word "connections" or "connexions" by Englishmen in the eighteenth century indicated a way of speaking about kin or non-kin relations. It was all a matter of linguistic context when a letter-writer or individual referred to the "connexion" between them and another person. When referring to Galphin, John Gordon spoke of his and Greenwood & Higginson's "intimate connexion" with Galphin through their business dealings, and thereby seemingly invoked a familial (or fictive familial) relationship with him. John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740*-1819, Reel 17 ("connexion"); Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 131-132.

[130] I am building upon what Charles Tilly and Pierre Force argue as families creating "trust networks" to function in a transatlantic world, particularly during bouts of emigration and dislocation. As these scholars suggest, "You would not do business across the ocean with someone you do not know, but if

Higginson's lucrative partnership. All-in-all, Galphin and his merchant partners fused together their respective networks of relationships and commerce, created a commercial "infrastructure that bound them together," and effectively extended their commercial reach as far west as New Orleans and as far east as India.[131]

In Galphin's mind, though, this commercial "infrastructure" remained unmistakably local. In cementing partnerships with London merchants, Galphin reproduced his local and intimate understandings of the world in these relationships. By speaking a language of fictive kinship, Galphin sought to close the oceanic gap between himself and his allies, to bridge the personal distance between them. To Galphin, then, Silver Bluff and London were connected emotionally and spatially, just as much as they were commercially. Therefore, Galphin understood this transatlantic world as a very local and intimate place, in which he created relationships with peoples in and around

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you partners is a sibling or a cousin, the closeness of the family connection makes up for the physical distance, and you can effectively maintain business interests far from your place of residence." I would like to take these conclusions one step further; that it was possible to create "trust networks" between non-related peoples through the familial vernacular and linguistic turn of phrase that I have demonstrated with Galphin and the firm of Greenwood & Higginson. Family did not own a monopoly over trust in the eighteenth century transatlantic world. Therefore, this concept of the "trust network" can apply outside of the family to those friends, confidants, and allies who created trust between one another through the fictive kinship ties that they built linguistically. Pierre Force, "The House on Bayou Road: Atlantic Creole Networks in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of American History*, 100:1 (June 2013): 39.

[131] Julie Hardwick, Sarah M.S. Pearsall, and Karin Wulf, "Introduction: Centering Families in Atlantic Histories," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 70:2 (April 2013): 211 ("household"); "Memorial of James Jackson & Andrew McLean," 21 March 1776, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: Georgia, 1735-1784*, CO 5/665, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 81-82 ("houses concerned"); "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift," 27 October 1809, Book D, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA ("house of George Galphin"); Henry Laurens to William Cowles, 27 May 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VIII*, 337-338 ("Messrs."); Peter Mathias, "Risk, Credit, and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise," in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, ed. John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15-16 ("risk," "face-to-face"); Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 131, 161 ("circles"); Peter Leger to Greenwood & Higginson, 12 January 1772, *Leger & Greenwood Letterbook, 1770-1775, 1788*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("connection"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("connexions"); David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Organization of the Atlantic Market, 1740-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), xxii ("infrastructure").

the Atlantic regardless of the oceanic barriers between them. As a consequence, Galphin thought of the wider world trans-locally, in which the various places he connected himself to – by way of the relationships he forged with the peoples of those places – remained decidedly within his personal orbit. Through Galphin and his commercial partnerships, then, we can "appreciate anew the importance of the profoundly local even amid the larger movements of Atlantic, indeed global, shifts."[132]

In fact, the relationships between Galphin and his merchants hinged upon their ability to continuously communicate with one another, which only deepened the intensely local nature of these transatlantic partnerships. First and foremost, Galphin and his allies exchanged a flurry of paperwork that ranged from annual orders for goods, ship manifests, and price schedules, to the monetary bonds, bills of sale, and insurance notes that proved and protected their cargoes. Galphin and his merchants also wrote to one another on a regular basis, either to coordinate their schedules and shipments, to avoid potential disruptions to their commerce,[133] to share intelligence vital to their respective ends of their trade, or to deal with any obstacles along the way.[134] Of course, Galphin and his partners also sent a wealth of skins and other goods

[132] Hardwick, et.al. "Introduction: Centering Families in Atlantic Histories," 223.

[133] During the British boycott of the deerskin trade in 1774, due to a spate of violence between Creek and British peoples, Galphin sent a flood of intelligence back to his London merchants concerning his efforts to restore peace to Creek-British relations, and more importantly, a timetable for when the trade might resume. As Andrew McLean observed in August 1774, "matters are Settled with the Creeks and the Trade again open'd with them," which stemmed solely from "Mr. Golphin's influence over those [Creek] Indians (which has always been exerted for the General Good) that these Headmen were ordered to deliver the [Peace] Talk to no one else…and [he] dispatched the Talk and white Wing…to Sir James Wright." Andrew McLean to Clark & Milligan, 6 August 1774, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780,* in *Records of Ante-bellum Southern Plantations from the Revolution through the Civil War, Series A,* Roll 15, MS mfm R.1068o, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC; 27 June 1774, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775.*

[134] The most common type of "obstacle" was the weather, particularly when it came to the care of deerskins. In 1775, "the Cold Weather…commenced here this season sooner than usual," which forced Galphin and other traders to move quickly to package their skins for London before the frost could set in

to one another across the Atlantic. More often than not, Galphin received his goods for the deerskin trade on credit, with the expectation that he accumulate the requisite amount of skins and commodities necessary to pay his balance. Consequently, this commercial relationship invoked a "credit chain" linking Silver Bluff to London, in which Galphin handled up to £10,000 worth of merchandize at a single time.[135] By repeatedly proving himself able to repay those goods-on-loan, Galphin in turn established his "creditworthiness" with his partners, who over time increased the volume of goods and credit they lent him. While this "credit chain" illustrates the interdependencies that Galphin and his London merchants shared, it also reflects the deeply personal bonds that tied these allies and their interests together. In short, the relationships between Galphin and his merchants resembled a continuous, on-going conversation between Silver Bluff and London, which reinforced a "two-way communication in the world of Atlantic commerce [that] built the important ties that bound people together across imperial divides and boisterous waters."[136]

If all of this was not enough to create local and personal bridges between Galphin and his merchant allies, they also traded intermediaries who acted as their face-to-face

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and spoil the skins. Andrew McLean to Clark & Milligan, 10 October 1775, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780.*

[135] This is evidenced by the fact that Galphin accumulated, in a single instance, more than £10,000 worth of debt, although such responsibility for this indebtedness fell on Galphin's sons, nephews, and other intimates who seized the reins of the firm after Galphin retired from the trade in 1774. Afterward, Galphin's company fell into further debt exceeding £20,000, most of which Galphin was forced to pay since he promised both Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan that "I will be security to you for whatever goods they [his intimates] may send for and see you paid." George Galphin to Greenwood & Higginson, 27 August 1773, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, 58.

[136] Mathias, "Risk, Credit, and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise," 23 ("credit chain"), 28 ("creditworthiness"); Memorial of William Greenwood & William Higginson, 16 March 1784, *American Loyalists Claims, Series II: North Carolina*, Audit Office Records, AO 13/119, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Galphin's credit); "Memorial of David Milligan," 16 January 1786, AO 13/36c, Doc. 971 (Galphin's credit); David Hancock, "'A Revolution in the Trade': Wine Distribution and the Development of the Infrastructure of the Atlantic Market Economy, 1703-1807," in *Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, 141-142 ("two-way communication").

contacts with one another. Galphin nominated two of his intimates, Quinton Pooler and John Parkinson, to serve as his merchant agents with Greenwood & Higginson, and they made regular trips back and forth between Savannah and London. Meanwhile, Greenwood & Higginson relied on William Panton and John Gordon to function as their go-betweens with Galphin in North America. Therefore, Galphin cultivated a series of relationships with these agents who acted in Greenwood & Higginson's stead. On account of their frequent contacts with one another, Galphin and these proxies built an even greater rapport than what Galphin shared with Greenwood & Higginson, as Gordon and Panton greatly "esteemed" Galphin and grew over "many years accustomed to his manner." Through these middlemen then, Galphin and his partners strengthened the bonds of commerce and familiarity between them.[137]

Even though Galphin filtered this commercial world through his particular local lens, his relationships with London merchants opened up his personal world to the Atlantic expanse. For starters, Galphin and Greenwood & Higginson commanded a large portion of the traffic in skins from Savannah, Charleston, Augusta, Mobile, St. Augustine, and Galphin's other stores throughout Florida and the Native southeast. However, Galphin and this London firm also conducted a very lucrative commerce in the West Indies, where Greenwood & Higginson muscled their way into the markets of St. Kitts, Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, and Havana. There, they bartered Galphin's "deerskins [for] rum and manufactured goods," what one scholar calls the holy "trinity"

[137] "Memorial of Thomas Stringer…Quinton Pooler," December 1775, AO 13/36c, Doc. 1465 (Pooler & Parkinson – Greenwood & Higginson); *Will of John Gordon, Merchant of Charles Town*, 31 March 1778, PROB 11/1040/363; William Panton to John Leslie, 26 August 1793, *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813*, Joseph Byrne Lockey Collection, East Florida Papers, University of Florida, Gainesville FL ("esteemed"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("manner").

of commodities at the heart and soul of the transatlantic deerskin trade. Galphin even established an independent trade with Havana, Jamaica, and St. George where he sent his own "sloop, [the] *Galphin*" to trade for rum and sugar in return for "Cypres, Shingles, Indian Corn &c." Thus Galphin and his partners cultivated a wealth of personal and commercial connections to the many islands of the West Indies, and in doing so Galphin absorbed each and every one of those locales into his rapidly expanding mental and commercial world.[138]

Greenwood & Higginson reciprocally integrated Silver Bluff into their global commercial network that included the ports and cities of Western Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, and thereby unveiled a whole new world of goods,[139] places, and peoples to Galphin. In the absence of his own connections to those faraway places, Galphin relied on his merchants and their own partnerships to expedite the deerskin trade. Luckily for Galphin, Greenwood & Higginson proved to be globally well-connected. Greenwood & Higginson traded Galphin's skins in European markets like London, Bristol, Gibraltar, Cowes, Vienna, Lisbon, Ceyne, Marseilles, Amsterdam, and other ports in "Holland, Germany, and Flanders," from which Galphin received a wide

[138] Memorial of William Greenwood & William Higginson, 16 March 1784, AO 13/119 (Florida); Patrick Tonyn to Lord Dartmouth, 26 February 1776, CO 5/540, 249 (Florida); "Entered Inwards late 1758-1759," CO 5/510, 64-70 (St. Kitts); "Cleared Outwards, late 1759-1760," CO 5/510, 87-96 (Jamaica); "Cleared Outwards, 1757-1758," CO 5/510, 55-62 (Antigua); "Entered Inwards, early 1762," CO 5/510, 106-114 (Havana); "Entered Outwards, 1756," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Shipping Returns: Georgia, 1752-1767*, CO 5/709, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Barbados); Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2013), 205-206 ("manufactured goods," "trinity"); March 1775, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, MS #4000, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 403 ("St. George," "sloop," "Indian Corn")

[139] Such exotic goods included Dutch hollands, tea and spices (like mace, cinnamon, cloves, etc.) from India, European cheeses, "London quality" goods, "Fuslain Cloth," ivory luxuries, ozenburgs, chocolate, paints and dyes from Turkey, weapons from Spain and France, "white and spun silk," "Irish potatoes," Chinaware, and a wide assortment of other luxury items. "List of Traders from Galphin's Account Book," *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*; *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772*; "Account for George Galphin," October 1765, *Read-Mossman Ledger, 1765-1766*, MS #1635, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA.

assortment of goods produced in those places. Outside of Europe, Galphin profited greatly from the "commission" that Greenwood & Higginson secured from the East India Company to transport teas and spices from India and Turkey, which flooded into Galphin's trade stores. Greenwood & Higginson also operated a very lucrative "Negro trade" and often sent Galphin's rice, tobacco, and "Indian corn" to Senegal, Guinea, and the "African Isles," in exchange for the enslaved peoples who populated Silver Bluff. Galphin's London merchants even shipped a wealth of wine and luxury foods from Atlantic archipelagos like Madeira, Azores, and the Canary islands, much of which Galphin and his family consumed themselves.[140] Therefore, Greenwood & Higginson commanded a diverse and expansive transatlantic commerce, which opened Galphin's world to a wealth of other places and peoples that he might never have known or come into contact with by himself.[141]

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[140] Greenwood & Higginson also experimented in less profitable ventures like the Canadian fur trade, the traffic in textiles and naval stores from New England, wheat and flour from Philadelphia, as well as sugar and coffee from New Orleans. 3 May 1766, *London Public Advertiser*, Issue 98, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London, 27 (Canada); "Memorial of the Merchants of London Trading to Canada, to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," 6 September 1765, *Records of the Colonial Office: Original Correspondence, Plantations General, 1689-1952*, CO 323/19, Document 199-200, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Canada); "Entered Outwards 1763," CO 5/710, 46 (New England); Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 205 (New England); "Entered Inwards, 1758-1759," CO 5/510, 64-70 (Philadelphia).

[141] Peter Leger to Greenwood & Higginson, 4 March 1772, *Leger & Greenwood Letterbook, 1770-1775, 1788*, 49 (Vienna); "Entered Inwards, early 1762," CO 5/510, 106-114 (Gibraltar); "Cleared Outwards, late 1759-1760," CO 5/510, 87-96 (Lisbon); Henry Laurens to William Cowles, 27 March 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VIII*, 337-338 ("Cowes"); "Cleared Outwards, 1763 – early 1764," CO 5/510, 127-136 ("Bristol"); 15 November 1763 – 19 April 1764, *Journals of the House of Commons*, 12th Parliament, 3rd Session (London, 1803), 982 http://www. british-history.ac.uk/commonsjournal (France); "Case of William Greenwood and Willing Higginson," 1772, *Records of the Exchequer, 25 October 1772 – 24 October 1773*, E 134/13Geo3/Mich11, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Amsterdam, New Orleans); "Petition of the Merchants Trading to South Carolina and Georgia to the Lords of the Admiralty," 18 December 1770, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: South Carolina, 1730-1784*, CO 5/393, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Flanders"); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (commodities, goods); Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin* (commodities, goods); Peter Leger to Greenwood & Higginson, *Leger & Greenwood Letterbook, 1770-1775, 1788*, 127-128 ("Commission," "East India Company"); Leger & Greenwood to the East India House in London (P. Mitchell), 4 December 1773, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: East India Co. and Miscellaneous, 1771-1774*, CO 5/133,

While Galphin consigned primarily with Greenwood & Higginson, he also cultivated a partnership with the merchants, John Clark and David Milligan, who specialized in two markets near-and-dear to Galphin's growing business – the deerskin trade in Florida and commerce with the West Indies. When Galphin first approached Clark & Milligan, these London merchants eagerly accepted him into their company; securing the personal, logistical, and commercial support of a person they thought of as an "Eminent Trader" who conducted "an extensive Trade…amongst the Indian Nations." On the other hand, though, Clark & Milligan knew that when it came to Galphin's commerce, their firm played second fiddle to Greenwood & Higginson, who owned the majority of Galphin's trust and trade. This forced Clark & Milligan to tread lightly in their partnership with Galphin, to avoid invoking the wrath of the more powerful Greenwood & Higginson.[142] Instead, Clark & Milligan settled for carving out their own little niche in Florida and the West Indies, which emerged as their commercial bread-and-butter. On account of such specialization, Galphin contracted

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British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (India); "Entered inwards 1766," CO 5/511, 86-87 (Cadir-Turkey); Peter Leger to Captain Neill Campbell, 28 December 1770, *Leger & Greenwood Letterbook, 1770-1775, 1788*, 4-5 ("Negro Trade"); "Petition of Several Merchants in London, Planters of South Carolina, and Owners of Ships trading to His Majesty's said Province in America," n.d. 1762-1763, *Charles Garth Letterbook, 1758-1760, 1762-1766*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI (rice to Africa, "African Isles," Madeira, Canaries); Peter Leger to Greenwood & Higginson, 12 January 1772, *Leger & Greenwood Letterbook, 1770-1775, 1788*, 39 (Senegal); "Petition of Several Merchants in London to the House of Commons," 22 February 1763, *Treasury Board Papers and In-Letters, North America: South Carolina*, T 1/425/216-217, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Madeira, Canary); "Memorial of the Merchants of Liverpool trading to West Florida," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: West Florida, 1766-1776*, CO 5/620, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("African trade").

[142] Even though Clark & Milligan deferred to Greenwood & Higginson, they secretly hoped that their rivals might falter, and at times actively sought to undermine that firm. On one occasion, Clark & Milligan's merchant contact in Georgia, Andrew McLean, confided to his London partners that "many of our Creek Traders had arrived & in a very few days we shall not have to the value of Ten pounds left of all the goods you have sent us…if you can prevent it, do not Let Mr. G[reenwood] & Higginson send some things by the Vessel, particularly Ammunition, if you can affect this it will be gaining [us] a great point indeed." Andrew McLean to Clark & Milligan, 26 December 1775, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780.*

solely with Clark & Milligan to "furnish goods…[for his] stores in Pensacola" and Mobile. Galphin also depended on Clark & Milligan for their contacts in Tobago, Jamaica, Antigua, "Carreacou," "Granadines," and Barbados, where Galphin sent lumber and rice in exchange for sugar, rum, and the occasional shipment of slaves.[143]

Besides transforming Galphin's local and personal world into a transatlantic one, his merchant allies also bridged the distance between Silver Bluff and London politically. Whereas Galphin exerted an influence in North America and the Native southeast that he used to pursue their mutual commercial and political interests, both Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan replicated such labors and responsibilities at the heart of the empire. Both William Greenwood and William Higginson led the formation of the "Committee of Merchants…in behalf of America" in 1765, which exerted influence in Parliament to support the commercial traffic between the empire and its American colonies. Galphin's London partners also invested heavily in the Bank of England, which at times allowed them to steer Parliament in the direction of their commercial interests. For example, Greenwood & Higginson led the charge against the Stamp Act in 1765, "representing the distressed State of their Friends in America, and the great decay in Consequence thereof to the Trade and Commerce of Great Britain" to Parliament, and used their "Utmost endeavours to get [the] Stamp Act

[143] "Memorial of David Milligan," 16 January 1786, AO 13/36c ("Eminent," "Indian Nations"); 12 October 1778, *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, Issue 50, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London, 5 (Pensacola); John Clark to William Knox, 30 August 1776, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: Miscellaneous, 1771-1778*, CO 5/154, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 172-173 (Florida); United States Supreme Court, *Milligan v. Milledge.* 7 U.S. 3 Branch 220 220 (1805), University of South Carolina, Columbia SC (Galphin-Pensacola-Mobile); "Memorial of John Clark & David Milligan, London Merchants," 29 July 1777, *Treasury Board Papers and In-letters*, T 1/535, Document 81-89, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Pensacola-Mobile); "Petition of the Proprietors and Merchants of the Island of Tobago," CO 5/155, 327-328 (Tobago, "Carreacou," "Granadines"); William Knox to Clark & Milligan, 31 August 1776, CO 5/154, 346-347 (Jamaica); "Entered Inwards 1767," CO 5/710, 19 (Antigua); "Entered Outwards 1766," CO 5/709, 29 (Barbados).

repealed."[144] In other cases, these merchants exerted political influence by petitioning Parliament, the prime minister, and even King George III in matters pertaining to war and finances when it threatened their trade interests.[145] Galphin profited not only from the commercial influence that his partners possessed, then, but also the political leverage that came with such trade, which at times linked Galphin directly into the politics that unfolded at the center of empire.[146]

For instance, Galphin's merchants moved heaven and earth for him in 1771 and 1772. Approached by Galphin and Governor James Wright with a proposal for the Cherokees and Creeks to cede part of their lands "for the payment and satisfaction of their several Debts, which are justly due and owing by them to their several Traders" – who were in turn "indebted to the merchants who supplied them" – Greenwood &

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[144] Greenwood & Higginson sent letters to their contacts in the southeast like John Gordon, informing him that they attained a "Bill for repealing the Stamp Act." But they dared not "enumerate the Difficulties which we have had in this Affair, [which] would be a disagreeable Task to us; as it might seem calculated to enhance our own Merit…Nevertheless, we think ourselves entitled, from the Pains we have taken to Serve You, to the privilege of imparting our Sentiments on your past and future Conduct, with that freedom and Impartiality which Observation and Experience dictate," and proceeded to condemn the boycotts and "irritating Measures on your side," concluding with appeals to their patriotism as "British Subjects." "London Merchants on the Stamp Act Repeal," 18 March 1766, "February Meeting: Viscount Bryce – Repeal of the Stamp Act," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd Series, Volume 55 (October 1921 – June 1922): 217-220

[145] Greenwood & Higginson "made direct investments" in the governments of South Carolina and Georgia, and also "provided the capital that funded Georgia's economic development." In fact, those colonial governments owed Greenwood & Higginson more than £260,000 by 1776. Paul M. Pressly, "Scottish Merchants and the Shaping of Colonial Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 91, No. 2 (Summer 2007): 141.

[146] Charles Garth to Committee of Correspondence, 23 December 1765, *Charles Garth Letterbook, 1758-1760, 1762-1766*, 162-163 ("Committee of Merchants," Stamp Act, "great decay"); "Meeting of the Committee of the West Indies and North American Merchants," 10 March 1766, *Charles Garth Letterbook, 1758-1760, 1762-1766*, 178-179 ("Committee of the West Indies," "propositions"); *Harrop's Manchester Mercury & General Advertiser*, Issue 1212: 1773-1775, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London (G&H-Committee); 17-20 March 1781, *Whitehall Evening Post*, Issue 54, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London, 50 (Bank of England); "London Merchants on the Stamp Act Repeal," 28 February 1766, "February Meeting: Viscount Bryce – Repeal of the Stamp Act," 215-217 (Greenwood-led protest of Stamp Act); "London Merchants on the Stamp Act Repeal," 18 March 1766, "February Meeting: Viscount Bryce – Repeal of the Stamp Act," 217-220 (G&H opposition to Stamp Act); November 1765, "The Letterbook of Robert Raper," ed. Alison McCann, *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 82, No. 2 (April 1981): 116-117 ("Utmost endeavors"); 17-21 May 1763, *London Gazette*, Issue 103, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London, 14 (King George III).

Higginson used their political influence to secure imperial support. Although they confided to Galphin at first "that some Difficulties will arise in regard to the Grand Object," they promised "to remove them" and mobilized everything in their political arsenal to win the support of the London bureaucracy. Greenwood & Higginson, therefore, "[wrote] to the Board of Trade," sent a series of memorials to the "Lord Commissioner of the Treasury," solicited certain members of Parliament and men of the Privy Council,[147] appeared before the Secretaries of State for the Colonies, and petitioned King George III for "His most gracious majesty[s]…approval" of the debts-for-lands idea. In the end, Galphin's allies sent him welcome news that their proposal "was well received by His Majesty and is now in high Esteem with the Ministry," which "will be attended to…and solicit[ed] to be done" quickly.[148]

Through the partnerships that he forged with his merchants, Galphin's intensely local and personal world stretched eastward from Silver Bluff to envelop the peoples, places, and markets of the Atlantic world, all of which augmented Galphin's political and commercial worth. He not only wielded a decisive influence among the Creeks and

[147] The Duke of Bedford was a known associate of Greenwood & Higginson, and he maintained a sympathetic ear to the "Committee of Merchants." Greenwood & Higginson also found the means to get Parliamentary "Member[s] to move accordingly" to their wishes. Charles Garth to the Committee of Merchants, *Charles Garth Letterbook, 1758-1760, 1762-1766*, 80-81 (Bedford), Charles Garth to the Committee of Merchants, 17 April 1764, *Charles Garth Letterbook, 1758-1760, 1762-1766*, 102-103 ("move accordingly").

[148] "Merchants' Claims Relating to Lands Ceded by Cherokee and Creek Indians," AO 13/36c, D. 836 ("satisfaction"); "Exhibit A: Memorial of Merchants Trading to South Carolina and Georgia to Earl of Shelburne," 3 May 1782, AO 13/36c, Doc. 861 ("indebted"); James Habersham to Edward Barnard, 14 November 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("Grand Object"); Thomas Netherclift to Robert Mackay, 24 March 1773, *Dick McWalty Collection in the House Papers, 1772-1882*, MS #1196, Folder 26, Item 76, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("Board of Trade"); "Exhibit D: Memorial of the Merchants lately Trading to the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to William Pitt and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury," 22 April 1785, AO 13/36c, Doc. 863 ("Treasury"); "List of Charles Garth's Expenses," 15 November 1763, *Charles Garth Letterbook 1758-1760, 1762-1766*, 139 (Privy Council); "Memorial of the Merchants trading to and interested in the Province of Georgia," 1771-1772, CO 5/661, 219-220 (Secretaries of State, "gracious majesty"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 23 November 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("Esteem," "to be done").

other Native peoples in the southeast, then, but attached himself to some of the most important commercial agents of empire in North America and the Atlantic. In doing so, Galphin became increasingly vital to both Native and imperial interests, particularly as a host of Creek leaders and imperial administrators sought to use or co-opt Galphin's transatlantic commercial connections to suit their own purposes. Armed with one of the most lucrative partnerships within the deerskin trade, Galphin attracted a horde of Native and British allies who swarmed to him like bees drawn to a honeypot.

It dawned on imperial administrators in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War that men like Galphin were critical to maintaining peace and commerce in the southeast between Britain's colonies and the Native southeast.[149] Of such men, George Galphin emerged as the preeminent intermediary between Native and British peoples and interests, on account of the partnerships and alliances he cultivated in the Native and transatlantic worlds. During the 1760s and 1770s, then, imperial officials increasingly relied on Galphin's relationships to allay their fears of a "Creek war," which plagued the minds of colonial administrators in those decades. What all of this amounted to was the fact that imperial power in the southeast revolved around the local and personal connections that individuals like Galphin cultivated and sustained with Native Peoples on the periphery of empire, and with the European peoples at the center of empire. In other words, Galphin acted as a bridge between the local and transatlantic, the empire

[149] This is similar to what Romney argues happened in the early to mid seventeenth-century Hudson Valley, where the Dutch Empire in North America hinged on the interplay between "intimate networks and imperial authority [that] intermingled throughout the words of those chosen to speak and to listen." Susanah Shaw Romney, *New Netherland Connections: Intimate Networks and Atlantic Ties in Seventeenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 268.

and periphery, as well as Native and British peoples and places.[150]

Consequently, colonial governors, imperial agents, Superintendents of Indian affairs, Secretaries of State for the Colonies, and a number of other British officials sought relationships with Galphin on account of his personal connections to the Native southeast. These men were in large part attracted by Galphin's reputation as a man who spent "many years [as] a trader in the…Creek nation, by which he acquired a considerable fortune and became unavoidably acquainted with many of the chiefs." It did not hurt Galphin's cause that his merchant partners spread his good name in London and within administrative circles, where men of empire like the Earl of Hillsborough remarked "I shall be very happy in any opportunity of doing justice to Mr. Galphin's merit in that [Indian] business." On account of such good fortune, Galphin found himself increasingly in demand by both London and North American authorities who "employed [him]…upon every occasion" to handle their "Indian affairs."[151]

For British officials, Galphin was a means to their own end – to carve out order on the periphery of the empire in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War. This need for order proved all the more important as Native power among the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees remained quite strong, in contrast to a relatively weak imperial power in the southeast. Galphin, therefore, emerged as a critical piece in the puzzle of preserving peace between Native and British peoples, especially during bouts

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[150] James Grant to Frederick Haldimand, 3 October 1768, *Sir Frederick Haldimand Unpublished Papers, 1758-1784*, Add. MS 21728, British Library, London, 368 ("Creek War").

[151] John Stuart to Henry Clinton, 15 March 1776, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XII: Transcripts,, 1776*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 78-79 ("acquainted," "employed," "Indian affairs"); Earl of Hillsborough to James Habersham, 7 August 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVIII, Part I-A: Original Papers, Correspondence, Governor Wright, President James Habersham, Earl of Hillsborough, Earl of Dartmouth, and other, Indian Treaties, Relinquishments, etc. 1772-1775* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 1 ("justice").

of violence or disorder that threatened to tear the Creek-British alliance apart after 1763. As imperial officials experienced firsthand, Galphin wielded a great "weight and consequence" among the Creeks through his relationships, and this in turn affirmed their faith in him "to conduct whatever business [they] had to transact in that nation."[152]

Galphin's alliances with imperial authorities mirrored those of his merchant partnerships that were grounded in familiarity and trust, a rapport built over several years in which Galphin and his confidants fulfilled a series of expectations and obligations to one another. During the 1750s and 1760s, Galphin captivated imperial audiences, particularly during the Seven Years' War in which he labored to keep the Creeks from entering that conflict. On account of Galphin's performance during the war, imperial administers like the governors James Wright, James Grant, William Bull, and the Superintendent of Indian affairs, John Stuart continuously called on Galphin to represent the imperial interest to the Creeks and other Native Peoples. By establishing an impeccable track record in balancing Native and British agendas, Galphin established a powerful trust and familiarity with imperial authorities, which set the stage for future collaborations in which Galphin acted "as [their] private Agent" to carry out the empire's "[Indian] business." These allies ultimately enfolded Galphin into the imperial project of imposing order over North America after 1763.[153]

By embracing his role as a power-broker between Native and British peoples, Galphin sought to fortify the trust and confidence that his imperial partners invested in

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[152] April Lee Hatfield, "Colonial Southeastern Indian History," *Journal of Southern History*, 73:3 (August 2007): 574; John Start to the Earl of Dartmouth, 25 October 1775, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XI: Transcripts, July – December 1775*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 167 ("weight and consequence," "whatever business").

[153] John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 24 October 1775, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 6, Vol. 74, 333-334.

him, and to do so he deployed the same fictive familial vernacular that he used with his Creek and merchant allies. An outgrowth of what Robert Paulett calls the "old Augusta system,"[154] Galphin reinvigorated a "house-based trade" to ensure his privileged position as an irreplaceable agent of empire. In effect, Galphin sought to linguistically amalgamate "my House" with the larger imperial "household," and thereby transform Silver Bluff into a literal appendage of the empire. It is hardly a coincidence that imperial officials often referred to Galphin's role – as the primary intermediary with the Creeks – as a responsibility entrusted to "Mr. Galphin's House" or "the House of Mr. George Galphin." As others preferred it, "they relied on Mr. G's…great trading house," "that House…[of] Mr. Galphin," or more simply put, "his house" or "his trading house." One of Galphin's British allies also remarked that "Mr. Galphin was a good Sort of Man in his own house." Together, Galphin and his imperial confidants forged a great trust and familiarity with each other through the ways that they spoke to and referred to one another.[155]

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[154] According to Robert Paulett, the "old Augusta system" ordered the ways that the deerskin trade and Creek-British relations functioned before 1763, in which traders and their respective "houses of influence" maintained peace and commerce in the southeast rather than the empire. But after 1763, the empire wavered back and forth between the "old Augusta system" and a "new system" put forth by John Stuart, who sought to consolidate imperial control over the deerskin trade and "Indian affairs," in effect taking power out of the hands of individuals, or go-betweens, like Galphin. This is what Paulett calls "breaking houses." However, Stuart's "Plan of 1764" never gained sufficient support or traction in the southeast, which allowed Galphin to retain his privileged position within the deerskin trade and Creek-British relations. Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 154. For further information, see J. Russell Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier*.

[155] Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places,* 146 ("houses"), 148 ("old Augusta system," "house-based trade"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 8 January 1764, CO 323, Doc. 180 ("my House"); "Proceedings of the Second Pensacola Congress with the Upper Creeks," 31 October 1771, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 387-401 ("Mr. Galphin's House"); "Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings with the Indians and Traders at Augusta," 30 April 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 137 ("house of"); Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier,* 19 ("great trading house"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 21 September 1772, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 6, Vol. 74, 28-29 ("that House"); "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift," 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical*

In serving the imperial interest, Galphin fulfilled a number of duties that endeared him to his political allies. First and foremost, Galphin communicated any and all intelligence, rumors, letters, or "Indian talks" to British authorities. Such labors ranged from mundane matters like the "Creek talks…forwarded by Mr. Galphin," to more pressing news that "the Last a Count from the Creeks we hear there is Six Savvannaws Come in there & is about making a peace between the Creeks & Choaktaws and it is thought they want all the Indians to Joyne against the white people." In other instances, Galphin transmitted "talks" from the empire to the Creeks, which involved his "interpret[ing] [such] Letters…as well as lay in my Power." However, Galphin's responsibilities became all the more important during the bouts of violence that plagued Creek-British relations after 1763. Galphin supplied "accurate account[s] of the number…slain" amid the violence, offered "advices of consequence," trekked to Creek towns where he "in the most earnest Manner…advise[d] them to desist from any such rash step[s]," and facilitated "Peace Talk[s]" between Native and British leaders. When Creek headmen did "not Seem disposed to go to Augusta to Meet the Superintendent [Stuart]," Galphin's imperial allies like Governor Wright promised "I Shall Endeavour to Prevail on [them] to go to Mr. Galphin's," who could convince Creek leaders "to Meet Mr. Stuart." While in the company of Galphin at Silver Bluff, Creek guests always "wanted for nothing of the Provision Kind or Liquor and some trifling Things," which Galphin provided "according to [Stuart's] Orders."[156]

Collection, 1900-1943, 270-272 ("trading houses"); "Deposition of William Frazier," 16 March 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 41-43 ("in his own house," "his House").

[156] John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 27 August 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 69 ("forwarded"); George Galphin to James Grant, 26 March 1770, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 19 ("Last a Count," "Joyne"); George Galphin to James Glen," 12 May 1754, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and history, 1958), 499 ("my Power"); William

In fact, Galphin's imperial allies oftentimes treated Silver Bluff as a diplomatic space where they periodically met with Creek leaders to reaffirm the Creek-British alliance, haggled over the terms of the skin trade, turned violence into peace, and – increasingly to the frustration of Creek peoples – negotiated land cessions. In ways reminiscent of how Galphin's Creek allies designated Silver Bluff as a "white ground," imperial authorities regarded that place as one of the last stops in North America before entering the untamed, uncivilized "wilderness" of the Native southeast. Instead of crossing the threshold into a Native demesne, British administrators adopted Silver Bluff as an imperial space, where Creek headmen left their "wilderness" to negotiate at a more civilized locale. Consequently, imperial officials "invite[d] the principal Chiefs and Head Warriors of the Creek Nation, to meet at Silver Bluff…to renew and Strengthen the ancient Compacts and Covenant Chains made between His Majesty and said Tribes." In 1765, 1768, and 1773, Creek and British leaders congregated at Silver Bluff, where they negotiated new treaties, which included land "cessions to His Majesty." At the conclusion of these diplomatic gatherings, Galphin's allies relied on "George Galphin…for running the boundary Line[s]" for those treaties, and if need be, to "Convince the Indians…[of what] was understood at the Treat[ies]." Such faith in Galphin became readily apparently while "mark[ing] the Line" in 1768, when one of the imperial agents and the surveyor "endangered the public tranquility…[by] chiding a noted warrior with sharp language." In response, the Creek "leaped up, seized the

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Henry Lyttelton to George Galphin, 4 June 1759, *Cobham Lyttelton Family Papers, 1607-1949*, Roll PR0099, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("slain," "consequence"); James Habersham to James Wright, 12 March 1772, *The Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1775*, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Volume VI (Savannah: Savannah Morning News Print, 1904), 169-170 ("earnest," "rash step"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 2 June 1768, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series,* Vol. 78 ("Peace Talk," "Provision," "Orders"); James Wright to James Grant, 20 October 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 13 ("Endeavour," "Mr. Stuart").

[agent's] gun, cocked, and presented it against his breast, but luckily…[through] the friendly and artful persuasions of G.G. Esq.," the Creek assailant relinquished his firearm. When British officials learned of the encounter, they determined "it was entirely owing to the abilities and faithful application…of Mr. G.G." that bloodshed, and no doubt disorder, had been averted.[157]

Galphin proved time and time again to his imperial allies that his relationships within the Native and transatlantic worlds supported the empire's efforts to impose and protect order in the southeast. The historian Edward Cashin suggests that British officials not only relied on Galphin to orchestrate treaties and land cessions, but provided "the only protection [the colonies] had left" in the southeast – an "imaginary wall" between Georgia and Creek Country – "supported by the mutual trust…[between] George Galphin and the Creek Indians." For instance, Governor James Habersham frantically wrote to Galphin in December 1771 for a copy of the 1768 treaty – asking "if you have it, I shall be greatly obliged to you for it" – in order to respond to a Creek attack on a British settlement.[158] After much frustration, Habersham admitted to Galphin "in Confidence…I desire you will give me your opinion" in regards to "Creek

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[157] 5 July 1775, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800* ("wilderness"); "Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings," September 1768, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies: Indian Affairs, Series 1*,Reel 4, Vol. 70, 76 ("invite," "Compacts"); John Stuart to John Blair, 17 October 1768, *The Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1766-1769*, ed. John Pendleton Kennedy (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1906), xxvi-xxviii ("cessions"); 13 May 1768, *South Carolina & American General Gazette, 1765-1781*, MS C, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Line"); 1 September 1767, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume X: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from January 6, 1767 to December 5, 1769*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 302-303 ("Convince," "Treaty"); Roderick McIntosh to John Stuart, 18 April 1768, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 78 ("fix'd"); James Wright to Emistisiguo, 5 September 1768, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. X*, 571-582 ("the line"); Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians*, 275-276 ("tranquility," "persuasions," application").

[158] Habersham embarrassingly admitted to Galphin, "I know it was printed, but I cannot find that there is any Copy in this Town, either in private Hands or in the public Office, which much surprises me." James Habersham to George Galphin, 12 December 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4.

affairs," and thereby thrust the burden of getting satisfaction for the violence to Galphin.[159] Imperial authorities even used Galphin to censure the British squatters who ignored the boundary lines between Creek and British territories, as colonial governors wrote "Mr. Galphin…[to] admonish our inhabitants in the strongest terms to avoid every occasion of giving the least offence to the Indians by doing them any injury." All of this not only demonstrates how fragile imperial power remained on the periphery, but also how British governors, superintendents, and agents needed a man like Galphin to create and maintain order on one of the empire's most disordered peripheries.[160]

In return for his service, Galphin received commercial and political support from his allies, which he invested in his trade firm. Galphin's relationships with men like Governor Grant provided him with the means to expand his trade firm beyond Silver Bluff, which in this case encompassed much of East and West Florida. But on account of such favor from Grant, Galphin was forced to promise the governor "all the Skins that Come from there Should be Enter'd in… Augustine" to maintain appearances that "exporting Skins… properly belong[ed] to this Province [rather] than to Georgia," as to avoid any conflict or jealousy with other traders. Such duplicity proved to be the name of the game for Galphin and his allies, who increasingly turned a blind eye toward Galphin's less palatable trade practices. These trade abuses included the number of "out-settlements" that Galphin established, and the "Indian factors" he employed,

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[159] Galphin's imperial allies again asked for Galphin's confidentiality when it came to discussing "a plan of the Land we want" from the Creeks. They "wish[ed] you [Galphin] could mark upon [a map], where you understand the Creeks mean and will" cede a portion of their hunting grounds to the Georgia colony, after which these authorities promised to "fall on some method to get you paid." James Habersham to George Galphin, 1 October 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4.

[160] Edward Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader: The Shaping of the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 251 ("protection," "wall," "trust"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 12 December 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("obliged," "opinion"); James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough, 21 April 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("admonish").

contrary to imperial law, which Native leaders complained of when they vented "Every thing goes now contrary to our Agreements." While outside observers noted that "Mr. Galphin seems determined to observe no regulations whatsoever," his imperial allies never raised a finger against him. Even when confronted with proof "about Mr. Galphin's Indian factors," one imperial agent retorted that he "being his [Galphin's] friend…when he saw him he would speak to him concerning that," except the agent never did and Galphin merrily continued to "fit out [my] Indian factors."[161]

Galphin's imperial supporters also mobilized on his behalf in times of personal crisis, particularly when it came to those who threatened or undercut Galphin's firm. One of the biggest thorns in Galphin's side was the trader Samuel Elsinor, who as early as 1752 tested Galphin's trade in Coweta and Cusseta when he "arrived in the Nation with sundry Kinds of Goods and a large Quantity of Liquor without any Authority…which Mr. Golphin declared would be prejudicial." Over the course of the next decade, Galphin clashed with Elsinor until he attained the favor of a British official who decided that enough was enough, and upon hearing what "Mr. Galphin has told me" of that trader, took "him to task immediately." Or in the case of "the half breed fellow called the Boatswain who…by the many false reports he brings up not only prejudices the Trade of every white man, but absolutely endangers their lives," Galphin simply wrote to his allies to investigate the situation, which led to the removal

[161] George Galphin to James Grant, 26 March 1770, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 19 ("Enter'd"); James Grant to John Gordon, 8 November 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 2 ("Skins"); "Proceedings of the Second Pensacola Congress with the Upper Creeks," 30 October 1771, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 387-401 ("Agreements"); "Reports from David Taitt to John Stuart," 25 October 1773, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 439 ("no regulations"); "Deposition of William Frazier," 16 March 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 41-43 (McIntosh, "friend"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 22 December 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XII: Nov. 1, 1777 – Mar. 15, 1778*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1990), 175-177 ("Indian factors").

of the "Boatswain" from Creek towns. Such protection became even more important to Galphin when he antagonized Superintendent Stuart, who increasingly resented Galphin's prominence as a British intermediary with Native Peoples, particularly since Stuart believed that Galphin usurped his authority. Oblivious at first to Stuart's hostility, Galphin learned from one of his allies that "Mr. Stuart came here two days ago to consult him…about some Matters concerning you," although this confidant told Galphin "he thinks it is very wrong…[and] is neither consistent with good Manners, nor good Policy." For the next several years, Galphin waged a battle of wills against Stuart over their respective roles in managing the empire's "Indian affairs," which often ended up with Galphin on top, leaving Stuart to curse the fact that Galphin was "employed by the governors in transacting business with the savages and who by that as well as their connections had acquired influence with them."[162]

Of similar importance to Galphin, his imperial allies extended his personal and spatial connections into the very heart of the empire, as they repeatedly wrote the Secretary of State for the Colonies with details about Galphin's exploits on behalf of the empire. One ally put it best, writing that "in justice to Mr. Galphin, who has undoubtedly very great influence especially with the Lower Creeks, I must acquaint your lordship that he has greatly assisted in bringing about… instance[s] of justice from

[162] "Second Journal of Thomas Bosomworth," 23 December 1752, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, 325 ("Elsinor," "Liquor"); Daniel Pepper to William Henry Lyttelton, 30 March 1757, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1765*, 352-357 ("Elsinor" again); Edmond Atkin to Henry Ellis, 25 January 1760, *Henry Ellis Papers, 1757-1760* ("task"); Creek Indian Traders to John Stuart, 19 April 1764, CO 323/18, Doc. 14 ("Boatswain"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 28 April 1764, CO 323/18, Doc. 13 ("Boatswain"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 19 October 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("concerning you"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 16 October 1772, *The Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1775*, 213-215 ("very wrong," "good Manners"); John Stuart to George Germain, 23 January 1777, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XIV: Transcripts, 1777*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 34-35 ("transacting business").

the Indians." Similarly, in the "affair between some back-settlers and a party of Creeks, one of whom was killed…I have asked Mr. Galphin to use his influence with the Creeks and also with the settlers to stop such proceedings." At times, it even seems Galphin's name in London became synonymous with British "Indian affairs" in the southeast, as imperial administrators constantly read letters from colonial governors who sent intelligence and news "from Mr. George Galphin." In one instance, these allies communicated Galphin's "several Conversations…[with] a Head Man of the lower Creeks [who] had been with him…[about] the bad consequence that too frequently happens from straggling parties of Indians coming into our Settlements… and otherwise molesting them."[163] In this and many other cases, Galphin's allies rewarded him for his labors and promised "to get you paid…in England, where I will certainly represent your Services, of which I can assure you, Lord Hillsborough is not acquainted." Galphin's associates even confided to him that King George III knew his name, for "You may depend the King reads all my…Letters." A man of empire, then, Galphin's world of relationships extended throughout the imperial infrastructure and linked him to some of the most important figures within the British commonwealth.[164]

On a much more personal level, Galphin deployed his partnerships with imperial

[163] The Board of Trade in London constantly received letters and packets from the colonial governors and other imperial agents with details "from Mr. Galphin (a very substantial intelligent man, largely Concerned in the Indian Trade)." James Wright to the Board of Trade, 17 January 1764, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXVIII, Part II: Original Papers of Governor Wright, President Habersham, and Others, 1764-1782*, ed. Allen D. Candler and Kenneth Coleman (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 1-2.

[164] James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough, 24 April 1772, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume V: Transcripts, 1772*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 75-76 ("in justice"); James Habersham to Earl of Hillsborough, 31 October 1771, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume I*, 419 ("proceedings"); James Habersham to Earl of Hillsborough, 24 November 1771, *James Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("George Galphin," "Conversations," straggling," "molesting"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 12 August 1772, *Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1775*, 199-200 ("get you paid"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 16 October 1772, *Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1775*, 213-215 ("King").

allies to assist, and in some cases protect, those closest to him – his family and friends. For the most part, Galphin used his relationships within the Georgia assembly and with the colonial governors to requisition lands for his sons and daughters. From 1759 to 1775, he petitioned for "100 acres in St. Paul's Parish…[for] George Galpin Junr.," "100 acres in St. George's Parish…[for] Thomas Galphin," "two hundred Acres in the Name of Barbara Galphin," and other grants that totaled thousands of acres that Galphin redistributed to his children. Galphin also requested lands from the colonial government on behalf of his intimates who fled Ireland, like his sister Martha Crossley and her family, who received "850 acres on Lambert's Big Creek," far more than any Irish family that transplanted to Georgia in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Along with the Crossleys, Galphin petitioned for land on behalf of Quinton Pooler, John Parkinson, and Clotworthy Robson, who all attained "100 acres" in Queensborough. In rarer instances, Galphin aggressively employed his relationships with imperial allies to protect his kith and kin, as he did in the case of Galphin's "sworn brother" John Rae, who "was indicted…for killing Ann Simpson and Convicted of Manslaughter." While "Sundry Inhabitants" signed a "petition…in behalf of John Rae," it was largely at Galphin's "Request" that Governor Habersham granted "a pardon to save him [Rae]," although Habersham strictly confided to Galphin "you will urge Mr. Rae to do something handsome for the Daughter of the poor deceased Woman."[165]

[165] 4 October 1763, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. IX*, 96 ("Junr."); 5 March 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. IX*, 303 ("Thomas Galphin"); July 1762, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VIII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council: March 8, 1759 – December 31, 1762*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 705 ("Barbara"); "Grantees of Land in Queensborough," *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough; Rev. David E. Bothwell and Letter to the Widow Bothwell*, ed. Smith Callaway Banks, Georgia Southern University, Statesboro GA, 5-17 (Crossleys, Pooler, Parkinson, Robson); 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 154-155 ("Manslaughter," "petition"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 12 December 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("Request," "pardon," "Daughter").

Through his alliances and partnerships, then, Galphin's world morphed into a transatlantic system spanning the Native southeast, North America, and the British Empire, although he remained possessed of a very local and personal understanding of that world. In Galphin's mind, his world of intimacies and localities resembled a network of relationships that linked particular peoples and places to Silver Bluff, in a sense creating an interconnected web spanning the Atlantic basin. Of all these peoples and places, though, the Creeks of Coweta remained the most important of Galphin's allies, as those relationships captivated the interest and trust of some of the most influential merchants and administrators within the empire. In time, all of Galphin's commercial and political allies relied on him to mediate the transatlantic deerskin trade, and to project and protect imperial power on the southeastern periphery. With such influential connections at his disposal, Galphin utilized these partnerships and alliances in ways that augmented his own trade firm, and in the long run profited his family and friends. Finally, through these partnership and alliances, Galphin attained the means to elevate himself into the ranks of genteel society. Using these personal connections, Galphin established a series of communities in North America, populated by a legion of Anglo, Irish, African, and Creek "dependents" who owed their very lives and labors to Galphin.

Chapter 3 – "His People": George Galphin, his Dependents, and the Quest for Gentility in a World of Intimacy

At the height of the Seven Years' War, George Galphin converted Silver Bluff into a fortified stronghold at which the surrounding Anglo and Irish communities might find "asylum at his dwelling place." In the wake of French and Cherokee attacks, a wave of panicked families flooded into Galphin's plantation where the "poor People…[found] Shelter…[and] providential Relief." Provisioned with supplies and food that included a "great Plenty of Fish," these Anglo and Irish families watched from the safety of Silver Bluff as their "Houses [were] burnt" to the ground and their communities exposed to "other Mischief" by Native warriors. To further protect these families, Galphin mobilized "about 80 Men, white and black," to maintain a vigilant watch over Silver Bluff, while relying on "30 Creeks" who "promise[d] to stand by him" and "scout at some distances round" his plantation. For the duration of the war, Galphin supplied the refugees and directed his Silver Bluff residents, slaves, and Creek allies to safeguard those families.[166]

All of the peoples who congregated and interacted at Silver Bluff during the war shared something in common with one another that led them to that plantation in the first place – that their lives, livelihoods, and futures all hinged on their relationships with Galphin. The Anglo and Irish men, women, and children who fled their homes for Silver Bluff, were in one way or another part of Galphin's trade or plantation businesses. They served as his traders, field laborers, boat pilots, ranchers, overseers, or

[166] Bonds, Bills of Sale, & Deeds of Gift, 20 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 270-272 ("asylum"); 23 April 1761, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800*, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("poor People," "Relief," "Fish," "Houses," "Mischief"); 30 July 1760, *Pennsylvania Gazette* ("80 Men"); 16 February 1760, *New York Mercury* [micro-film], MS film 245, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("30 Creeks," "scout"); 18 February 1760, *New York Mercury* ("stand by him").

common "workmen." The African slaves who garrisoned Silver Bluff similarly functioned as the primary laborers for Galphin's trade firm and plantation, but unlike their Anglo and Irish counterparts owed their very lives in perpetuity to Galphin. Meanwhile, the Creek warriors who joined in the defense of Silver Bluff did so out of their expectations that Galphin would provide them with provisions, supplies, and presents vital to the well-being of their towns and peoples.[167] Therefore, these Anglo, Irish, African, and Creek persons came to regard Galphin as a provider and ultimately a patriarch in one form or another – either as a landlord, creditor, and proprietor to Euro-American tenants and laborers; a master and "indulgent" paternalist to his black slaves; or a sponsor and "Father" to Creek hunters, traders, and towns. Such culturally dissimilar peoples thereby discovered the connections that existed between them, which stemmed from the fact that they were obligated, contracted, indebted, enslaved, and reliant upon the same man.[168]

Galphin carved out several different types of dependent communities that he scattered throughout North America between 1760 and 1776.[169] For instance, Galphin's Anglo and Irish settlements at Silver Bluff, along with his subsidiary plantations like

[167] In this particular instance, the Creeks who scouted around Silver Bluff were given "every Day a Quarter of fresh Beef besides other Things." 3 July 1760, *Pennsylvania Gazette* ("Beef").
[168] 7 June 1786, *Galphinton Trading Post Account Book, 1785-1787*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("workmen"); George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 26 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Vault Ayer MS 313, Folder 3, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("Indulgent"); "Journal of a Conference between the American Commissioners and the Creeks at Augusta," 16-19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XII: Georgia & Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1989-), 183-190 ("Father").
[169] This chapter on "Dependents" is synchronic in nature because Galphin only attained the means to create entire communities of dependents as he accumulated new allies and intimates as part of his independent trade firm, which only came about during and after the Seven Years' War. These dependent communities emerged over a shorter period of time than Galphin's other groups of intimates and allies, and the development of these dependents by Galphin was ultimately cut short by the American Revolutionary War.

Old Town,[170] emerged as Galphin's most populous and lucrative localities. These places consisted largely of the men and women who worked as part of his trade firm or in his plantation fields. Galphin's African slaves similarly considered Silver Bluff as home and labored alongside their Anglo and Irish counterparts, although these enslaved peoples performed the more menial of labors. Independent of these communities, Galphin also colonized lands in the Ogeechee region where he planted a township, Queensborough, settled exclusively by Ulster emigrants. Galphin presented these Irish tenants with the opportunity to escape poverty in Ireland and to start anew under his patronage. To complement all of these dependents, Galphin also forged a series of "out-settlements" in Creek Country like the Standing Peach Tree. Occupied by Creek hunters and their families, these satellite towns offered a visible testament to Galphin's influence over the deerskin trade, in which Creek residents sold their skins and bought goods solely from Galphin's stores.[171]

Of singular importance, Galphin's dependents provided him with the means to build, staff, and expand his trade and plantation businesses. Galphin utilized Anglo and Irish traders, African laborers, and Creek hunters to facilitate his commerce in

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[170] Galphin's Old Town, or Ogeechee, plantation comprised 1,400 acres that Galphin purchased in 1764. Galphin planted Old Town at a "strategic location at the juncture of the [Ogeechee] River with the Lower Creek trading path, which linked Galphin's plantation to not only the North American interior and Creek Country, but also the main ports in British North America. In effect, Old Town served as part of Galphin's "planned creation of [a] settlement…[on] a frontier region" that helped "consolidate [his] control over an area and its resources." John McKay Sheftall, "Ogeechee Old Town: A Georgia Plantation, 1540-1860," *Richmond Country History Journal* 14:2 (Summer 1982): 28 (1400 acres); Samuel Savery and Bernard Romans, 31 March 1769, *Sketch of the Boundary Line between Georgia and the Creek Indian Nation*, MPG 1/337, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Lower Trading Path"); John McKay Sheftall, "George Galphin and Indian-White Relations in the Georgia Backcountry during the American Revolution," M.A. Thesis (Athens: University of Georgia, 1983), 10 ("strategic").

[171] "A Talk from Escotchaby or the Young Lieutenant of the Lower Creeks to Stuart," 26 April 1770, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 5, Vol. 71 [micro-film] (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 584-587 ("Out-settlements"); "Creek Complaints to David Taitt," 3 January 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII,* 134 ("Peach Tree").

deerskins and to deliver those goods into the hands of his merchant partners. On his plantation, Galphin relied on his tenants and slaves to cultivate indigo, tobacco, cotton, corn, and rice that he sent to markets in Savannah, Charleston, London, Florida, and Jamaica. Galphin likewise employed his residents and enslaved bondsmen in ranching, as they raised and slaughtered cattle, hogs, horses, sheep, and cows for sale in the West Indies, Florida, and the North American mainland. Silver Bluff tenants even cut lumber for Galphin, producing a lucrative commodity that he shipped to African, London, and the West Indies. In short, these Anglo, Irish, African, and Creek dependents emerged as the primary producers for Galphin's industries, which granted him the ability to meet the incessant demands of his allies, merchant partners, and transatlantic distributors.

At the same time, these dependents comprised one of Galphin's largest consumer bases for the commodities he imported from Atlantic seaports, which created an elaborate network of interdependency in which dependents not only produced the raw or finished goods that Galphin sent abroad, but also consumed the commodities he received in exchange. These peoples, in turn, found themselves integrated into a transatlantic commercial system on account of their relations with Galphin. Through Galphin, these dependents bartered for rum and sugar from the West Indies, cloth and linen from Ireland or the Dutch provinces, furniture and madeira from the British Isles, tea and spices from India, dye and foodstuffs from New England, and a wealth of other goods that ranged from the necessary to the superfluous. These people therefore joined the "Consumer Revolution" that swept North America by midcentury, a shared experience they owed to their dependencies on Galphin and his transatlantic commercial connections. But more importantly for Galphin, this cycle of production

and consumption that ensnared Anglo, Irish, African, and Creek peoples ultimately ensured him a supply of labor in the deerskin trade and on his planation, which only exacerbated these peoples' dependencies upon him.[172]

At a fundamental level, then, Galphin's relationships with his dependents were inherently inequitable connections, but these Anglo, Irish, African, and Creek peoples sought to negotiate the terms of their relations with Galphin to try and tip the balance slightly back in their favor. For instance, Galphin's traders used his name for their own profit or to accentuate their own reputations, as Stephen Forrester did when he dared to strut around Coweta – in Galphin's absence – "with an Air of very great Importance" despite his humble rank as an interpreter. Meanwhile, Galphin's Anglo and Irish tenants at Silver Bluff and Queensborough appealed to their patron to improve their community institutions and infrastructures, including churches, schools, roads, and bridges. Creek hunters and families likewise knew how to appeal to their benefactor to attain presents, foodstuffs, and trade goods, which in turn augmented their prestige and influence among other Creek communities. Therefore, Creek towns like the Standing Peach Tree settled dangerously close to the boundary line separating Creek and British territories, to gain easier access to Silver Bluff's stores. As for Galphin's slaves, they exploited what Galphin called his "indulgent" nature, and extracted a number of concessions that ameliorated their degraded existence. Galphin's "indulgence" of his slaves ranged from the establishment of a Baptist church at Silver Bluff, to the wages that they used to purchase goods from Galphin's stores. These men and women from different cultural worlds, then, all shared a mutual desire to exert some form of

[172] *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772*, MS #269, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA; T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), xv ("Consumer Revolution").

autonomy over their daily lives, which manifested in the compromises that they made with Galphin despite the obligations that they owed him.[173]

More importantly for Galphin, his dependent communities fulfilled a far more base need of a man who spent his early life mired in a sea of poverty and want, and who desired to attain for himself a semblance of "gentility." In short, Galphin sought to win the appreciation and approbation of those around him – especially men in positions of political and commercial authority – who not only deferred to Galphin's expertise when it came to "Indian affairs," but genuinely considered him a man of wealth and prestige. Without an education, inherited estate, family name, or deep-seated political connections to the English aristocracy, Galphin suffered from an acute anxiety in regards to his humble origins. He genuinely believed that his lack of social refinement hurt and potentially crippled his chances to become a "Gentleman" in British society. Such fears likely proved why Galphin never ran for, or assumed, a political office in the South Carolina and Georgia legislatures or town governments, despite his reputation as a judicious "Gentleman…[of] distinguished abilities."[174] Galphin was also quite sensitive to his lack of sophistication, since his allies at times pointed out that Galphin "is so far from being an intelligible scribe that I am often at a loss in collecting his meaning." Instead, Galphin attempted to justify his own "gentility" by molding his

[173] "Journal of Thomas Bosomworth," July 1752, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1958), 287 ("Air"); *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* (infrastructure, slave purchases), *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (infrastructure, slave purchase); 6 June 1769, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume X: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from January 6, 1767 to December 5, 1769*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 788 (infrastructure); Juricek, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 123 (Standing Peach Tree proximity); *An Account of the Life of David George.* Canada's Digital Collection. http://www.blackloyalist.com/cdc/documents/diaries/george_a_life.htm (church).

[174] This is in stark contrast to many of Galphin's intimates who not only assumed offices within the local, colonial, and state governments, but actively sought to do so throughout their lives. The long list of such intimates includes – but is not limited to – John Rae, Lachlan McGillivray, Daniel McMurphy, David Holmes, Quinton Pooler, John McQueen, Henry Laurens, and even Galphin's own son Thomas.

traders, debtors, tenants, slaves, and Creek hunters into distinct communities that all owed him some form of obligation or obedience, which he used to demonstrate his prestige and social status to his more learned and lettered peers.[175] Thus Galphin styled himself as a benevolent patriarch who "sought the means to do good and reap the gratitude of his communities," which elevated Galphin to a position of authority and command over other peoples that encouraged the respect of colonial elites who similarly exerted such power over others. To reaffirm the bonds of dependency that he relied on to validate himself as a "Gentleman," Galphin maintained a perpetual watch over each locality, while at times inspiring community development or extending political and commercial favors.[176] Through his vigilance, Galphin "claimed responsibility and took credit for the well-being" of each community,[177] which supported his efforts to transform himself into an "Esquire" in the eyes of his peers.[178]

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[175] Paul Gilje argues that eighteenth century colonial America was a "corporate society" in which social "distinctions were acceptable because everyone understood that all levels of society had their special functions." Within this inherently inequitable world, the "cement that held the society together was paternalism and deference," in which dependent peoples gave their obedience to elites like Galphin who performed "actions…for the benefit of the lower orders." Paul Gilje, *The Making of the American Republic, 1763-1815* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc., 2006), 4-5, 12.

[176] Galphin's care for his dependent communities manifested in many ways, whether by handing out charity to his dependents in need, like "all the Orphan Children I brought up," or providing community services that benefitted the corporate body, which ranged from a resident blacksmith and carpenter, to his permission to use the his sawmills and gristmills. 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin,* 000051 .L51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC; *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772*; *Galphinton Trading Post Account Book, 1785-1787*.

[177] Galphin's transformation into a "Gentleman" in the mid to late eighteenth century is reminiscent of William Cooper's evolution a few decades later. Therefore, the use of Cooper's command of dependents and deference is a fitting illustration of the parallels between Galphin and Cooper, both of whom ascended to polite, genteel society despite their "early poverty and limited education." Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 3-4.

[178] "Let & Release between Martin Campbell and George Galphin," 15-16 February 1765, Book C-3, *South Carolina Deed Abstracts, 1719-1772, Volume III: 1755-1768, Books QQ-H-3*, ed. Clara A. Langley (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1983), 260 ("Gentlemen"); Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Nashville: Promontory Press, 1973), i ("abilities"); John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers,* Microfilm 687, Reel 17, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("scribe"); Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*, 141 ("gratitude," "deference"); James McHenry to George Galphin, 9 April 1767, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book S, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 92-93 ("Esq.").

Galphin could not have created such communities – and attained the gentility that came along with it – without the support of his intimates and allies. Galphin trusted his sons George and John, nephews Daniel McMurphy and David Holmes, son-in-law William Dunbar, and confidant Patrick Carr to supervise the multitude of traders, packhorsemen, pilots, factors, and other employees who trekked back and forth between Creek Country and Silver Bluff. These family and friends continually "went to the [Creek] Nation for Mr. Galphin" where they delivered his goods and presents to Creek allies and customers, restocked store shelves, and more importantly, kept tabs on all of Galphin's traders. Galphin similarly mobilized his family and friends in Ireland to recruit Ulster families for Queensborough, as well as purchasing plats of land in the township for McMurphy, Quinton Pooler, John Parkinson, and Clotworthy Robson. These intimates in turn acted as Galphin's proxies in the Irish town and assumed an active leadership role as justices of the peace and militia officers.[179] Meanwhile, Galphin utilized his Anglo-Creek sons and Irish relatives to oversee the dependents that staffed his cowpens and sawmills.[180] Galphin also entrusted his relatives like Edmund Barnard with looking out for his "out-settlements," and to ensure a lifeline of trade

[179] All four of these men settled town plats in Queensborough and acted as Galphin's eyes and ears within that community. These men all took positions of leadership within town affairs, led by McMurphy who served as the local magistrate and commander of the militia. Pooler likewise served as one of the local leaders of the Queensborough militia. *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, Box 9, Folder 9: Queensborough (McMurphy land, Robson land, McMurphy militia and magistrate); Robert Scott Davis Jr. and Silas Emmett Lucas Jr., ed. *The Families of Burke County, 1755-1855: A Census* (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1981), 129 (Pooler and Parkinson land grant, Pooler militia).

[180] Galphin granted ownership of Old Town, its stores, and the industries that operated out of that plantation to his Creek sons George and John. At the same time, Galphin employed a number of his Irish relatives from the Crossley family who managed his cowpens at Old Town. As for the transport of his livestock, Galphin entrusted the task to his nephew John Crossley who "drove a great many [cattle] for the Mobile market." 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (ownership); George Galphin to James Burgess, 28 August 1776, *British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78 (Crossleys); "President James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough," 31 October 1771, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume I: Calendar, 1770-1771*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 419 ("drove a great many").

between Silver Bluff and those Creek places.[181] These family and friends even assisted in enforcing these dependencies, by acting as the legal representatives for the civil suits that transferred a debtor's property over to Galphin.[182] In the words of one of Galphin's intimates, they were "Yours to Command," and thus played an integral role in establishing his dependent communities.[183]

Galphin's allies proved equally as crucial to his efforts to cultivate dependencies and join the ranks of the colonial elite. Both Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan facilitated the traffic in deerskins and trade goods to Galphin's dependent communities, while importing slaves from Africa and the West Indies to populate his plantations. At the same time, Galphin collaborated with Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee to sponsor his "out-settlements" in Creek Country. Further, imperial authorities like Governor James Wright tacitly supported Galphin's firm by overlooking a number of his disreputable business practices, and by subsidizing Galphin's efforts to settle Queensborough. Galphin also called upon his colleagues in colonial society to assist him, such as his lawyer John Glen, who prosecuted Galphin's many debtors and turned those men and women into lifelong dependents. All-in-all, these allies offered Galphin the means to exploit and expedite the dependency of others, which Galphin used to

[181] Edmund Barnard operated Galphin's store at the Buzzard's Roost where he "intercepted Upper Town hunters and traded for their deerskins at the expense of their home town traders." It was even rumored Barnard not only acted with Galphin's patronage, but was also a "favorite of…Escochabey." David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 266

[182] Georgia's eighteenth century legal records are littered with Galphin's debtors. They included Anne Fitch, Bryan Kelly, the Bevill family, William Newton, William Barnard, Henry Bell, John Sellers, Isaac Perry, Jonathan Deal, Stephen Forrester, and so on. *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, MS #4000, Book P: Mortgages, 1762-1765, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA.

[183] Patrick Carr to the Georgia Assembly, 28 December 1782, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837*, W.P.A. Georgia Writer's Project, MS #1500, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Savannah GA, 45-46 ("went to the Nation"); Patrick Carr to George Galphin, n.d., *Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*, in *Henry Laurens Papers*, Roll 17: Papers Concerning Indian Affairs, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston SC ("Yours to Command").

shoulder and elbow his way into genteel society.[184]

In the process of creating such dependent communities, Galphin enfolded those particular places into his world of intimacies and localities. By establishing the bonds of dependency with "his People," Galphin rooted his connections to each and every one of those communities, which created a series of personal and spatial relationships that linked all of those places and peoples to Silver Bluff. In turn, because Galphin's dependents served as the primary laborers for his trade and plantation enterprises, these men and women came into continual contact with one another, as well as with Galphin's intimates and allies. This intersection of peoples and places created recurring negotiations and collaborations. Due to the regularity of such personal and spatial interfaces, Galphin's dependents gradually assumed a part of the burden for mediating, facilitating, or reaffirming the relationships that structured Galphin's world. In other words, these dependents emerged as one of the cohesive agents that fortified the personal and spatial connections that converged upon Silver Bluff. Altogether then, Galphin's relations with his dependents reveal yet another way in which he systematized his world according to the local and intimate. These dependents provided Galphin with further means to engage with and manipulate the contours of imperial politics and transatlantic commerce in the eighteenth century.

For an in-depth look at Galphin's world of dependents, one need not look farther than the scores of traders who settled at Silver Bluff and Old Town. These people, often

[184] "Treaty with the Upper and Lower Creeks at Savannah," 20 October 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 153-155 ("Coweta Lieutenant settlement"); *John Glen Account Book, 1769-1786*, MS #1525, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA; Juricek, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 123 ("special friends").

referred to as "Mr. Galphin's Traders" or his "hirelings," provided the grassroots labor for Galphin's firm. Their occupations varied between resident traders who lived in Creek towns like John Miller at Yuchi, storekeepers such as William Linder who resided at Coweta, or transporters like Patrick Dickey or John Large who traversed the pathways and rivers between Creek Country and the British colonies. These employees constantly moved about the southeastern landscape, either by land as they led some of Galphin's "400 packhorses" along the Lower and Upper Paths,[185] or by water aboard Galphin's "trading boats," canoes, and bateaus.[186] In addition to these labors, Galphin's traders doubled as couriers who delivered Galphin's talks to Creek allies and returned with "News from the Indians," or served as interpreters and "Linguisters" like Stephen

[185] For men like Patrick Dickey, they guided Galphin's packhorse trains and wagons along the trading paths that crisscrossed throughout the southeast, which required a fair bit of expertise and knowledge about the surrounding environs. Dickey often preferred to travel on "Godolphin's Path" which linked Silver Bluff to the Lower Path, or Galphin's "cowpens path" that connected Old Town to the Upper Path. *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (Dickey); Louis De Vorsey Jr., ed. *DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 151 ("Godolphin's Path"); Savery and Romans, *Sketch of the Boundary Line between Georgia and the Creek Indian Nation*, MPG 1/337 ("cowpens path").

[186] When not traveling overland, employees or "patroons" like John Large transported Galphin's skins and goods aboard trading boats or canoes that they piloted up and down the Savannah, Oconee, and Ogeechee Rivers. In addition, Large and other boatmen acted as mailmen for Silver Bluff as they delivered Galphin's letters and "Packets…per Mr. Golphins Boat." On occasion, Galphin's boatmen made special trips for Galphin's friends and/or merchants who requested favors. They included Henry Laurens who "purchased of our good friend Mr. Galphin at his House four hundred Bushels of Indian Corn which he said he would send…delivered to me or my order at Savanna…[on] his Boat." Since the "Passage to [my] Plantation is [not] very easy from Savanna," Laurens gave Galphin's boatmen directions for reaching the point "where the Corn is to be delivered," concluding with his thanks to Galphin for "you will save me much trouble" and even offering to pay the freight and "hire a hand who knows the way to go as Pilot at my expense." 25 November 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from August 6, 1771 – February 13, 1782*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 337-339 ("Large"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 8 March 1778, *Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Ch. Town"); John Gordon to James Grant, 12 October 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 (Florida); Thomas Rasberry to Josiah Smith, 29 January 1759, *The Letter Book of Thomas Rasberry, 1758-1761*, in Collections of the Georgia Historical Society Volume XIII (Savanah: Georgia Historical Society, 1959), 36 ("Packet"); Henry Laurens to Thomas Netherclift, 2 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VII: Aug. 1, 1769 – Oct. 9, 1771*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 209 ("friend," "delivered," "Passage," "Corn," "trouble," "Pilot").

Forrester and Jack Cornel.[187] Galphin also enlisted "Indian Factors," or the Creek equivalent of an "Indian trader," despite imperial regulations against that practice due to the unfair advantages it reaped for employers. When all was said and done, Galphin presided over a firm of sixty-five to seventy-five employees for the deerskin trade.[188]

While Galphin's traders flocked to Silver Bluff for a number of different reasons, they primarily sought him out because of his reputation as a man who "has acquired a considerable fortune and become unavoidably acquainted with many of the [Creek] chiefs." John Pigg and Richard Henderson served "in the employment of Mr. Golphin"

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[187] Galphin's traders delivered such missives and intelligence back and forth between Creek Country and British North America, such as the "two Gangs of my Packhorses [who] came in from the Lower Towns [and] they say it is all peace and quiet there," or his trader John Goodgame who brought "an Express from Mr. Galphin relative to Indian affairs." George Galphin to the South Carolina Council, 1 April 1767, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, Reel ST0712, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC, 111-114 ("my Packhorses"); Edith Mays, *Amherst Papers, 1756-1763, The Southern Sector* (Bowie, MR: Heritage Books, Inc., 1999), 116-118 ("Express").

[188] I have compiled a list of Galphin's traders, store-keepers, interpreters, and others laborers associated with being an "Indian trader," which totaled between 65-75 persons. The most useful sources in this regard are the collections at the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library at UGA, the *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772*, and John Shaw Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, in *Hammond, Bryan, and Cumming Family Papers, 1787-1865*, MS mfm R.1068a-c, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC.
9 September 1773, *Virginia Gazette, 1732-1780*, MS 900200 .P900049, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC ("Mr. Galphin's Traders"); John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 28 July 1777, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: East Florida, 1763-1777*, CO 5/557, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("hirelings"); 30 April 1772, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country,* in *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton Dennison Mereness (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1916), 275 (John Miller-Yuchi); "Journal of Thomas Bosomworth," July 1752, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, 287 (William Linder-Coweta); 9 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 33:1 (Dec.,1942): 167 ("400 packhorses"); Thomas Brown to John Stuart, 29 September 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 544-549 ("trading boats"), Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country*, 561-562 (canoes); 10 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida," 25-26 ("battoes"); George Galphin to the South Carolina Council of Safety, 9 December 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume X: Dec. 12, 1774 – Jan. 6, 1776*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1982), 557-559 ("News"); George Galphin to the South Carolina Council of Safety, 9 August 1775, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Volume 1, No. 2 (April 1900): 123-125 ("Linguisters"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 22 December 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XII: Nov. 1, 1777 – Mar. 15, 1778*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1990), 175-177 ("Indian factors"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 8 January 1764, *Records of the Colonial Office: Original Correspondence, Plantations General. 1689*-1952, CO 323/18, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, Document 180 ("Traders at my House").

because such labors promised both opportunity and reward. But for older traders like John Pettycrew – who knew Galphin as early as the 1730s – laboring for someone who was already familiar with their abilities offered them with some leverage over younger and less experienced traders, who were often forced to defer to more seasoned men like Pettycrew. A number of Galphin's traders, though, – like Lewis Surman and Richard Strickland – worked for Galphin out of obligation since they owed him upwards of several thousand pounds sterling.[189]

In fact, many of these traders discovered to their dismay that laboring for Galphin ushered them into a vicious cycle of production and consumption, which thrust a number of these men into perpetual debt and, for all intents and purposes, rendered them permanent dependents. From top to bottom regardless of prestige, experience, or familiarity with Galphin, these men floundered in a sea of debt that no matter how hard they tried, they could never reach the shore of financial stability. One of Galphin's longest-serving traders, Stephen Forrester, owed Galphin over £3,000 by the time of his death. In contrast, men like John Tannen, who labored for Galphin for only a year or two, racked up a small bill of £117. But it is quite possible that Tannen, after several more years in Galphin's employ, could find himself crushed under the weight of a debt comparable to Forrester. For those who failed to make timely payments to Galphin, they invoked the wrath of a well-connected man who used his influence with allies to

[189] John Stuart to Major General Henry Clinton, 15 March 1776, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XII: Transcripts, 1776*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 78-79 ("fortune"); James Grant to John Stuart, 4 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers*, Microfilm 687, Reel 17 ("employment"); 3 March 1772, *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* ("Pettycrew"); George Galphin Administrator to Lewis Surman, 24 October 1775, *Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905*, MS #1170, Series 1, Box 38G, Folder 65 Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA ("Surman"); George Galphin Administrator to Richard Streckland, 24 October 1775, *Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905*, Box 38G, Folder 64 (Strickland).

prosecute them. In 1773, Galphin brought several of his employees to court and forced his traders Job Wiggin, Robert and John Hannah, and John Smith to pay up on pain of debtor's prison.[190]

For those traders who remained loyal to Galphin, he provided a number of incentives that encouraged their deference. For instance, Galphin genuinely cared for the safety and welfare of his traders. Thus he wrote the South Carolina government amid the Long Canes murders in 1764 that "I rode as far as Ogeechee from Augusta for I was uneasy to hear from my People." His traders, in turn, relied on Galphin for protection in Creek Country and appealed to him in times of personal crisis. The natural scientist William Bartram witnessed this firsthand when he came across a trader who had "an amorous intrigue with the wife of a young chief" and desired "Mr. Golphin interpose in his behalf" before the Creeks "cut off both [his] ears." After learning of his trader's "dangerous situation," Galphin promised to "do all in his power to save him." Galphin also dispensed his patronage and favors by standing security for his traders in their purchases of land, slaves, and other property. Galphin even assumed ownership of his traders' debts to others. Galphin either repaid what his traders owed to their creditors, or reallocated their wages toward paying off such financial obligations. By doing all of these things, Galphin effectively sealed the bonds of dependency between him and his traders.[191]

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[190] *Galphin Estate Papers & Inventory, 1782-1787*, South Carolina, Ninety-Six District, Court of Ordinary, 0000042 .L42235, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC (Forrester, Tannen); *John Glen Account Book, 1769-1786* (Wiggin, Hannah, Smith).

[191] George Galphin to the South Carolina Council, 1 April 1764, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774* ("uneasy"); Thomas P. Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels and Other Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1996), 360-361 ("intrigue," "Credit"), 371 ("save him"); "Petition of Stephen Forster," 3 November 1767, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. X*, 343 (patronage, wages-obligations).

Because Galphin relied on "his People" to fulfill such important functions for his trade, Galphin actively affirmed their dependencies by deploying the same fictive familial vernacular that he used with his allies. Galphin not only called his Anglo and Irish tenants, traders, and debtors "my People," but observers likewise referred to Galphin's traders as "his People" or "Mr. Galphin's [People]." Galphin also claimed these dependents as part of "my House," which his allies reiterated again when they described those employees as from "Mr. Galphin's House."[192] In a sense, Galphin used such language to invoke his paternal care and responsibility for those peoples and communities, which in turn prompted and reinforced their deference to him.[193]

However, these traders found ways to exert a measure of independence and control over their circumstances to alleviate their servility to Galphin. For example, "Francis Lewis, a Hireling of Mr. Golphins" perfected a scheme of exchanging rum for Creek hunters' deerskins. He made "it a Common practice to give Rum to his wench to purchase back the goods from the Indians…so that he is Obliged to fitt them out a Second time on Credit…[which] he Claims as his own" and "is a great profit to himself." In a separate case, Galphin's traders feared the influence of a "half breed fellow called the Boatswain who Trades to the" Creeks and "not only prejudices the

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[192] Tadmor suggests that English households were comprised of the many "people living under the same roof and under the authority of a householder," including those with "no kinship relations between the heads of these families and their 'family members.'" However, I wish to extend her analysis to show how Galphin collected the many non-kin living inside and outside of his household to create an even more fluid and inclusive sense of family. Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 22-23.

[193] George Galphin to the South Carolina Council, 1 April 1764, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, Roll ST0712, 111-114 ("my People"); Emistisiguo to John Stuart, 7 September 1768, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies Indian Affairs, Series 1,* Vol. 70, Document 61 [microfilm], University of Oklahoma, Norman OK ("his People); 9 September 1773, *Virginia Gazette, 1732-1780* ("Mr. Galphin's"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 8 January 1764, CO 323/18, Doc. 180 ("my House"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 5 February 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14: January – February 1760, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("Mr. Galphin's House");

Trade of every white man, but absolutely endangers their lives." To deal with this threat, these traders made "Complaint" to Galphin who brought the "great deal of disturbance" to the attention of his imperial allies, desiring they "take some method to prevent his [Boatswain] bringing goods to the Nation." In these instances, Galphin's traders found ways to amend their dependencies and use their relationships with Galphin – no matter how unbalanced or unequal – to pursue their own interests or to enhance their position within the deerskin trade.[194]

Galphin tolerated such negotiations by these dependents because in the larger scheme of things, his concessions mattered little when compared to the fact that Galphin's traders were absolutely vital to his firm's day-to-day operations – for these traders made Galphin's Atlantic world of trade go round. Galphin's rivals constantly complained that "The Traders…[of] Messrs. Galphin" could have as much as "ten to fifteen thousand weight of Leather on hand," which these employees conveyed to Silver Bluff on an annual basis. In addition, these men facilitated commercial exchange and mediated the interactions between Galphin's dependents, allies, and intimates, which ultimately strengthened the linkages between the many peoples and places within Galphin's world. For it was men like John Miller who expedited Galphin's contact with Creek towns, reaffirmed Galphin's alliances when presenting Escotchaby with a peace talk and a "Coat…[for his] Son," acted as "Mr. Galphin's substitute" to his Creek and imperial allies when Galphin was unable to do so himself, and accompanied Galphin's

[194] Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country,* 504-505 (Lewis); "Petition of the Creek Traders to John Stuart," 19 April 1764, CO 323/18, Document 14 ("Boatswain", "prejudices"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 28 April 1764, CO 323/18, Document 13 ("Complaint," "method").

skins to Savannah and Charleston.[195] Galphin undoubtedly recognized that he could not exist without dependents such as Miller, who fortified his relationships with the disparate peoples and places of his world.[196]

The second set of dependents at Silver Bluff, whom Galphin considered "my People," were the tenants and laborers who staffed his cowpens, plantations, sawmills, and workshops. At his cowpens, Galphin utilized his residents to serve as ranchers and herders where they supervised the breeding and raising of cattle, horses, cows, sheep, and hogs.[197] British agents estimated in 1776 that Galphin had between "3 or 4000" head of cattle alone, not to mention the rest of his livestock, which required these employees constant surveillance and care. One observer noted that these stock-minders traveled with the cattle "six to ten miles round...and [brought] those to the pen that stand most in need of assistance and care." When not attending to Galphin's livestock, these men transported his cattle all the way from Silver Bluff and Old Town to West Florida, where British garrisons at Pensacola and Mobile purchased those animals.

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[195] John Miller served as Galphin's primary contact with Governor James Habersham and the Georgia government when trying to resolve a Creek attack on an Irish family from Queensborough in 1771. At one point, Habersham stated to Galphin that amid their flurry of correspondence (which Miller carried back and forth), "Millar seems to expect some Gratuity for his Trouble[s]…I desire you will give him what you may think he may deserve, & send me an Account of that." James Habersham to George Galphin, 20 April 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, MS #1787, Folder 3, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("Gratuity").

[196] Andrew McLean to Clark & Milligan, 19 July 1780, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780*, in *Records of Ante-bellum Southern Plantations from the Revolution through the Civil War, Series A, Roll 15*, MS mfm R.1068o, South Caroliniana Library University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Leather"); George Galphin to Young Lieutenant, 23 March 1774, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I*, Reel 7, Vol. 76, 65-66 ("Coat"); Edmond Atkin to Henry Ellis, 25 January 1760, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XI: Georgia Treaties, 1733-1763*, ed. John T. Juricek (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 306-310 ("substitute").

[197] Galphin branded his livestock "on the right buttock [with] GG with a heart atop" or with "G I G [G and G level, I slightly raised with a dash at the center of the I rendering it a triple-dash I] as well as an "ear mark, a Butchers knife in One Ear and a Swallow Fork in the Other." 27 April 1768, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* [micro-film], University of North Texas, Denton TX ("heart"); 2 August 1767, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, Book K: Marks & Brands ("G I G," "ear mark").

Finally, these herdsmen acted as Galphin's overseers for his slaves who also worked the cowpens, and that for every "four or five negroes [there was] one white man." In addition to ranchers, Galphin employed his Anglo and Irish debtors or inhabitants like Patrick Denison as "Labourers" in his plantation fields, where they cultivated his crops that Galphin in turn sold to markets in the West Indies, Florida, New England, and London. Similar to Galphin's herders, these laborers "remain[ed] on the plantation to take care of [Galphin's] Negroes."[198]

To complement his ranching and plantation industries, Galphin employed a number of skilled laborers to operate his sawmill at Silver Bluff. He again enlisted Anglo and Irish workers like Daniel Harman to produce lumber for sale in the West Indies, Florida, and London. Galphin only embraced lumbering because this commodity emerged in the mid to late eighteenth century as one of Georgia's primary exports to Jamaica, which prompted Galphin to join the lumber craze by erecting sawmills at his plantations. Galphin also sponsored resident craftsmen who built and repaired the machines, tools, and buildings necessary to conduct Galphin's businesses. Such men included blacksmiths, carpenters, ironmongers, shipbuilders, tailors, and tanners who provided essential services for Galphin's commercial enterprises.[199]

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[198] George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 9 January 1780, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Folder 3 ("my People"); Thomas Brown to Patrick Tonyn, February 1776, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. XII*, 72 ("4000"); 18 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766," 27 ("ten miles," "negroes"); "The Talk of Emistisiguo," 3 September 1768, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. X*, 566-571 ("West Florida"); George Galphin and Patrick Denison indenture, 7 October 1771, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book X-1, 143-144 ("labourer"); 30 April 1772, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country*, 550 ("take care").

[199] *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* ("Daniel Harman"); Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 53-55.

Many of Galphin tenants and employees were – like Galphin's traders – obligated and indebted to him. In fact, a number of the families that labored in Galphin's industries consisted of the wives, children, and relatives of Galphin's traders, such as the Germanys and Durouzeauxs. As traders accrued debts to Galphin as part of that vicious cycle of production and consumption, so too did their families who resorted to Galphin's stores for their necessaries and luxuries, which only exacerbated family debts. This pattern of dependency also applied to Galphin's tenants and employees who likewise spent their wages, and then some, on the readily accessible goods from Galphin's stores, often ordering such commodities on credit. An example of such an impoverishing cycle was the case of Bryan Kelly and his family who lived at Silver Bluff, where they accumulated a staggering debt of £4,396.[200] Upon Kelly's death, "G. Galphin…as Chief Creditor to [his] Estate" repossessed Kelly's property and seized his slaves, horses, cattle, and other assets to compensate for the Kelly family's debts.[201]

Galphin also used his patronage to deepen the bonds of dependency between Galphin and "his People." For instance, Galphin made the labors of his craftsmen available to tenants and employees. As a consequence, Galphin's blacksmiths aided John Ford by "making and nailing 4 [horse] shoes" while his ironmongers constructed "irons [for] Benjamin Upton." Meanwhile, carpenters raised "the roof of [a] Barn," shoe-makers like one "Mr. Debusk" mended "a pair of Shoes," and tailors such as

[200] Bryan Kelly's relative Daniel likewise owed exorbitant sums to Galphin, who also served as "Chief Creditor to the Estate of Daniel Kelly." Release of George Galphin to Isaac Bush, 20 January 1778, *George Galphin's Mesne Conveyance Records, 1752-1778*, Book Z-5, Register Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston County Courthouse, Charleston SC, 358-359 (Daniel Kelly); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (Kelly).

[201] *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772* (Germanys, Durouzeauxs); George Galphin to Isaac Bush, 20 January 1778, *George Galphin's Mesne Conveyance Records*, Book Z-5, 358-359 ("Creditor"); Bryan Kelly mortgage to George Galphin, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, Book P, 379-382 (money); 6 July 1768, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* (auction).

Hezekiah Coleman completed "repairs to a Coat" for Patrick Herrer. Galphin thereby transformed both Silver Bluff and his dependent settlements into somewhat self-sufficient communities, which in turn attracted more families, tenants, and employees to settle at his plantations. Galphin's patronage also manifested itself in his sponsorship of dependents petitions for land in and around Silver Bluff, including Henry Overstreet Junior "whom had been known [by Galphin] since his Childhood." To the community writ large, Galphin built upon existing infrastructures to connect his dependents and their industries to one another, as well as to markets in Savannah, Augusta, and Charleston. These infrastructures included roads, dams, bridges, a post office, courthouse, and storage facilities all at the disposal of the community.[202]

Galphin's tenants and laborers, like his traders, also found the means to at times exploit the relationships with their patron. Among the families caught in debt, wives and daughters like Jane Dickey or "Mrs. Stewart" used Galphin's stores to sell their "ruffled shirts," homespun, and other domestically produced goods to supplement their family incomes. These women and other such dependents also sold their labors to the community, earning additional wages that they applied to reducing their debts. Tenants like Elizabeth Furlow used her off-time "for Washing" Richard Call's laundry, and Isaac Botsill and his two sons joined the construction of log houses "for 8 days,"

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[202] *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* (community services); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (community services); 1 January 1765, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume IX: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from January 4, 1763 to December 2, 1766*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 269 (Overstreet); Samuel Elbert to Captain Porter, 14 August 1777, *Keith M. Read Collection, 1732-1905*, MS #921, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA (road); James D. Scurry, J. Walter Joseph, and Fritz Hamer. "Initial Archeological Investigations at Silver Bluff Plantation Aiken County, South Carolina" (Research Manuscript Series 168), prepared by Institute of Archeology and Anthropology at the University of South Carolina (October 1980): 19-20 (dam, post, storage); John William Gerard de Brahm, *A Map of South Carolina and a Party of Georgia*, HMap1780d4, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA (bridge).

receiving wages and goods from Jacob Painter. Other labors for sale included "hauling plank," "Clearing [fields]," "bringing Corn over the River," "helping to build [an] Arbour," "making Tables," and other "Errands." In addition, these dependents deferentially petitioned Galphin to establish a school,[203] church,[204] and tavern, which became the focal gathering places within Galphin's dependent communities.[205]

Galphin accepted such negotiations with "his People" because it amplified their dependency upon him, and he recognized that his employees and tenants were crucial to his commercial success. These laborers not only provided the means for Galphin's trade, plantation, ranching, and lumber operations to function, but also facilitated the movement of raw materials and finished goods from his plantations to markets in the West Indies, Florida, New England, and London. At the same time, these dependents strengthened Galphin's personal and spatial connections to each of those locales, particularly Mobile, Pensacola, St. Augustine, and Jamaica by "[driving] a great many cattle…for the [Florida] market" or piloting the sloop *Galphin* loaded with "Cypress, Shingles, Indian Corn &c." Galphin understood that his transatlantic ventures could not exist without these tenants and laborers, for they not only produced the goods and materials necessary for his trade, but also fortified the relationships that made up his

[203] Galphin established a school at Old Town, presided over by "Mr. Clarice," and a school at Silver Bluff staffed by a "white school-master who…[taught] the white children to read." *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* ("Clarice"); *An Account of the Life of David George*, Canada's Digital Collection.

[204] The Rev. John Joachim Zubly frequented Galphin's Silver Bluff church (not to be confused with the Silver Bluff Baptist Church established by Galphin's slaves) and often "preache'd at Mr. Galphin's place." In one instance, Zubly led service "on Mark 7:37, enlarg'd on Infant Baptisms and baptiz'd Mary Wm [William] Jane Dickey," which stands a testament to the community desires for a church and the deference this likely accrued to Galphin. Lilla M. Hawes, ed. *The Journal of the Reverend John Joachim Zubly, A.M., D.D., March 5, 1770 through June 22, 1781*, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society Volume XXI (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1989), 20.

[205] *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (Dickey, Stewart); *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* (Furlow, Botsill, community labors).

world of intimacies and localities.[206]

The final set of dependents at Silver Bluff consisted of the hundreds of slaves who performed the more arduous labors for Galphin's commercial ventures. While predominately composed of African men, women, and children, Galphin's slave holdings also included a number of "Indian slaves" he accumulated through his transactions with Native Peoples. The labors that these African and Native slaves provided were many. David George accompanied packhorse trains back and forth between Silver Bluff and Native communities, "carrying deerskins to Mr. Gaulfin…[a] distance…[of] four hundred miles, over five or six rivers." Tom Bonar and "three other Men…belonging to [Galphin]" acted as boat pilots who navigated the "passage up the river[s] Ogeechee" and Savannah to transport deerskins and commodities between Galphin's stores, Native towns, and British ports. Along their travels, Galphin's slaves conveyed missives and intelligence to his allies in Indian Country and British North America, including "Mr. Galphin's Boy [who] setts off to Charles Town…[with an] Express." In addition, Galphin's slaves performed the more rigorous labors for the trade, such as "mend[ing] deer skins" and packaging those commodities for shipment across the Atlantic. A select few of these enslaved bondsmen who understood and spoke Native languages – usually Galphin's Native slaves like "Indian Peter [the] Linguist" – attained a privileged position as personal attendants who accompanied Galphin to his meetings with Native leaders.[207]

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[206] James Habersham to the Earl of Hillsborough, 31 October 1771, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. I*, 419 ("drove"); Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean*, 53-55; *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, Book Y-1: 13 July 1772 to 16 May 1774, 403 ("sloop").

Outside of the skin trade, Galphin's African and Native slaves performed a number of other labors essential to his commercial enterprises. Galphin relied greatly on enslaved herdsmen like Ketch who "kept stock at Galphin's cowpens" and "are very dexterous in catching and training the wildest horses." These slaves lived at Galphin's cowpens and carved out a reputation as laborers by which a "great profit is made to their master by the sale" of "ye cattle and horses." At Silver Bluff, the majority of Galphin's African and Native dependents toiled in his plantation fields from sunup to sundown, although a small cadre of men such as "Negro Tom" and a few other "Negro Sawyers" staffed Galphin's gristmills and sawmills. Galphin's male slaves also functioned as "Hunters," entrusted with carrying firearms and spent a great deal of time "in the woods" to hunt. Conversely, several of Galphin's female slaves served as "House wenches" and attended to the needs of Galphin, his family and friends, and the guests and visitors who frequented Silver Bluff.[208]

Galphin accumulated and enslaved hundreds of African and Native men, women, and children in a variety of different ways, and often through the assistance of intimates and allies. Galphin only attained his first slaves when his second wife, Bridget Shaw, died in 1744 and left him with a handsome inheritance of £3,349 and "twelve negroes." To complement his holdings, Galphin bought a number of slaves such as "Negroe Sam"

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[207] *An Account of the Life of David George*, Canada's Digital Collection ("four hundred miles," "mend"); 25 November 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 337-339 (Bonar, "Men Slaves," "passage"); Edmond Atkins to William Henry Lyttelton, 4 November 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 9: November 1758 – February 1759 ("Boy"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 5 February 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14 (Indian Peter, "Linguist").

[208] Thomas S. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians,* ed. Peter A. Brannon (Tuscaloosa: Weatherford Printing Co., 1939), 105-106 (Ketch, "stock"); 18 September 1765, "John Bartram: A Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida," 27 ("dexterous," "great profit"); *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* ("Negro Tom"); 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* ("Hunters," "House wenches," "Brick House"); *An Account of the Life of David George,* Canada's Digital Collections ("in the woods").

from his merchant partners, John Beswicke, Greenwood & Higginson, Thomas Rock, and Clark & Milligan. They imported slaves for Galphin from Gambia, St. Kitts, Antigua, Jamaica, and other ports in North Africa and the West Indies.[209] But more often than not, it appears Galphin amassed his African and Native slaves through the "Bonds or Obligations" owed to him by his Euro-American debtors. In lieu of actual money or land, families like John and Anne Fitch "bargained and sold…unto the said George Galphin" thirty-one slaves to pay off their debts, including "Women" and "Girls" who offered Galphin the potential to breed his own slave population.[210]

Galphin's typicality as an eighteenth century slave-owner extended to the ways that he treated his African and Native slaves, establishing paternalistic relations in which he encouraged his enslaved bondsmen to consider themselves as part of his "Family."[211] Galphin's paternal connections were characterized by what he considered

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[209] Beswicke's slave ship, the "Chanc'd," sailed back and forth between North Africa, Antigua, and South Carolina, in one instance transporting 980 African slaves to Charleston; a shipment that Galphin himself might have partaken of. Beswicke's successors, his nephews William Greenwood and William Higginson, likewise engaged in the "Negroe Trade" which they shipped African slaves from Jamaica to South Carolina and Georgia. Galphin likewise purchased some of his enslaved dependents from them. Thomas Rock also dabbled in the African slave trade using his ship the "Silvia" which sailed between Gambia and Charleston. "Cleared Outwards 1757-1758," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Shipping Returns: South Carolina, 1736-1764*, CO 5/510, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain (Beswicke); Peter Leger to Capt. Neill Campbell, 28 December 1770, *Leger & Greenwood Letterbook, 1770-1775, 1788*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI, 4-5 ("Greenwood and Higginson"); "Entered Inwards 1758," CO 5/510, British National Archives (Rock).

[210] Bill of Sale Thomas Johnson to Bridget Galphin, *South Carolina State Records: Miscellaneous Records, Book FF*, Roll ST0364B, South Carolina Department of Archive and History, Columbia SC ("Bridget Shaw"); George Galphin to John Rutledge, 1777, *John Rutledge Account Book, 1761-1779*, MS 34/0324 Oversize, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston SC ("Negroe Sam"); October 1765, *Read-Mossman Ledger, 1765-1766*, MS #1635, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 110 ("St. Kitts"); "Cleared Outwards 1757-1758," CO 5/510 ("Antigua"); "Entered Inwards 1758," CO 5/510 ("Gambia"); Anne Fitch Bond to George Galphin, 7 March 1765, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, Book P, 344-346 ("Anne Fitch," "bargained," "Women," "Girls")

[211] One can see the trajectory of Galphin's rise to gentility through his ownership of slaves, by examining his petitions to the Georgia government asking for land. For instance, when Galphin first petitioned the Georgia assembly for 400 acres in 1757, he was possessed of a "Family consisting of forty Slaves." Throughout his repeated petitions during the 1760s and 1770s, he continually accumulated more slaves that upped the number of bondsmen he bragged about in his petitions. The number of slaves that he owned grew so large that in his last petition in August 1771, when asking for 150 acres, he simply

a "benevolent oversight," in which he provided the necessaries like food, shelter, and community in exchange for his slaves "deference and loyalty." According to David George, Galphin "was very kind to me" and allowed George to marry a fellow slave. In response to Galphin's kindness, George "wait[ed] upon him [Galphin]…for four years" and during that time, Galphin encouraged George and his family to think of themselves as part of the larger Galphin family.[212] A number of these enslaved bondsmen even showed their appreciation for Galphin's paternalism by adopting his surname as their own, such as Jesse Peters who changed his name to "Jessie Gaulfin" after Galphin's death in 1780. The ultimate expression of Galphin's paternalism came in 1773 when he allocated the use of one of his mills to his slaves, who "beg[g]ed" Galphin to let them build a "large [church] congregation" there. In a matter of a few years, this gathering of slaves at the mill transformed into a full-fledged Baptist church that, in the words of David George, attracted "more of my fellow creatures [who] began to seek the Lord."[213] In thanks to Galphin,[214] these African and Native peoples thereafter referred to "Master [as] a great man."[215]

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identified his slaveholdings as "many slaves." 6 December 1757, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from October 30, 1754 – March 6, 1759*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1906), 673-674; 6 August 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 5-6.

[212] One only has to look at Galphin's last will and testament and the "Deeds of Trust" he left his Anglo, Creek, and African children to see how Galphin's slaves forged their own families and communities at Silver Bluff and Old Town. Galphin's "Deed of Trust" for his son Thomas transferred the following slaves: "Peter sisom & his wife Nessey their Children," "Cato his wife Bess [&] their Children," "Joe & Cornelius his wife their Children," "Kelly's Tom and his wife Lucy with their children," "Michael & his wife Sarah with their Children," "Coffee his wife Betty [&] their Children," "Derham his wife Celia [&] their Children." Only one slave out of the dozens Thomas inherited was not attached to the other slaves, and that was "Sye a Negro Man." George Galphin Deed of Trust to Thomas Galphin, 2 February 1775, *George Galphin's Mesne Conveyance Records*, Book Z-5, 133-135.

[213] Some historians contend that the "Silver Bluff Baptist Church" was the first formal "black Baptist congregation" in North America, even reputed to be the "first African American church in the United States." Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Vintage Press, 2011), 47 ("Baptist congregation"); Walter H. Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters" *Journal of Negro History* 7:2 (April, 1922): 181-182; Frank G. Roberson and

No matter how paternally Galphin acted toward his slaves, though, this could not conceal the fact that he engaged in a brutal system in which African and Native men, women, and children faced a physical and emotional violence that traumatized both body and mind, an overt reminder of their dependency on Galphin. While no evidence exists that Galphin ever used violence and corporal punishment against his slaves, it is safe to assume he or his overseers employed such coercion. In fact, Galphin's intrusive oversight with his slaves is more than enough evidence for the violence of his slavery. Galphin maintained an invasive supervision of his slaves daily affairs by locating Silver Bluff's "slave dwellings" behind his brick houses and adjoining the plantation fields, so that his residence overlooked both the places where his slaves worked and lived. Galphin also meddled perversely in his slaves' lives, particularly when it came to the African and Native women who caught his eye. In the case of the "Indian slave" Nitehuckey, Galphin snatched her away from her husband, Augustus, and used her as one of his sexual consorts, a liaison that produced a daughter, Rose. Shortly after her birth, Galphin ripped Rose away from her mother and raised her as his own. Galphin took four other slave women as mistresses, who experienced fates similar to that of Nitehuckey. As a consequence, Galphin's enslaved women not only suffered a physical and emotional trauma with their slavery, but also a sexual violence characteristic of a

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George H. Mosley, *Where a Few Gather in my Name: The History of the Oldest Black Church in America – Silver Bluff Baptist Church* (North Augusta SC, 2002), 9-10.

[214] All of what is described in relation to Galphin's paternalistic slave-holding and support for the Silver Bluff Baptist Church contrasts sharply with the work of Jeffrey Robert Young who depicts Galphin as an "embittered slaveowner [who] shunned humanitarian conceptions of human bondage." Jeffrey Robert Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670-1837* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 83.

[215] 6 December 1757, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. VII,* 673-674 (slave "Family"); Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 153-154 ("benevolent oversight"); *An Account of the Life of David George,* Canada's Digital Collections ("kind to me," "Jesse Gaulfin," "congregation," "beg," "great man").

slave society. On account of such invasiveness and violence, when Galphin's African and Native slaves found the chance to escape their bondage, they seized the opportunity. In 1779, Galphin frustratingly wrote to his allies that "120 of my negros" fled en masse from Silver Bluff during the Revolutionary War. It also speaks volumes that David George – the African slave who considered Galphin a "kind" and "indulgent" master – led this exodus. In venting to Benjamin Lincoln after learning of his slaves flight, Galphin blamed "some Baptist preacher [who] has been the ruin of all [the] negros." In spite of Galphin's paternalism, then, the relationships that he cultivated with his slaves proved "profoundly asymmetrical, with slave owners holding enormous power and slaves holding very little power."[216]

What "little power" African and Native peoples did retain over the master-slave relationship, they used in ways that ameliorated and defied the deference and violence of their slavery. Historian Trevor Burnard describes the dynamic between slave-owners and slaves "as a continual battle of contestation and cooperation," because "in order for slavery to work, both master and slave had to concede a degree of legitimacy to the other…even if it [was]…grudging, conditional, and a second-best alternative." At Silver Bluff, these negotiations surely took place on a daily basis as slaves like David George exploited any and all opportunities to resist their degraded circumstances. George learned in secret from "the white children [how] to read," and armed with this literacy assumed a position of leadership within the Silver Bluff Baptist church. There,

[216] Tammy R. Forehand, et al. "Bridging the Gap between Archaeologists and the Public: Excavations at Silver Bluff Plantation, the George Galphin Site," *Early Georgia* 32:1 (June 2004): 58 ("slave dwellings"); George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 16 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Folder 3 ("120," "preacher," "indulgence"); 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (Nitehuckey, Augustus, Rose); Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, & Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 177 ("asymmetrical").

he preached to an African congregation and provided a spiritual outlet for his fellow slaves. These African and Native peoples also benefitted from Galphin's task-oriented labor system, which "allowed slaves a measure of control over their work" and time. For instance, Dick, "Negro Mary," and "Negro Tom" all hired themselves out to Galphin's other dependents at Silver Bluff, and accumulated wages that they in turn used at the plantation store, saved for their families, or dreamed of using to purchase their freedom. Tom Bonar also capitalized on the independence that came with the labors that took him away from Silver Bluff. Yet for the slave Pompey, negotiations of the master-slave relationship were not enough and he instead took matters into his own hands by fleeing Silver Bluff. In ways that one might think would make Galphin proud, Pompey used "his connections in Georgia" to elude capture.[217]

Together, Galphin and his enslaved dependents tip-toed a fine line between deference and resistance, as well as violence and paternalism. Because Galphin recognized that his local and personal world revolved around slave labor and the relationships he shared with his enslaved peoples, he more often than not proved an "indulgent" master rather than a vicious one. In the process, Galphin provided the physical and emotional space for his African and Native slaves to carve out a measure of independence, despite the pervasive violence of their slavery. In return, Galphin's enslaved populace granted him a grudging deference in their labors, but only so long as Galphin lived up to his end of the bargain – to care for them and to ensure the well-

[217] Burnard, *Master, Tyranny, & Desire,* 177 ("continual battle," legitimacy"); *An Account of the Life of David George,* Canada's Digital Collections ("to read"); Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone,* 166 ("task-system," "measure of control"); *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* (Mary, Tom); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* (Dick); 25 November 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 337-339 (mobility); 26 December 1783, *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser,* Vol. 1, Issue 90, Supplemental Page 1, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC (Pompey).

being of their families and community. Through such an arrangement, Galphin obtained the reluctant and negotiated obedience of his slaves, which aided his pursuit of gentility by commanding the deference of his dependents.

Outside of Silver Bluff, Galphin planted a community of dependents inhabited by families he transported from Ireland to the township of Queensborough. Likely the product of his childhood experiences, Galphin's life seemingly came full circle as he sought to do right by those who endured the same debilitating condition that had plagued his family. Naturally, Galphin's desires to do good for these Irish families intersected with his own ambitions to attain recognition and respect from his elite peers. In fact, it seems that Galphin sought to build an entire town completely dependent on his patronage. Thus Galphin located Queensborough next to Old Town and his stores, within proximity to the Lower Path, but at a great distance away from Charleston, Augusta, and Savannah. In addition to styling himself as the town's proprietor, Galphin cultivated the dependencies of the Irish families by monopolizing their labors and purchases, as many of Galphin's Irish tenants worked in some capacity for his firm and one-stop shopped at his stores in Old Town.[218]

On top of this, many of the families that relocated from Ireland felt a profound sense of obligation to Galphin. He not only plucked these families out of their poverty in Ulster, but offered them an opportunity to acquire and control their own lands,

[218] Vorsey Jr., ed. *DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America,* 144 ("Irish Town"), 145 ("Irish Settlement"); 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII,* 148-154 (Queensborough proximity to Old Town); "Georgia and Indian Land Cessions, ca. 1770," *Southern States Manuscript Maps*, Maps 6-E-11, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI (Queensborough proximity to Lower Trade Path and lack of proximity to Augusta, Charleston, and Savannah).

relatively free of a coercive landlord authority, and to seek a better livelihood and future for their children. Queensborough residents stated as much in their petition to the Georgia legislature, writing that they left Ireland because they were "greatly oppressed by the Rents…[and] Taxes and other Duties…so that the most exerted Industry, scarcely affords a Comfortable subsistence to their Families." Such infirmity led the Irish emigrants to Galphin who provided a "relief by moving themselves to…[the] American Provinces." Queensborough continued to grow during the late 1760s and early 1770sas these residents sent letters and news back to families and friends in Ireland, which in turn spurred emigration to that community.[219] Galphin thereby accumulated and reaped the gratitude of his Irish tenants, which ensured his entrance

[219] Despite a rather slow start to Queensborough between 1766 and 1768, Galphin's family and friends in Ireland facilitated a wave of Ulster emigration to Georgia between 1768 and 1773. In 1768, Galphin called upon his sister Judith to interest potential families with stories about his "twenty years" in Georgia and his rise from poverty to a "Gentleman of opulent Fortunes." In addition to Judith, Galphin employed the family friend, John Pettycrew Sr., who praised Rae and Galphin for their "remarkable Friendship to [their] Countrymen [which] is well known." Together, Judith and Pettycrew directed scores of Ulster families to Queensborough. Consequently, Matthew Rae booked the "Prince George" to sail for Georgia and upon its arrival in Savannah, Galphin and Rae contracted six wagons "to carry the women and children lately come in to settle" to the Irish settlement. After the success of the "Prince George," Galphin and Rae chartered two more ships, "Hopewell" and "Two Peggies," between 1769 and 1770 to transport more Ulster families across the Atlantic. While Rae spearheaded the promotion of emigration for these two voyages, Galphin again called upon Judith and John Pettycrew, in addition to his uncle Robert Pooler, to assist Rae. From 1770 to 1772, Galphin also turned to his Crossley in-laws, to promote emigration. Through the support of his family and friends, then, Galphin and Rae contracted several more ships, the "Hopewell" and "Britannia," to carry Ulster families to Queensborough. Galphin and Rae achieved such immeasurable success in their venture through the assistance of family and friends in Ulster that they petitioned Governor Wright and the Council for an additional 25,000 acres in 1772. As Galphin and Rae represented to the Georgia government, "all the plantable Land within Queensborough Township are already laid out and Granted to the Irish Settlers who formerly Arrived" and "more are daily Expected." True to their word, Galphin and Rae welcomed another shipload of Ulster families to Queensborough aboard the "Waddell" in 1773, again relying on Pettycrew to generate interest in the Ulster venture. 19 June 1768, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough: Rev. David E. Bothwell and Letter to the Widow Bothwell*, ed. Smith Callaway Banks, Georgia Southern University, Statesboro GA, 51 ("twenty years," "gratis"); 8 July 1766, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement*, 50 ("Friendship"); 21 December 1768, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* ("women and children"); 6 August 1771, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement*, 60 ("Crossley"); 4 February 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XI: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council, April 3, 1770 to July 13, 1771*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 212-213 ("plantable"); 29 October 1773, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement*, 69-70 ("Waddell," "Millions").

into the ranks of the colonial elite.[220]

To command the dependency of his Irish "People," Galphin cultivated the persona of a benevolent patron. Galphin professed from the very beginning of the Queensborough venture that he and his partners "will do every Thing in [our] Power to assist them; for nothing will give [us] more Satisfaction than to be the Means of bringing [our] Friends to this Country of Freedom." Galphin also framed "the intended settlers [as] very poor, and…destitute," people who desperately needed his support. Galphin not only provided land free of charge to his tenants, but "furnish[ed] each family with milch cows and horses," as well as access to his Old Town stores, his cowpens "well stock'd with black Cattle," and several other community services.[221] Further, Galphin set aside "fifty Acres of Land in Queensborough…for a [Presbyterian] Church" while advertising among the Irish families to "bring [a] Minister with them." Through his generous patronage, then, Galphin earned the trust and confidence of his tenants, and he became widely known as "a friend to the settlers at Queensborough" who "are obliged to you [Galphin] for your readily serving them upon all Occasions." To reinforce this paternal persona, Galphin purchased the town's central lot and the "Common[s]" area, and opened it up to the community, which served as a visible reminder of Galphin's patronage to Queensborough.[222]

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[220] "A Petition from several Passengers…just arrived in the Ship Hopewell…from Belfast," 12 December 1769, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XIV: Journal of the Commons House of Assembly – January 17, 1763 to December 24, 1768*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 70-72 ("Rents, Duties," "seek relief").

[221] Galphin provided his patronage to Queensborough by sponsoring their petition to the Georgia government to "erect [their own] Gristmill in [the] Irish Settlement," independent of Galphin's mill at Old Town. "Petition of Clotworthy Robson and William Harding," 2 May 1769, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. X*, 828.

[222] John Rea to Matthew Rea, 15 May 1765, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675-1815*, ed. Kerby A. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 83-84 ("Country of Freedom"); 1 January 1765, *Colonial Records of the State of*

True to Galphin's modus operandi, he deployed a fictive familial vernacular with these Irish dependents to reaffirm the bonds of dependency with them. In particular, Galphin referred to the families of Queensborough as "our People" and provided all of the essential services necessary to sustain a community in the North American interior, which in turn inspired the loyalties of his Irish tenants. Galphin's settlers similarly looked to "Mr. Galphin's House" rather than the imperial government for support in times of crisis. In December 1771, an Irish "Boy Came and told me his father was killed by an Indian," which prompted Galphin to chase "after the Murderer." All-in-all, Galphin and his dependents spoke the same language of paternalism and deference that fortified the bonds of dependency between them, while at the same time this way of speaking to one another reinforced the relationships that held the peoples and localities of Galphin's world together.[223]

In spite of their dependent nature, these Irish families still sought ways to negotiate their relationships with Galphin for the greater good of their community. In ways reminiscent of the dependents at Silver Bluff, the Irish deferentially petitioned Galphin to expand Queensborough's institutions and infrastructures, which included Galphin's enlistment of a "School-master" to instruct the town's children, and his permission to build a post office and tavern for the community. Additionally, these Irish

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Georgia, Vol. IX, 269-270 ("very poor"); 10 June 1768, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Queensborough: Or, the Irish Town and its Citizens*, ed. Lois D. Cofer (New York: Cofer Press, 1977), 18-19 ("cows"); 18 February 1776, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement* ("black Cattle"); 6 June 1769, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. X*, 788 ("Church"); 17 May 1765, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Queensborough: Or, the Irish Town and its Citizens*, 45 ("Minister"); James Habersham to Lord Hillsborough, 31 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("Friend"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 30 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("obliged to you"); William Harding to George Galphin, 24 May 1774, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book CC-1, 45-46 ("Common").

[223] James Habersham to George Galphin, 11 January 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 3 ("our People"); Edward J. Cashin, *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 58-59 ("central square"); 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 148-154 ("Boy," "Murderer").

dependents exploited Galphin's relations with imperial allies to relocate one of only two backcountry "Courthouses" to the Irish town, as well as to secure "good repairs" for a bridge linking the Buckhead area to the "Irish Settlement." It should also be noted that these Irish tenants at times tried to circumvent their dependencies on Galphin. Irish families petitioned the Georgia government to "lay out a Road from…Queensborough in the nearest and most Conveninent way to the Road already laid out [to] Savannah." In doing so, the Irish attempted to open Savannah's markets and stores to the community, and thereby sever Galphin's monopolistic hold over the town and its commerce. In other words, these dependents balanced an appreciative deference to their landlord and patron with their efforts to manipulate or redirect Galphin's patronage in ways that profited the community as a whole.[224]

To round out his dependent communities, Galphin collaborated with his allies Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee to establish a series of "out-settlements" in Creek Country, which intersected with their interests to consolidate their control over the deerskin trade. Galphin and his Coweta allies encouraged Creek hunters, warriors, and families to relocate to new settlements like the Standing Peach Tree, which straddled the boundary line between Creek Country and the British colonies. Oftentimes, Galphin lured Creek townspeople with promises of building a trade store in their new villages – staffed by factors like the "White Boy" – and large presents and goods to sustain those families that made the move. Galphin managed to establish so many of these places that

[224] John Rea to Matthew Rea, 15 May 1765, *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan*, 83-84 ("School-master"); *Galphinton Trading Post Account Books, 1785-1787* (school); Cofer, *Queensborough: Or, the Irish Towns and its Citizens,* 21 (courthouse), 35-36 (bridge, "repairs"), 61 (post office, tavern); 27 March 1770, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XIV,* 162 ("Road").

his rivals vented that he "encourage[ed] those Indians…to carry on an advantageous Trade with them in their Hunting-Grounds," which Galphin's critics also blamed for all "the disturbances" between Creek and British peoples during the 1770s.[225]

The Creek peoples who inhabited these "out-settlements" fulfilled many of the same roles as Galphin's other dependents. First and foremost, these Creeks served as both producers and consumers, who either turned their deerskins into the town's resident trader or carried their "Quantity of Skins…[to] Mr. Galphin's at Silver Bluff." After selling their wares, Creek hunters used the proceeds from the sale of their skins to purchase goods and commodities at Galphin's stores, and returned to their towns with as much as "15 or 20 [horse] Loads of Goods & 4 of Amunition." These Creeks also acted as messengers and contacts for Galphin. For example, the White Fish delivered Galphin's letters from Silver Bluff to John Stuart in Augusta and from there to "Sallaeachie" in Tuckabatchee. In times of crisis that threatened Galphin's ability to supply his Creek allies with necessaries and goods, he could count on these Creek dependents to come to his aid. During the Seven Years' War, these Creeks gathered "about his [Galphin's] Place" to ward off attacks from "Cherokees [who] were seen last night in the clear Ground, near Mr. Galphin's Fort." Along with Galphin's Anglo, Irish, and African dependents, then, these Creek families provided the labors and connections necessary for Galphin's world to function.[226]

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[225] "Conference between Governor Sir James Wright and the Upper Creek Indians," 14 April 1774, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume VIII: Transcripts, 1774*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 90-95 ("White Boy"); *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* ("White Boy"); 14 February 1774, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775,* MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("advantageous"); "Post-Talk Conference with the Upper Creeks," n.d. 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVIII, Part I-A: Original Papers…Indian Talks, Relinquishments, 1772-1775* [micro-film] Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 254-261 ("disturbances").

But these Creek peoples discovered early on that their new towns hinged upon Galphin and his patronage. Without someone like Galphin, the supply of commodities and presents that sustained these Creek settlements quickly dried up and might force these townsmen to retreat to their former residences. These hunters and their families, therefore, maintained a constant presence at Galphin's estate to ensure and fortify their relationships with him since they depended on him for their subsistence, particularly during the winter and hunting months. At times, Galphin might spend a total of "9 weeks at [my plantation]…and was not one Day Clear of Indians all the time I was there." On account of such frequent and lengthy visits, Galphin extended his wares and commodities on credit to his Creek customers, whose appetite for European goods ensnared these peoples within a web of debt. Often unable to pay Galphin, while dependent on him for other necessaries vital to their communities, these Creeks regularly ventured to Silver Bluff with their "Wives & Children" to plead with Galphin for supplies that ranged from corn to cattle. Similar to Galphin's other dependents, then, these Creek communities owed Galphin a set of obligations that gradually stripped them of their autonomy.[227]

Despite the rampant debt and dependency of these Creek "out-settlements," Galphin proved quite generous in his patronage to these Native communities. A man well versed in Creek culture, Galphin abided by the cultural expectations of reciprocity,

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[226] 10 March 1761, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VIII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council, March 8, 1759 to December 31, 1762*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 514 ("Quantity"); "A Talk from the Handsome Fellow of the Oakfuskeys," 18 June 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("15 or 20"); Stephen Forrester to John Stuart, 7 September 1772, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 112-113 ("White Fish," "Sallaeachie");18 February 1760, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800* ("Place," "Cherokees").

[227] 7 March 1761, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("70 Creek"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 25 June 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XIII: Mar. 15 – July 6, 1778*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 513-515 ("9 weeks"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 6 January 1764, CO 323/18, Doc. 178 ("wives and children," "Presents").

and handed out presents and other commodities free of charge. More often than not, Galphin granted "Presents to the Indians" in excess, having more than enough goods since imperial administrators designated Silver Bluff as the official repository for "Indian gifts."[228] At the same time, Galphin's gift-giving served as evidence of his patronage to those Creeks, and a stark reminder of their obligations to him. Galphin also favored these Creek communities with their own trade stores, which proved to be an indulgence to these townspeople since most "out-settlements" did not have a store of their own. This luxury enhanced the prestige and influence of these Creek towns, and put these communities on the proverbial map.[229] For instance, Galphin's outpost at the Standing Peach Tree, staffed by his factor the "White Boy," emerged as one of Galphin's premier stores by the early 1770s. The "White Boy" not only requisitioned the largest orders for goods out of any of Galphin's traders, but also delivered the greatest number of deerskins from Creek Country to Silver Bluff.[230] Consequently, Creek townsmen came to trust or rely on their patron more than any other Euro-American, including the imperial authorities who negotiated with Native leaders. In 1767, when Howmatcha sought restitution for the burning of his town – also one of

[228] Silver Bluff remained the repository of Indian presents throughout the 1760s and 1770s, and during the Revolutionary War became the official site for storing Indian gifts for the American revolutionaries. "Minutes of Council," 8 May 1781, *Georgia Governor and Council Journals 1781: Augusta Falls to the Rebels,* ed. Mary Bondurant Warren (Athens, GA: Heritage Papers, 2010), 28.

[229] Relationships with Galphin put these Creek communities like the Standing Peach Tree on the literal map for imperial map-makers. In Joseph Purcell's 1778 map of the "Road from Pensacola to St. Augustine," he sketched out a small community known as "Pokanaweethly," otherwise interpreted as "Pucknawhitla," which is the Muscogee term for "Standing Peach Tree." In all earlier maps of Creek Country by imperial map-makers, the Standing Peach Tree was not worthy of such a marker. Joseph Purcell, *A Map of the Road from Pensacola in West Florida to St. Augustine in East Florida*, 1778, CO 700/Florida54, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain.

[230] In one instance, the "White Boy" brought to Silver Bluff "1936 wt. of skins in the hair" and "8 wt. Beaver Skins" while returning to the Standing Peach Tree with "100 lb. gunpowder," rice, bridles, frying pans, spurs, gartering, silk, needles, garlix, fish hooks, calico, ear bobs, rings, beads, ribbon, handsaw files, ruffled shirt, saddles, blankets, vermillion, knives, blankets, rum, hoes, etc. 10 March 1772, *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772.*

Galphin's Creek villages – by Anglo settlers, he turned to Galphin and only Galphin to resolve the differences between him and the "white people." Howmatcha's appeals to Galphin stands as a testament to the bonds of dependency and obligation between Galphin and Creek peoples.[231]

To reinforce the dependencies of those Creek hunters and families, Galphin employed the same fictive familial vernacular that he used with other dependents. Galphin thus addressed those Creeks who gravitated to Silver Bluff as his "Son[s]…and Children" whom he "loved…a Great Deal and never told them lyes," which in turn encouraged those Creek peoples to refer to one another as "your Children [who] are in want." Creek dependents also shared a mutual understanding with Galphin that their settlements – or "Trading Houses" – served as extensions of Galphin's own household at Silver Bluff. Again, in Howmatcha's protests over the destruction of his town by Anglo settlers, he appealed not to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, but to Galphin at Silver Bluff, which reveals these Creek dependents trusted Galphin more than any other British authority. Howmatcha later informed Creek and imperial leaders that "I am now at Mr. Galphin's" and that Galphin promised to indemnify him for "what things they Lost."[232]

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[231] John Stuart to Jeffrey Amherst, 3 December 1763, *Jeffrey Amherst Papers, 1758-1764*, Volume 7, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("Presents"); 10 March 1772, *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Books, 1767-1772* ("White Boy"); "A Talk from Howmatcha to Escotchaby," 27 August 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807: American Series,* Volume 69, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("Howmatcha").

[232] "A Talk from the Patucy Mico to George Galphin," 4 November 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Son," "Children"); Timothy Barnard to the Cussetas, 2 June 1784, *Creek Indian Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837* ("loved"); Bonds, Bills of Sale, & Deeds of Gift, 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, 270-272 ("trading houses"); "A Talk from Howmatcha," 27 August 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers,1754-1807: American Series*, Volume 69 ("Howmatcha") John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 26 September 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807: American Series,* Volume 70 ("Lost").

These Creek townsmen were far from static peoples caught in the throes of inevitable dependency. Instead, the peoples of the Standing Peach Tree and other "out-settlements" used their relationships to Galphin to articulate their agency in a Native society that experienced profound cultural and social change during the mid to late eighteenth century. The hunters and warriors who populated Galphin's "out-settlements" consisted largely of Creek men "eager to assert their independence from traditional structures of authority," and used their connections with Galphin to do so. Through Galphin, these "out-settlements" grew in prestige as Galphin lavished presents and trade upon those towns, and these Creek men in turn started to "flout the advice of their leaders."[233] With more and more Creek peoples flocking to these outlying communities, Creek micos tried unsuccessfully to reassert authority over these towns, at times deriding the new leaders of the "out-settlements" as "Out-casts" or the "mad young people." In turn, this younger generation of Creek men used their connections to the British world to amplify their political and social authority. In one particular instance, these Creek townsmen exploited their relationships with Galphin to convince imperial officials to "satisf[y] the Indians whose houses were burnt" and to secure "prosecutions…against the principal actors in that affair." These "young warrior leaders," then, not only embraced relationships with Euro-Americans like Galphin despite the dependencies that such affiliations bred, but did so as part of their efforts to distinguish themselves from their civil and traditional town leaders.[234]

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[233] John Stuart complained to the Governor of East Florida, James Grant, that these "out-settlements…induce the Indians to leave their Towns and to form settlements…where they withdraw from the Government of their ruling Chiefs, which renders it impossible to keep them in order…if not stopped [it] must end in an open rupture." John Stuart to James Grant, 1 December 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17.

[234] Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 177 ("structures of authority"), 185-186 ("flout the advice"); 14 February 1774, *South Carolina*

Galphin took full advantage of this "unsettling shift" in Creek society by cultivating entire communities of Creek dependents that added to his weight and influence in the deerskin trade. Galphin not only forged new dependencies with the leaders of these "out-settlements," but also planted new localities that straddled the line between Creek Country and British North America. Consequently, Galphin's personal and spatial connections between Silver Bluff and Creek towns no longer remained wedded to the Lower and Upper Paths, but branched off to connect to new and independent communities like the Standing Peach Tree. Galphin, therefore, blazed new relationships within Creek Country that enfolded even more Native Peoples and places into his sphere of influence.[235]

Together with his intimates and allies, then, Galphin wove his dependents into a deeply personal and intensely local world he embedded at Silver Bluff. However, Galphin invested his relations with employees, tenants, slaves, emigrants, and hunters with a series of dependencies, in which these peoples from different cultures and places all found themselves reliant on the same man for their livelihoods and futures. But in ways similar to the connections of kinship, friendship, partnership, and alliance, these bonds of dependency united the myriad peoples and places within Galphin's network of relationships. Therefore, the old adage that the "whole is greater than the sum of its parts" proved quite germane to Galphin as he incorporated these dependents into his world of intimacies and localities – a world that personally and spatially bridged the imperial, colonial, Native, and transatlantic communities.

Gazette, 1732-1775 ("Out-casts," "mad young people"); John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 27 November 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807: American Series,* Volume 72 ("houses were burnt," "actors").

[235] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 176 ("unsettling shift").

PART II: THE FOUNDATIONS OF GEORGE GALPHIN'S ATLANTIC WORLD, 1707-1763

Chapter 4 – "We have Suffered many Hardships to acquire a Small Competency": The Galphin Family of County Armagh, Ireland, 1700-1737

In early 1737, George Galphin stood on the threshold of a new life. Docked before him in the port of Belfast, the ship called "Hopewell" beckoned its passengers to board, but Galphin hesitated. It was only a little over a year since his father Thomas died, leaving George as the eldest male of the Galphin family. Upon assuming the mantle as the family patriarch, George faced a set of momentous decisions that forever changed his and his family's lives. Plagued by a pervasive poverty that gripped most of Ulster Ireland during the eighteenth century, Galphin labored after his father's death for a solution to his family's dire situation, but such answers initially eluded him. But in the guise of matrimony, Galphin found a way to temporarily provide for his family's future and security. To fulfill his patriarchal responsibilities, George Galphin in December 1736 married Catherine Saunderson, the daughter of a landed "Gentleman" from the town of Enniskillen. By marriage, George cemented the ties between the wealthier Saundersons of Fermanagh with the poverty-ridden Galphins of Armagh. George Galphin had seemingly solved the riddle of his family's poverty.[236]

However, the Galphin-Saunderson match has long puzzled historians and genealogists alike, since Galphin left Catherine for North America after only a few months of marriage. Further troubling, Galphin offered only a brief record of her existence, when in his will he left a "Catherine Galphin" with a small financial legacy, which Saunderson attempted to claim six years after George's death. In 1786, her lawyers stated that she the "said Catherine Galphin has since continued married and has

[236] Henry H. Claussen, "George Galphin in Ireland and America," *Richmond County History Journal* 13:1-2 (1981): 13-14 ("marriage"); *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files*, Box 8, Folder 530: Beech Island – George Galphin, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

always behaved herself with good conduct and the utmost propriety." While scholars debate what motivated Galphin to leave his bride behind, the fact remains that Galphin, after only a few months of marriage, found himself in Belfast on the verge of leaving Ireland forever. After hearing the captain of the "Hopewell" call out for all passengers to board, Galphin took his first steps toward a new world in North America.[237]

The answer to scholars incessant questions surrounding Galphin's motives for leaving Ireland and Saunderson is wrapped up in the relationships he created to ameliorate his family's pervasive poverty – the beginnings of what became his far-flung network of intimacies and localities. The eldest son within a poor linen-weaving family, Galphin learned early on that he and his relatives labored within an impersonal and destructive economy, where families lived and died annually by their abilities to simply scrape by on meager returns for their labors. Such poverty was made all the worse by the close proximity of Ireland to the heart of the British Empire, which consumed Irish labors and lives in mass quantities during the eighteenth century. For Galphin and his family, then, life in the early eighteenth century was defined by their marginality and poverty, all a consequence of an ever-expanding English fiscal-military state.[238] What Galphin learned from such hardship, though, was that his relationships

[237] Claussen, "George Galphin in Ireland and America," 13-14 ("good conduct"); 4 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*, 00051 .L51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("Catherine Galphin"). The 150 pounds sterling that Galphin left his first wife Catherine eluded her for many years after Galphin's death in 1780. In 1786, Catherine Galphin-Saunderson employed the lawyer George Reid of Philadelphia through the "power of attorney" to collect what was owed her according to Galphin's will. This brief legal transaction provides the only details that exist concerning this marriage, the date of Galphin's emigration, and George's early life in Ireland.

[238] Scholars collectively assert that England underwent a dramatic transformation during the "long eighteenth century," in the aftermath of the "Glorious Revolution." As John Brewer asserts, England experienced a financial and military revolution during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in which Parliament, a new imperial bureaucracy, the military, and London merchants spearheaded an "astonishing transformation in British government" into a "fiscal-military state." These changes provided the means, resources, capital, and manpower necessary to extend and protect England's economic and territorial dominions around the globe; in the process, England emerged as "Europe's leading Protestant

with family and friends acted as a potent counteragent against the disruptive forces of British colonialism, which led the Galphin family to forge a chain of kinship and friendship ties in County Armagh and nearby Ulster counties. These personal and spatial connections, in turn, convinced Galphin to leave his poverty-stricken circumstances behind, following the lead of those family and friends who had already left Ireland for North America. Galphin's restless anxiety to escape his poverty grew only worse as he perceived that the closer a colonized subject – like himself – lived to the imperial metropolis, the less likely one might ever throw off the shackles of British colonialism. As a consequence, Galphin drew upon the very local and personal connections that he and his family cultivated in Ulster to enter the larger transatlantic world, which swallowed him up in early 1737 and spit him back out on the other side of the ocean a few months later.

The Galphins familial insularity was typical among Ulster families that labored under the weight of British colonialism during the eighteenth century, which no doubt contributed to the intensely local worlds and mentalities that preoccupied the Galphin family and others. From one's childhood to young adulthood, the eldest male within linen weaving families – like George Galphin – toiled ceaselessly alongside their fathers on the family's tiny, rented plot of land, where they cultivated linen for British markets. Whether in the flaxseed fields, weaving linen, or trekking the few miles back and forth between home and the linen market, the physical and mental worlds of Irish

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stronghold." Meanwhile, Ireland, on account of its Catholic majority and close proximity to England, fell into a cycle of colonial violence that created the world that the Galphin family inhabited. John Brewer, *Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688-1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), xvii ("transformation"), 32 ("fiscal-military); Carla G. Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 161 ("stronghold").

linen households like the Galphins revolved around family and the home, and they rarely ventured beyond it. It was only with his father's untimely death that forced George to seek alternatives to keep his family afloat, which took him away from the household. For the first thirty years of his life, though, Galphin's world was rooted in the few miles that encompassed his family's home and surrounding community in Armagh. Such focus on the local and familial, in turn, armed Galphin with an organizing principle by which he came to understand the world around him, how he organized that world for himself, and how he fit others into that intimate setting. Needless to say, Galphin's world was an intensely local one, and this – along with the importance of family – imprinted itself on Galphin's soul. These emotionally powerful connections with family and friends in Ulster thus conditioned Galphin's relationships with others throughout his life, as well as his perspectives of the wider world.

On account of their poverty and marginal existence, the Galphin family of Armagh remains largely invisible to historians today and it is therefore difficult to reconstruct the dense web of personal and spatial connections that Galphin and his family created during the early eighteenth century. But through George Galphin's actions and associations with others later in life, it is possible to recreate the series of relationships that the Galphins cultivated in Ireland. It is also useful and even necessary to contextualize the colonized world that the Galphin family inhabited, as well as Ulster's cultural and familial milieu. This framework ultimately reveals how the Galphins inhabited an acutely local world besieged by macro-historical forces beyond their control, which led Galphin and his family to seek personal connectedness among one another, as well as with others, to offset the dangers and pitfalls of that eighteenth

century world.

Born the eldest son of Thomas and Barbara Galphin in 1708, George spent his childhood in or around Tullamore or Navan, towns both located in County Armagh, the self-described "Linen District" of Ulster and the most important linen producing county of the "Linen Triangle" (with Antrim and Down).[239] There, the Galphins likely lived on a small five-acre plot of land surrounded by other families who together made up the estate of an English or Anglo-Irish landlord. Forced to pay an annual rent, the Galphins struggled to provide for their subsistence. In a world where the ownership of land meant everything from "wealth, prestige, control…and access to political office at the local and national level," the Galphins and thousands of other Ulster tenant families barely survived each year. English and Irish authors, politicians, and commentators remarked on the lands and people of County Armagh, that its' "fertile Soil [is] said to surpass any in Ireland" but "[is] now a poor Place, scarce any thing remaining but a few…wasted Cottages." Unwittingly thrust into a restrictive imperial world and an Irish

[239] George Galphin's ancestors hailed from the Scottish Lowlands and played a role in the transformation of Northern Ireland into a Protestant landscape, part of England's efforts to create a staging base against the Catholic powers of Europe. In particular, England transplanted the indigenous Irish populace to the south while populating Ulster with Scottish, Welsh, and English emigrants to create a more loyal and deferential Ireland in the aftermath of the "Glorious Revolution." The allure of such promises led the Galphins to Ulster. Other motives included escape from the economic stagnation of the Scottish economy, the "Lean Years" or famines of 1695-1698, Scotland's own climate of "religious persecution," and pre-existing connections with Scottish peoples already in Ulster. But upon arrival in Ireland, despite English assurances of land and plenty, the Galphins instead found themselves subjected to the crippling legislation known as the "Penal Laws." These royal and Parliamentary decrees imposed a host of restrictions on the political, economic, and religious lives of the Scottish emigrants. Among these dictates, the most paralyzing limitation was the ban on Dissenters' ownership of land, which targeted Scottish Presbyterians like the Galphins. Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 100 ("famine"), 103 ("persecution"); David Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660-1800*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1987), 48 ("famine"). The most comprehensive work on the Irish "Penal Laws" is by Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760* (Dundalk, Ireland [Dublin Historical Association)]: Dundalgan Press, 1967).

linen economy that profited English coffers but never his family's own, George Galphin's life in Ulster served as a long and painful lesson in poverty and hard labor.[240]

Like many other families in Armagh, the Galphins constituted what Arthur Dobbs called the "truly industrious poor, who endeavour to maintain their Families" through their linen labors. Dobbs perceived that there existed an inequitable division of wealth for those involved in the linen trade, in which linen "weavers" like Galphin's father, "can neither work so well nor so cheap, as they might if properly dispos'd of and employed. They are now generally dispers'd thro' the Country, and have each a little Farm." Because these families were "divided between their Farm and Weaving, they are good at neither; nor can they be so expeditious, or capable of weaving well, as if they were constantly employ'd in it." In addition to renting a small plot of land, the Galphins undoubtedly shared part of a "pasture ground" and "infields" with nearby tenants, which collectively formed a landlord's "Townland," or the "landscape… characterized by very small [rented] farms." Confined and restricted, then, the Galphins and most other poor linen laboring households consumed "little that was not produced at home beyond tobacco, salt and alcohol, and employing none outside the family."[241]

The eldest male within a linen weaving household, George Galphin spent most of his early life cultivating, cleaning, spinning, and weaving linen, his labors accentuated

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[240] *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files*, Box 8, Folder 530 ("Armagh"); Smith Calloway Banks, ed. *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement Queensborough, Rev. David E. Bothwell and Letter to the Widow Bothwell*, Georgia Southern University, Statesboro GA, 42 ("Navan"); R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (New York: Penguin Press Classics, 1988), 213 ("Linen District"); Vivienne Pollock, "The Household Economy in Early Rural America and Ulster: The Question of Self-Sufficiency," in *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish*, eds. H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis Wood (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 67 ("Linen Triangle); Marilyn Cohen, *Linen, Family and Community in Tullylish, County Down 1690-1914* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 14-15 ("wealth"); Guy Miege, *The Present State of Great-Britain and Ireland in Three Parts, Part III: Ireland* (London: J.H. publisher, 1718), 35 ("poor Place").

[241] Arthur Dobbs, *An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland* (Dublin: A. Rhames printer, 1729), 45 ("poor"), 75 ("cheap"); Cohen, *Linen, Family and Community in Tullylish, County Down, 1690-1914*, 35 (houses).

by the local and familial-centric nature of that work as "family functioned as the dominant force behind work discipline." In particular, the linen labors of the Galphin household involved a clear "sexual division of labor" in which the Galphin women bore the burden of the most intensive parts of the linen industry, which ranged from "cultivating and processing the raw material [flaxseed] to spinning the yarn" in preparation for the weaver. The female task of preparing flaxseed for spinning revolved around "scotching," or the "process of separating the woody parts of the plant from the flax fibers," followed by "hackling," the removal of the flax fibers by "combing [them] out for spinning." Galphin's mother, five sisters, and potentially his younger brother also worked in preparing the family's meals, tending the small family garden, cultivating crops in the fields, washing and cleaning, and other non-male duties in a patriarchal household.[242]

Meanwhile, George Galphin joined his father Thomas in weaving "cloth and helped him during harvest seasons" and in other responsibilities demanded of a family patriarch, all of which George would inherit one day. If weaving linen with the aid of handlooms, a "complicated and tedious process," the women first "mounted a loom [that] involved tying each warp thread to the warp beam, feeding these threads through the 'mails' on the 'headles' and between the teeth of the 'reed' before being tied to the

[242] Cohen, *Linen, Family and Community in Tullylish, County Down, 1690-1914*, 35 ("discipline"); Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 38-39 ("five acres," "landscape"); Marilyn Cohen, ed. *The Warp of Ulster's Past: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Irish Linen Industry, 1700-1920* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 8 ("weaving household"); Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland, 1660-1800*, 123 ("Townland," "consuming"); Jane Gray, "The Irish, Scottish and Flemish Industries during the Long Eighteenth Century," in *The European Linen Industry in Historical Perspective*, eds. Brenda Collins and Philip Ollerenshaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 182 ("cultivating"); W.H. Crawford, *The Impact of the Domestic Linen Industry in Ulster* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005), 117 ("preparation and spinning"); Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (New York: Pearson-Longman Press, 2000), 13 ("women"); Thomas M. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 173 ("surface," "scotching").

'cloth beam." After such preparation, George and his father dressed the "exposed warp threads" with water and flour that, after drying, they rubbed with tallow to prevent the threads from breaking. Finally, the Galphin men wove the linen yarn, often working day after day, from sunup to sundown, to weave as much linen as possible before market days. Through it all, the family always worked under the rhythms of the season, raising flaxseed as much as possible throughout the year. While the Galphin women harvested the flax crop in the spring, the Galphin men wove the flaxseed into linen in summer, followed by the cultivation of their own subsistence crops in the later summer months and fall. In the winter, the family continued to web and spin linen for the next year's market days.[243]

Near the end of the summer when a family accumulated enough woven linen, George joined his father in transporting their product to the nearest fair or market. It was as early as 1703 when "specialized" open-air markets that dealt solely in linens appeared in Charlemont, Lurgan, and Armagh, the likely destination for the Galphins as the end of summer neared. Burdened with a "heavy pack" of linen, the Galphin men trekked to the market and back on the same day, hoping to "dispose of [their] goods" to English and Irish merchants. In many cases, though, the Galphins likely sold their product at a disappointing discount to the market's linen drapers or bleachers who acted as "middlemen" between weavers and merchants.[244]

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[243] Cohen, *Linen, Family and Community in Tullylish, County Down, 1690-1914*, 35 ("harvest seasons"), 36-37 (preparation and weaving processes). Observers of the Irish linen trade often commentated that "The Spinners and Weavers of the North East Part of Ulster, viz. the Counties of Armagh, Antrim, and Down, are better skilled in the Linen Manufacture than those of any other Part of Ireland." Gray, "The Irish, Scottish, and Flemish Industries during the Long Eighteenth-Century," 181 ("Spinners and Weavers").

[244] Conrad Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 53-54 (Armagh market), 55 ("heavy pack"); Wallace Clark, *Linen on the Green: An Irish Mill Village, 1730-1982* (Belfast: The Universities Press Ltd., 1982), 10-11 ("draper"); "Petition to the Queen by Arthur

More often than not, the profits of a linen household's year-long labors often paid little more than the rent, and sometimes not even that. During the periods of successive famines and droughts that plagued the production of linen between 1717 and 1730,[245] many linen-producing families counted themselves lucky to afford rent in the first place. Because Thomas Galphin's labors produced very little income, he likely proved

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Brownlow," 11 December 1793, *State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth I to George III: Letters and Papers,* SP 63-363, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/ research-guides/state-papers-ireland-1509-1782.htm ("Lurgan"); Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland, 1660-1800,* 138 ("drapers"); Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783*, 173 ("markets," "specialized"). It is highly unlikely that the Galphins frequented the largest market fair in Belfast, on account of the distance by foot from Armagh to that port city. Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen Industry,* 53-54. Historians suggest that the drapers emerged as the first legitimate entrepreneurial class of the Irish linen trade in Northern Ireland, who purchased the weaver's linens at market, bleached those linens themselves or hired others to do it for them, and transported the finished product to the biggest fairs and markets, like those in Belfast.

[245] During the famine years between 1717 and 1730, "crop failures, starvation and disease" laid waste to Ulster and tenant families, which Kevin Kenny suggests killed as much as 15-20% of the total Irish population. This era proved so traumatic that some years became forever known as "Bliadhain an A'ir," or "Year[s] of the Slaughter." On top of this, bouts of famine and drought plagued Ulster incessantly throughout the early eighteenth century. From 1717-1719, 1725-1727, and 1728-1729, the Ulster Irish suffered "Poverty…scarce to be paralleled in any other Nation." Scholars demonstrate that the constriction of credit, low prices for Irish linen, and English apathy heightened the destructiveness of the subsistence crises, which "all coincided to bring on famine conditions." After Parliament ordered an investigation, reports revealed that "Harvests have been so bad, in the Northern Countries that Corn has risen to an excessive price," while the "rate of Linnen Yarn has fallen to about half what it formerly sold for; By these means the poorer farmers…dealing chiefly in the Linnen Manufacture were reduced to extreme want, many wanting bread for their Families or seed to sow the ground." Consequently, the Ulster Irish "complain[ed] that several Gentlemen have lately raised their Rents…more especially in such Estates whose Landlords are absent… selling them by Cash to the highest bidder, without regard to the value of the Lands, or the goodness of the Tenant."
To make matters worse for the Galphin family, County Armagh suffered from the "lowest acreage" of arable land throughout Ulster and this in turn exacerbated the poverty and subsistence crises of that territory. In 1717, on account of Armagh's poverty-stricken context and that year's "skyrocketing" rents and food prices, a full-fledged riot erupted in which the peoples of Armagh protested their precarious livelihoods. However, as one historian writes, the riot garnered little attention and the county "never rebounded from the shocks of 1717-1719," which put Armagh on the "brink of insolvency." Edward R.R. Green, "Scotch-Irish Emigration, an Imperial Problem," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* Vol. 35 (December 1952): 198 ("1725-1727"); *Some Thoughts on the Tillage of Ireland: Humbly Dedicated to the Parliament* (Dublin: George Faulkner publisher, 1738), 35 ("paralleled"); Marianna S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 192 ("famine conditions"); "Enquiry & Conversation among the Gentleman & People of that part of the North," *State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth I to George III: Letters and Papers*, SP 63-391, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 77-79 http://www. nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/ research-guides/state-papers-ireland-1509-1782.htm ("rate of linnen"); Dobbs, *An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, Part* II, 5 ("acreage"); Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764* (Princeton:

unable to live up to his role as the family's main provider. By failing to fulfill his patriarchal obligations, Thomas not only faced feelings of emasculation, but also a societal stigma that equated male labors in weaving linen as "women's work" and its "association with poverty." The time consuming nature of weaving also detracted from the attention that Thomas could give to tending the fields and other "menfolk work," which only intensified the stigma of his perceived female labors. George Galphin likely looked on haplessly as his father bore the burden of the family's poverty, the shame of his life's work, and the weight of unfulfilled patriarchal responsibilities.[246]

To further compound the debilitating and poverty-stricken nature of life for Galphin and his family, the Irish linen trade often proved a harsh and unforgiving mistress. Demand for Irish linen fluctuated continuously during the eighteenth century, and for an economy structured solely around this production, downturns in linen prices created subsistence crises for those families who depended upon linen to pay their rent. Famines and droughts also wreaked havoc on the Irish economy. From 1717 to the 1740s, the Irish suffered from repeated subsistence crises that not only inhibited their abilities to produce flaxseed and food, but forced linen prices to drop and food costs to rise. Landlords also notoriously engaged in "rack-renting" during these periods of economic crisis that consisted of raising tenant family's rents to the point where that family could not pay what was demanded, and then selling that family's lands to the highest bidder and evicting the former tenants.[247] During George Galphin's lifetime in

[246] Cohen, *Linen, Family and Community in Tullylish, County Down, 1690-1914*, 35 (patriarch); Gray, "The Irish, Scottish and Flemish Industries during the Long Eighteenth Century," 160 ("association with poverty"); Crawford, *The Impact of the Domestic Linen Industry in Ulster*, 123-124 ("menfolk work").
[247] The Galphins faced the constant threat of eviction from their rented lands throughout the eighteenth century. On account of the "shortness" of the leases that Irish tenants signed with their landlords, as well as rising rents "which far out-distanced the growth of productivity and the prices obtained for farm produce," the Galphins increasingly confronted the reality that their lands would be sold to other families

Ireland, the island's economic "system never rebounded from the shocks" of these crises which all stemmed from British colonialism. Subjected to the whims of an impersonal empire, the Galphins struggled constantly during the early eighteenth century to support themselves.[248]

However, the Galphin family's linen labors also ushered them onto the Atlantic stage, as George Galphin's local and intimate world in Ulster intersected with the larger transatlantic system. English merchants, political-economists, and imperialists all praised the imperial economy and the creation of a Irish linen trade that "join[s] the most distant Regions, to their mutual Profit: they make even our *Antipodes* to be our Neighbours; and to assist us in Things proper for our Health, Food, and Raiment, with Elegance and Variety." For the expansive English state then, linen traffic "provide[d] us with Materials, for carrying on our Manufactures: enlarge our Ideas and Conceptions of things: and bring us acquainted with the Products of all the Countries of the Earth." English imperialists expanded the linen trade to include North America, the West Indies, Africa, East India, and Russia, which reduced English dependencies on Denmark and Norway for linen. Of greatest importance for Galphin, the transatlantic reach of Irish linens bolstered the traffic between Ireland and North America – formerly

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that might pay more for them. As a critic of the "present state of Ireland" wrote in 1730, landlords charged Ulster families with "so excessive a Rate, that he is disabled from improving his Farm…or tilling the Ground to the best advantage…That the whole produce of his Farm, and what he can earn by any little Manufacture goes to pay his Rent, without one comfortable Meal for his Industry." The author concluded, "no one ought to wonder at…the common people having little they can call their own, and scarce any stake in the Country." Another writer stated, "until the common People in general, are put into a Condition of earning more than is barely requisite to subsist them…they must Recourse to Begging…or be forced to fly out of the Country." R.J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775* (London: Routledge, 1966), 11-13 ("rents," "shortness"); *The Present State of Ireland Consider'd* (Dublin: George Grierson publisher, 1730), 4-5 ("manuring," "stake"); *Enquiries into the Principal Causes of the General Poverty of the Common People of Ireland with Remedies Propos'd for Removing of them* (Dublin: George Faulkner publisher, 1725), 9-10.

[248] Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 68 ("demand"); 85 ("shocks"); Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 192 ("famine"); Green, "Scotch-Irish Emigration, an Imperial Problem," 196 ("rack-renting").

restricted under the Navigation Acts – although this Irish-American commerce remained limited to linens and foodstuffs like beef and butter.[249]

With Irish linen emerging as one of the most important exports for the British Empire, this commodity evolved into a "lingua franca of Atlantic commerce" that the Galphin family helped facilitate, which accentuated George Galphin's interactions with the Atlantic system. For instance, the Irish politician Francis Brewster concluded that the "People's Manufacture…consist[s] in Linnen-Cloth, with which they do not only furnish Ireland, but do frequently send great Quantities of it into several Parts of England, America[,]" and elsewhere. In particular, the West Indies and North America constituted the largest markets for Irish linens and consumed nearly three-fourths of those imports. The mass consumption of Irish linens intersected also with the needs of the "African Company" that in turn supplied that article to North Africa and slave populations in the West Indies. In writing to the Duke of Chandois, the Irish Linen Board promised to "use our utmost endeavours to get such goods provided…for supplying the African Company with Linens." The Duke believed that the Irish product might replace the more expensive linens imported from "Silesias," which convinced the Linen Board to import greater quantities of flaxseed "from the Baltic" and "of the growth of the East Countries." In North America, Native Americans likewise consumed Irish linen. In a letter from the trader Thomas Nairne to the Earl of Sunderland in 1708, Nairne remarked "the English trade for [linen] alwayes attracts and maintains the obedience and friendship of the Indians." In short, peoples throughout the Atlantic "incorporated linens into their wardrobes in increasing quantities [in] the eighteenth

[249] *Some Thoughts concerning Government in General and Our Present Circumstances in Great Britain and Ireland,* 38 ("distant Regions").

century," which ultimately linked George Galphin's world of family and friends in Ulster to the larger transatlantic commercial system.[250]

The Galphins, as laborers within this transatlantic linen trade, expedited what Kathleen M. Brown calls a transoceanic "sensibility about refinement and civilization." By wearing Irish-made linen, the disparate peoples of the Atlantic shared in the consumption of an "imperial commodity," as well as the cultural assumptions about the "European performance of civility" that came with it. Therefore, Irish linen emerged as a wearable "prop" for one's civility, or an insignia of one's membership within the empire. In particular, British males adopted a new aesthetic composed of "white linen shirt[s], breeches, stockings and shoes" that in time became a "standard wardrobe" for eighteenth century European men. Brown further concludes that Irish linens generated new cultural sensibilities about "purity" and "cleanliness" in which wearing white linens denoted a wearer's wealth and health. With concerns for one's body demanding more frequent change of linens, the demand for the Irish product soared. Sporting linen-ware also extended to the "common people," as the Linen Board and London merchants reported the "greatest part of our linen cloth…is chiefly for the wear of common people," and "If the fabric of Irish linens continues to improve, 'tis probably there will be little else worn in England."[251]

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[250] Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 99 ("lingua franca"); 109 ("half, three-fourths"); Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 30 ("Brewster"); *Precedents and Abstracts from the Journals of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland to the 25th of March 1737* (Dublin: Matthew Williamson printer, 1784), 70-72 ("African Company"), 117 ("Baltic"); Thomas Nairne, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River,* ed. Alexander Moore (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 75 ("cloath").

[251] Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 116 ("sensibility"); 98 ("commodity," "performance," "prop"); 106 ("wardrobe"); 109 ("cleanliness"); *Precedents and Abstracts from the Journals of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland*, 61 ("common people"); Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783*, 172 ("fabric").

But the profits generated by the transatlantic linen trade never translated into a livable income for the Galphin family. This economic activity instead generated a gross poverty for linen households, which only exacerbated the other handicaps placed upon their livelihoods by the English state. The great satirist Jonathan Swift commentated on such poverty on numerous occasions, for "The Irish Trade is at present, in the most deplorable Condition that can be imagined." The English "allow'd [Ireland] to send nothing but Linnen Cloath…From thence we have Coals, for which we always pay ready Money, India goods, English Woollen and Silks, Tobacco…and several other Comodities." From Ireland, "our Exportations to England are very much overbalanced by our Importations," which another observer noted "is a Benefit that would otherwise accrue to the People of Ireland, had not England reserv'd the Manufacture and Profit thereof to themselves." More famously in Swift's "Modest Proposal," he lamented the poverty that pervaded Ireland due to the empire's commercial constraints and the restrictive linen trade. Swift sarcastically suggested to kill Ireland's "young healthy Child[ren]" to alleviate the burden of "feeding…[and] cloathing of many Thousands." Consequently, the Galphins and other Ulster families found themselves swept up in a wave of imperial and commercial forces beyond their control, which only intensified their dependencies upon the production of linen.[252]

Beset by the forces of English colonialism, the Galphins turned inward to carry them through unceasing bouts of poverty and hunger, as they and other Ulster families

[252] Jonathan Swift, *The Present Miserable State of Ireland. In a Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin, to his friend S.R.W. in London. Wherein is briefly stated, the causes and heads of all our Woes* (Dublin: 1735), 2 ("Irish Trade"), 4-5 ("allow'd); Jonathan Swift, *A Modest Proposal for preventing the Children of Poor People from being a Burthen to Their Parents or Country, and for making them Beneficial to the Publick.* (Dublin: S. Harding Publisher, 1729), 7 ("feeding"), 9 ("Child"); Thomas Prior, *A List of the Absentees of Ireland, and the Yearly Value of their Estates and Incomes Spent Abroad. With Observations on the present state and condition of that Kingdom* (Dublin: Weaver Bickerton publisher, 1730), 60 ("vast Benefit").

"found their primary identity in their families." The eldest of seven children, George likely served as a role-model or a source of encouragement amid turbulent times to his younger brother Robert and five sisters, Margaret, Judith, Martha, Susannah, and Barbara. The familial ties between the Galphin children, forged during a lifetime of poverty in Ulster, proved fundamental to not only their survival during the early eighteenth century, but also endured after George left Ireland in 1737. Later in life, both Margaret and Martha moved their entire families to join George in South Carolina. Meanwhile, George's sisters Judith and Susannah maintained correspondence with him after he left, particularly Judith who acted as George's primary contact during his attempts to transplant Ulster families to Georgia during the 1760s and 1770s. However, no information remains for whether or not George maintained contact with Barbara or Robert, who disappear from the documentary record after 1736. From the 1710s and 1730s then, George likely provided his siblings with what little he could amid their poverty, a source of emotional and inspirational support beyond what their father Thomas and mother Barbara gave them.[253]

It was here – among his siblings – that Galphin came to appreciate and value, above all else, his familial relationships. It is not enough to say that George's personal connections to his sisters endured, for it is far more important to see that these familial linkages provided the foundations for Galphin's eventual far-flung network of intimacies and localities. Through his sisters, particularly Judith and Susannah, George

[253] Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 54 ("identity"); Claussen, "George Galphin in Ireland and America," 15 ("Martha Holmes"); *Belfast News-Letter*, "Advertisement," 2 February 18, *Belfast (Ireland) Newspaper Collection, 29 July 1729 – 27 December 1776*, MS B: Belfast Newspapers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Judith Galphin"); Janie Revill, ed. *A Compilation of the Origin Lists of Protestant Immigrants to South Carolina, 1763-1773* (The State Company, 1939), 48 ("Crossleys").

retained a connection with Ulster, despite the fact he left Ireland never to return. Further, Galphin's relationships with Martha, Margaret, and Susannah extended his ties to other Ulster peoples to include the Holmes, Crossley, and Young families. The Holmes and Crossleys eventually immigrated to North America where they joined George at Silver Bluff and worked as part of his trade firm. Therefore, the relationships that George maintained with his sisters in Ulster were vital to his future world. Revealingly then, Galphin's relationships in Ulster connected Ireland to North America, which created a transatlantic highway for Galphin's family who later joined him at Silver Bluff.

Beyond the immediate household, the Galphins also relied on their familial connections elsewhere in Armagh and with the nearby Ulster counties of Down, Antrim, and Fermanagh (fig. 8). Through George Galphin's will and several advertisements in the *Belfast News-Letter*, as well as Galphin's interactions with Ulster peoples in North America, it is possible to recreate the extensive ties of family that the Galphins cultivated to help ameliorate their pervasive poverty. For instance, the Rankins, the family of George's mother Barbara, lived nearby and supported one another through rough patches. George Galphin fondly recalled and singled out George Rankin, a childhood friend, in his will. The Pooler family, George's cousins, no doubt frequented the Galphin home as well, particularly since the Pooler's son Quinton emigrated later in life to join George at Silver Bluff. George also maintained a close relationship with Quinton Pooler's father, Robert, who served as a source of invaluable knowledge and support during George's efforts to attract Ulster Irishmen to Georgia. Galphin further benefitted from relations with the nearby Young family, connected

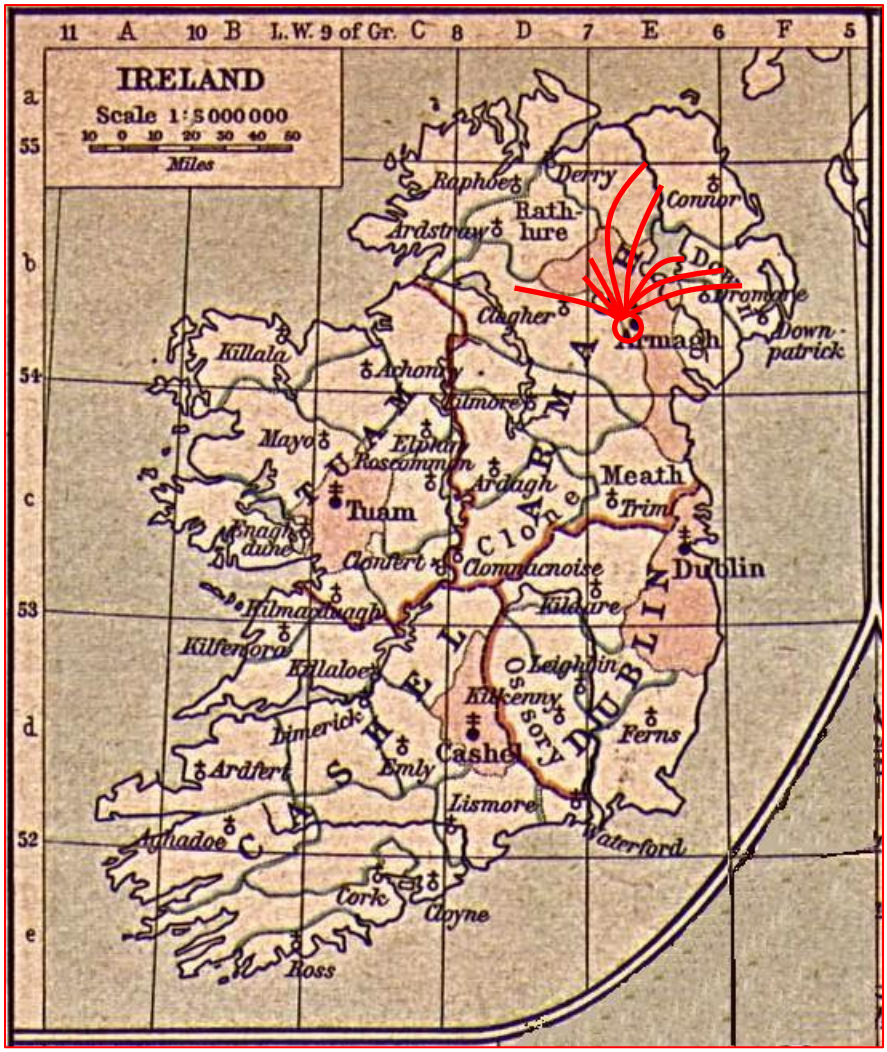

Figure 8: The Galphin Family's "Intimate Connections" in Ulster (to Counties Down, Antrim, and Fermanagh)[254]

through the marriage of Galphin's sister Susannah to one of Isaac Young's sons. An uncle to the Galphin children, Isaac Young took an avid interest in George Galphin, evidenced by the fact that Young and his sons maintained relationships with Galphin when they all lived in Georgia and South Carolina.[255] The Galphins also entertained

[254] William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923), 97.
[255] Galphin settled his Georgia lands near Isaac Young and his family, where the Galphins and Youngs maintained their kin connection, conducted financial transactions, and entered into trust agreements. Isaac Young to George Galphin, 14 August 1760, *Georgia Records, 1735-1822*, Book J: Misc. Bonds, MS #4000, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA; "Trust Agreement" between George Galphin and Isaac Young, 15 August 1760, *Abstracts of Georgia Colonial Book J, 1755-1762*, ed. George Fuller Walker (Atlanta: R.J. Taylor Foundation, 1978), 178-180.

relations with the Lennards, the siblings to either George's father or mother. George felt a kinship with his "Aunt Lennard" whom he lovingly remembered in his last will and testament when he endowed her daughter with fifty pounds sterling, likely on account of the connection between George and his aunt when he lived in Ulster. The Galphin family even turned to the Trotters and Fosters, in which George invoked his friendship with his cousins and childhood friends, John Trotter and John Foster, in his will. In short, these family members provided Galphin with extensive connections back to Ulster once he departed in 1737. Such familial relationships contributed to the development of Ulster, and particularly Armagh, into a central locality for Galphin's world of relationships, and eventually propelled his family to North America, where they joined Galphin at the center of that world.[256]

The Galphin's world also extended to the family friends who similarly provided relief from the trauma of English colonialism, and offered George personal connections back to Ulster after 1737. For instance, the Galphins cultivated relationships with the Pettycrew family of Ballynahinch in County Down. The Pettycrews not only conducted small business transactions[257] with the Galphins that helped keep each family afloat, but also developed relations with one another. George and his father cemented friendships with John Sr. and John Jr. Pettycrew. This relationship flared to life in the 1760s when George Galphin called upon his Pettycrew friends to aid his sisters Judith and Susannah

[256] 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* ("Pooler," "Trotter," "Foster," "Rankin," Galphin's "Sister Young"); E.R.R. Green, "Queensborough Township: Scotch-Irish Emigration and the Expansion of Georgia, 1763-1776," *William & Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 1960): 189 ("Quinton Pooler"); 4 March 1766, *Belfast News-Letter*, in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough*, 48-49 ("Robert Pooler").

[257] Evidence from Dublin Castle and the South Caroliniana Library reveal that the Galphin (farmers) and Pettycrew (tailors, farmers) families conducted a series of business transactions to help ameliorate their pervasive poverty. *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files*, Box 8, Folder 531: Beech Island – George Galphin ("Pettycrew").

in arranging for Ulster emigrants to relocate to the Georgia backcountry. Besides the Pettycrews, the Galphins enjoyed close ties with the Rae family also of Ballynahinch. Unlike the Pettycrews, Galphin's relationship with John Rae transcended the bonds of friendship, as Galphin eventually considered Rae his "sworn brother." Together, then, the personal connections that the Galphins cultivated and nurtured with their family and friends helped sustain them, and this provided George with a profound life lesson. These personal connections thereby conditioned the ways in which Galphin came to understand the world around him and how he ultimately operated within that world.[258]

Ironically enough, George Galphin's family and friends provided him with the impetus to leave Ireland behind, the first of many such instances in which Galphin's intimates ushered him into new worlds. In particular, Isaac Young, John Rae, and John Pettycrew Jr. preceded Galphin in immigrating to North America, where Young ventured to Georgia as a "bricklayer," while Rae and Pettycrew worked in South Carolina as boat pilots and traders to the Creeks and Cherokees. These three men no doubt sent word back to Ulster about their experiences. Such news from his family and friends certainly impressed and encouraged Galphin to leave Ireland, since he soon followed in their footsteps and sailed to the southeast. Forced to decide between Georgia and South Carolina, Galphin elected to join Rae and Pettycrew, who labored within the deerskin trade. Galphin, therefore, owed much to his intimates for guiding him into a new world.[259]

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[258] *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files,* Box 8, Folder 531: Beech Island – George Galphin ("Pettycrew"); 19 June 1768, *Belfast News-Letter,* in *Notes on Georgia's Irish Settlement, Queensborough,* 51 ("Pettycrew"); 30 March 1768, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* [micro-film], University of North Texas, Denton TX ("Brothers").

[259] Isabel Vandervelde, *George Galphin, Indian Trading Patriot of Georgia and South Carolina: Families of his Children of Three Races* (Aiken, SC: Art Studio Press, 2004), 119 ("bricklayer"); *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files,* Box 8, Folder 531: Beech Island – George Galphin

One of the other factors precipitating Galphin's emigration was the death of his father, which not only turned the world upside down for the Galphin family, but also demonstrates the very contingent and fluid nature of the relationships the Galphins relied on to structure their world. Throughout his life, Galphin suffered acutely from the trauma of his father's death,[260] which in 1735 forced him to reprioritize and create new relationships to offset the loss of the family's primary linen weaver. During Galphin's mad scramble to find a solution to a poverty that promised only to get worse, he sought out personal connections with those who might ameliorate his family's circumstances. Thus Galphin met and married Catherine Saunderson, whose family provided the Galphins with a temporary economic relief. Galphin also drew upon his pre-existing relations to try and engineer a second, and potentially long-term, fix to his family's dilemma. Galphin contacted Rae and Pettycrew in North America after learning from those friends that the deerskin trade offered the quickest and "great[est] means of advancing [one] to independence…[and] affluence." Such news undoubtedly convinced Galphin that both his and his family's futures pointed toward North America. In response to the loss of a valued intimate, then, Galphin maneuvered and restructured the relationships that organized his family's world to cope with the changing conditions

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("Pettycrew"); E. Merton Coulter, A.B. Saye, et. al, *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967), 93 ("Rae"); 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* ("Sister Young" is Susannah).

[260] A testament to the trauma Galphin suffered with his father's passing, he repeatedly granted portions of his fortune to an orphan school and charity societies in Georgia, as well as funded apprenticeships for several South Carolina and Georgia orphans, included his favorite "Billey Brown." Fellow trader and author, James Adair, also wrote of Galphin that "the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger…always joyfully return (as in past years) from your hospitable houses." Even in his will, Galphin allotted to "the poor or Armagh in Ireland," "all the orphan children I brought up," and the "poor of Eneskilling" a generous portion of his financial resources. *Dorothy K. MacDowell Genealogical Files*, Box 8, Folder 530: Beech Island – George Galphin ("Thomas Galphin"); 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* ("orphans," "poor," "Billey Brown"); Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Nashville: Promontory Press, 1973), v ("fatherless").

of the imperial and transatlantic systems.[261]

In regards to Galphin's marriage to Catherine Saunderson, it is entirely plausible that it was a match of convenience, which created a connection between the poverty-ridden Galphins and the wealthier Saundersons. In doing this, Galphin sought to fulfill his patriarchal responsibilities as the eldest Galphin male by providing his family with a temporary solution to their dire situation. Even though Galphin soon abandoned his new bride, it is in this spurning of Saunderson that we get the first glimpse of how Galphin – in the name of family and friends – could shrewdly and hardheartedly exploit or manipulate his relations with others. Galphin likely never considered Saunderson as part of his circle of intimates, which unfortunately made her expendable. Galphin's world always revolved around his family and friends, and his search for relationships with others pivoted around the opportunities and advantages he could bring to the table for his intimates.

Needless to say, Galphin faced a crossroads in his life after his father's passing, with one path leading to North America where his friends promised him opportunity and the potential for prosperity, while the other path circled around his home in Armagh where he was set to inherit new responsibilities as a husband and patriarch. But as Galphin weighed his options in 1736, his decision was ultimately informed by his desire to do right by his family, even if that choice took him away from them in his quest to secure a better future. Therefore, in early 1737, lured by the promises of North America – as well as conditioned by his own experiences in the Atlantic commercial world – Galphin made the fateful decision to seek his fortunes across the ocean.

[261] Henry Laurens to Robert Dodson, 13 September 1768, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VI: Aug. 1, 1768 – July 31, 1769*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978), 110 ("affluence").

Galphin likely departed Ulster in early 1737 as either an indentured servant or a "contracted [laborer] for a specific term of future service in return for the price of passage," the only options available for those "too poor to pay the fare in advance." If bound out as a servant, Galphin labored under a four to seven year contract, the "maximum" length of service in the eighteenth century. But Galphin's master would have been eligible to claim a "headright" for his newly arrived servant, and no such claim was made for Galphin. That fact suggests that Galphin contracted with a ship captain, merchant, or more likely, a trade firm to pay for his passage.[262] Further evidence supports the case that Galphin emigrated as a contracted laborer; that he attained ownership of land as early as 1740 through the patronage of his employers, Archibald McGillivray and William Sludders. In all likelihood, Galphin ventured to South Carolina free of charge as an employee for Archibald McGillivray & Co.[263]

Sometime in early 1737 then, Galphin set sail aboard the "Hopewell"[264] on a voyage that lasted roughly eight to ten weeks. These months were undoubtedly defined

[262] I must thank John T. Juricek for sharing his thoughts and research on the reasons for Galphin's emigration, particularly his insights into the absence of Galphin's name in the Carolina "headrights."
[263] Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 199 ("contracted"); John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733-1763* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2010), 132 "("servant"); Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America* (Washington Square, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 46 ("maximum"); Brent H. Holcomb, ed., *Petitioners for Land from the South Carolina Council Journals, Volume 1: 1734/35-1748* (Columbia: S. Carolina Magazine of Ancestral Research, 1996) ("McGillivray").
[264] From the surviving shipping lists of vessels that left Ireland for South Carolina in 1737, only four ships match those that Galphin could have traveled aboard. Yet two of those brigs are easily eliminated, because the "Hibernia" sailed from the southwest in Cork, too far a distance from Galphin's residence in Armagh or Enniskillen. Additionally, the ship "Carolina" arrived too early in South Carolina, meaning Galphin would have had to leave in 1736 rather than 1737. This leaves only the "Hopewell" and the "Hanover," since the "Hopewell" arrived in early summer and the "Hanover" in January of 1738. Further, both ships departed from the port of Belfast, the closest port of departure for Galphin. However, two pieces of evidence suggest Galphin might actually have sailed aboard the "Hopewell" rather than the "Hanover." First and foremost, the "Hopewell" not only carried Galphin and other Ulster passengers destined for South Carolina, but also "boxes [of] Irish Linnen." Secondly, albeit more of a stretch, the vessel's name, "Hopewell," was the same name of the ship that George Galphin employed in the 1760s

by long bouts of boredom intermixed with anxiety over the dangers that beset such long travels at sea. On such a transatlantic journey, Galphin might expect anything from tumultuous weather, disease, spoiled provisions, overcrowding, and a stifling lack of ventilation, to more extreme cases of piracy and the dreaded shipwreck. Of all these uncomfortable realities, overcrowding proved the most likely culprit since passengers competed for space in the ship's hold with one another and with cargo. Additionally, emigrants could expect "deception and misrepresentation about the terms of passage," which often resulted in packing the ship's holds with more bodies "than could be comfortably or safely carried." Only those with spare coin might avoid the painfully cramped spaces characteristic of the "emigrant trade." But as Galphin journeyed with "no resources of [his] own," he endured whatever the ship's captains gave him.[265]

Galphin undoubtedly understood that his oceanic path to North America intersected with the Atlantic shipping lanes of the Irish linen trade, which in a sense inverted the source of the Galphin family's poverty as the Atlantic world became an avenue of escape and opportunity for George Galphin.[266] Galphin traversed what Karen

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and 1770s throughout his efforts to promote the emigration of Ulster Irish family, friends, and peoples to Georgia. It might even be possible that Galphin chose what vessel to contract with in the 1760s based upon his passage aboard such a named ship in 1737. *Board of Trade, Shipping Lists for South Carolina, 1735-1767*, GR004, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC.

[265] Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775*, 205 ("dangers"), 211 ("space"); Kenny, *The American Irish*, 20 ("deception"); Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers*, 207 ("resources").

[266] The Atlantic commerce in Irish linens became so interwoven with Ulster emigration that the British Empire witnessed the evolution of the so-called "emigrant trade." This commerce in Irish bodies proliferated on both sides of the ocean as North American governments, merchants, and contract agents solicited Ulster peoples to transplant across the Atlantic. Those who desired Irish emigrants circulated news of the seemingly boundless opportunities in North America by word of mouth as well as print mediums like newspapers, part of the effort to capitalize on the "flood gates of emigration…[by] the distressed and discontented" Ulster populace. In response, the Archbishop Hugh Boulter complained to the Duke of Newcastle in 1728, "We have had here for some years agents from the colonies in America…that have gone about the country & deluded the people with stories of great plenty & estates to be had for going in those parts of the world." In particular, Boulter lamented "agents [who go] to [Linen] Markets & Fairs…to assemble the people together; where they assure them that in America they may get good Land to have & [for] their Posterity." Dobbs, *An Essay on Trade and Improvement of Ireland*, 82 ("exports"); Kenny, *The American Irish*, 14; Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783*, 22 ("emigrant

Ordahl Kupperman describes as a highly formalized "highway that united…myriad peoples and commodities," which Ulster emigrants like Galphin used to flee the seemingly endless cycle of poverty and want and created a well-worn path between Ulster and North America. Consequently, Irish immigrants utilized the transatlantic linen trade as part of an informal "migration system," and typically boarded ships loaded with Irish "linen and provisions" bound for North America.[267] After the ships unloaded their human and commercial cargoes on one side of the Atlantic, they returned to England laden with "flaxseed for the Irish linen industry." Despite the emerging global reach of the empire then, Galphin joined a decidedly transatlantic phenomenon of emigration to North America through the commercial highways of the Irish linen trade.[268]

After several harrowing months on the Atlantic, Galphin arrived in South Carolina at the main port of Charleston. In fact, Galphin might have been one of those "poor Protestant people of Ireland lately arrived in the province" who petitioned the colonial government for financial relief in early 1737. Once off ship, Galphin likely toured what others described as a "fine Town, and a Sea-Port, [which] enjoys an

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trade"); Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775*, 23 (mid-Atlantic); 24 ("flood gates"); *State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth I to George III: Letters and Papers,* SP 63-390, 77-79 ("markets"), 175-177 ("agents") http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/ research-guides/state-papers-ireland-1509-1782.htm.

[267] What started as a trickle of Irish emigration in the mid seventeenth century grew to a flood of "young, single males" at the turn of the century, composed largely of indentured servants and "artisans with trades…who did not come from the lower ranks of the rural poor." According to Alison Games, these emigrants "[were] wholly responsible for [a] tremendous growth in the [British] population overseas" and single-handedly "secured England's precarious Atlantic empire." While she concludes Irish emigration provided the impetus to "the continued existence and success of England's first overseas empire" in North America, these expatriates provided a far more important service by establishing a precedent for escaping Ireland's poverty. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775*, 19; Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 4; Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007*, 111.

[268] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Atlantic in World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 98 ("highway"); Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 94 ("migration systems"); Morgan, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America*, 53 ("cargoes").

extensive Trade. It is built on a Flat, and has large Streets; the Houses good, mostly built of Wood, some of Brick." Galphin would immediately have noticed that "There are FIVE Negroes to one White," which many believed heightened the dangers of "Discontent" among the African slaves who "are generally thought to watch an Opportunity of revolting against their Masters."[269]

But as one of the newly disembarked Irishmen, Galphin fatefully entered a climate of suspicion and distrust, for South Carolina residents perceived Irish emigrants with disdain and hostility on account of the community of "Irish Convicts" in nearby Savannah. These "Irish Convicts" notoriously created "a great deal of Disturbance" prior to Galphin's arrival, where they plotted to "burn the town [Savannah]…[and] kill all the white men." Upon discovery of the plot, English fears and hatred of the Ulster Irish circulated throughout Charleston where "Alarum Bell[s] was rung, & Search was made for the Conspirators…chiefly Irish Transports." According to the merchant Samuel Eveleigh, the Irish "are constantly playing their Roguish Tricks, Stealing from their Masters and carrying the Goods to Some Others," lamenting that "the buying of these Convicts, was the worst Action" imaginable.[270]

Following his brief interlude in Charleston, Galphin met his employers and the owners of his contract, Archibald McGillivray and William Sludders, the heads of one

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[269] James Harold Easterby, ed. *The Journal of the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly, 1736-1757, Volume I* (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1951), 430 ("poor Protestant people"); "An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck," in *Our First Visit in America: Early Reports from the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1740,* ed. Trevor R. Reese (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1974), 45 (Charleston, slaves).

[270] Samuel Eveleigh to George Morley, 1 May 1735, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: South Carolina, 1733-1775*, CO 5/364, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 52; Samuel Eveleigh to James Oglethorpe, 19 October 1734, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XX: Original Papers, Correspondence, Trustees, General Oglethorpe, and Others, 1732-1735*,ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1911), 87 ("roguish tricks"); Patrick Houstoun to Peter Gordon, 1 March 1735, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XX*, 241 ("burn"); Samuel Quincy to Peter Gordon, 3 March 1735, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XX*, 246-247 ("Alarum").

of the most lucrative trading businesses in South Carolina which maintained a "virtual monopoly" over the deerskin trade. These two men took a peculiar interest in Galphin, not only evidenced by their willingness to bring him over from Ireland, but also their decision in 1740 to stand as security for Galphin's first petition for land, from which he attained 650 acres in the New Windsor township. Galphin also quickly climbed the ranks of their trading company, undoubtedly through the patronage of his employers. By 1741, a little more than three years after his arrival in South Carolina, locals already identified Galphin as a respectable "Indian trader" to the "Creek Nation" alongside McGillivray and Sludders. Galphin even supervised four other traders and twenty-five horses from his residence at the Creek town of Coweta, the same number of men and slightly fewer horses than McGillivray and the rest of the company men.[271]

Galphin, then, wasted little time in establishing himself as a flourishing trader for Archibald McGillivray & Co. At the same time, Galphin ingratiated himself with others as he gradually accumulated personal attachments with traders, merchants, and other allies inside and outside of the firm who promised him opportunity and reward. Through it all, though, Galphin undoubtedly looked back over his shoulder to Ulster where his family and friends awaited word from him. From 1737 onward, Galphin relentlessly sought out relationships with the many peoples of North America who could aid his efforts to carve out his own political and economic niche on the imperial periphery, which he and his circle of intimates might eventually call home.

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[271] Robert Pringle to Andrew Pringle, 2 February 1745, *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle, 1737-1745, Volume II*, ed. Walter B. Edgar (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 808-809 ("monopoly"); 5 September 1741, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, Manuscript CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("McGillivray & Co."); Brent H. Holcomb, ed., *Petitioners for Land from the South Carolina Council Journals, Vol. 1: 1734/35-1748*, __ (Galphin land grant); Thomas Stephens, *A Brief Account of the Causes that have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America: Attested upon Oath: Being a Proper Contrast to A State of the Province Of Georgia* (London, 1743), 37 ("George Golphin," Indian trader).

While historians argue that emigration to North America opened Ulster peoples to "a wider imaginative world, stretching beyond the confines of [the] local community," Galphin complicates such logic as he clung to a local mentality that he used to navigate both transatlantic and imperial systems. Despite leaving Ireland, Galphin did not simply jettison the world he knew. Instead, he continued to organize the environments around him, no matter where he was, according to the same local and personal circumstances from which he came. Even though he forged a network that ultimately spanned the imperial and transatlantic communities, Galphin continued to think of and treat those personal and spatial relationships in very intimate and particular ways. To Galphin, then, the world remained a spatially and emotionally local place, where his relationships throughout the Atlantic and the empire reflected his local and intimate understanding of the larger world.[272]

By thinking and acting in such ways, Galphin connected his Ulster world and his family and friends to the peoples and places of North America. To use the spider analogy, the web-like relationships that Galphin created with family and friends in Armagh trailed along behind him as he spun new ones in Charleston, ultimately linking those disparate places and peoples together. Eventually, these varying localities and relationships intersected with a wealth of others as Galphin continued to spin his connective threads at each new place he resided or interacted with.

In 1737, then, as Galphin took his first tentative steps into a brave new world, his local and personal understandings of the world proved invaluable. A newly christened Indian trader, Galphin journeyed from Charleston to the Creek town of Coweta where he entered a foreign, but strangely familiar world. Galphin quickly discovered that

[272] Griffin, *The People with No Name*, 40 ("imaginative world").

personal relationships and local connections meant similar things to the Creeks as they did to him, which helped the Creeks understand the world around them and how to fit others like Galphin into that world. In short, Galphin shared a mutual appreciation for the local and the intimate with the Creeks of Coweta, which brought them together in quite unexpected ways. Upon entering Coweta, the personal and connective sinews that Galphin created and maintained in Ulster and British North America now stretched to the communities and peoples of Creek Country.

Chapter 5 – "He was Looked Upon as an Indian": George Galphin, the Creek Indians of Coweta, and the Politics of Intimacy, 1741-1763

In July 1750, George Galphin watched apprehensively from his trade store in the town square of Coweta as "several Frenchmen…[an] Engineer, Lieutenant, Ensign, Linguist and three Soldiers of the Alabama Fort" entered the town and "staid there three Days." Since he was the British Empire's "chief trader" to Coweta, one of the most important Creek towns in the Creek-British alliance,[273] Galphin experienced firsthand the dangers that traders "Lives and Propertys are exposed [to] from the Influence [that] the French are endeavouring to have amongst" the Creeks. Galphin likely looked on with even greater anxiety as the "French brought Colours…[that] were set up in the Square," replacing the "English Colours" that had hung there "twenty or thirty years past." South Carolina governor James Glen, exasperated by these events, was forced to place his faith in Galphin, whom Glen believed was a "very sensible trader" who "transacted in the houses of the head men…contrary to their constant custom of treating of these matters in the Publick Square of the Town." In the summer of 1750, Galphin alone bore the burden of countering the French presence in Coweta.[274]

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[273] Coweta headmen established their town as a leader among all of the Creek towns in the eighteenth century, beginning with Brims who created a "policy of neutrality in 1718" after three years of bitter warfare with the English. Dubbed the "Coweta Resolution," this political strategy established a Native play-off system in which the Creeks pitted the "competing demands of English, Spanish, and French for their affections" against one another, to the Cowetas' benefit. Brims's political strategy proved so effective in establishing a "political autonomy…best preserved in [this] context of imperial competition," that the town of Coweta and its' leaders achieved a lasting influence among both British and Creek peoples. After 1718, then, the empire recognized Coweta as the leading town of the Lower Creeks. In fact, the town of Coweta thereafter became known as a "Foundation Town" despite being an "upstart community of migrants" rather than an "ancient town by Creek standards." And after 1718, the "Coweta Resolution" evolved into the "political wisdom of much of the Creek Nation, acquiring the sanctity of tradition among later generations." The British thereby viewed Coweta's headmen as leading authorities. Steven C. Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 3 ("neutrality"), 4 ("autonomy," "wisdom"), 12-13 ("standards," "upstart"), 115 ("demands").

[274] Vice President Henry Parker and Assistants, 4 October 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XI: Georgia Treaties, 1733-1763*, ed. John T. Juricek (Washington: University Publications of America, 1989-), 212-213 ("French Collours"); Deposition of Adam Bosomworth, 2 October 1750, *Early*

After the arrival of the French emissaries, Galphin at one point confronted Coweta's leading headmen, Chigelli and Malatchi, and asked "what they meant by doing this…if they were turn'd all Frenchmen." Galphin then exchanged "a good many Words" with "Old Chekle [Chigelli]" who tried to pacify him, but only succeeded in alienating Galphin who "left the Square shortly after." In recalling the incident to imperial authorities, Galphin revealed that Chigelli worriedly "sent 2 or 3 Messengers for me" after their confrontation, but Galphin refused to return to the town square. Instead, he invited the Coweta leaders to "come to my House" and "they came down some Days after…[and] asked me why I did not come into the Square. I told them I did not chuse to go into a French Square." The next day, when "all the Head Men met… and sent for me to know the Reason I would not come into the square[,] I told them I would not go into it while the French Collours was there hoisted and the English Colours lying in the Cabin." At Galphin's insistence, the Cowetas "went and hoisted them [British flag] up."[275]

The "French colors" incident illustrates the very local and intimate world that the Creeks of Coweta shared with Galphin, who learned early on that Creek society was first and foremost a "world of towns." It did not take long for Galphin to see that the Creek world pivoted around such local circumstances, where everything from the Creeks day-to-day interactions and political councils, to religious ceremonies and

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American Indian Documents, Vol. XI, 211-212 ("Chief Trader"); James Glen to Duke of Newcastle, n.d., *Dalhousie Muniments Papers, 1746-1759*, MS mfm R. 1085 a-b, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC, 59-64 ("Lives and Propertys"), 102-108 ("English Collours," "Sensible Traders").

[275] Vice President Henry Parker and Assistants, 4 October 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 212-213 ("turn'd all,"; "Malatchi"); George Galphin to Commissioner Pinckney, 3 November 1750, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, Vol. I: May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1958), 4-5 ("Old Chekle," "chuse," "Cabin"); 5 September 1750, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, Roll ST 0707, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC ("square," "House").

economic exchanges all unfolded within the town proper. British observers noted as much, since "The Towns…may be considered as so many Different Republicks which form one State, but each of these Towns has separate Views and Interests; They have frequent Disputes amongst themselves, And are all Jealous of One-another." Rather than detrimental to Creek ways of life, such inter-town contests represented a "sign of political health," able to create cross-town alliances to pursue common interests or oppose conflicting ones. Therefore, the "centrality of Creek towns" to these peoples' daily lives, and the relations between townsmen, "bound this [society] together."[276]

Galphin undoubtedly identified with the Creeks and their emphasis on the "intimate, face-to-face, personal relations invoked by family and community [that] extended…to people in other places." In ways reminiscent of how Galphin forged relationships with family and friends in Ulster to order the world around him, the Creeks did much the same within their towns. As a consequence, Galphin and the Cowetas forged a mutual understanding in which personal connections bound their particular worlds together, and they both used such relations to structure and fit each other into their respective worlds. Fortuitously for Galphin, he emerged as a central actor within Coweta town life because he understood and shared with the Creeks a mutual appreciation for the local and intimate.[277]

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[276] Joshua Piker, "'White & Clean' & Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War," *Ethnohistory* 50:2 (Spring 2003): 332 ("world of towns"); Clarence Edwin Carter, ed. "Observations of John Stuart and Governor James Grant of East Florida on the Proposed Plan of 1764 for the Future Management of Indian Affairs," *American Historical Review* 20:4 (July 1915): 828 ("Republicks"); Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*, 145 ("political health"); Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 7 ("centrality"); Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 206 ("bound this together").

[277] Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*, 206 ("face-to-face").

Unlike his relationships with family and friends in Ulster, though, Galphin and the Creeks of Coweta differed in what their relations meant to one another. These connections were often characterized by contrasting – but not altogether conflicting – interests and expectations of one another, which at times limited the value and trust they invested in each other. Also absent the bonds of blood and kinship that Galphin enjoyed with his Ulster intimates, Galphin's Creek allies time and time again proved themselves to be free agents who pursued their own interests independent of Galphin. Therefore, Galphin needed to pay a close and constant attention to his Creek relationships to ensure, at the very least, a harmony of dissimilar interests. For instance, during the "French colors" episode, Galphin labored tirelessly to reign in and draw Chigelli away from the French, despite already sharing a confidence with that headman. In a sense, Galphin's connections with his Creek allies were highly contingent affairs, rooted in the very local and particular circumstances that forced Galphin and his Creek allies to create fluid, working relationships that were open to spontaneous negotiation.

Through their connections with traders like Galphin, Coweta headmen cemented "reciprocal relations" with the British Empire that were predicated upon "trade and military assistance." Since Creek leaders regarded these traders as the empire's proxies in Creek Country, the Cowetas consciously assimilated Galphin into Creek society and assumed responsibility for his welfare and behavior, which required that they keep an eye on him at all times. In return for making Galphin one of their own, his Creek allies expected him to sustain "a reliable trade" in deerskins and European commodities for Coweta with the English colonies. Fortuitously for Coweta, Galphin lived up to such demands and in doing so, bolstered Coweta's influence and prestige among the other

Creek towns. Further, as Galphin's political and commercial weight grew during the 1750s and 1760s, his Creek confidants increasingly used their connections with him to link Coweta into the larger transatlantic world of politics and trade, which opened the doors to new opportunities for power and prestige within Creek Country.[278]

The Cowetas also deployed their connections with Galphin as an important trump card in the geopolitics of empire that unfolded in the Native southeast during the eighteenth century.[279] Because Galphin represented the British interest in Coweta, while Spain and France lacked their own ambassadors to that town, Coweta headmen found it quite easy to play one imperial power against the other. By constantly altering the terms of their relationships with the British, while treating with the Spanish and French, Coweta's leaders sought to force Britain's hand and extract more advantageous concessions from that empire. If relations ever neared the point of no return, Coweta headmen immediately turned to Galphin to resolve the dangerous conflicts or tensions. Galphin, in a sense, made it easier for Coweta leaders to pursue their own town agendas by intensifying the Native play-off system, although at Galphin's expense as he found himself moved around like a pawn on the chessboard of Native and imperial politics.

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[278] Jenny Hale Pulsipher, "Gaining the Diplomatic Edge: Kinship, Trade, Ritual, and Religion in Amerindian Alliances in Early North America," in *Empires and Indigenes: Intercultural Alliance, Imperial Expansion and Warfare in the Early Modern World,* ed. Wayne Lee (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 27 ("reciprocal"); Kathryn Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), xix ("survival"); Piker, *Okfuskee,* 138 ("reliable trade").

[279] The Creeks of Coweta realized how fragile British power was on the margins of empire. For instance, the Cowetas forced British traders and diplomats to abide by Creek customs and rules of exchange, particularly the political and economic acts of gift-giving that "bound European imperialists and Native townspeople" together. Without any alternative, British traders and dignitaries joined their Native counterparts in Creek rituals and ceremonies of exchange, conformed to Creek vernacular in treaties and conferences, as well as other cultural accommodations. Consequently, the peoples of British North America learned how fragile imperial power proved on the periphery as the Creeks forced the British to conform to Native understandings of their relationship. As the Creeks demonstrated over and over, they were far from "incidental to the architecture of Empire, they were unavoidable, if not central, instigators" of the Creek-British relationship and politics. Joseph M. Hall Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 7, 170.

Galphin likewise used his relationships with some of the most influential headmen in Coweta to assert his own interest and prerogative, which propelled Galphin into the ranks of one of the "six Principal Traders" involved in the deerskin trade. At the most basic level, Galphin's Coweta confidants supplied him with personal contacts throughout Creek Country, and created a customer base for Galphin's trade goods. More importantly, because of Coweta's prominent place in the Creek-British alliance, Galphin's relationships in Coweta augmented his commercial and political worth to the empire, making him a valuable ally for imperial authorities and London merchants who needed someone to represent and protect their interests within Creek Country. Therefore, men in positions of political and commercial power repeatedly asked favors of Galphin and relied on him to act as a counterweight to the French and Spanish presence in Creek towns. They also depended on Galphin to keep the lucrative skin trade flowing along the Lower Path, the arterial linkage for the British Empire's commercial and political relations with the Creeks. Over time, Galphin accumulated a wealth of social and political capital with imperial agents who needed Galphin and his Creek allies; capital which Galphin eventually invested in his personal, political, and commercial connections throughout North America and in London.[280]

Due to the importance of Galphin's relationships in Coweta – and to offset the contingent nature of his Creek connections – Galphin treated these Creek allies like he would his family, by using a familial vernacular to cement the alliances between them. Similar to other traders and British agents who invoked a language of kinship to bridge cultural and political differences, Galphin used such fictive kinship to create a cohesive

[280] James Glen to Edward Fenwick, 1 June 1756, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 1: March 1751-1756, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("principal").

glue to overcome conflicting interests and agendas, and to inspire trust and familiarity. Thus Galphin referred to his allies in Coweta as "friends" and "brothers," a deliberate attempt to wed those Creek peoples and their interests to his own. In a sense, Galphin sought to create fictive bonds of kinship with his Coweta allies. This was not only a manifestation of Galphin's local and personal understandings of the world and how he fit others into that world, but also a genuine effort to turn the alien into the familiar, and in the process create a connective thread that tied the Cowetas to him. To think of it another way, Galphin invested this language of fictive kinship with a familial potency born of his experiences in Ulster, all in the hopes of creating trust and providing some semblance of stability to his unpredictable and erratic relationships with the Cowetas.

Galphin also interwove his Creek allies into the relationships he maintained back in Ulster, thereby creating an interlaced system of personal connections that linked those places and peoples to one another. By replicating the process of networking in both Ulster and Creek Country, Galphin wittingly planted the seeds of connectivity between Coweta and Armagh. Consequently, the peoples of both localities discovered they were not only connected to Galphin, but also to one another. Galphin's Ulster family and friends learned that their fates often rested in the hands of the Creeks in Coweta, who were vital to Galphin's efforts to carve out his own commercial and political niche in North America. Coincidentally, while Galphin's family and friends in Ulster conditioned how he structured relationships with others, his Creek allies lent him the means to actually integrate those relationships into a coherent network.

Galphin's personal networking in Coweta established several more foundations for his world of intimacies and localities. On account of their mutual appreciation for

the local and personal that allowed Galphin and the Creeks to fit one another into their respective worlds, Galphin easily transitioned from creating relationships in Ulster to doing the same in Coweta. In the process, Galphin linked these two places and peoples together and created a lingua franca of intimacy that stretched from Armagh to Coweta. But Galphin remained cognizant that his relationships with his Creek allies differed in many ways from those with his Ulster family and friends. In the end, though, Galphin's relationships with the Cowetas provided the means by which he attracted a wide and disparate range of peoples from around the Atlantic basin, who all sought out Galphin because of his personal connections to that Creek town.

Galphin's relationships in Coweta undoubtedly revolved around his wife Metawney. To cement the relationship between Galphin and the Cowetas, Chigelli matched his daughter, Metawney, with Galphin.[281] A leading headman in Coweta, as well as the "Tustenogy Mico" or "Great Warrior,"[282] Chigelli bore the responsibility of

[281] For most of the eighteenth century, Metawney's identity remained a mystery until the discovery of a petition from 1772 in the Georgia Historical Society in which she and her kinsmen signed a deed for lands in the Ogeechee River region to be given to Galphin's children George, John, and Judith. "Kings, Head Men and Warriors of the Whole Creek Nation to our Beloved Sister Matawny," 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book BBB, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 95.

[282] My attempts to learn the identity of Metawney's father, the elusive Coweta "Tustenogy Mico," otherwise known as the "War King" or "Great Warrior of Coweta," took a great deal of detective work. Chigelli proclaimed himself as the Coweta "Tuskeestonnecah Mico War King" in December 1746 before stepping down from that position in 1747 in favor of Sempoyaffee. Malatchi confirmed Chigelli's title when describing Chigelli as "a great Warriour & Commanded the Nation…till last Busk [1747]." Therefore, when Galphin entered Coweta between 1738 and 1741, the "War King" of Coweta was likely Chigelli who maintained his role in that position until 1747. John T. Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks: Anglo-Indian Diplomacy on the Southern Frontier, 1733-1763* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2010), 54; "Chigelli's Talk to Horton," 4 December 1746, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 132; "Malatchi's Speech to Heron," 7 December 1747, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 148-152.
Kathryn Braund describes the "Tustenogey Mico" as the "town's leading warrior" who "earned his position due to prowess in battle. He was selected by the Mico and Council from among the town's most distinguished warriors. If he possessed powerful oratory and popularity in addition to bravery and skill in battle, he could become more important than the mico, especially during times of war. Even in peacetime, the Great Warrior was a powerful force in Creek political life, since he controlled the Fealty

integrating important outsiders into Coweta, in the hopes that such individuals might give Coweta an edge over other Creek towns.[283] Through marriage then – which for all intents and purposes transformed Galphin into a Creek townsman and a "Creek man" – Chigelli sought to literally wed Galphin's interests with those of Coweta.[284] Due to the inclusive nature of Creek society,[285] intermarriage served as the primary means of turning the unfamiliar and alien, like Galphin, into the personal and familiar. In other words, Chigelli had used his daughter to broker a relationship with Galphin to strengthen the British connection to Coweta. Thus Creek leaders could "look upon [Galphin] as an Indian."[286]

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of the young warriors of the town." Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels,* 21. Anthropologist John R. Swanton spent a great deal of time among the Creek Indians in Oklahoma during the nineteenth century and observed that the "War King" was considered the "Military Chief whose duty it was to organize and have in charge the warriors in the town." This person also served as a type of "Sherriff or Chief of Police within the town as well as the Head Warrior outside of it." John R. Swanton and J.N.B. Hewitt, "Notes on the Creek Indians," in *Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 123: Anthropological Papers, No. 10* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939): 136.

[283] Chigelli arranged the match between Galphin and his daughter Metawney to affirm this "union as [a] visible testimony of a trade alliance" between Coweta and the British. But according to Creek matrilineal rules, Chigelli retained very little influence or power over his daughter and her husband as marriage to Metawney ushered Galphin into a different clan. To offset this potential handicap, Chigelli followed in the footsteps of his brother Brims, who inverted Creek cultural practices by establishing patrilineal precedents when he appointed his biological son, Malatchi, as his political successor. As part of Chigelli's desire to maintain a semblance of control over the developing Coweta-British relationship, then, he invoked a patrilineal understanding of his relations with Galphin, in effect treating Galphin as a son-in-law rather than a nobody. Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels,* 83 ("testimony").

[284] Despite participating in the deerskin trade as early as 1738, Galphin was not identified as a trader until 1741. Therefore, between 1741 and 1747 when Chigelli relinquished his title as Tustenogy Mico, Galphin entered Coweta where he attracted the attention of Chigelli who matched Galphin with Metawney. Further evidence suggests that Chigelli paired Galphin and Metawney closer to the early 1740s since their first child, George Jr., was born in the late 1740s before Chigelli stepped down as "Tustonogey Mico." As a consequence, although Galphin was likely familiar with the town and peoples of Coweta before settling there in 1741, it was only after this time that he was fully integrated into Coweta society and became a "Creek man." Frank, *Creeks & Southerners,* 35.

[285] The conversion of Galphin from "antipaya" [outsider] to "anhissi" [insider] is emblematic of the inclusive nature of Creek society. The Creeks cultivated a long history as an inclusive culture, from adopting enemies and captives, to forming new communities when confronted with mass mortality in times of war or disease. Amelia Rector Bell, "Separate People: Speaking of Creek Men and Women," *American Anthropologist* 92:2 (June 1990): 333 ("antipaya"); Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* 83 ("base"), Andrew K. Frank, *Creeks & Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 16 (inclusive).

[286] Tallassee King's Talk delivered to Governor & Council, 22 September 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837,* MS #1500, W.P.A. Georgia Writer's Project, Hargrett Rare Book &

Unlike the relationships with his Creek allies, Galphin likely regarded Metawney as a genuine intimate and shared a confidence with her that stretched beyond his commercial and political concerns. Galphin and Metawney together produced three children, George, Martha, and John, all of whom Galphin cherished above all else. Of equal importance, Metawney equipped Galphin with the knowledge and expertise to carve out a wealth of connections in Coweta. Quite the opposite of Galphin's first marriage to Catherine Saunderson, then, Metawney proved far from expendable.

Metawney contributed to Galphin's education in what it meant to be a Creek man and townsman.[287] During the time that he spent with his wife in Coweta, Galphin learned how to live in, understand, and be a part of the town life and Creek society. Since one's success as a resident trader depended on the ability to ingratiate oneself with town headmen, Galphin understood that his instruction in Creek ways was quite important. Therefore, he likely took his lessons from Metawney very seriously as she helped him to acclimate his "behavior and appearance to gain acceptance" in Creek society. In doing so, Galphin forged a mutable identity that allowed him to transition back and forth between different lives in British North America and Creek Country. With Metawney's help, Galphin could learn "how to appear both Creek and [Euro] American, and understood the cultural rules of both societies."[288]

The cultural instruction Galphin received from Metawney immersed him in the intensely local and personal worlds and mentalities of the Creeks. She undoubtedly

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Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 161-163 ("as an Indian"); Frank, *Creeks & Southerners,* 11 (inclusivity), 35 ("Creek man").

[287] I am drawing upon the consensus of Creek scholars for how Creek peoples integrated outsiders into their society to demonstrate the ways in which Metawney likely educated Galphin in Creek cultural ways during the early 1740s.

[288] James Taylor Carson, *Making an Atlantic World: Circles, Paths, and Stories from the Colonial South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 91 (becoming a cultural insider); Frank, *Creeks & Southerners*, 35 ("behavior," "cultural rules").

conveyed to Galphin the central importance of the town and community, since all manners of life political, social, economic, or religious occurred in the public or town square.[289] From the annual Busk festival,[290] town councils, and war preparations, to communal dances, ball games, and ritual gatherings, Creek public life unfolded primarily in the town center. Metawney might also have stressed to Galphin the importance of honoring and showing proper respect for the town's political, religious, and social rituals that the Cowetas expected Galphin to participate in. This included purging one's body by drinking cassina or smoking the calumet[291] before entering into council with Coweta's leaders. Metawney would also have imparted to Galphin the significance of the "reciprocal exchange of goods and obligations," and that to ignore such a cultural philosophy risked offending and alienating others. In addition, Metawney might have revealed "who was who" in town, the seasonal rhythms of Creek life – which varied between hunting, planting, and trading – and other intelligence

[289] Each town square served as the place where "town governance, ceremonies, and celebrations" were held, appended by a rotunda used during the winter and an adjoining "chunkey yard" used for dances, games, and captive-holding areas. The town square was, in the words of a contemporary, where townsmen "assemble[d] for the Discussion of all Subjects, whether civil or military, moral or divine." As one historian writes, the Creek town life revolved around a "world focused on the town square." Piker, *Okfuskee,* 7 ("world focused"), 112-115 ("town governance"); John Pope, *A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North America: the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas; the Countries of the Creek Nations; and many Uninhabited Parts* (Richmond: John Dixon publisher, 1792), 55 ("Discussion").

[290] The Busk ceremony was "far and away the most important Creek ceremony," conducted annually when corn ripened between July and September. This communal, town-centric ritual was the "vehicle in the Indians' quest for purity." In the effort to restore harmony and balance to Creek society, Creek towns engaged in "purifying their social order" and jointly participated in a general reconciliation and renewal of themselves, their towns, and their worldviews. Piker, *Okfuskee*, 117 ("importance"), 118 ("renew," "mutual health"); Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), 366-367 ("purity"); Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, 15 ("ceremonialism").

[291] Contemporaries described purging before entering political or ritual council as "beginning by smoking a pipe, and by taking drink" called cassina, "which they make from the leaves of a tree which is very common in their country, and which is claimed to be a wild tea tree…[and] roast like coffee." Both smoking and drinking cassina led one to "vomiting," which observers marveled at how Creeks purged "very easily and with no effort." Louis Leclerc Milfort, *Memoirs or a Quick Glance at my various Travels and my Sojourn in the Creek Nation,* trans. Ben C. McCary (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1959), 90-91.

necessary for Galphin to live as a Creek townsman. Metawney herself may even have "solicited business from clan members and neighbors, forged political connections, apprised [her] husband of impending warfare, and gathered information essential to selling deerskins," which were all part of her obligations as a Creek wife.[292]

Metawney also helped Galphin to understand the Muskogee language, which notably eased his efforts to forge connections within Creek Country. Over time, Galphin acquired a conversational grasp of Muskogee, and on many occasions interpreted talks for Chigelli and other headmen. Galphin not only described himself as conversant in Muskogee, but remarked when translating a talk to "the Head Men of the Lower Towns," that "I had no Linguister here better than my self." But Galphin never became fully fluent in Muskogee because he often relied on Stephen Forrester and other "Linguisters" to convey the "Great Talks." Galphin even admitted as much when he told Governor Glen "I interpreted your Letter…as well as lay in my Power." In any event, Galphin knew enough Muskogee to converse and create that initial contact with Creek peoples which preceded actual relationships.[293]

During their time together, Metawney likely communicated to Galphin the immense significance of paths and pathways in Creek culture, a powerful lesson that Galphin capitalized on in his search for allies within Creek Country. In particular, Metawney might have emphasized to Galphin that paths were as much metaphorical and interpersonal as they were a physical road from point A to point B. Simply put,

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[292] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 14 (reciprocity); Frank, *Creeks & Southerners*, 35 ("solicited business").

[293] Letter & Talk from George Galphin, 5 July 1750, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, n.p. ("Head Men," "Linguister"); George Galphin to James Glen, 12 May 1759, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, 259 ("Power").

paths denoted the relationships that existed between individuals and towns. When Nitigee of Coweta told Galphin "I only wanted the have the honor of seeing Mr. Galphin, and to shake him by the hand," he invoked such a relationship through paths with Galphin by stating that "I should be glad to keep the path open between us and suffer no weeds to grow upon it." The Creeks similarly used the metaphorical path to appeal to the larger Creek-British alliance, such as when Lower Creek leaders met with Governor James Habersham and expressed their wish "that the path will be white to Charlestown, and likewise the same from here to you at Savannah, and the same path to be white to Mr. Galphins," all of which denoted a Creek reckoning of their political relationships in very personal terms. By understanding how the Cowetas conceived of personal and spatial connections in terms of the paths that linked Creek and Euro-American peoples and places together, Galphin's eyes were opened to a Creek "world of paths [that] made possible deeper human relationships."[294]

Galphin came to appreciate this world of interpersonal pathways as he learned that these metaphorical relationships mirrored the physical paths that connected all of the Creek towns to one another and to the British colonies. These pathways included the Lower Path that "led from Augusta into the Creek country [and] split into two main branches, known as the Upper Path and the Lower Path" (fig. 9). Galphin observed that the town of Coweta was located along the Lower Path and this made Coweta one of the "primary destination[s]" for Creeks and Euro-Americans alike. Additionally, the

[294] "Journal of a Conference between the American Commissioners and the Creeks at Augusta," 16-19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XII: Georgia & Florida Treaties, 1763-1776,* ed. John T. Juricek (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 183-190 ("honor," "keep the path open"); "Lower Creek Chiefs to President Habersham," 17 March 1772, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 111 ("path will be white"); Carson, *Making an Atlantic World*, 81 ("deeper human relationships").

"Lower Path…continued on to the Upper Towns" from Coweta and further bolstered the privileged place of Coweta in Creek Country (fig. 10). Galphin also discovered the many "side traces [that] linked…and meandered through every Creek town.[295] On

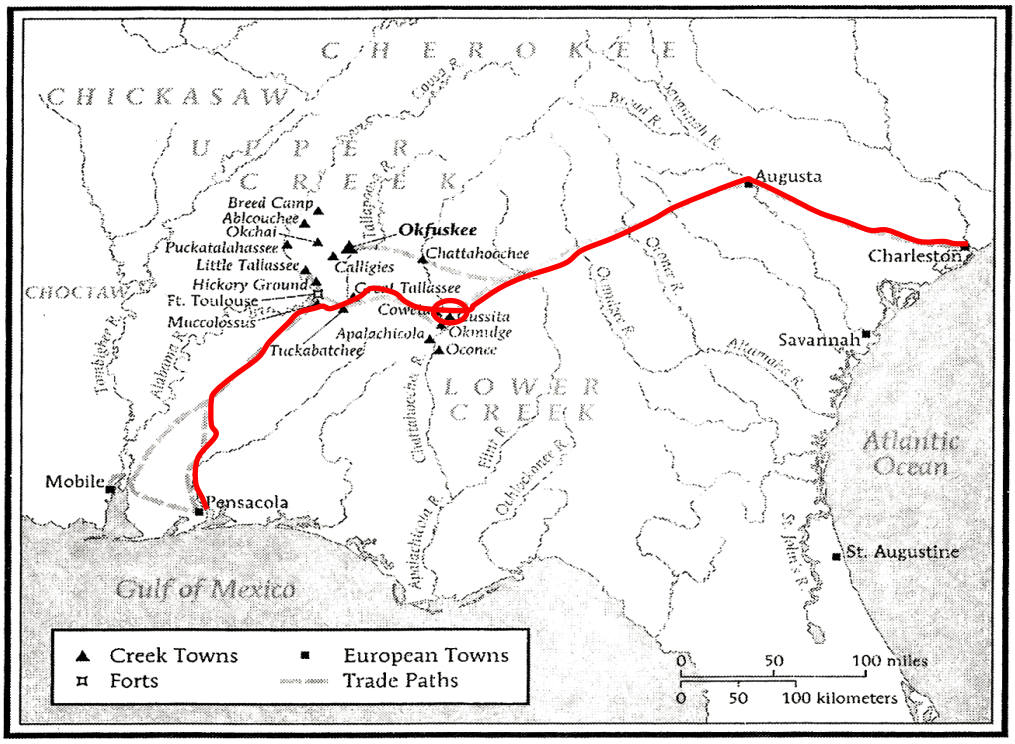

Figure 9: Map of the Lower Path between British North America and Creek Country (Coweta circled in red)[296]

other occasions, Galphin learned of the new pathways that branched off the Lower Path, such as the time Captain Aleck "sent his brother & 3 more to pilot [Galphin] a

[295] While the Lower Path remained the most important pathway in Creek Country, many other important paths connected Creek towns to one another and with other indigenous peoples and Europeans. For instance, the Lower Creeks used specific paths connecting them to the Upper Creeks, often traveling along the "Path to the Upper Towns." There also existed the "Cherokee Path" that crisscrossed throughout the Native southeast. There were additional paths leading to Europeans, like the "Pensacola Path" that linked Creek towns with the Spanish. Further, Creek Country was dotted with "Hunting Paths," or trader paths like "Barnard's Path" and even Galphin's own "Silver Bluff Path." Finally, some paths connected the Native southeast with westward and northern indigenous peoples, like the "Great Warriors Path" that extended throughout the eastern half of North America. For a primary source dedicated to this world of paths, refer to Benjamin Hawkins's "A Viatory or Journal of Distances and Observations" in *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1790-1810*. For specifics about larger paths like the "Great Warriors Path," look to William E. Myer, "Indian Trails of the Southeast," in *42nd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Smithsonian* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928): 727-857.

[296] Piker, *Okfuskee,* xii.

new path a bout 40 miles below the Lowermost trading path…a fine Levele Contry & a Shorter Rode then the old path." Galphin eventually internalized this Creek world of paths and managed to lead others back and forth within it, including the trader who set out "for the Creek Nation in Company with Mr. George Galphin [who] arrived at the Covetaws…without any material Occurrences." In short, Galphin recognized that the Creeks lived by a multifaceted use and understanding of the paths that connected

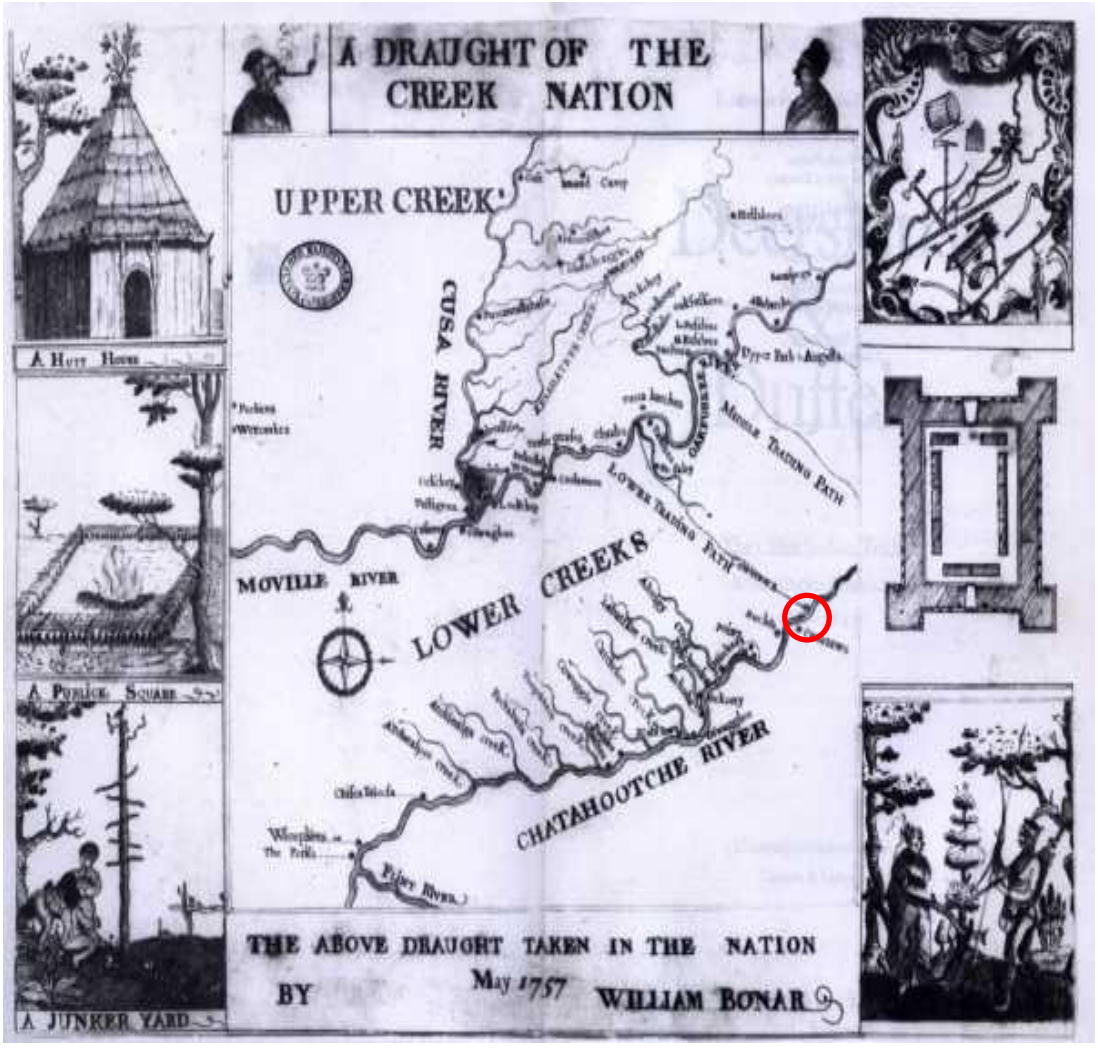

Figure 10: William Bonar's "A Draught of the Creek Nation" – the Lower Path & Coweta (circled in red)[297]

[297] William Bonar, *A Draught of the Creek Nation*, May 1757, *Records of the Colonial Office, Maps and Plans: Series I – North American Colonies, North and Soul Carolina*, CO 700/Carolina21, British National Archives, Kew.

peoples and places to one another, which resonated deeply with his own understandings of the connections that existed between individuals and localities.[298]

The physical and relational paths that Galphin traversed and created in Creek Country all converged upon the house that he and Metawney built among her family and clan in Coweta.[299] Undoubtedly constructed in the "Creek mode" of "four structures enclosing a central square," the Galphin household served as a place of residence for husband and wife, as well as a site from which Galphin conducted his commercial and political business with Creek allies and customers. Within the household, though, Galphin and Metawney fused Creek and British understandings of gender together, in which she performed traditional Creek female labors like food preparation, child rearing, and other pursuits tied to the agricultural and domestic realm. In contrast, Galphin ignored hunting, warfare, and other Creek male tasks, and instead hosted Anglo and Creek dignitaries, conducted trade, and discussed politics. In effect, Galphin carved out his own distinct space at Coweta where he cultivated, nurtured, and affirmed his connections with Creek allies, and it was here that Galphin's world of intimacies and localities took hold in Creek Country.[300]

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[298] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* 90 (Lower Trade Path, "meandered"); Thomas Ross to David Douglass, 15 October 1756, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, Volume II: 1754-1756,* ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1958), 211-212 ("Coweta Path"); George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, 11 June 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760,* Box 11: June – August 1759 ("new path"); "Journals of an Indian Trader," 11 January 1755, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs Vol.* I, 56-57 ("Augusta").

[299] Galphin was obligated to build a house among Metawney's clan relatives, a product of the Creeks' matrilineal cultural system. Galphin and Metawney joined their "individual farmstead" with the villages of Metawney's own family members within Coweta, which consisted of several "houses [that] stand in clusters of four, five, six, seven and eight together…[which] contains a clan, or family of relations, who eat and live in common." Kathryn H. Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change: Women's Roles in Creek Economic and Social Life during the Eighteenth Century," *American Indian Quarterly* 14:3 (Summer 1990): 240-241 (matrilineal, "houses"); Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creeks Indians and their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 78.

[300] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 115 ("mode"); Braund, "Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change," 242 (labors).

When Galphin stepped out into the Creek world to seek out new allies, he was armed not only with the cultural knowledge Metawney likely imparted to him, but also the friendship of his wife's clansmen like Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, two powerful and influential Creek headmen.[301] At first, these three men maintained their distance from one another since Galphin enjoyed a relationship with Chigelli, who did not share clan ties with the two brothers. But in the wake of Chigelli's political decline in the late 1740s and early 1750s, Galphin desperately sought out new allies to offset his potential marginalization in Coweta, which led him into an enduring partnership with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby. Fortuitously for Galphin, these two men inherited Chigelli's mantle as "Tustenogy Mico," assumed the role as the town's "Cherokee King," and emerged as "Coweta micos," all a testament to their political influence in Coweta. Galphin forged a lucrative and powerful alliance with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, in addition to a genuine friendship, which flourished for three decades.[302]

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[301] The Creeks were a matrilineal society, as Thomas Nairne noted that the Creeks "reckon all their fameiles from the mothers side, and have not the least regard who is their father thus if a woman be of the Tygar or Turky family, her Children are all so too…It seems to be done with the greatest Judgment in the world thus reckoning kindred from the womans side. They are certain to be in the right…The Indians call their Uncles and aunts, fathers and mothers their Cuzons both of the first and second remove, Brothers and Sisters." Thomas Nairne, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River*, ed. Alexander Moore (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 61-62.
In determining the clan relationship between Metawney and the brothers Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, I used evidence that Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby referred to Metawney as their "Sister" and stood as the guarantors of the land grant that the Creeks (led by the Cowetas) signed over to Metawney and Galphin. Also, Escotchaby fulfilled this last grant as the sole executor a year later. Additionally, the frequent and intimate interactions between Galphin, Escotchaby, and Sempoyaffee from 1747-1773 suggests some sort of relationship beyond association. Furthermore, since Metawney's father was Chigelli, which in a matrilineal society made her a member of her mother's clan and not Chigelli's, it is entirely feasible she was a clan relative of Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby. It is even likely Metawney's mother had a sister who was the mother of Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, which accounts for their references to Metawney as "Sister" in a clan sense rather than an actual sense. "Kings, Head Men and Warriors of the Whole Creek Nation to our Beloved Sister Matawny," 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, 95.
[302] "Declaration of Lower Creek Headmen Recognizing Malatchi as their Natural Prince," 14 December 1747, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 155-156 (Sempoyaffee as Tustenogy Mico).

In fact, this partnership emerged as the single most important and functional relationship within Galphin's world of intimacies and localities. As these three men rose to political and economic prominence in their respective societies, the personal connections between them likewise grew in strength and significance. A plethora of peoples in North America, the British Empire, and the transatlantic merchant community flocked to Galphin on account of his budding influence among the Creeks, which stemmed from his alliance with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby. In turn, these two headmen relied on Galphin for access to a wealth of trade and prestige goods that they redistributed around Creek Country to their supporters, to augment their reputations as the "most influential…who govern" in Coweta and as "Owners of the Town Ground." Galphin's personal connection with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, then, conditioned all of his other relationships with intimates, allies, and dependents.[303]

While linked to one another through Metawney's clan ties, Galphin actively sought to reaffirm their relations through a linguistic turn of phrase, which Galphin hoped might convince Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby to invest more of their confidence and trust in him. For instance, Galphin always addressed Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby as "my Friend[s]" or as his "Brothers," and he always took great pleasure in "some Convercation with" them. In return, Sempoyaffee, Escotchaby, and other Coweta leaders remarked "It is but seldom we [they and Galphin] have the Pleasure of seeing one another, and when we do meet we should tell our Minds freely." Galphin perceived the key to increased trust lay in the fact "I always take care to avoid telling the Indians

[303] "A List of Towns & Number of Gun Men in the Creek Nation," 8 July 1764, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Volume 21, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("most influence"); Edmond Atkin to Henry Ellis, 25 January 1760, *Henry Ellis Papers*, MS #942, Item 3, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("Owners").

a Lie & that is the reason they put so much Confidence in me[,] for once they find a person tells them lies they never put more Confidence in him." Galphin also conducted his negotiations with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby in the privacy of their homes, rather than the town square. The Creeks understood how important the household was to Euro-Americans and acclimated to this idea, as "Simpoyahfy & the young Lieutenant Scochaby…with some of their people" made continuous trips back and forth to Galphin's home in Coweta to conduct their commercial and political business. Through this language of fictive kinship and households, Galphin cemented his relationships with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, which not only produced greater trust between them, but also acted as a counterweight to the contingent nature of their alliance.[304]

Galphin also sought personal connections with other Lower Creek towns, which extended his relationships beyond Coweta. In particular, Galphin frequented the nearby town of Yuchi,[305] who were noted for their cultural distinctiveness from the Creeks. The Yuchis not only exerted an autonomous control over their town affairs, but oftentimes formed relationships with other Native and Euro-American peoples independent from that of the Creeks. However, the Yuchis took very particular care

[304] George Galphin to Vice President Parker and Assistants, 4 November 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 213-214 ("Convercation"); "Proceedings of the Council Concerning Indian Affairs," May-August 1753, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, Vol. I*, 396 ("Pleasure"); George Galphin to the Council of Safety," 9 August 1775, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 2 (April, 1900): 123-125 ("Confidence"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry

[305] The Yuchis assimilated into Creek society prior to the Yamasee War, but in "piecemeal fashion" with periodic migrations inside and outside of Creek Country. After the war, the Yuchis removed to the Chattahoochee region with the Lower Creeks and lived nearby Coweta and Cusseta. But at some point in the late 1720s or early 1730s, many of the Yuchis moved away from Creek Country, resettling nearby South Carolina and Georgia. During the Creek-Cherokee Wars of the early 1750s, though, they returned to the Chattahoochee area. Steven C. Hahn, "'They Look upon the Yuchis as Their Vassals': An Early History of Yuchi-Creek Political Relations," in *Yuchi Indian Histories Before the Removal Era*, ed. Jason Baird Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 124, ("subordination"), 126 ("piecemeal"), 129-130 ("strings"); Joshua Piker, "To the Backcountry and Back Again: The Yuchi's Search for Stability in the Eighteenth-Century Southeast," in *Yuchi Indian Histories Before the Removal Era*, 192 ("ties").

with whom they associated with, and often vetted the European traders who sought to set up shop within their town. But when approached by Galphin who desired to expand his trading interests beyond Coweta, the Yuchis saw something in Galphin worthy of their attention. At some point in the 1750s, then, Galphin attained a trading license to the Yuchis and quickly cultivated relationships within that town, most notably with the leading headman Captain Aleck. Over the course of three decades, Galphin and Aleck forged a partnership that came to rival Galphin's primary alliance with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby. In times of personal crisis when Galphin's Coweta relations faltered or weakened, Galphin could always count on his Yuchi allies to sustain his influence and connections in Creek Country. For instance, whenever Galphin grew frustrated with Coweta politics, he moved his home and stores to "the Euchees in the Lower Creeks," at one point going so far as to tell imperial authorities that the "Euches was my hole Dependence." To inspire greater trust and familiarity with Aleck and the Yuchis, Galphin deployed the same fictive familial vernacular that he used with the Cowetas. Galphin, therefore, regularly described Aleck as his "brother" and "friend," while Aleck honored Galphin as "my elder brother."[306]

In his search for other Creek allies, Galphin's relationships also led him to Cusseta, the "sister town" of Coweta, which also happened to be another town where Aleck served as one of the headmen.[307] Galphin often relied on the Cussetas to incite

[306] George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, 5 April 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 10: March – May 1759 ("hole dependence," "Euchees in the Lower Creeks"); 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*, 000051 .L51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("half-breed Indian girl"); "A Talk from the Cusseta King…[and] Captain Alick," 16-19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 529 ("elder").

[307] Captain Aleck was recognized as a leader for both the Cussetas and Yuchis, and he served as a bridge between the two towns with his marriage to "three Uchee women" and by "his three brothers; two of whom had Uchee wives." Through Aleck, then, the Yuchis were connected to the town of Cusseta, which helped "solidify ties between Creeks…and the Yuchis." Yet scholars note that the "Cussitas were the

pro-British sympathies among the Lower Creek towns when Coweta politics spiraled out of his or Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby's control. For example, when the Cowetas committed a series of "murders," it was the Cusseta King who stepped in to mediate for Galphin with the accused Coweta warriors. Aleck and the leaders of Cusseta also looked out for Galphin's welfare and interests in Creek Country. During the Seven Years' War, Aleck pleaded with Galphin "not to Come [on] the [Lower] Path without a gard," amid fears and rumors that the French intended to incite the Creeks against their British traders. But when Galphin set out from Cusseta anyways, Aleck sent several Cussetas to protect him and vowed that if "a white man [was killed], he [Aleck] wod soon have a French man as his same [retribution]." For Galphin, the Cussetas always proved a ready and willing ally.[308]

Meanwhile, Galphin's relationships penetrated into other parts of the Native southeast beyond Creek Country, particularly among the Cherokees. Through his alliance with Escotchaby who served as Coweta's "Cherokee King"[309] – the official

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Yuchi's only connection to their Creek neighbors," particularly since the Yuchis and Cowetas shared a mutual animosity that persisted throughout the eighteenth century. This antagonistic relationship sometimes erupted in violence and ultimately contributed to Aleck's oppositional politics against Coweta headmen during the mid and late eighteenth century. Benjamin Hawkins, "Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799," *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1790-1810,* ed. Thomas Foster (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 61-62s ("three Uchee women," "three brothers"); Hahn, "'They Look upon the Yuchis as Their Vassals': An Early History of Yuchi-Creek Political Relations," 134 ("antagonistic"), 137 ("solidify ties"); Piker, "To the Backcountry and Back Again: The Yuchi's Search for Stability in the Eighteenth-Century Southeast," 194 ("only connection").

[308] "A Talk from the Head Men and Warriours of the Lower Creek Indians," 7 December 1770, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVII, Part II: Original Papers; Correspondence, Governor Wright, Earl of Egremont, Earl of Halifax, Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, Duke of Richmond, Earl of Shelburne, Earl of Hillsborough, President James Habersham, & Indian Talks, 1761-1772*, ed. Allen D. Candler [microfilm], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 497-498 (Cusseta King, "Murders"); George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, 11 June 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 11: June – August 1759 ("gard," "white man"); "A Narrative of the Bosomworth Affair," 10 April 1756, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXVII: Original Papers of Governor John Reynolds, 1754-1756*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Athens: University of Georgia, 1975), 185 ("Friend").

[309] Anointed as the "Cherokee King," Escotchaby helped Coweta usurp the Upper Creek's role as the official mediators between the Creeks and Cherokees, further augmenting the political power of Coweta at the expense of the Upper Creeks. Particularly in the aftermath of the Cherokee-Creek Wars of the

emissary between the Creeks and Cherokees – Galphin attained access to Cherokee towns and peoples. Escotchaby, as the primary Creek headman "connected with the [Cherokee] nation," bore the burden of trying to maintain peace between the oft-warring Creeks and Cherokees. This responsibility required him to marry a Cherokee woman, to spend considerable time among her people, and to learn the Cherokee language. While among the Cherokees, Escotchaby came into contact with headmen from the Lower, Upper, and Overhill towns and forged relationships with them, including the "great Warrior and Ruler" Tiftoy – who considered "Escotchaby…a Brother" – Saluy, the Raven of Tugaloo, Judd's Friend, the Bag of Toxaway, Chinisto, "The Prince" of Chote, and others who cherished the "brotherly, family friendship" that existed between them. Escotchaby's personal connectedness with the Cherokees thus provided Galphin with a unique opportunity to tap into Cherokee markets where he bartered his trade goods in exchange for their deerskins.[310]

1740s and 1750s, the "Cowetas were the principal actors in re-establishing peace, which circumstances they…claimed the right of nominating a beloved mediating chief of this nation." As a "Cherokee King," Escotchaby learned the Cherokee language, hosted and interpreted for Cherokee delegations who ventured to the Lower Creeks, "attend[ed] their [Cherokee] regular Councils…to examine into complains of aggressions from his own nation," and "was appointed to represent the rights of the Cherokees" in Creek Country. John Howard Payne Journal, *John Howard Payne Papers, 1794-1842, Volume II*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Vault Ayer MS 689, Newberry Library, Chicago IL, 260 ("brother," "Councils," "rights"); Charles R. Hicks to John Ross, 4 May 1826, *John Howard Payne Papers, 1794-1842, Volume VII*, 13-15 ("principal actors"); Alexander Cameron to John Stuart about Indian Affairs, 3 June 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XIV: North and South Carolina Treaties, 1756-1775*, ed. W. Stitt Robinson (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 356-358 (language, delegations, passage).

[310] Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 235 ("Cherokee King"); "Congress with the Lower Creeks at Augusta: Proceedings following the Treaty," 14 November 1768, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 75-78 ("Tiftoy," "Brother Escotchaby," "Saluy"); Alexander Cameron to John Stuart, 3 March 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XIV: North and South Carolina Treaties 1756-1775*, ed. W. Stitt Robinson (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1989), 351-353 (Raven); Cherokee Headmen to John Stuart, 22 April 1764, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XIV*, 214-215 (Judd, Prince); "Letter to Big Warrior, for the Chiefs & Head Men of the Creek Nation," 28 October 1823, *John Howard Payne Papers, 1794-1842, Vol. VI*, 31-35 ("chief"); Col. Launey to Col. Lindsay, 18 June 1838, *John Howard Payne Papers, 1794-1842, Vol. V*, n.p. ("family friendship").

By seeking out Creek allies and forging personal connections with some of the most influential headmen – particularly Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby – in Creek Country, Galphin laid the foundations for his world of intimacies and localities. In addition, as Galphin forged a reputation as "a great favourite with most of the Creeks," this in turn attracted the notice of Native and European leaders who increasingly competed with each other for Galphin's attention. Because of his relationships with the Creeks, then, men of political and economic power sought out personal connections with Galphin, which only strengthened his world of relationships.[311]

In his search for allies in the Creek world, Galphin learned that town politics similarly revolved around local and intimate circumstances, which at times complicated his pursuit of relationships among the Creeks when he ran afoul of conflicting town interests. Galphin, in particular, clashed with Malatchi – Chigelli's successor – Mary Bosomworth, and Malatchi's son, Togulki, all of whom conspired against the British interest within Coweta. These conflicts ultimately threatened the relationships that Galphin spent the better part of a decade cultivating in Creek Country, which proved that his political and commercial fortunes in the Native southeast were far from secure. The personal connections that Galphin cultivated in Coweta, then, were tested, stressed, and subjected to a series of trials by fire from the 1740s to the 1760s.

These political contests were rooted in events that preceded Galphin's arrival in Coweta.[312] Mary Bosomworth, born in Coweta around 1700 to an English trader and a

[311] 7-14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC.
[312] For an in-depth account of Mary Bosomworth's life, refer to Steven C. Hahn's *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012).

Creek mother "closely related to Coweta's chiefs," was one of the most prolific traders for the empire before the 1740s. But after a host of tragedies left her with a "deep-seated disillusionment" about the English, she engaged in a contest with British authorities over control of lands and trade in Georgia.[313] In fact, she wielded her relationships with Malatchi, who succeeded Chigelli in 1747 as the primary authority for Coweta, to repeatedly strike back at the English, which precipitated the "Bosomworth Controversy" of the 1740s and 1750s. This conflict coincided with Malatchi's aggressive intrigues with the French and Spanish that set off a European race for the loyalty of the Creeks, and particularly the Cowetas.[314]

Galphin inadvertently provoked the hostility of Malatchi and Bosomworth as early as December 1746 when Malatchi asked Galphin to translate one of the treaties the Creeks signed with Governor James Oglethorpe in 1739. When Galphin read the document aloud, Malatchi grew enraged as "he [Galphin] told me that the Talk in that Paper was that we had given away all our Lands." No doubt seeing Malatchi's vengeful mood, Galphin tried to allay the headman's violent temper, but to no avail. Soon thereafter, Galphin approached Chigelli to try and defuse the situation, but Chigelli no longer wielded the power and influence Malatchi did. Amid this escalating crisis, Galphin's Coweta allies took him aside and warned him of the dangers he faced,[315]

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[313] The lands in question were the Yamacraw Tract and the islands of Sapelo, Ossabaw, and St. Catherine, which the British believed were ceded to Georgia in the treaties negotiated between James Oglethorpe and the Creeks in 1739. However, Malatchi and the Bosomworths claimed otherwise, that they never relinquished those lands and insisted that those lands be allotted to Mary. Edward J. Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader: The Shaping of the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 109 (islands).

[314] Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove*, 3 (1700), 14 ("closely related"), 82-83 ("disillusionment"); Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader*, 119 (Bosomworths).

[315] At one point, Mary Bosomworth used "Malatchi to deliver [a] sharp message to George Galphin" personally, threatening that if he did not stand witness to a land deed that favored her interest over the British, Galphin would regret it. As Galphin reported to the Georgia Council after taking refuge with

although Galphin told his Creek confidants "not to fear for my life or theirs." Despite his brave words, Galphin unwittingly involved himself in a conflict that pitted Bosomworth, Malatchi, and their supporters against the British – and Galphin's – interest in Coweta.[316]

The situation grew even more perilous when Malatchi intensified his intrigues with the French and Spanish.[317] When asked by the English to join in an assault against their European rivals, Malatchi derisively dismissed the British and stated that they could "send [their] own people if [they] pleas'd, for I wouldn't joyn" and "will Meet them in the Woods and tell them to return." True to his word, Malatchi sent "Runner[s] to the French Fort" and "likewise to the Spaniards" informing them of British plans. It is no surprise then that Governor Glen gloomily remarked in 1748 that Malatchi and Coweta "are Courted both by the French and Spaniards" to the detriment of the British interest. In addition, Malatchi sided with Bosomworth in her contest against the Georgia colony. He denounced the "several bad Talks from the [British] Traders about my Sister Mary" and stated that "all these bad Talks put me in mind of the Words of

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Sempoyaffee – the "head war king of the Cowetaws" – "if I refused hur she might look upon me as an Enemy…and might get some of hur relations privately to do me a mischief wich coud be no hard matter for hur to get don[e]." Even after Bosomworth left Coweta, Galphin continued to fear "I might be in Danger one day or another if I refusd" her." "George Galphin's Report to Horton on Mary Bosomworth's Denunciation of Oglethorpe," January 1747, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 130-131 ("poor peopell," "Gard"); Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Musgrove*, 203 ("sharp message"); George Galphin to Vice President Parker and Assistants, 4 November 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI,* 213-214 ("head war king," "refused hur," "Danger").

[316] Chigelli's Talk to Major Horton, 4 December 1746, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI,* 132-134 ("Talk in that Paper"); George Galphin to the Governor James Glen, 24 August 1753, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774,* 597-598 ("my life").

[317] Malatchi's solicitations to the French, Spanish, and British were all part of his attempts to proclaim a broader authority over all of the other Creek towns, evidenced by the talk he sent to King George II to "let him know that I am now Emperor of the Creek Nation and spoke with one voice for all the Creeks." For an in-depth exploration of Malatchi's efforts to become the Creek "Emperor," see Joshua Piker's *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America.*

My Father, that the English were come from the East, to settle upon our Lands."[318]

While imperial authorities lamented "it is absolutely necessary that a seasonable check be given to those lower Creeks, at least to…the Cowetas," Galphin found himself lodged between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, the Cowetas entertained French and Spanish dignitaries, as well as conspired with Mary Bosomworth, all of whom threatened the British – and Galphin's – interest in Coweta. On the other hand, imperial officials like Governor Glen called on Galphin to censure the Cowetas for their intrigues, which put Galphin in the uncomfortable position of admonishing – and potentially alienating – his own allies in Creek Country. Things ultimately came to a head for Galphin in 1750 during the "French colors" incident (as described in the introduction of this chapter). During that episode, though, it is quite revealing that it took Galphin almost "three days" before making his move. It is almost as if he could not make up his mind, fearful of either upsetting his allies, risking his relationships in Coweta, or attracting unwanted attention from Malatchi and Mary Bosomworth. Sure enough, Bosomworth and her relatives lashed out at Galphin after the "French colors" affair, informing British officials they still saw "French Colours Flying" in Coweta and blaming it on Galphin. The Bosomworths also related that when they asked Galphin "to what Artfull Insinuations the French had made use of, we could never learn, [but] by Reason they had influenced the Indians so far as to deny him [Galphin] Admittance into the Square at their publick Talks, which they never before had refused" him. The

[318] Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*, 202 ("for the good"); "Malatchi's Speech to Heron," 7 December 1747, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 148-152 ("wouldn't joyn," "Sister," "Emperor," "My Father"); Captain Richard Kent to William Horton, 25 April 1747, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 136 ("French Fort," "Woods," "Runners," "Spaniards"); James Glen to the Duke of Newcastle, 26 July 1748, *Dalhousie Muniments Papers, 1746-1759*, 79 ("Courted"); James Glen to the Duke of Newcastle, n.d. 1748, *Dalhousie Muniments Papers, 1746-1759*, 59-64 ("Danger," "Holbama").

Bosomworths concluded "most of the Creek Indians were at the Juncture very much in the French Interest," owing to what they deemed as Galphin's incompetence. In short, the Bosomworths distorted the facts by omitting Galphin's heated debate with Malatchi and Chigelli, and his negotiating the return of British colors to the town square.[319] It is likely that the Bosomworths attempted to discredit Galphin and thereby neutralize a potential rival in Coweta. Galphin's side of the story, though, ultimately came to light when a fellow trader, Daniel Clark, testified to the veracity of Galphin's account.[320]

Although he unwittingly incited the ire of the Bosomworths, Galphin immediately sought solace in his relationship with Sempoyaffee, who had replaced Chigelli as the town's "Tustenogy Mico" ("War King") in 1747. In the aftermath of the "French colors" incident, Galphin confided in the "head war king of the Cowetaws [who] had some Convercation with me about Marys Busines in the nattion." After consulting

[319] After the "French colors" incident, Bosomworth marched into Coweta and demanded Galphin's presence as witness to a deed for the lands she claimed in contest with Georgia. In this document, Malatchi recognized Mary as a Creek "Princess with Authority to Negotiate over Lands" which in effect passed his sovereign authority over those lands to Mary. As Galphin remarked of his uncomfortable position, he appeared at Malatchi's side during the signing of the document out of fear for Mary and her Coweta relatives. To the horror of the Georgia Council who learned that Galphin served "as a subscribing Witness" to the Bosomworth deed, the Council postponed Galphin's request for lands and ordered him to "clear up this extraordinary Part of his Conduct." In writing to the Council, Galphin begged their forgiveness in gaining "your Displeasure," explaining that Mary "requested of me to sign as a witness…wich I Did not Care to Do & Refused hur. However She strongly pressd me for to Witness it wich I at last Consented" because Galphin feared her influence and "I imagined the affair to be of no determent to the Colone." Although it is likely Galphin knew exactly what was at stake, he more likely feared for his own safety. Confirmation of Mary Bosomworth by Malatchi and other Creek Headmen," 2 August 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 202-205 (witness, presence); George Galphin to Vice President Parker and Assistants, 4 November 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 213-214 ("Apprehension," "Refused hur," "determent"); "At a Meeting of the President and Assistants in Council," 2 October 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VI: Proceedings of the President and Assistants from October 12, 1741 – October 30, 1754*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1906), 336-337 ("conduct").

[320] Governor James Glen to the President and Assistants of Georgia, October 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXVI: Original Papers, Trustees, President, Assistants, and Others, 1750-1752*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1916), 64 ("Seasonable Check"); "The Deposition of Adam Bosomworth," 2 October 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 211-212 ("Flying," "Artfull," "Juncture"); Vice President Henry Parker and Assistants, 4 October 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XI: Georgia Treaties, 1733-1763*, 212-213 ("three days"); "At a Meeting of the President and Assistants in Council," 4 October 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. VI*, 341-342 (Daniel Clark).

Galphin, Sempoyaffee expressed his disdain for the Bosomworths, especially when Galphin revealed that "Marys Business…was a talk to give away there [Coweta] lands & islands abought Georgia." Sempoyaffee "Did not Seem to be well pleased when he heard what the writing ment." Galphin even "plant[ed] the story of Mary's deceit" with Sempoyaffee and other Creek leaders, which "suggest[ed] that [Malatchi] had been duped into witnessing a Bosomworth deed, just as the Indians had been gulled into signing it." It seems, then, that when Galphin felt threatened by the Bosomworths, he simply responded in kind by drawing upon his alliance with Sempoyaffee for protection and as a counter source of influence against the Bosomworth faction within Coweta.[321]

While Galphin tried to remain aloof from both Bosomworth and Malatchi's intrigues, imperial authorities forced his hand in 1751 when they tasked him with assisting their agents "to frustrate the mercenary Intentions and wicked designs of the Bosomworths." This became quite apparent when Galphin was asked to accompany the British envoy Patrick Graham into Creek Country, where Graham attained the signatures of prominent Upper and Lower Creek headmen who repudiated Mary's claims to lands in Georgia. Afterward, Galphin returned to Coweta and seemed to mind his own business, no doubt happy to get out from under the Bosomworth controversy that dragged on for several more years. Ironically, imperial officials briefly employed Galphin to assist Mary Bosomworth in 1752, when Glen relied on her to try and resolve the Acorn Whistler affair that threatened to upend Creek-British relations.[322]

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[321] George Galphin to Vice President Parker, 4 November 1750, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 213-214 ("Convercation," "Business," "Did not Seem"); Juricek, *Colonial Georgia and the Creeks*, 184 ("duped"); David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 150 (presents).

[322] "At a Meeting of the President and Assistants in the Council," 14 November 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. VI*, 354-357 ("frustrate"); "Graham's Deed from the Upper Creeks," 28 May 1751, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 219-221; "Upper Creek Repudiation of Graham Deed

Although the Bosomworth conflict had the potential to undermine Galphin's influence and his relationships within Coweta, he emerged from that crisis with those things fairly intact. In fact, it seemed as if Malatchi proved much more pliant and even receptive to the British between 1754 and 1756, which only improved Galphin's fortunes. Of great importance to the English interest, Malatchi refused "going to both" New Orleans and St. Augustine to meet with French and Spanish diplomats. Galphin even used his own influence – or "all [of] my Power" – to encourage Malatchi to oppose Spanish plans to "settle, fortify, and Garrison the Appalachee Fields" in Florida. By 1755, Galphin reported that "I have never seen the Indians behave better since I have been abroad." Even when rumors flooded into Coweta that Lower Creek war parties conspired to kill the British traders, Galphin approached Malatchi who "said it was Lies…and got me to write up to the Red Coat King that it was Lies." In his final conference with the British, "Malatchi…seemed much pleased" with the relations between his town and the English colonies. Even on his death bed, Malatchi "recommended to his Son [Togulki] to be at a good understanding…with the English who are the chief support of our nation."[323]

Following Malatchi's death in 1756, Galphin's political and commercial opportunities skyrocketed when Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby asserted their claims to

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and Confirmation of Bosomworth Deeds," 23 September 1752, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XI*, 224-226.

[323] 28 April 1755, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from October 30, 1754 – March 6, 1759*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1906), 172-173 ("Twin"); "At a Meeting of the President and Assistants in Council," 9 August 1754, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. VI*, 448-449 ("Power," "Garrison"); George Galphin to Governor James Glen, 22 March 1755, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, Vol. II*, 55-56 ("behave better," "Lies"); "Journal of an Indian Trader," 11 January 1755, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, Vol. II*, 56-57 ("pleased"); White Outerbridge to William Henry Lyttelton, 3 September 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1761*, Box 12: September – October 1759 ("recommended to").

lead Coweta. Appointed as "guardians" for Malatchi's son Togulki[324] – who intended to assume the reins of leadership in Coweta when he reached the age of maturity – Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby consolidated their own political power while subverting Togulki's own. But Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby needed something or someone to bolster their claims to such authority. Needless to say, the Coweta brothers looked to Galphin as their wild card in this contest for control of Coweta, seizing upon Galphin's personal, commercial, and political connections within the imperial and transatlantic worlds to produce advantages for the Cowetas that Togulki could not. Therefore, imperial authorities noted that Sempoyaffee emerged as the leading "Coweta mico by 1758," and that Escotchaby replaced his brother as Coweta's "Tustenogy Mico" and carved out a reputation as one who "overrules all when on the Spot…[and who is] next in line to become emperor of the Lower Creeks" after Sempoyaffee.[325]

But with the onset of the Seven Years' War in the southeast, this contest for control of Coweta took a series of twists and turns that once again threatened to derail Galphin's interest and relationships in Coweta, particularly as Togulki actively sought French and Spanish support against the English. It was here, though, amid the fires of war that the relations between Galphin, Sempoyaffee, and Escotchaby reached a climax and transformed into a powerful and influential alliance. During the war, Galphin

[324] Togulki was a clansman of Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby through the marriage of his father Malatchi to one of Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby's sisters. Consequently, as maternal "uncles," these two Creek men were appointed his guardians until he reached maturity, much like Malatchi whose guardian Chigelli handed over power to him in 1747.

[325] "Council in Savannah," 10 October 1759, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VIII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council: March 8, 1759 to December 31, 1762*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), 160-167 ("Uncle" – guardians); Hahn, *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*, 225-226 ("Coweta mico," "next in line"); Edmond Atkins to Governor Henry Ellis, 25 January 1760, *Selected Eighteenth Century Manuscripts*, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society Volume XX, ed. Albert Sidney Britt Jr. and Anthony Roane Dees (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1980), 136-143 ("eldest," "overrules," Escotchaby as "Tustenogy Mico").

mobilized his personal, commercial, and political connections to frustrate Togulki's intrigues with the French and Spanish, while Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby assembled their own faction in Coweta that supported Creek neutrality.[326] Once again, Galphin found himself embroiled in another political contest for control of Coweta, which revealed for a second time that Galphin's interest and relationships within Creek Country remained beholden to – and dictated by – the local and particular circumstances and contexts of the Creek world.

In the early years of the war, Galphin combated the frequent presence of Spanish and French envoys in and around Coweta, at one point informing imperial officials that the "French men at the Cowetas" came at the invitation of Togulki and "20 Coweta fellows [who] all got large presents." Togulki also made regular trips to the French ("Alabama") fort in Upper Creek country and the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine. On one occasion while visiting the Alabama stronghold, the French crowned Togulki "Emperor of the Lower & Upper Creeks," and he "seemed very pleased with the honor we paid him." Afterward, a French delegation returned with Togulki to Coweta, which prompted Galphin's intervention. According to Creek headmen like the Wolf, Togulki "strove as much as in him lay to set the Upper [and Lower] Creeks against the English," although the Wolf hoped it "is more than he and all his French Interest will ever be able to effect."[327]

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[326] It is important to note that Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby – as leaders of Coweta – entertained a wealth of foreign dignitaries in addition to the British, which included French, Spanish, and other Native Peoples. Obviously, British officials like Edmond Atkin resented the political openness of the Cowetas, and thereby lumped Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby together as Francophiles, despite their commercial and political alliance with Galphin. Edmond Atkin to Henry Ellis, 25 January 1760, *Henry Ellis Papers*, MS #942, Item 3.

[327] George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, 11 June 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 11 ("French men," "Coweta fellows"); "Head Men in the Lower Creeks," 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8 ("Emperor"); Jean Bernard Bossu to Marquis de l'Estrade, 2

Despite Togulki's intrigues, Galphin confided to imperial officials that with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby at his side, he "satisfied [his] Interest in Coweta…to serve the [British] Contrey & that the French interest might be gote out of the Towns." In fact, Galphin and his Coweta allies became increasingly vocal and hostile to Togulki as the war progressed, particularly when "Simpoyafe King of the Cowetaws" and the "War King [Escotchaby]" met with British agents in 1758 at Coweta. While there, Sempoyaffee bluntly stated "his nephew [Togulki] has behaved ill and is not worthy a Commission," concluding with his promises "to carry him [Togulki] down to Savannah and deliver up his Commission and from there to Charles Town where he will do the same."[328] Shortly thereafter, Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby humiliated Togulki in public a second time when they, rather than Togulki, led the Coweta delegation to the "Chickasaw Camp" in South Carolina, where Escotchaby parlayed with the Catawba "to renew the antient friendship that has long subsisted between the two nations." During the conference, Escotchaby informed Galphin that he learned from Togulki's supporters that the French planned to send "an expedition against Fort Loudoun [British fort]," and that Togulki "promis'd his Interest to stir up his Countrymen the Creeks against the English and Join the French." Immediately upon receiving such information, Galphin passed the intelligence along to his imperial contacts.[329]

May 1759, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1751-1762*, ed. Seymour Feiler (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 151-155 ("honor"); Joseph Wright to Henry Ellis, 4 July 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8 ("Wolf," "strove").

[328] Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby subverted Togulki time and time again, undermining a clan relative they equated to "a Snake in his bed Spreading the poison of his breath all around him" and that they resolved to teach him a final lesson. John Stuart to James Grant, 16 December 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Microfilm 687, Reel 17, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA.

[329] George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, 5 April 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 10 ("Contrey"); Joseph Wright's Journal while in the Lower Creeks, 20 July 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8 ("Simpoyafe," "nephew," "commission"); Lachlan

Even with the outbreak of the Cherokee War (1759-1761) that threatened to embroil the Creeks in a war with the British, Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby advocated for Coweta neutrality. While the Cherokees spearheaded a violence that painted a canvas of "melancholy Scenes" with "Poor Families in Droves removing, not knowing where to go…wounded and scalped," Galphin's allies refused to enter that conflict. Meanwhile, Galphin played a critical role in supporting Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby's neutrality. At times, these three men extended safe haven to refugees, were lauded for "several [British] lives [that] have been sav'd," and were commended by imperial officials for their "great expence and hazard of life."[330] In one particular case, British agents singled out Escotchaby who "has been the means of preserving the Lives of several people, women, & Children, who had fled & lost 'em selves in swamps & cane breaks, whom he found on the point of perishing & have brought 'em into Augusta."[331]

Galphin, Sempoyaffee, and Escotchaby also put the finishing touches on their efforts to marginalize Togulki in Coweta and deprive him of political authority, plans which they set in motion in late 1759 when they assumed the central roles in negotiations at Augusta. At one point during these proceedings, Sempoyaffee stopped

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McGillivray to William Henry Lyttelton, 12 March 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 10 ("Camp," "antient," "expedition"); "Head Men in the Lower Creeks," 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8 ("Frenchify").

[330] Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby also provided intelligence and performed scouting missions for the British, to "sound [out] their [Cherokee] Dispositions, and make what Discoveries they could about the Cherokees" during the war. In one particular instance, Escotchaby warned nearby British settlers of an imminent Cherokee attack and suggested they stay where they were and "wait [for] the [Young] Lieutenant's Return." On a separate occasion, Escotchaby "Head Warrior of Coweta" brought "30 other Renegadoes at his Heels…on a Scout" for the British. 3 April 1760, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800*, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Dispositions," "Return"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 13 February 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14: January – February 1760 ("Head Warrior," "Scout").

[331] 3 April 1760, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800* ("melancholy," "Poor Families"); Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Nashville: Promontory Press, 1973), 366-367 ("great expence," "against us"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 11 February 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14 ("sav'd," "preserving the Lives"); 22 March 1760, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("great Influence").

to dramatically "point to Togulki" and said "he is young and unexperienced in public Affairs; I being his Uncle am deputed to speak for him and all the rest present who are the head Men." In their talk, Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby assured the British the Creeks did not intend to "enter into a Confederacy with the Cherokees to break out [in] War with our Brothers the English," and paid little regard to "The French [who] have also given Us many bad Talks against the English." A year later, Galphin as one of the "Gentleman of Augusta," invited only the Coweta brothers to Georgia, where they reaffirmed their peaceful relations, fully "determined to keep open the Path from Augusta to their Nation." After the conference, Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby retreated to "Mr. Galphin's," where they stayed for several weeks, at one point meeting with a band of Chickasaws who they "advised…to remain neuter" as well. While in Galphin's company, Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby continued to strategize with Galphin in distributing their "good Talks" throughout Creek Country, which stipulated "if the Cherokees…attacked any Houses wherein Goods were deposited for the Trade…[or] the Path from their Nation to Augusta…the [Creek] Nation might change in present Resolution" and join the British against the Cherokees, French, and Spanish.[332]

By 1761, as the war subsided in the southeast, Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby asserted a decisive control over Coweta and emerged as that town's "Principal Head-men," which only reinforced Galphin's reputation as "a very substantial [and] intelligent man" and "great favourite with…the Creeks." Before the war, Galphin had

[332] "Council in Savannah," 10 October 1759, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. VIII*, 160-167 ("Uncle," "Confederacy," "bad Talks"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 7 March 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 15: March 1760 – April 1762 ("Path from Augusta," "Mr. Galphin's"); 22 March 1760, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("neuter," "Resolution"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 21 February 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14 ("good Talks").

risked his political and economic fortunes on an alliance that had only promised, and did not guarantee, opportunity and reward. By trusting in his relationships with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, and looking out for one another – as well as their own interests – Galphin and his allies succeeded beyond their wildest imaginations.[333]

Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby's alliance with Galphin translated into political power for them in Coweta, which later expanded outward to encompass other Creek towns and even parts of the transatlantic world. The importance of this relationship to Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby became quite evident in 1761, when imperial agents accused both headmen of murdering the trader William Thomson. After hearing the accusations against them, the "Young Lieutenant and Sympoyaffey" led a contingent of "70 Creek Indians [to] Mr. George Galphin's" where they delivered "a good talk to his honour our liuet. governor" and convinced him – with Galphin's assistance – of their innocence. Their alliance with Galphin proved of even greater significance after 1763 amid the concerns over the territorial integrity of Creek Country. According to Spanish observers, Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby grew anxious as the English "extend[ed] their limits…[onto] the lands belonged to the Province of Cabeta." Through their alliance with Galphin, though, Coweta leaders hoped to stave off – or at the very least redirect – British encroachments. This and other instances demonstrated that Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby relied on Galphin to serve as their intermediary with the empire, and this relationship evolved into an invaluable asset that was essential to pursue and protect

[333] "The Return of the Lower Creeks," December 1764, *Records of the Colonial Office: Original Correspondence, Plantations General, 1689-1952*, CO 323, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Head-Men"); James Wright to the Board of Trade, 17 January 1764, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXVIII, Part II: Original Papers of Governor Wright, President Habersham, and Others, 1764-1782*, ed. Allen D. Candler and Kenneth Coleman (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), 1-2 ("intelligent"); 7-14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("favourite").

Coweta interests in a post-1763 world.[334]

Galphin's alliance with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby was the absolute critical component for his world of intimacies and localities. While his partnership with these two headmen was not the most important relationship to Galphin personally, it was his single most functional relationship. Without Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, Galphin's connections to Creek Country would likely falter, and with it, his alliances within the Native, imperial, and transatlantic worlds. Galphin relationships with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby, then, provided him with a social and political leverage with all of his other allies, including imperial authorities, colonial agents, transatlantic merchants, and Native leaders who all desired to put Galphin's connections to use for their own political and commercial purposes. In light of the Seven Years' War, the various peoples and entities that gravitated toward Galphin all saw something in him and his Coweta allies worthy of their attention. On account of this great clamor for Galphin's attention, he extended his world of relationships even farther and deeper than ever before – into the imperial and transatlantic systems.

[334] Juan Josef Eligio de la Puente, 26-28 December 1777 (1763), *The Indian Frontier in British East Florida: Spanish Correspondence Concerning the Uchiz Indians, 1771-1783, Part II: 1776-1779*, ed. Daniel L. Schafer, University of North Florida, Jacksonville FL http://www.unf.edu/florida historyonline/Projects/uchize/section2. html#12261777 ("limits," "Cabeta"); August 1761, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. VIII*, 553-557 (William Thomson, "Mr. Galphins"); 11 February 1761, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("Sympoyaffey," "70 Creek," "good talk").

Chapter 6 – A "Principal," "Considerable," and "Sensible" Trader: George Galphin, the Deerskin Trade, and the Commerce of Intimacy, 1741-1763

With more than a decade's worth of experience in the deerskin trade, George Galphin knew that as summer came to an end in 1750, it was now or never to set out from Augusta for Creek Country. If he waited any longer, other traders might reach the Creeks first and reap the profits from the annual harvest of white-tailed deer that Creek hunters procured during the winter months. While in most years traders traveled to Creek Country near the beginning of summer, this year's trade proved far different than the rest, since the Creeks were forced to sit on their skins after Creek warriors killed several British subjects. This act of violence was, according to Galphin's Coweta allies, at "ye instigation of ye French." Coupled with the fact that autumn and colder weather was approaching, an entire year's crop of deerskins might soon spoil, which Galphin recognized as potentially crippling for many of his fellow traders.[335]

In the end, the Creeks relented to British demands for "satisfaction" in hopes of restoring trade relations, thereby sacrificing the accused killers as retribution for the deaths of the British subjects. Anticipating this and informed ahead of time that "satisfaction" would likely be given, Galphin arranged for the immediate departure of fifty packhorses, laden with commodities from London, all bound for Creek Country. When news shortly after reached the other traders that the empire had lifted the trade embargo on the Creeks, Galphin was already on his way down the Lower Path to Coweta. Therefore, in the fall of 1750, Galphin entered Creek territory first, while less experienced and more cautious men faltered behind him.[336]

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[335] James Glen, 1750 n.d., *James Glen Papers, 1738-1777,* MS Plb, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("instigation").
[336] James Glen, 1750 n.d., *James Glen Papers, 1738-1777* ("satisfaction").

The governor of South Carolina, James Glen, marveled at Galphin's timing and savvy, estimating that "Mr. Galphin sent 50 horse loads…& brought back £8,000 weight of Leather." After unloading these skins in the colonies, Galphin "sent in 50 Horse loads a Second time" to reap similar dividends. Possessed of a wealth in deerskins, Galphin immediately ordered those commodities packaged and bundled at his company's stores. He then supervised the loading of those processed skins aboard one of the many trading boats that traversed the Savannah River, destined for Charleston or Savannah. Galphin might even have "came down in the Boat himself," unwilling to leave such riches out of his sight until boarded for the transatlantic passage to London, Bristol, or Cowes.[337]

After landing in Charleston or Savannah, Galphin searched for one of the commercial intermediaries that he and his employers consigned their skins to each year. These individuals ranged from men who occasionally shipped skins, such as Gabriel Manigault who dabbled in all manners of commerce, to those like Henry Laurens who labored intensely in the deerskin trade. If Galphin had his own way, he sought out the one merchant he called brother and friend, John McQueen, one of several commercial agents in the service of Galphin's company. Whoever Galphin contracted with on this occasion, the merchant sped the cargo as quick as possible to his suppliers in Great Britain, before any other trader or merchant could do the same. Galphin's prizes then sailed across the Atlantic where they likely fetched a handsome profit in European markets. Out of the proceeds, Galphin gained two things that were vitally important for one's ability to function in the deerskin trade – a wealth of credit in goods that Galphin

[337] James Glen, 1750 n.d., *James Glen Papers, 1738-1777* ("50 horse loads"); Henry Laurens to William Fisher, 11 December 1756, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume II: Nov. 1, 1755 – Dec. 31, 1758*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 368-369 ("Boat").

could order for the next trading season, and the reinforcement of his good name within the imperial metropolis. In short, Galphin orchestrated a masterful trading expedition in the fall of 1750 and in doing so, reveals to us the very intimate relationships that structured the transatlantic trade in deerskins.

Throughout the course of this commercial exchange and so many others like it, transoceanic trade was defined by the relationships that bound producers, traders, distributors, suppliers, and customers together. Galphin discovered this fact upon entering the deerskin trade in the early 1740s; that one's success could not be measured by how many deerskins a person accumulated, but was determined by whom you knew and trusted the most. Galphin turned to and confided in his friends, John Rae and Lachlan McGillivray, and the trader-turned-merchant, John McQueen, who emerged as his inner circle of sorts within the deerskin trade. These close friends introduced Galphin to some of the most influential merchants in North America and London, such as Henry Laurens and John Beswicke. In turn, Galphin cultivated relationships with those merchants and thereby integrated the sites of their transactions – Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, London, Bristol, and Cowes – into his world of intimacies and localities. In addition, McQueen took Galphin under his wing and tutored him in the ways of transoceanic commerce. He imparted to Galphin what it meant to be a merchant, how to conduct oneself in the mercantile world, and how to attract other partners to one's commercial ventures. Out of all the lessons that McQueen conveyed to Galphin, none was more important than the fact that intimacy was the name of the game that knit this transoceanic commercial world together, and Galphin ultimately came to understand the rules of that game backwards and forwards.

By seeking out and building relationships within the transatlantic commercial system – and when coupled with his connections in Creek Country – Galphin commanded the attention of colonial governors, superintendents of Indian affairs, and other men of empire. These imperial allies realized that Galphin's personal connections on both ends of the deerskin trade presented them with a unique opportunity to establish a more direct rapport with the Creeks, in hopes of dissuading them from their attachments with France and Spain. Looking to Galphin, imperial administrators observed that he "is a Proper Person" and "zealously active and assiduous in endeavouring to interest the Creek Nation in our Quarrel, and appear[s] to be very much esteemed by, and to have great Influence on those Indians." Therefore, a succession of imperial governors, superintendents, and agents lined up at Galphin's door to seek his assistance in managing Creek-British relations, which laid the foundations for Galphin's relationships with these men of empire. In other words, Galphin's partnerships with his merchant and Creek allies provided him with the means to forge alliances with some of the most influential imperial authorities in North America and London.[338]

By ingratiating himself within these commercial and political circles, Galphin brought these imperial and transatlantic peoples and places together, and fused them with his personal and spatial connections in Ulster and Creek Country. To continue the spider analogy, all of the relationships that Galphin spun at each and every one of his localities started to come together as an integrative network. For instance, as Galphin

[338] Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 25 January 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14: January – February 1760, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("Proper Person"); 22 Marcy 1760, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("zealously active").

organized shipments of skins for his London merchants, he in turn drew on his ties to Creek Country and the colonies to make such shipments possible in the first place. In times of conflict between Creek and British peoples that brought trade to a standstill, Galphin's merchant and imperial allies relied on him and his Coweta allies to restore peace and commerce. Galphin, therefore, progressed from merely creating relationships with peoples and places, to knitting those persons and spaces together. In short, Galphin started to put the connective finishing touches to his world of relationships.

Through it all, Galphin remained possessed of a very local and particular understanding of this transoceanic world. Galphin's experiences in Ulster and Coweta conditioned the ways in which he organized and perceived the world around him, a world which revolved around his need for relationships with others to cope with the forces beyond his immediate control. To do so, Galphin transformed the alien or unfamiliar peoples and places he met in the transatlantic and imperial communities into the familiar and personal, a process that he replicated as he moved from place to place. As a consequence, the world remained a spatially and emotionally local place for Galphin, where his enactment of relationships within the empire's commercial and political circles reflected this local and intimate understanding of the larger world. But within this sea of peoples, Galphin's commercial and political allies emerged as more than just other faces that Galphin encountered throughout his lifetime. In the end, it all came down to the peoples and places Galphin knew firsthand, and for these merchant partners and imperial supporters, they emerged as Galphin's most critical allies.

However, the intensely local and personal nature of Galphin's world at times created problems for him. Unlike his experiences in Ulster and Coweta, Galphin lacked

any sort of presence in the imperial metropolis or transoceanic markets. To compound matters, Galphin's relationships in Great Britain suffered from the same contingent nature as his relations in Creek Country; as local and particular interests and circumstances across the Atlantic did not always align with Galphin's own. To make matter worse, Galphin learned that his transoceanic relationships were mired in uncertainty, risk, and impersonality that beset any partnership separated by an ocean. All of this forced Galphin to manage these alliances and partnerships remotely from North America instead of face-to-face. As a result, Galphin's localities across the Atlantic languished as the weakest foundations for his world of relationships.

To counter this debilitating impersonality, Galphin meticulously crafted a reputation as a man of influence and resourcefulness within the deerskin trade; a man who could not only get things done, but who could be trusted and counted on. In the hope of attracting mercantile and imperial allies, Galphin carefully styled himself as the "Principal," most "considerable" and most "sensible" trader in the southeast. Such a reputation, along with Galphin's relationships in Creek Country to back it up, made Galphin a hot commodity among the merchants involved in the skin trade and for the British agents who conducted the empire's "Indian affairs." After vetting these potential allies, Galphin extended his hand to those he deemed worthy of his time and energy, or those who might best serve his interests and further his goal of carving out his own political and economic niche in North America.[339]

[339] James Glen to Edward Fenwick, 1 June 1756, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 1: March 1751 – 1756 ("Principal"); John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 24 October 1775, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 77 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 333-334 ("considerable"); Samuel Cole Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indian* (Nashville: Promontory Press, 1973), 366-367 ("sensible").

To consummate his relationships with merchant and imperial allies, Galphin deployed the same fictive familial vernacular that he used with the Creeks to cement the trust and familiarity between them. Galphin and these allies, therefore, referred to one another as part of the same "household." For instance, Galphin and his partners in the firm, Brown Rae & Co., described themselves as "formerly three Separate Houses" now consolidated into one. London merchants similarly perceived themselves as commercial "houses," and when they joined in business with new allies like Galphin, they figuratively fused their "houses" together. When Galphin entered into partnership with merchants like John Beswicke and Thomas Rock, then, "the house of George Galphin" merged with their London and Bristol "houses." Imperial authorities likewise viewed the peoples and firms involved in the skin trade through a familial or house-like lens, in which "Mr. Galphin's House" emerged as the most proficient firm in maintaining peace and commerce with the Creeks during the 1750s and 1760s. Together, Galphin and his commercial and political allies spoke the same language of households, and this translated into a greater trust and confidence between them.[340]

By cultivating a respectable reputation on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as using a metaphorical language to reinforce his alliances and partnerships, Galphin lured some of the most influential merchant firms and imperial authorities into relationships with him. In the process, Galphin eased his efforts to glue the peoples and places of his world together, which coalesced into an integrative network of peoples and places

[340] Brown Rae & Co. to Trustees, 13 February 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXVI: Volume XXVI: Original Papers, Trustees, President and Assistants, and Others, 1750-1752*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1916), 152-155 ("three Separate Houses"); Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, Book D, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Box 6, Folder 9, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 270-272 ("house of George Galphin"); Edmond Atkin to William Henry Lyttelton, 5 February 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14 ("House").

spanning the transatlantic and imperial worlds. Even with the onset of the Seven Years' War that threatened to undermine everything that Galphin sought to accomplish, he pulled the strings of his relationships in Creek Country to protect the interests of his merchant and imperial partners. By the end of the war, Galphin had organized the disparate peoples and places of Ulster Ireland, the Native southeast, North America, Great Britain, and the larger imperial and transatlantic communities into a coherent world of intimacies and localities.

After entering the skin trade as an employee of Archibald McGillivray & Co., Galphin developed into one of that firm's most capable and valued traders, which earned him a place as one of seven partners in the company that succeeded McGillivray's firm in 1744, Brown Rae & Co. Known simply as the "Company," this new firm consisted of three formerly independent trade firms that merged into one "for the more effectual carrying on the Trade and Supplying the Indians with goods." Galphin's meteoric rise from lowly trader to one of the "Seven of us" stemmed from both his role as the resident trader in Coweta and his relationships with that town's leading headmen. To add to Galphin's credentials, he spent more time in Creek Country than any other partner or employee, maintaining a constant presence among their Creek customers and allies to ensure the Company's interest. Observers noted that Brown Rae & Co.'s success lay rooted in the fact that Galphin "[was] always in the Nation to make the most of their affairs." Whereas other partners like Patrick Brown and Isaac Barksdale carried the financial and logistical weight of the Company within the colonies, Galphin offered the means and support necessary for Brown Rae & Co. to

function and surpass other firms involved in the skin trade.[341]

A partner of the Company, Galphin found himself fully enmeshed within the centers and ports of the skin trade – Augusta, Savannah, Charleston, London, Bristol, and Cowes. Over time, Galphin's constant interactions with these localities, and his ties to the traders and merchants at each of those places, provided the means by which his world expanded beyond Ulster and Coweta. At the beginning of his tenure as a junior partner in Brown Rae & Co., Galphin operated out of Charleston – the preeminent shipping center for the skin trade – before the Company relocated their stores to Augusta, which evolved into a "superior location at the head of the major trading path to the southern Indian nations." From Augusta, the Company utilized the Savannah River to save "the trouble and Inconvenience of Passing and Repassing that River every time with their Goods and Horses." Although Charleston remained the skin trade's most important harbor and the Company's favored port, Augusta eventually supplanted Charleston as the "Key [to] all the Indian Countrey." Galphin's local and very personal world, therefore, extended to these new localities, at which he cultivated a series of relationships that added to his personal and spatial connectedness.[342]

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[341] Edward J. Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader: The Shaping of the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 48 (1744); Brown Rae & Co. to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in Westminster, 13 February 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXVI*, 152-155 ("effectual," "Seven of us"); Henry Laurens to James Cowles, 4 July 1755, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume I: Sept. 11, 1746 – Oct. 31, 1755*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), 284-285 ("were always in the Nation"). The "three houses" in question were Archibald McGillivray & Co., the firm of Alexander Wood and Patrick Brown, and the independent company of John Rae and Isaac Barksdale. The seven partners for Brown Rae & Co. were Galphin, Rae, Brown, Barksdale, Lachlan McGillivray, Daniel Clark, and William Sludders.

[342] Kathryn Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815,* 2nd ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 41-42 ("superior location"); Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed. *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmund Atkin Report and Plan of 1755* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1954), 34 ("Repassing"); Colonel Oglethorpe to the Trustees, 8 March 1739, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXII, Part II: Original Papers,*

Shortly after Brown Rae & Co. set up shop in Augusta, imperial officials observed that the deerskin trade "is almost entirely monopoliz'd by [the] Company of Seven Persons," a commercial feat attributed to the familial milieu of that firm. Galphin acted as one of the driving forces behind such personal familiarity, for it is no coincidence that Galphin and his fellow traders referred to one another as "loving friends and partners" and "sworn brothers." Galphin and his partners also considered themselves "formerly three Separate Houses" now consolidated into one, and that their "House is the best Acquainted with Indian Affairs of any in this Colony." On account of such fictive kinship, the Company men looked out for one another's interests and safety, either by bequeathing substantial legacies to one another or as security for each other's land grants and legal transactions. Moreover, when Galphin fell gravely ill and went "under the Doctor's Hands," it was his partner Isaac Barksdale who called upon his "couzin" to nurse Galphin back to health. The Company's metaphorical vernacular not only cemented the bonds of trust and confidence between Galphin and his partners – which created a "close-knit and powerful community" within Brown Rae & Co. – but also diffused the "expence and risque of Debts attending the Indian trade." Unlike the Company, most trade firms and companies accumulated massive debts in the deerskin trade that led to the "failures of [those] Houses," which "greatly discourage[d] People" from entering that trade. But for Galphin and his partners, intimacy emerged as the essential ingredient to the recipe of their success.[343]

Correspondence, Trustees, General Oglethorpe and Others, 1737-1740, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: C.P. Byrd, 1913), 108-109 ("Key").

[343] 24 May 1751, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume II: Minutes of the Common Council of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1904), 512 ("Monopoliz'd"); Will of Patrick Brown, *Wills, Charleston Country, South Carolina, W.P.A. Transcripts, Volume VII*, South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Columbia SC, 364-365 ("loving friends"); Inventory for William Sludders,

The relationships that Galphin cultivated with three of his partners –John Rae, Lachlan McGillivray, and John McQueen – provided the logistical and grassroots means for the Company to engineer a near monopolistic control over the deerskin trade, and to establish their firm as the premier intermediary for the empire in the Native southeast. Through Galphin's relations with the Lower Creeks, McGillivray's connections with the Upper Creeks, Rae's ties to Augusta and Charleston, and McQueen's relationships in London and other European ports, the Company commanded an unrivaled commercial and political influence over the deerskin trade. While McQueen ordered trade goods from London and Europe, Rae received those commodities in Charleston and Augusta. From there, Rae sent those goods to Galphin and McGillivray, who were based in the Lower and Upper Creek towns, where they distributed those commodities to their Creek allies, or used them to purchase deerskins they sent back to Rae and McQueen. As a consequence, the Company's records are littered with notations in which Galphin and McGillivray had "sundry Goods delivered to the Indians." In the words of Galphin and his partners who described the importance of their labors, we "have risqued our all in the Colony & have been no Small Benefactors to it…who by our Endeavours, have in a great Measure kept the Indians on

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Georgia Records, 1735-1822, Book F: Inventories of Estates, MS #4000, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 10-20; 30 March 1768, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* [micro-film], University of North Texas, Denton TX ("Sworn Brothers"); George Galphin to Commissioner Pinckney, 3 November 1750, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History), 1958), 4-5 ("Doctor"); Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732-1795* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 97 ("close-knit"); Henry Laurens to Daniel Grant, 27 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VII: Aug. 1, 1769 – Oct. 9, 1771*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 223-224 ("risque"); Henry Laurens to Francis Bremar, 27 March 1749, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VI: Aug. 1, 1768 – July 31, 1769*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1978), 231 ("failures").

good Terms with this Colony as well as Carolina for some Years past."[344]

Galphin and his friends within the Company also established a semblance of order and regularity for the British Empire's relations and trade with the Native southeast. In lieu of a centralized imperial authority in South Carolina and Georgia, Galphin and his three "sworn brothers" emerged as the empire's primary agents in Native communities, as well as monitoring and facilitating the traffic in deerskins. Imperial authorities recognized that the Company men, through their personal connections within the southeast and across the Atlantic, saved the empire from a financial and logistical burden. For example, Galphin and his inner circle operated as the empire's eyes and ears in the Native southeast. Of all the traders in South Carolina and Georgia, imperial authorities esteemed both Galphin and McGillivray as the best "intelligence agent[s]," people who communicated rumors, reports, and scraps of information related to French and Spanish intrigues in Native towns. In one instance, Galphin relayed a message to the South Carolina Council that "Accounts [are] that the French have been tampering with the Lower Creeks [and] have offered them Great Present if they would Kill All the English Traders in their Nation." Galphin and McGillivray also sent intelligence concerning intra-indigenous affairs that potentially threatened the British interest, which included news that a delegation of "Choctaws that was in Town [Charleston] in the Winter…stayed in the Creeks and went out a hunting with Chickesaws that lives there…[but] in the Woods killed all Six of them." This violence enflamed anti-Choctaw sentiment among the Creeks and threatened to draw the English into a Creek-Choctaw

[344] January 1742, *The Journal of the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly, Volume III*, ed. James Harold Easterby (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1951-), 343 ("sundry goods"); Brown Rae & Co. to the Honourable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia," 13 February 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXVI*, 152-155 ("risq'd our all").

conflict, which led McGillivray and Galphin to alert the empire to this danger.[345]

Galphin and his inner circle successfully mitigated the countless crises that threatened to embroil South Carolina and Georgia in conflicts with one another, or with the Creeks. Within the colonies, Brown Rae & Co. established "uniform prices" and rates of exchange for the skin trade, developed "sensible regulations" – like the fact that deerskins needed to be "properly dressed by the Indians before they were purchased" – helped "mediate personal conflicts" between traders, "forecast future economic progress, and generally knit inhabitants together." The Company men further claimed that without the firm's experienced traders like Galphin and McGillivray, the colonies faced the prospect of "Raw Unexperienced people among the Indians" who threatened to "raise such a Combustion as would not easily be allayed." It also did not hurt the Company's stock that most "Creek headmen supported the restriction of the trade to a few men," predominately those of Brown Rae & Co. like Galphin and McGillivray, for they "were personally known and acceptable to their [Creek] people."[346]

Through Galphin and his inner circle, the Company orchestrated a near monopolistic control over the skin trade and assumed a prominent role within Creek-British politics, which provoked non-Company traders like James Beamor to complain that "the company at Augusta…have the trade of the Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws…[and] will ruin us!" In response, colonial officials ordered inquiries and discovered the "Company of Seven Persons at Augusta" dominated the traffic in

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[345] Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader*, 58 ("agent"); 5 July 1744, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, ST 0705, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC, 386-387 ("Kill All"); 13 July 1749, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, 537-538 ("Choctaws").

[346] Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader,* 105 ("regulations," etc.); Brown Rae & Co. to the Honourable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia," 13 February 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXVI*, 152-155 ("raw unexperienced"); Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels,* 49 ("leading Creek headmen").

deerskins, which produced such "pernicious Effects" that it demanded "the Necessity of doing what lay in our Power to prevent so apparent an Evil." But imperial officials took only superficial steps to police the Company, as evidenced by the fact that they appointed John Rae as the Justice of the Peace to oversee the investigation, which is in itself a testament to the firm's political and commercial weight within the colonies.[347] Needless to say, the "Monopoly complained of in respect to the Indian trade" remained, while all further protests against "the powerful Company at Augusta [who] seem to look upon the whole Trade of the Creek as their undoubted Right" fell on deaf ears.[348]

Galphin's friendships with Rae, McGillivray, and McQueen provided him with the means to extend his world of relationships into the imperial and transatlantic worlds. From the outset of Galphin's entrance into the deerskin trade, he relied on Rae to guide and advise him. Rae was a former "Master of the Georgia Scout Boat," owner of one of the three firms that became Brown Rae & Co., a tax assessor, spokesmen for town and parish councils, and one of Georgia's longest serving Justices of the Peace. Basically, Rae knew "who was who" in South Carolina and Georgia and introduced Galphin to some of the most influential people in the southeastern colonies. These individuals included the men of the Georgia Council, colonial governors like James

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[347] The only time the Georgia government took action against the Company occurred when Galphin petitioned for the position as a Justice of the Peace in Creek Country after the death of the previous magistrate. However, the Georgia council denied his request for fear it "is a Design of the Company's in order that they might have it in their Power to oppress all Traders in the Nation, who would not join them in their pernicious Schemes. 26 September 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VI: Proceedings of the President and Assistants from 12 October 1741 – 30 October 1754*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1906), 333.

[348] Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader*, 104-105 ("Beamor"); Benjamin Martyn to the President and Assistants in Georgia, 10 July 1751, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXI: The Trustees' Letter Book, 1745-1751*, ed. Kenneth Coleman (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 234-235 ("Seven Persons"); Georgia Council to Benjamin Martyn, 28 February 1751, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: Georgia, 1734-1784*, CO 5/643, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 172-173 ("pernicious Effects"); "Appendix to the Journal and Proceedings of Thomas Bosomworth," *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750 – August 7, 1754*, 329-330 ("Company").

Glen and Henry Ellis, and merchants such as Francis Macartan and John and Ulrick Tobler. Rae ultimately acted as the bridge between these men of commercial and political influence with "Mr. George Galphin…[of] the Lower Creeks."[349]

McGillivray similarly ushered Galphin into those influential commercial and political circles, which again offered Galphin the potential to establish relationships with some of the most important men of empire and commerce.[350] These individuals included the governors William Henry Lyttelton and James Habersham, the superintendents of Indian affairs Edmond Atkin and John Stuart, and merchants like Andrew McLean, John Clark, and John Graham, all of whom in time considered Galphin an ally in the deerskin trade and Creek-British politics. In fact, British observers often viewed Galphin and McGillivray as an inseparable duo whose influence among the Creeks proved critical to imperial and mercantile fortunes in the southeast.

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[349] "Journal of Thomas Causton Esq…1737," in *Our First Visit in America: Early Reports from the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1740*, ed. Trevor R. Reese (Savannah: The Beehive Press, 1974), 270 ("scout boat"); Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 51-52 (Rae's services); George Fenwick Jones, "Portrait of an Irish Entrepreneur in Colonial Augusta: John Rae, 1708-1772," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 83:3 (Fall 1999): 437-438 (political office); 5 November 1754, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume VII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from October 30, 1754 – March 10, 1759*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1906), 24-25 ("Lower Creeks").

[350] Galphin's friendship with Lachlan McGillivray illustrates the very permeable nature of Galphin's interpersonal hierarchy. From mere acquaintances during their mutual tenure with Archibald McGillivray & Co., to a shared partnership in Brown Rae & Co., McGillivray ran the gamut of Galphin's relational network as he progressed from a nobody, to an ally, and then to an intimate. Over time, these two men came to consider one another as "loving" and "worthy friends," who settled town plats alongside one another, assigned each other as executors to their wills, signed joint petitions for land in South Carolina and Georgia, and defended one another's names in the *Georgia Gazette* when defamed by the Rev. John Joachim Zubly. Even in times of separation when McGillivray returned to his home in Scotland, Galphin maintained a continual correspondence with his "friend McGillivray" as they traded letters across the Atlantic. 10 June 1767, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* ("worthy friends"); 12 June 1767, *Last Will of Lachlan McGillivray of Vale Royal, Georgia*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA [accessed through Ancestry.com, 26 October 2012]; 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*, 000051 .L51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC; Barry Fleming, ed. *Autobiography of a Colony: The First Half-Century of Augusta, Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1957), 179-180 (town lots); "The Estate of Georgia Galphin Esq. dec. with John Glen," *John Glen Account Book, 1769-1786*, Book 4, MS #1525, Georgia Historical Society, Athens GA ("Case of McGillivray"); 10 June 1767, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* (Zubly case); James Habersham to George Galphin, 23 November 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, MS #1787, Folder 4, Georgia Historical Society, Athens GA ("friend McGillivray").

As James Adair put it best, "G.G. and L.M.G." are men "with the greatest propriety" whose "distinguished abilities…thorough acquaintance with the North American Indians language, rites, and customs…[and] long application and services in the dangerous sphere of the Indian life" were invaluable to the imperial and transatlantic commercial communities.[351]

To round out Galphin's inner circle, McQueen mentored Galphin in the many ins and outs of transoceanic commerce and introduced him to some of the most influential men who trafficked in the skin trade. From the very beginning of Galphin's tenure as an Indian trader with Archibald McGillivray & Co., it was McQueen who acted as Galphin's tutor and proved on many an occasion to be an unflappable role model. When threatened by Creek warriors during one of Galphin's first forays into Creek Country – an experience that left "G.G. very much afraid" – McQueen came to the rescue and safely guided Galphin back to Charleston. At some point in the 1740s, though, McQueen transitioned from a trader to a merchant, and served as Brown Rae & Co.'s intermediary with London. Therefore, Galphin's friendship with McQueen provided him with a unique opportunity to learn from a man well-connected and fully enmeshed within the empire's commercial networks. Through McQueen, Galphin acquired the knowledge and expertise to operate within this commercial world and met some of the leading merchants in the deerskin trade. Of these mercantile men, none was more important than McQueen's partner, John Beswicke, who headed one of London's most lucrative firms. In addition, McQueen's personal ties extended to the merchants Henry Laurens, John Gordon, John Nutt, and James Cowles, all of whom eventually established their own relations with Galphin. It also speaks volumes that most of the

[351] Williams, ed. *Adair's History of the American Indians*, i-v ("distinguished").

merchants connected in business with McQueen sought out and found a suitable replacement in Galphin following McQueen's death in 1762. In short, McQueen ushered Galphin into the empire's most important commercial circles and armed Galphin with the personal contacts necessary to thrive within this mercantile world.[352]

In addition to his inner circle, the Company itself strengthened Galphin's connections to those commercial and political circles, particularly when it promised to finance the expansion of the empire's commercial infrastructure in the southeast.[353] Instead of "Shipping to Import our goods by way of Carolina…[as] we have been obliged" in the past, the Company promised "to bring shipping to Savannah, & Import & Export our goods from thence, which will add to the Trade of the said place." This

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[352] John McQueen to Martin Campbell, 17 March 1746, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, Roll ST 0706, 83-84 ("afraid"); 28 November 1760, *Last Will and Testament of John McQueen*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA [accessed through Ancestry.com, 26 October 2012] (McQueen-Beswicke connection); John Beswicke to Henry Laurens, 19 May 1761, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume III: Jan. 1, 1759 – Aug. 31, 1763*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 70-71 (McQueen-Beswicke-Laurens); Henry Laurens to John Beswicke, 19 April 1757, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. II*, 523 (Laurens-McQueen); Henry Laurens to James Cowles, 23 July 1756, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. II*, 144 (McQueen-Cowles-Laurens); Thomas Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina: Acts from 1752 to 1786* (Columbia, SC: A.S. Johnston, 1838), 112-113 (McQueen-Laurens-Beswicke-Nutt); Henry Laurens to William Cowles, 28 February 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VIII: Oct. 10, 1771 – Apr. 19, 1773*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 201-202 (McQueen-Gordon). McQueen's son partnered with Gordon after John McQueen's death in 1762. Henry Laurens to William Fisher, 11 December 1756, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. II*, 368-369 (McQueen-Galphin transactions); Robert McMurdy "Deed of Sale" to George Galphin and John McQueen, *George Galphin's Mesne Conveyance Records, 1752-1778, Book S-S*, Register Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston County Courthouse, Charleston, SC, 99.

[353] It should be noted that the partners of Brown Rae & Co. also promised to finance the extension of imperial power into the Native southeast. For instance, the Company spearheaded plans to build a British fort in Creek Country as a counterweight to the French "Alabama" Fort, a place that might offer "the Traders [a] retreat to while the Indians were out a hunting, that they might be there in a Body together…better able to defend themselves…[from] the Albama Garrison." To lobby for such a fortification, the Company relied on Galphin and McGillivray's influence to convince their Creek allies of the necessity for a British garrison in Creek Country. However, plans turned sour after the South Carolina legislature only requisitioned £250 "for the building of the said Fort" and then Creek headmen protested a permanent British presence in their territories. Therefore, when Galphin and McGillivray met with their Creek allies, most of them simply "return[d] home, [and] intelligence was given immediately to the…Alabama Fort, of our Intention." 29 June 1744, *The Journal of the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly, Volume V*, 220 ("Albama"); 3 July 1744, *The Journal of the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly, Vol. V*, 222 ("retreat"); 19 March 1745, *The Journal of the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly, Vol. V*, 394 ("£250"); Jacobs, ed. *Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier*, 11-12 ("Intention).

stunning turn of events, especially since Brown Rae & Co. sent all of its deerskins to Charleston, proved important in diversifying the empire's shipping lanes to the southeast. North America and London merchants had once complained that "We find so many inconveniences and charges attending our doing business from England and other parts by way to Charleston, that unless we can fall on some method to introduce Shipping here [Georgia] we shall never do anything to purpose." But now, those merchants proclaimed "this considerable Branch of the Indian Trade will in Time centre wholly here [Savannah]" and "save a great Expence, as well as Risque…and in Course the Indian Trade…will proportionably increase." True to the Company's word, the bulk of the skin trade shifted from South Carolina to Georgia by the mid eighteenth century. According to individuals like Jonathan Copp, it was owing "to a certain Company of Seven…who are ye chief Promoters of ye Trade & present flourishing State of this growing Town…[and] demonstrated their hearty Zeal for the Good of this Place in Liberality." Such instances of the Company's influence and power encouraged those merchants in Great Britain, as well as other parts of the empire, to seek partnerships with the Company.[354]

However, the Company broke apart in 1755 with the death of Patrick Brown, "the head of [the] Company," after which the other partners, including Rae and McGillivray, "broke away and joined new ventures." In contrast, Galphin took a calculated risk and sought to create his own independent trade firm despite the lack of logistical or

[354] Brown Rae & Co. to the Honourable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia," 13 February 1750, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXVI*, 152-155 ("Import & Export"); James Habersham to Benjamin Martyn, 24 May 1749, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXV: Original Papers, Correspondence, Trustees, General Oglethorpe and Others, 1745-1750*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1915), 390-392 ("method"); James Habersham to Benjamin Martyn, 3 February 1752, CO 5/643, 336-337 ("time centre"); Reverend Jonathan Copp to Benjamin Martyn, 30 September 1751, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXVI*, 305 ("justice," "zeal").

financial support from a partner or partners. In lieu of a safety net to offset the precarious nature of the skin trade, Galphin instead drew upon the relationships that he had forged and accumulated up to this point. For the first time, Galphin truly set into motion all of the peoples and places within his world in the pursuit of his commercial interest. But Galphin's initial attempts to deploy his relationships in such ways proved an extraordinarily difficult and ambitious process. Galphin learned the hard way that in the absence of the Company, he lacked his own prestige necessary to convince merchants across the Atlantic that he was a worthy investment, as those merchants doubted whether Galphin's independent firm could survive on its own. To make matters worse, Galphin's decision coincided with the onset of war in 1756. To Galphin's dismay, then, the road to independency remained riddled with a series of potentially ruinous obstacles that threatened to tear his world asunder.[355]

Being a newly independent trader, Galphin desperately needed to reassure his Creek allies that his firm could maintain a steady flow of goods into Creek Country. To do so, he turned to his closest confidants Rae, McGillivray, and McQueen to placate his Creek supporters while he sought out commercial relationships to replace the contacts he lost with the dismemberment of Brown Rae & Co. In spite of the fact that Galphin's inner circle went their own separate ways, they remained steadfast in their friendship to one another, and assisted Galphin financially and logistically as he struggled to set up his own firm.[356] For instance, Rae lent Galphin his "trading boats" and transported

[355] Henry Laurens to James Cowles, 4 July 1755, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. I*, 284-285 (Brown death, "head of that Company"); Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 48 ("new ventures").
[356] This mutual assistance between Indian traders and merchants is not unique to Galphin and his "inner circle." Despite competing against one another and with other traders and merchants, these men at some

Galphin's deerskins and commodities back and forth between Savannah, Charleston, and Silver Bluff during the late 1750s. For his part, McQueen acted on Galphin's behalf in London, where he facilitated the exchange of Galphin's skins for European goods, which he then sent back to Galphin. Meanwhile, McGillivray joined McQueen in introducing Galphin to a number of local merchants who saw a unique opportunity in Galphin to expand their commercial reach into Coweta and among the Lower Creeks. Needless to say, Galphin's inner circle had his back in more ways than one.[357]

With the assistance of these intimates, Galphin quickly met merchants who contracted with him for his skins, such as Henry Laurens, "one of the biggest exporters of deerskins" in Charleston.[358] However, Galphin nearly derailed this new relationship before it even started when he and McQueen miscommunicated about a shipment intended for Laurens. In recalling the incident, Laurens wrote that Galphin "whose Beaver we were promis'd came down in the Boat himself" but mistakenly sold the furs to a different merchant "before he saw…McQueen." Galphin no doubt realized his mistake and apologized to Laurens, who expressed no ill will toward Galphin. Despite this hiccup, Laurens "purchased [skins] of our good friend Mr. Galphin" at a steady pace during the 1750s and 1760s, which established a partnership between these two men. In fact, Laurens over time evolved into one of Galphin's foremost confidants in

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point contracted with one another for financial and logistical support within the deerskin trade, assigned one another as executors and witnesses to their various commercial and legal dealings, called upon each other for extensions of credit or orders of goods to fulfill outstanding requests from London, and other situations that involved their mutual assistance to one another. But for Galphin, the relationships with his "inner circle" determined who he called upon for help in his attempts to establish his own firm.

[357] Thomas Rasberry to John and Ulrick Tobler, 14 August 1759, *The Letter Book of Thomas Rasberry, 1758-1761*, in Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Volume XIII, ed. Lilla M. Hawes (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1959), 75 ("Rae's Boat").

[358] While Laurens was the most important local merchant that McQueen and McGillivray set Galphin up with, they also introduced Galphin to a number of other local merchants that included Thomas Corker, Andrew McLean, James Jackson, John Morel, Gabriel Manigault, Thomas Rasberry, Ulrick and John Tobler, and one Bowen.

the skin trade, and their relations eventually transcended the hierarchical boundaries between intimates and allies. Laurens remarked as much to his other partners, saying that "our worthy friend George Galphin" was more than just a client, but a friend.[359]

Through McQueen and Laurens, Galphin also encountered an up-and-coming local merchant, John Gordon, who wielded strong ties to London's commercial circles. Gordon functioned specifically as a contracting agent for John Beswicke. His responsibilities as Beswicke's proxy in North America involved negotiating with traders for their deerskins that he in turn shipped back to his employer in London. Fortuitously for Galphin, McQueen and Laurens were both acquainted with Gordon and had at various times mentored Gordon in the skin trade. With little effort, McQueen and Laurens ushered Galphin into Gordon's good graces and they quickly established a working relationship; eventually, a majority of Galphin's skins flowed into Gordon's hands. In Gordon's own words, he perceived his partnership with Galphin as an "intimate connection…between his interest and mine in the Indian trade."[360]

Galphin slowly climbed the ranks of the merchants involved in the deerskin trade, and eventually – through McQueen[361] and Gordon – came to the attention of Beswicke himself,[362] the London merchant who commanded the respect and deference of his

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[359] W.O. Moore Jr., "The Largest Exporters of Deerskins from Charles Town, 1735-1775," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Volume 74, No. 3 (July 1973): 147-150 ("biggest exporters"); Henry Laurens to William Fisher, 11 December 1756, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. II*, 368-369 ("Beaver"); Henry Laurens to Thomas Netherclift, 2 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VII*, 209 ("good friend"); Henry Laurens to Thomas Netherclift, 7 November 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VII*, 399-400 ("worthy friend").

[360] John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Microfilm 687, Reel 17, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("intimate connection").

[361] See McQueen's last will and testament for the particulars of his close friendship and partnership with John Beswicke. 28 November 1760, *Last Will and Testament of John McQueen*.

[362] Beswicke was an Englishman who spent most of his life abroad as a merchant and who knew the ins and outs of the global networks of imperial commerce, even serving as consul to the North African territory of Tripoli from 1728 to 1733. As other merchants observed, Beswicke developed a knack for

peers on both sides of the Atlantic. In the wake of Brown Rae & Co.'s dissolution, Beswicke searched for a suitable replacement he could trust. Through the persuasions of McQueen and Gordon, Beswicke settled upon Galphin, even though Galphin had little in the way of resources or capital to jumpstart an independent firm. But McQueen and Gordon piqued Beswicke's interest when they informed him of Galphin's connections among the Lower Creeks. Consequently, Galphin gained access to Beswicke's vast resources, which included large shipments of European goods aboard his brigs the "Charming Martha" and "Amy." These ships on one occasion shipped "12,650 pounds of Gunpowder, 102 weight of Bullets, 702 Small Arms or Guns, 19 pair Pistols…for the Indian Trade." In other instances, Beswicke sent supplies to Galphin aboard his ships the "Hannah," "Charlotte," and "Martha," which Galphin loaded with deerskins, indigo, and rice. Galphin quickly learned, then, that Beswicke was a man of influence within the deerskin trade; since many people in Charleston and Savannah knew Beswicke's flagship the "Elizabeth" by sight, which stood as a prolific symbol of Beswicke's influence within the deerskin trade.[363]

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belonging to a "very Good House[s] in a mercantile way of Business," which translated into extensive commercial connections throughout the empire. Following his stint in Tripoli, Beswicke petitioned London authorities for the appointment as "Clerk of the Markets" in South Carolina. While there, he experimented with the deerskin trade, likely on account of his "Long Experience abroad in the Way of Trade," Beswicke thereafter emerged as one of the great intermediaries for the skin trade in Carolina in the late 1730s and early 1740s before returning to London in 1747 where he established himself as one of the main "Merchants tradeing to South Carolina" and specializing in deerskins. John Beswicke from London to Duke of Newcastle, 23 February 1733, *State Papers Domestic, George II – Letters and Papers,* SP 63, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 75-77 ("mercantile way," "Way of Trade"); "The Humble Petition of John Beswicke to the Duke of Newcastle," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: South Carolina, 1734-1776,* CO 5/383, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 213 ("Clerk of the Markets"); "Memorial to the Duke of Newcastle inclosing a Petition from the Freeholders of Granville Co. in South Carolina," 5 March 1747, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: South Carolina, 1730-1784,* CO 5/389, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 43 (Memorial).

[363] Henry Laurens to James Crokatt, 28 December 1747, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. I,* 95-96 ("Amy"); Henry Laurens to John Beswicke, 19 April 1757, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. II,* 523 ("Hannah"); "John Beswicke to the Right Honourable Principal Officers of His Majesty's Board of

Galphin also sought to diversify his commercial connections to Great Britain, and found a willing ally in the Bristol merchant Thomas Rock. While Galphin depended on his close friends for access to London's commercial circles, Galphin himself resurrected the merchant relationship that Brown Rae & Co. once shared with Rock. Galphin sought out the man who many considered "a bold Pusher in this [skin] Trade" and who had helped Brown Rae & Co. attain its near monopolistic hold over "all that [was] taken in the Creek & Chicasaw Nations." Unlike Beswicke, Rock knew firsthand the influence that Galphin possessed among the Lower Creeks, and welcomed Galphin's firm into his company, again to replace the connections that English merchants lost after the breakup of Brown Rae & Co. Soon thereafter, Rock loaded his ships the "Bristol Galley," "Mary," and "Charles Town" with commodities destined for Galphin, his Coweta allies, and their Creek customers, which Galphin reciprocated by sending a wealth of skins and "bundles…in the hair" back to Bristol. On his own initiative, then, Galphin forged another powerful connection to Great Britain that sustained his newly independent trade firm.[364]

Ordinance," 23 June 1756, *Treasury Board Papers and In-Letters, Minutes, Entry-Books and Correspondence*, T 1/370/40, British National Archives, Kew (small arms); "Ships Cleared Inward December 19, 1752" and "Cleared Outward January 16, 1753," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Shipping Returns: South Carolina, 1736-1775*, CO 5/510, British National Archives, Kew, 40-44 ("Charlotte," "Martha"); "To the Principal Officers of His Majesty's Board of Ordnance from John Beswicke," 27 November 1757, *Treasury Board Papers and In-Letters, Minutes, Entry-Books, and Correspondence*, T77, British National Archives, Kew, n.p. ("Elizabeth").

[364] Henry Laurens to Devonsheir, Reeve & Lloyd, 19 July 1756, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. II*, 265 ("pusher"); Henry Laurens to Devonsheir, Reeve & Lloyd, 4 July 1755, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. I*, 285-286 ("Chicasaw"); "Ships Cleared Outward 1757-1758," CO 5/510, 55-62 ("Bristol Galley," "Mary," "Charles Town," "bundles"). Galphin relied on Beswicke and Rock to ensure the sale of his deerskins in London, the "financing center" of the British Empire. Once Galphin's skins arrived in port, Beswicke and Rock unloaded and stored those commodities in their warehouses while they sought buyers in merchant neighborhoods in and around the Royal Exchange. In particular, Galphin's partners frequented the nearby "Carolina Walk" with its blocks of coffee-houses and "counting-houses" that attracted most of the business men involved in the skin trade. It was here in the Carolina district and at the "Carolina Coffeehouse" on Birchin Lane that merchants like Beswicke and Rock assembled to transact business, negotiate the payment of debts, extend or retract credit, deliberate on and sign petitions

Notwithstanding Galphin's rapid-fire enactment of partnerships with merchants involved in the skin trade, these men of commerce at first invested only a limited trust in Galphin because his firm remained untested, which only spurred Galphin to prove himself as a man who could be counted on. Galphin and everyone else involved in transoceanic commerce understood that trade hinged upon "local and particular circumstances, efforts, and connections," and the fulfillment of mutual responsibilities and interests by both parties on either side of the ocean. Therefore, if one partner failed to live up to his end of the bargain, the entire partnership suffered as a result. As a consequence, merchants on both sides of the ocean looked for men whom they could trust and who consistently met the expectations demanded of them. Due to the intensity of commercial competition in the eighteenth century, trust and dependability became all the more important to merchants who desired those attributes in all their partners.[365]

On top of this, transoceanic commerce was fraught with great risk, uncertainty, and peril that further inhibited trust, especially between allies separated by an ocean. These partnerships suffered from an acute impersonality, which inhibited the "face-to-face personal relationships" that defined eighteenth century transoceanic traffic. Trust proved all the more important in transatlantic commerce since this economic system

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to Parliament for the protection of their trade interests, and seek out potential buyers for their skins. After finding a buyer, Beswicke and Rock purchased mass quantities of European goods tailored for the deerskin trade which they accumulated and stored in their warehouses until the season arrived to ship them to Galphin. David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 85 ("world commerce"), 87 ("financial center"); 89-90 ("counting house"); James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 127 ("Carolina Walk"); Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses in Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963), 147-149 ("Birchin Lane").

[365] David Hancock, "Self-Organized Complexity and the Emergence of an Atlantic Market Economy, 1651-1815," in *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, ed. Peter Coclanis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), 38 ("local and particular").

revolved around the exchange and valuation of credit, which created a "credit chain" that connected the ports and markets of the world to London. For merchants in Great Britain, potential partners outside of London needed to prove their "creditworthiness," or the ability to pay off one's debts without defaulting on those payments. But in the absence of trust, one could hardly attain a creditworthy standing in London, which proved crippling for those involved in the deerskin trade, since credit was "the real key to success in the Indian trade." In short, one's credit determined whether a London merchant invested their time and resources in that person. To compound matters, a host of unplanned mishaps and miscommunication often plagued these partnerships.[366]

To avoid such pitfalls, Galphin labored day in and day out to prove himself worthy of his merchants' trust. Galphin established a steady correspondence and a reciprocal exchange of information with Beswicke and Rock. Along with the deerskins he sent to London, Galphin often relayed the demands and wants of his Creek allies for specific goods, which Beswicke and Rock gathered and shipped back to Galphin. When Beswicke or Rock asked Galphin for minute details, explanations, or the annual orders for trade goods, he needed to be prompt and honest. Consequently, Galphin and his London contacts exchanged a non-stop flurry of queries, requests, and reports concerning a wide range of topics, varying from how much or what type of goods they needed, how much credit to extend, delivery methods and time frames, costs of shipping, competitors' prices and profits, and a host of other issues. By maintaining a

[366] Peter Mathias, "Risk, Credit and Kinship in Early Modern Enterprise," in *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy*, eds. John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16 ("face-to-face"), 23 ("risk," "uncertainty"), 28 ("creditworthiness"); Steven C. Hahn, *The Life and Times of Mary Bosomworth* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012), 16-17 ("credit chain"); Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels,* 53-54 ("key to success"); John Brownfield to Thomas Tuckwell, 28 August 1736, *John Brownfield Copy Book, 1735-1740*, MS #1389, Georgia Historical Society (unplanned mishaps).

continuous and open communication with his merchant allies, Galphin eventually charmed both Beswicke and Rock who saw in Galphin a dedicated, trustworthy, and efficient manager of their partnerships.

To further strengthen the relationships with his merchants, Galphin deployed the same fictive familial vernacular that he used with his partners in Brown Rae & Co. Once again, Galphin and his commercial allies shared a mutual appreciation for the importance of "houses" and "households," as they referred to themselves and their firms as "my House" or "Houses." For instance, Henry Laurens described John Beswicke's company as the "proper House or Houses in London" for the skin trade. Beswicke and his nephews, William Greenwood and William Higginson, similarly viewed their relationships with Galphin as their "house" allied with "the house of George Galphin." These comparisons between family and business served as more than just a metaphor, but likened the two to one another to invite trust between partners, and to compensate for the impersonal oceanic barrier between them. Through this linguistic turn-of-phrase, then, Galphin further ingratiated himself with his merchant allies, and forged a stronger relationship that united those men and their interests.[367]

With these partnerships, Galphin's firm quickly emerged as one of the more lucrative, influential companies that filled the commercial vacuum following the collapse of Brown Rae & Co., and this in turn attracted imperial authorities who desired that Galphin perform many of the same labors for the empire as he did when with the

[367] Henry Laurens to Daniel Grant, 27 January 1770, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VII*, 223-224 ("Proper House"); Henry Laurens to Felix Warley, 3 February 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. VII*, 167-168 ("my House"); George Galphin to John Stuart, 8 January 1764, *Records of the Colonial Office, Original Correspondence, Plantations General, 1689-1952*, CO 323, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("my House"); Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, Book D, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943* ("house of…Galphin").

Company. Only this time, the men of empire dealt directly with Galphin, which lent him with a measure of political influence for the use of his own firm. To encourage such attention, Galphin shrewdly advertised his reputation as a man "possessed [of] the most extensive trade, connexions, and influence" among the Creeks, which in turn invited colonial governors, the superintendents of Indian affairs, and other British agents to seek out his support and council in managing Creek-British relations. For instance, Governor Lyttelton repeatedly relied on Galphin's "advices of consequence [that] you will be obliged in communicating to me." With the onset of the Seven Years' War, imperial officials increasingly turned to Galphin to represent and protect the British interest in the Native southeast.[368]

With the men of empire gravitating toward Galphin during the 1750s and 1760s, he again deployed a fictive familial vernacular to build greater trust and familiarity with his new imperial allies. Similar to the ways in which British agents once relied on the "house" of Brown Rae & Co. to maintain "harmony and civility in the Southeast," imperial officials now depended on Galphin's household to do the same. Consequently, colonial governors and the superintendents of Indian affairs regularly requisitioned the assistance of Galphin and "his House" to defuse the crises in Creek Country. Galphin's firm, therefore, doubled as a "trading house" involved in the deerskin trade and as an influential mediating body for Creek and British peoples, which accentuated Galphin's worth to both the empire and the transatlantic merchant community.[369]

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[368] Thomas P. Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels & Other Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1996), 259-261 ("connexions"); William Henry Lyttelton to George Galphin, 4 June 1759, *Cobham Lyttelton Family Papers, 1607-1949,* Roll PR0099, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("advices").

[369] Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places* 149 ("harmony"); 7-14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("his House"); James Grant to John Gordon, 18 September 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17 ("trading house").

It is no coincidence, then, that Galphin's name was on the lips of merchants and imperial administrators alike during the Seven Years' War, particularly after he was repeatedly called into the imperial service to protect the empire's commercial and political interests amid that conflict. Between 1756 and 1763, Galphin seized the opportunity to prove himself as a trustworthy man to his partners and allies, and Galphin in time exceeded their expectations and demands of him. By the end of the war, Galphin's small-time firm evolved into one of the most well-connected and prosperous trading companies, a feat that he accomplished through the support of his merchant and imperial allies who flocked to his banner because of his exploits during the war. More importantly for Galphin, though, his rise to one of the preeminent traders and intermediaries in the southeast offered him with the means to build upon and expand his world of relationships. In the aftermath of the war, Galphin fused together an integrative network of peoples and places that stretched throughout the imperial and transatlantic worlds.

The Seven Years' War, more than any other event, accelerated the integration of Galphin's intimacies and localities around the Atlantic basin. Because imperial administrators and London merchants relied on Galphin to manage Creek-British relations and to ensure a continual traffic in skins, Galphin wielded his relationships among the Lower Creeks – particularly with Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby – to fulfill those responsibilities. He also juggled the demands of his Coweta allies who desired that Galphin pursue their town interests in the British colonies and the empire. Consequently, Galphin maneuvered back and forth between his personal connections to

the Native southeast, British North America, Great Britain, and the transatlantic commercial community. In other words, Galphin's world started to evolve into a truly organic network that pooled the peoples and places of his expansive world together.

The Seven Years' War was also the proving grounds for Galphin's new alliances. Identified as one of the "six Principal Traders" by imperial leaders on the eve of the war, Galphin inherited the same responsibilities he bore as a trader with Brown Rae & Co., to secure and protect the British interest from France and Spain who conspired to turn the Creeks and other Native Peoples against the English. From the very outset of that conflict, colonial governors confided to London authorities that "it is absolutely necessary that all matters be regulated with [the] Traders"; otherwise they feared "we shall have more alarming accounts very soon from that [Indian] Country." In response, Galphin led the chorus of traders who pledged "to give security to the publick, that the Indians should be as fully supplied with goods as ever…that all the presents given by his Majesty should be carried up at their extreme," and to do all in their power to oppose French and Spanish intrigues.[370]

Fortuitously for Galphin's allies, he emerged as a shrewd power broker for Creek-British relations during the war, and spearheaded British efforts to promote peace and commerce with Native Peoples. From the very beginning of that conflict, Galphin emerged as a central figure for the empire in the southeast. In June 1756, he cockily strode into Augusta with "the Scalp of Mr. Lantigniac whom the Creeks had killed in Company with some other Frenchmen." Taking credit for the skirmish, Galphin presented the dead man's hair to Governor John Reynolds before a large audience. By word of mouth, as well as Reynolds's correspondence with administrators and

[370] James Glen to Edward Fenwick, 1 June 1756, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760,* Box 1.

merchants in London, Galphin's reputation soared as he became known on both ends of the Atlantic as one of "the most Eminent Creek Traders" and a man who struck a blow for the British interest against the French.[371]

Shortly after Galphin's dramatic flourish, though, things took a more serious turn as reports filtered into South Carolina and Georgia that "the War Whoop came…from the Cowetaws." Such rumors were in response to a fatal encounter between Lower Creek warriors and British settlers also in June 1756, which prompted imperial officials to send Galphin to the scene. But with panic gripping the populace and waves of refugees abandoning their outlying settlements out of "Apprehensions…of being attacked by the Creek Indians in Revenge," Galphin found himself paralyzed. He confided as much to his imperial and merchant allies, as "the present situation of Affairs were so precarious that he was determined neither to send goods or servants till he knew the result." After waiting a few weeks in hopes cooler heads prevailed, Galphin left Augusta for Coweta, armed with a substantial amount of goods that he distributed among his allies. Creek headmen greeted Galphin and stated they intended to "let the thing die for there shall never happen such another Mischance" again.[372]

Imperial administrators and English merchants continued to invest their trust in Galphin. For the duration of the war, Galphin promptly shuttled letters, talks, and treaties between Creek Country and the empire, either over land or by water aboard

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[371] James Glen to Edward Fenwick, 1 June 1756, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 1 ("Lantigniac"); White Outerbridge to William Henry Lyttelton, 17 July 1756, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 2: July – October 1756 ("Eminent").

[372] John Rae and Isaac Barksdale to James Germany, 10 June 1756, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 2 ("War Whoop"); Board of Trade to William Pitt, 24 December 1756, *Records of the British Colonial Office, Series 5, Part II: Board of Trade*, Reel 2, Vol. 7 [microfilm] (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 332 ("Apprehensions," "Revenge"); White Outerbridge to William Henry Lyttelton, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 2 ("Affairs"); Lower Creeks to William Henry Lyttelton and John Reynolds, 15 September 1756, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 2 ("Mischance").

"Golphin's Boat[s]." In writing to Governor Lyttelton, Governor Henry Ellis remarked that "Mr. Galphin" emerged as an important intermediary in conducting "our Indian business." Galphin also transmitted intelligence to his imperial and merchant allies, which often pertained to French efforts to do "all that lye in their power to set the Creeks against" us, or news that the "Spaniards…were going to join the French" in a joint attack on Georgia. In addition, Galphin tracked the movements of French-supportive Native Peoples, like a band of Shawnee who resided among the Creeks but "are all gon[e] of[f] to the French fort" and now threatened to "spoyall our paths." Galphin even led the initiative to open diplomatic and commercial channels with the Choctaws, a traditionally Francophile people. British agents wrote to London merchants concerning Galphin's labors, that "procuring the friendship of the Choctaws, and opening a Trade with them…[would] be a considerable Extension of the Trade of Great Britain." Finally, Galphin seemed to know about the seminal events that occurred in Creek Country before others, such as the murder of several traders at the town of Okfuskee in 1760, which British officials only learned of when "Mr. Galphin…sent up a Boy here to acquaint us of it." By the end of the Seven Years' War, colonial authorities and London merchants had much to thank Galphin for, as he provided "All the Intelligence we have from the Lower Creeks."[373]

[373] Thomas Rasberry to Josiah Smith, 29 January 1759, *The Letter Book of Thomas Rasberry, 1758-1761*, 36 ("Golphins Boat"); Henry Ellis to William Henry Lyttelton, 11 November 1757, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 6: October 1757 – February 1758 ("Indian business"); George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, 5 April 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 10: March – May 1759 ("lye in their power," "is all gon," "spoyall our paths"); Daniel Pepper to William Henry Lyttelton, 30 March 1757, *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1756*, ed. William L. McDowell Jr. (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1970), 352-357 ("Spaniards"); "Memorial of James Wright Agent for the Province of South Carolina," 1758, *Charles Garth Letterbook, 1758-1760, 1762-1766*, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("procuring the friendship," "Extension"); 6-8 August 1761, *London Evening Post*, Issue 5269, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London ("Boy"); 9 June 1760, *Pennsylvania*

Galphin also assisted his imperial and merchant allies by coordinating and managing the logistics of conferences with Native delegations. In 1758, Governor Ellis asked Galphin to set up a council with Creek headmen in the Lower towns, to guide the British diplomats to that meeting, interpret the talks between the two parties, and do all in his power to ensure cordial relations. Meanwhile, Galphin's merchant partners secured the contract for supplying the goods to be distributed among the Creek envoys, and entrusted those commodities to Galphin. In the words of one English diplomat, the talk "was received with great satisfaction," undoubtedly thanks to "Mr. Galphin [who] was there at that time." Galphin also fulfilled this responsibility for Edmond Atkin, the superintendent of Indian affairs, who traveled from one Creek town to the next in 1759. From 1760 to 1763, imperial authorities and London merchants regularly depended on Galphin to host, entertain, and placate the stream of Creek leaders who waited at "Mr. Galphin's" for British talks, presents, trade, and promises for the future.[374]

With the outbreak of the Cherokee War (1759-1761), Galphin's commercial and political allies pleaded with him to discourage the Cherokees from attacking British settlements and trade stores, hoping to capitalize on Galphin's relationship with the "Cherokee King," Escotchaby. At first, imperial agents approached "the Young Lieutenant…a very sagatious fellow…and a Cherokee King" to bridge the differences between the Cherokees and English, but despite their "many Attempts…to bring him over, they had hitherto availed little." Afterward, imperial authorities turned to Galphin

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Gazette, 1728-1800, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Intelligence").

[374] Joseph Wright to Henry Ellis, 4 July 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8: July – October 1758 ("satisfaction," "at that time"); George Galphin to William Henry Lyttelton, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 10 (Atkin logistics); 14 March 1761, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("Mr. Galphin's").

to try and convince Escotchaby to negotiate a peace between Cherokee and British peoples. In the meantime, Governor Ellis also implored "Mr. Galphin [to] prevail if possible upon a party of their [Creek] young men…to act against the Cherokees" in support of the British interest. Colonial newspapers even reported that Galphin "offered them [Creeks] a Piece of Strouds for every Cherokee Scalp they bring to him," one of many incentives British leaders tried to use to enlist Creek warriors. More importantly, Galphin promised his imperial allies to protect the flood of refugees who fled their settlements in response to Cherokee attacks. As depicted in newspapers, Galphin built a number of stockades in and around his home where he offered safe haven, guarded by "Creek Indians who promise to stand by him [Galphin]" and "scout at some distances round about" Galphin's forts to escort stragglers to safety. Galphin's allies surely noted that the North American and London public seemed entranced with Galphin's exploits during the Cherokee War, as newspapers in New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and London printed vivid details about Galphin's activities throughout that conflict.[375]

Regardless of the short half-life of imperial leaders[376] and English merchants during the war, Galphin ingratiated himself with the men of empire in the southeast, who came to consider Galphin as an important ally for Creek-British relations. In the process, he accumulated favor with these men of political and commercial power,

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[375] Henry Ellis to William Henry Lyttelton, 5 February 1760, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 14: January – February 1760 ("Cherokee King"); 22 March 1760, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("Young Lieutenant," attention to Galphin); Henry Ellis to William Henry Lyttelton, 7 December 1759, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 13: November – December 1759 ("prevail"); 2 May 1760, *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1780* ("Strouds," attention to Galphin); 10 March 1760, *The New York Mercury*, Issue 395, MS film 245, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA, 4 ("stand by him," "scout," attention to Galphin); 22 May 1760, *London Public Ledger: Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligence*, Issue 113, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London (attention to Galphin).

[376] South Carolina alone blazed through five governors during the Seven Years' War, Georgia with three governors, while two different men served as the British Superintendent of Indian affairs in the south.

which he kept in his back-pocket and saved for a rainy day. Such a day occurred during the war when the trader Williams invaded Galphin's sphere of influence in Coweta. In response, Galphin used his good graces with Governor Lyttelton to combat this threat against his interest. In responding to Galphin, Lyttelton confided that "I will take the most effectual means I can to prevent Williams or any other Interlopers from interfering in your trade." Galphin also sent word to Governor Ellis, who joined Lyttelton in agreeing not to "give a License for that place [Coweta], to any other person than Mr. Galphin." Afterward, Lyttelton and Ellis appeared before both the South Carolina and Georgia Councils and "requested…that no other person than George Gaulphin might have a Licence from this Government to trade in…Cowetas." Those legislative bodies resolved "not to give a Licence for that place, to any other person than Mr. Galphin."[377]

Whereas the value of a relationship with Galphin rose during the war, the worth of some of Galphin's allies plunged drastically, which led Galphin to sever his ties to those individuals or firms that cost him more than they were worth. With more and more potential allies gravitating toward him, Galphin could pick and choose with whom to associate with. For instance, despite the strength of his commercial alliance with Thomas Rock, Galphin saw the writing on the wall near the end of the war as Rock's shipments of skins started to dwindle, a sign of Rock's financial distress.[378] In response, Galphin severed his partnership with Rock and shifted the majority of his commercial attention to Beswicke and his nephews, William Greenwood and William Higginson.

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[377] William Henry Lyttelton to George Galphin, 4 June 1759, *Cobham (Lyttelton Family) Papers, 1607-1949* ("Interlopers"); Henry Ellis to William Henry Lyttelton, 29 July 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8 ("give a License"); Henry Ellis to South Carolina Council, 2 August 1758, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774* ("Gaulphin"); Henry Ellis to William Henry Lyttelton, 29 July 1758, *William Henry Lyttelton Papers, 1756-1760*, Box 8 ("any other person").

[378] By 1764, "Thomas Rock, of Bristol, Merchant" joined the list of those merchants and businessmen who went "Bankrupt" during the war. September 1764, *London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, Vol. 33, 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Database, British Library, London, 487.

Galphin also distanced himself from Edmond Atkin after Atkin antagonized Creek headmen during the war, including Sempoyaffee and Escotchaby. Instead, Galphin fixated his attention upon Atkin's successor, John Stuart, who appreciated Galphin's relevance to Creek-British relations far more than Atkin. Galphin, therefore, proved a shrewd administrator of his relationships, more than willing to terminate partnerships and alliances with those who ceased to be of value to him like Rock, or those like Atkin who threatened to drag Galphin down with him.

The Treaty of Augusta (1763) that ended the war in the southeast illustrates how far Galphin had come since 1755. At that conference, he served as a mediator, interpreter, and commercial agent, all of which stands as a testament to the trust and confidence that his allies invested in him to represent their interests. It is hardly a coincidence that on the eve of the grand council, Governor James Wright communicated back and forth with his counterparts in North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina in regards to the need for Galphin "to give Mr. Stuart [his] best assistance" during negotiations. Similarly, Galphin's partners in London again secured the contract for supplying "Presents to the Indians at the Congress" and had those goods "deposited at Mr. Golphins." Meanwhile, Galphin's Coweta allies and other Creek leaders joined Galphin at his house where they officially opened the "channel" between Creek and British diplomats to "converse" with another. One imperial observer noted that the "lower towns of that nation [Creeks]…are now at Mr. Galphin's" where they awaited the commencement of that conference. Galphin's hand could even be seen in the treaty itself as the boundary separating Creek Country from the British colonies "should run from the rock, down to Savannah River, and the other

way, from the said rock to Mr. Galphin's cowpen." This boundary speaks volumes about the ways that Galphin's allies trusted him, and preferred to have him straddle the thin line separating these two peoples. Ultimately, Creek and British peoples used Galphin to facilitate peace and commerce, to reconcile their differences in times of misunderstanding or violence, and to serve as a bridge between two worlds that previously conflicted.[379]

In the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, then, a brave new world awaited both Galphin and his British allies. As Galphin discovered throughout the course of his twenty years in North America, he could mold the world around him, to fit his local and intimate understandings of how the world worked. By navigating through the Native southeast, North America, and the imperial and transatlantic worlds, he replicated the same local and personal processes that he brought with him from Ulster. With the onset of the Seven Years' War, the peoples of Coweta, Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, London, Bristol, Cowes, and other Creek towns and European ports who formed relationships with Galphin found themselves connected to one another and in some

[379] James Wright to Thomas Boone, Arthur Dobbs, and Francis Farquier, 11 October 1763, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXIX: Misc. Papers, 1733-1783* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 304 ("best assistance"); "Distribution of the Presents to the Indians at the Congress," 19 November 1763, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: Indian Affairs, 1763-1784*, CO 5/65, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 74 ("Presents," "Golphins); John Stuart to the Governors, 20 October 1763, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXIX*, 329 ("channel," "converse"); John Stuart to the Governors, 23 October 1763, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXIX*, 331 ("Mr. Galphin's"); The Congress of Augusta, 1763, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXIX*, 349. Because imperial power in the southeast continued to hinge upon individuals like Galphin, this represents a poignant refutation of the current scholarship which suggests the opposite; that the empire attempted in 1763 to phase out individuals like Galphin who wielded a great "independent power among the Indians." Contrary to this, though, imperial authorities in the colonies like James Wright, James Habersham, James Grant, and others continually turned to Galphin for his assistance after 1763 all the way up until the American Revolutionary War. Consequently, Galphin either stands as an aberration to the current historiographical argument, or he undermines scholars' understandings of this decade in Native-British relations in the southeast. J. Russell Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 106.

cases, wholly dependent on each other. In other words, the war transformed Galphin's world – and the larger imperial world – into a network of relationships that linked all of those peoples and places together. Galphin's integrative world, then, sheds light on how the post-war world functioned, in which the empire started to forge a more interconnected structure in North America that linked that continent to the heart – and the more distant parts – of the empire.

In the process of such fusion, Galphin's connections to his family and friends in County Armagh now came into alignment with the rest of his relations in North America, the Native southeast, and the imperial and transatlantic worlds. Immediately after the war, many of Galphin's Ulster intimates left Ireland to join Galphin at the place he carved out as his own at Silver Bluff. There, Galphin would erect the hub – or the heart – of his world of intimacies and localities, the place where every single one of his personal and spatial connections converged and intersected. Despite the seemingly endless and creative possibilities that came with such connectedness though, Galphin discovered that his newly integrated world was characterized as much by danger as it was by opportunity, a world ripe with the potential for misunderstanding and violence between the very peoples and places that Galphin wove together.

PART III: THE VIOLENCE WITHIN GEORGE GALPHIN'S ATLANTIC WORLD, 1771-1780

Chapter 7 – "I thought to be Easey the remainder of my Life…but I have had more troble than ever": George Galphin and the Violence of Intimacy, 1771-1776

On a bitterly cold day in December 1771, George Galphin stooped over a desk at his Old Town plantation where he reviewed the contents of a talk he recently received from his Coweta allies, who desired that Galphin afterward "Send [our] Talk" to Governor Habersham. But as Galphin started "to write a letter to the Governour," the doors to his room were violently thrown open by "a Boy [who] Came and told me his father was killed." Galphin immediately questioned the child and learned that the boy's family lived in Queensborough, and that his father, John Carey, had been slain by a Creek Indian. Without hesitation, Galphin left the child in the hands of his traders and – despite turning sixty-three earlier that year – set out with "Some of my Negroes…up the River…to see if we Could catch" the culprit. While chasing after the accused, Galphin no doubt recalled Carey's killing was the third such confrontation between his Irishmen and the Creeks in recent months, and he likely feared that Carey's killing was retaliation for the death of a Creek warrior in one of those violent incidents. Therefore, when a series of gunshots echoed down the river, Galphin could only fear the worst as he raced toward the sound.[380]

Arriving at the scene, Galphin learned that some of his slaves had fired at the suspect after seeing him from a distance, although they could not confirm whether they hit their target or not. After scouring the area for any sign of the accused but finding no trace, Galphin called off the search and hurried back to Old Town; from here, he sent

[380] George Galphin to the Head Men of the Lower Creeks, 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XII: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council, August 6, 1771 – February 13, 1782*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Turner Co., 1907), 148-154 ("Boy," "Negroes," "River"); November 1769, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Box 9, Folder 9: Queensborough, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA ("Carey").

letters to Governor Habersham and his Coweta allies. Entrusting his talk to the Creeks with Captain Aleck, who just happened to be in Old Town at the time of the violence, Galphin demanded that Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee learn the identity of the culprit and "have the Murderer killed as soon as possible [so] that everything may be Straight again." Galphin also warned his allies "to send word to all your people not to Come Over Ogeechee [River]," thereby keeping Creek and Irish peoples away from one another to avert further bloodshed. Further, Galphin sent a trader to deliver his letter to Habersham informing him of the violence. After hearing from Galphin, Habersham shipped off his own missives to London, addressed to the Secretary of State and the Board of Trade, with details of the "base and cruel murder." Meanwhile, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee dispatched a messenger to Old Town and promised Galphin support in seeking satisfaction for the violence.[381]

From December 1771 to March 1772, Galphin mobilized his relationships to negotiate an end to the conflict, bounding back and forth between Savannah, Coweta, Chehaw, Queensborough, and Silver Bluff. At these places, he conversed with Creek, English, and Irish peoples alike in hopes that the "Affair will not have the ill consequence there was so much reason to apprehend." Eventually, the Lower Creeks consented to the demands for satisfaction, in the "hope that the path will be white to Charlestown, and likewise the same from here to you at Savannah, and the same path to be white to Mr. Galphins." To show their good faith, the Lower Creeks even took

[381] George Galphin to the Head Men of the Lower Creeks, 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 148-154 ("Murderer"); James Habersham to Lord Hillsborough, 20 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVIII Part II: Original Papers, Correspondence, Governor Wright…& Others, 1775-1782* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 591 ("murder"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 12 December 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, MS #1787, Folder 4, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA ("messenger").

Galphin aside and described in vivid detail how they executed Carey's murderer, later showing one of Galphin's traders "the place where the Indian was Killed…a little piece of ground hoed over to Cover the blood."[382]

In the wake of such violence, Habersham felt obliged to write to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Hillsborough, commending Galphin's efforts in the imperial service. Habersham told his London superiors that Galphin "has greatly assisted in bringing about this Instance of Justice" through his "very great Influence…with the lower Creeks," while also "admonish[ing] our Inhabitants in the strongest Terms to avoid any Occasion of giving the least Offence to the Indians." Hillsborough also received word from the merchant firms, Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan, who similarly lauded Galphin's exploits for bringing both the deerskin trade and Creek-British relations back from the brink of disaster. Lord Hillsborough responded gratefully to Habersham and those merchant companies, wishing for them to pass his compliments along to Galphin and thanking him for the "conversations he had with…the lower Creeks." Hillsborough then asked Habersham to keep Galphin on retainer, to have him remain "attentive to what passes in the back Settlements," so as to avoid any future conflicts like the Carey crisis. Galphin's name continued to resonate throughout the halls of Whitehall.[383]

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[382] James Habersham to James Wright, 12 March 1772,*: Letters of the Honorable James Habersham 1756-1775,* Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Volume VI (Savannah: Savannah Morning News Print, 1904), 169-170 ("kill"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 30 December 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842,* Folder 3 ("first Indian"); James Habersham to Lord Hillsborough, 31 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("rash," "friend," "great influence"); Lord Hillsborough to James Habersham, 5 February 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVII Part II: Original Papers: Correspondence, Governor Wright…Indian Talks, 1761-1772* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 597 ("ill consequence"); Lower Creek Chiefs to James Habersham, 17 March 1772, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XII: Georgia & Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 111 ("path"); David Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772,* in *Travels in the American Colonies,* ed. Newton Dennison Mereness (New York: MacMillan Company, 1916), 546 ("blood").

While Galphin's use of personal connections during the Carey murder seems to reinforce how routine or ordinary it was for Galphin to wield his relationships with peoples and places in the pursuit of a particular interest, this instance actually camouflaged a nascent animosity that started to afflict his world of intimacies and localities. Because the culturally dissimilar peoples who shared relationships with Galphin came into more frequent contact with each other, and often not of their own volition, their worlds and ways of life that differed substantially from one another conflicted. As James H. Merrell observes, "even as [colonists and Indians] tried to build bridges of understanding, both sides believed that a cultural chasm lay between them." Consequently, the interactions between these disparate peoples and worlds bred enmity just as much as intimacy. Take for instance the parties involved in the Carey murder. The Cowetas bitterly resented the Irish families of Queensborough since that town's economic activities – and that community's borders – increasingly encroached upon Coweta's hunting territories. On the other end of the spectrum, the Irish harbored anxieties that the neighboring Cowetas meant to do them harm, and that only Galphin stood in the way of such a threat. Unfortunately for Galphin, these cultural differences, conflicting interests, and fears evolved over time. Galphin's Coweta allies and Queensborough dependents increasingly perceived one another as antithetical to their respective local worlds and ways of life. Therefore, the very connections and understandings that Galphin tried to engineer between the Cowetas and his Irish tenants – along with his efforts to synthesize their contrasting interests – failed to bridge the festering animosity between them. In short, proximity and intimacy created

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[383] James Habersham to Lord Hillsborough, 21 April 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("Justice," "influence," "occasion"); Lord Hillsborough to James Habersham, 5 February 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVII, Part II*, 597 ("conversations," "attentive").

misunderstanding and conflict just as much as it allowed for compromise, negotiation, and collaboration.[384]

While Galphin perceived the cultural misunderstandings and antagonistic interests that materialized out of such local and particular tensions, he made a grievous miscalculation by trusting that he could control, or at the very least reconcile, such conflicting peoples and worlds. No longer held in check by European rivals after 1763, the British Empire launched what can only be described as an "invasion of the interior," as its settlers increasingly intruded onto Native lands and its agents conducted a series of land cessions with Native Peoples. Such demographic and political phenomena brought British and Native populations into more frequent and violent contact with one another. One cannot be surprised, then, that Queensborough residents exclaimed "publickly…that they wou'd kill the first Indian that comes into their Settlement" or "the first Indian [they] met with." Escotchaby likewise described to Galphin a violent temper that possessed his town in response to those Irish encroachments, which he feared "will shortly bring on a war." While Galphin scrambled to restore equilibrium to his world as the empire marched inland, all of his efforts proved for naught when Coweta launched a violent campaign against the English and Irish settlers of Georgia between 1773 and 1775. At this point, not even Galphin could disguise or heal the bitter animosity that afflicted his relationships with the Cowetas, as well as the English and Irish peoples who bore the brunt of those Creek attacks. This violence produced such a crippling divide between the peoples and places of Galphin's world that it spread like a cancer to infect all of his other relationships.[385]

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[384] James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 53.

This conflict aggravated the very contingent nature of Galphin's relationships with allies and dependents, made all the worse since Galphin's ties to Coweta by and large conditioned all of his other partnerships and alliances. Unable to count on his connections with the Cowetas, then, this crisis sapped the strength of Galphin's political influence with imperial officials in North America and London. Similarly, Galphin could not fulfill his commercial obligations to his merchant partners on both sides of the Atlantic, who watched haplessly as the deerskin trade contracted due to the violence and retaliatory embargoes. To compound matters, Galphin's Irish tenants and other dependents abandoned their communities for fear of Coweta attacks, which undermined Galphin's paternal authority and his carefully constructed persona as a patriarchal caretaker. To make matters even worse, news of the Creek violence circulated throughout the Atlantic and reached Belfast, which convinced families in Ulster to change their minds and not emigrate to Queensborough. For Galphin, then, his powerlessness to resolve this chaotic situation diluted and weakened the many relationships that structured his world.

Even Galphin's fictive familial vernacular could not repair the damage wrought by the Coweta violence. In his appeals to Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, Galphin invoked his alliances with "My Friend[s]" when he "heard the difference that was between your People and the white People," pleading with his allies to make the path "Straight as ever again." Galphin's Coweta partners simply ignored his words of reconciliation and instead continued their offensive against English and Irish

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[385] Merrell, *Into the American* Woods, 256 ("invasion"); James Habersham to James Wright, 12 March 1772, *The Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756-1775*, 169-170 ("wou'd kill"); "Talk from Escotchaby or the Young Lieutenant of the Lower Creeks to John Stuart," 26 April 1770, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume II: Transcripts, 1770*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 86-87 ("bring on a war").

settlements. Consequently, imperial authorities sought alternative means for bringing Coweta to the treaty table, seeking solutions "unconnected with [Galphin's] house." At the same time, Galphin's London merchants intensified their demands on the "house of George Galphin" to pay back the debts that he and other traders accumulated during the violence, which threatened to sow distrust between commercial partners. Finally, rumors abounded that Galphin was partly to blame for "encourage[ing] those Indians who committed the late Murders," which further eroded his patriarchal clout among his dependent communities. The confidence that Galphin's allies and dependents invested in him had been shaken to the core.[386]

Although Galphin labored valiantly to "do all that lyes in my power to keep peace between [Coweta] and the white people," this conflict, more so than any other which had come before, endangered his world. Deprived of his ties to Coweta, Galphin faced a new and unsettling reality: the primary link in his chain of personal and spatial connections no longer functioned at it once had and now threatened to tear Galphin's world apart. This schism in turn spelled disaster for Galphin's relationships with his merchant partners and imperial authorities who counted on Galphin's relations with the Cowetas to ensure the vitality of the Creek-British alliance and trade. Galphin's dependents similarly relied on his ability to maintain peace and to protect their communities through his relationships with the Cowetas. In the absence of such connections, though, these dependent communities confronted a hostile Creek populace who sought to stop the seemingly endless wave of British settlement. Subjected to

[386] George Galphin to Escotchaby of Coweta, February 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 137-138. ("My Friend"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 21 September 1772, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies Indian Affairs Series 1*, Reel 6, Vol. 74 [micro-film], University of Oklahoma, Norman OK, 28-29 ("unconnected"); "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, Book D," *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943* ("house of George Galphin").

Creek attacks that Galphin proved unable to stop, these dependents ultimately repudiated their deference to him. The violence that gripped the southeast during the mid-1770s reveals, then, that Galphin's world of cross-cultural contact, compromise, and intimacy – a world that once revolved around Galphin's relationships with the Cowetas – stood on the verge of collapse.[387]

The ruptures within Galphin's world also interrupted his attempts to retire from the skin trade in favor of his family and friends who were poised to inherit the Galphin trading firm and its commercial and political connections. From 1772 to 1773, Galphin made plans to transfer his business ventures – and the relationships that those ventures were built upon – to his children and other family and friends. In the meantime, he envisioned retiring to Silver Bluff and enjoying the genteel life that he had spent the better part of three decades trying to create for himself. In writing to Greenwood & Higginson in August 1773, Galphin stated "I intend giving up trade in favor of my three sons…[my] nephew[s]," and family friends like "Mr. Parkinson," and "for my own part, I shall have enough to do to mind my plantation, mills, and cowpens." But when confronted with a spate of violence that threatened to upend his world, Galphin was forced to put his plans on hold. Instead, he tried to piece back together the relationships falling apart around him. His dreams of enjoying the retired life then remained just out of reach. He now fought tooth and nail to simply hold his world together.[388]

Galphin immediately mobilized his relationships with the leaders of Cusseta, Yuchi, Okfuskee, and Tallassee to replace Coweta as the primary link in the chain of

[387] 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 148-154 ("lyes").
[388] George Galphin to William Greenwood and William Higginson, 27 August 1773, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, in *Hammond, Bryan, and Cumming Family Papers, 1787-1865*, MS mfm R.1068a-c, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC.

his personal and spatial connections. At the same time, Galphin reaffirmed partnerships with his merchant and imperial allies by forcing the Cowetas to the bargaining table in 1775 – through the persuasion of his other Creek allies – and by reviving the deerskin trade. According to one British observer, "All the Settlements…in Georgia would have been totally abandoned had not Mr. Galphin been indefatigable in collecting and encouraging the [Settlers] to return and build Forts, amongst whom he staid 15 days, while he sent into, and till he obtained satisfactory Intelligence from the Creek Nation." Galphin, then, managed to right the sinking ship, figuratively patching up the leaks, and holding out hope he could soon hand the tiller over to his family and friends.[389]

Galphin, therefore, had every reason to remain somewhat optimistic despite the violence that washed over the southeast in the early 1770s. Even with his alienation from Coweta and its near disastrous implications, Galphin emerged from such a crisis with his world fairly intact. In fact, Galphin found the means to actually restructure that world and quickly resumed the process of ceding his material and social wealth to his family and friends. In 1775, then, Galphin likely looked to the future still in hopes of living out his days in the very local and personal setting that he carved out at Silver Bluff, surrounded by family and friends. However, the violence of 1773 and 1774 was a harbinger of things to come, and ultimately nothing could prepare Galphin and his intimates, or anyone else for that matter, for the storm that was the Revolutionary War.

The origins of the violence that tormented Galphin's world stemmed from the events of January 1764, when Sempoyaffee's son, Limpike, led several warriors against

[389] 1 March 1774, *South Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal, 1765-1775*, MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC.

the Long Canes settlements, where they killed fourteen British settlers and incited a panic that the Creeks intended "a general war against the English."[390] Although Escotchaby and Togulki promised their "friend Galphin" to do all in their power to seek satisfaction, Sempoyaffee refused to hand over his eldest. Shortly after, "Sempoyaffee's Son" again headed a Creek war party that killed the traders Payne and Hogg "in the Woods…[and] carried off their Horses, Guns & other things." Even though Galphin pleaded with his Coweta allies to turn Limpike in, whereas British authorities bluntly demanded his death, Sempoyaffee remained steadfast in his refusal to abandon Limpike, "for he is my Son and I feel for him like a Father." Sempoyaffee even "declared he would die in place of his Son." Eventually, Galphin convinced his Coweta allies to drive "the murderers and part of their Family out of the Town," including Limpike and a number of Sempoyaffee's other kinsmen. Needless to say, Galphin's relationship with Sempoyaffee suffered as a consequence, and these events acted as the first steps down the road to a violent estrangement between Galphin and his Coweta allies. Galphin's actions in 1764, then, planted the very seeds of enmity and conflict that he sought to prevent in the first place.[391]

To complicate the situation, the English and Irish settlers who faced the brunt of these attacks increasingly took matters into their own hands, all the while spewing a

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[390] This episode, the "Long Canes crisis" of 1764, is the same event depicted in the dissertation's introduction.

[391] 14-28 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*, MS CscG, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("general war"); 14 January 1764, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("friend Galphin"); James Wright and John Stuart to the Upper Creeks, 3 January 1767, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVII Part I: Original Papers, Correspondence, Governor Wright…Indian Talks, 1761-1772*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 167-169 ("Son," "in the Woods"); John Stuart Conference with the Lower Creeks, 14 October 1768, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Microfilm 687, Reel 17, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("Father," "in place of his Son"); George Galphin to the South Carolina Council, 1 April 1764, *South Carolina Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1721-1774*, Roll ST0712, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC, 111-114 ("murderers," "quiet").

virulent hatred for Native Peoples. It should come as no surprise that colonists in Georgia and South Carolina not only complained about the many "parties of Creeks" who frequented those colonies – largely out of their fears of and frustrations with the Creeks who "drove off the Cattle [&] Horses of the Inhabitants and killed their Hoggs" – but also described the constant presence of Creek peoples as "infest[ing] the settlements." In other words, English and Irish peoples grew hostile to the idea of living side-by-side with Creek peoples who seemed friends at one moment, but enemies at the next. British residents, therefore, reacted violently when threatened by Creek disturbances, in one instance trekking "to a Creek settlement on Occoni River…[where] they plundered and burnt the Village…because they suspected that the Indians had stole some of their horses." On other occasions, English and Irish inhabitants vented their frustrations on imperial agents, marching upon Augusta "armed and Declared their determination of not suffering any ammunition to be sent to the Creek[s]," and "unloaded several pack horses and threatened to Kill the driver" if he did not relinquish the goods. Galphin and the empire, therefore, faced an increasingly volatile state of affairs, in which the Cowetas and nearby British peoples threatened to come to blows at each and every turn. Galphin angrily noted that the English and Irish settlers "may thanke them Selves for [a] Creeke ware" if such an incident ever happened.[392]

While Galphin deployed his relationships to try and calm the animosity that threatened to derail Creek-British relations and trade, the tensions between Coweta and

[392] John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 17 August 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series,* Volume 68, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("infest," "Hoggs," "plundered"); John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 24 May 1770, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Volume 92 ("driver"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 11 November 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XIV: July 7, 1778 – Dec. 9, 1778*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 484-485 ("thanke").

the British colonies only grew worse when Escotchaby nearly lost his life in a frontier incident. When Escotchaby "set out to see the Boundary Line in order to satisfy his Countrymen that it was marked agreeable to treaty,[393] he encountered a series of English and Irish settlements that intruded onto Creek lands in violation of the 1763 agreement. Upon arriving at "a publick house…near Little River" and demanding the residents remove themselves from Creek lands, the inhabitants instead "insulted this Indian, attempted to take his gun from him, and as he was making his Escape fired at him, [although] the ball wen thro' his Blanket and shot pouch." Incensed over his near death experience, Escotchaby "was Determined to have Revenge." Even though Galphin beseeched his ally to stay his hand, Escotchaby ordered a war party to target the Little River settlements and the Cowetas thereafter "carried away a Number of horses." This only provoked the "Country people [who] pursued them to recover their horses & a scuffle ensued, in which Guns were fired on both sides, but no blood spilt." For the Cowetas, violence was increasingly becoming the tool used to punish or warn off intruders,[394] which proved more effective than relying on intermediaries like

[393] The treaty in question is the 1768 agreement between Lower Creek towns and the empire that extended the boundary line between Creek Country and British North America westward, an outgrowth of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 that likewise extended the boundary line between Britain's northern colonies and the Iroquois.

[394] The Creeks long resorted to violence as a means to deliver powerful messages to outsiders or as reminders to insiders about their kinship, economic, or political obligations, oftentimes deploying violence in a restrained manner against property, cattle, or the theft of slaves. For an excellent example of this selective and restrained use of violence, see Joshua Piker's work on the Creek town of Okfuskee, in which he demonstrates that the killing of English traders in Okfuskee in 1760 was a way to send a message to the British that they were failing to fulfill their kinship and trade obligations to the Upper Creeks. Joshua Piker, *Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 58-63.

However, from the mid to late eighteenth century, Creek warriors increasingly utilized violence outside of such traditional constraints. Especially by the 1770s, the warrior population employed violence as a way to punish and warn off intruders, abusive traders, or nearby threats. In particular, the Creeks attempted "to intimidate the settlers and destroy their property, thereby encouraging them to abandon their farmsteads and plantations." As Galphin himself observed during this time, there existed "increasing friction on the trading roads" between the Creeks and British who engaged in continual bouts of "robbing one another." Consequently, the lands between British North America and Creek Country

Galphin to keep a peace that seemed more and more elusive. Thus Escotchaby warned both Galphin and John Stuart that as "my Young People made great Complaints to me about the white People settling on the Line & over it…it will bring on a War upon your Country & it will not be in my Power to Stop the Young People."[395] By 1770, Galphin's staunchest allies in Creek Country – Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee – entertained second thoughts about their alliance with the British Empire.[396]

To make matters worse, Galphin's connections with the Cowetas intersected violently with the relationships to his dependents, particularly his Irish tenants in Queensborough. In describing their attitudes toward the Creeks, the Irish residents

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grew increasingly perilous in the late eighteenth century, particularly for Galphin's Irish community situated in the middle of that contested borderlands. Christina Snyder, "Conquered Enemies, Adopted Kin, and Owned People: The Creek Indians and Their Captives," *Journal of Southern History* 73:2 (May 2007); Edward J. Cashin, *Lachlan McGillivray, Indian Trader: The Shaping of the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 238.

[395] It should be noted that Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee presided over a Creek town in political and social flux, which only exacerbated the disruptive behavior between Creek and British peoples, as the "relationships between Creek men were undergoing an unsettling shift…[because] patterns and practices of authority that had tied common warriors, head warriors, and civil leaders together no longer produced consensus." Instead, the leading headmen of Coweta saw "young warriors…increasingly eager to assert independence from traditional structures of authority." Traditionally, civil (white) authorities, or micos, led Creek towns in times of peace and held the majority of political power, whereas military (red) headmen led Creek warriors in times of war and wielded little political influence over day-to-day town affairs. However, by the late eighteenth century, the mico's "power of persuasion" visibly declined and no longer "establish[ed] a clear hierarchy of power among or within towns," especially between civil and military authorities. All of this stemmed from the Creeks growing dependency on the deerskin trade, which privileged Creek hunters and warriors and precipitated new outlets for demonstrating one's masculine prowess, often by attacking or stealing the cattle and horses of nearby British settlers. As Escotchaby confided to Galphin and others, "I talk to my Young People and does what Lies in my Power to keep them under…but it is to no purpose," especially when "the Young People is going out a Hunting, [and] if they do mischief out of my sight, [for] I cannot help it." Piker, *Okfuskee*, 100 ("associations and activities"), 176-177 ("relationships," "independence"); George E. Lankford, "Red and White: Some Reflections on Southeastern Symbolism," *Southern Folklore* 50:1 (1993): 55 (red & white); Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 25 ("persuasion," "hierarchy"); "A Talk from the Creeks," 19 September 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Volume 72 ("Young People," "Virginia people," "sight").

[396] John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 24 May 1770, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 92 ("Treaty," "publick house," "Revenge"); John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 24 May 1770, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 92 ("Country people"); A Talk from Escotchaby or the Young Lieutenant of the Lower Creeks to John Stuart," 26 April 1770, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783* [micro-film], Reel 5, Volume 71 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 584-587 ("the Line," "Young People").

stated they lived in "Continual uneasiness apprehending they will be cut off by the Indians whenever those Barbarous People choose to commence Hostilities," and they singled out their Coweta neighbors as the primary threat to their community. The Irish populace implored Galphin and the Georgia colony "to have Forts erected" in town, for they "suffer great damage by Indians [who]…constantly steal the Petitioners Horses, and destroy their Cattle and Corn." But when these measures failed to prevent raids on the town's horses and cattle, Galphin's Irish lessees took matters into their own hands. Led by Daniel McNeil and John Lawson, a posse of Irishmen tracked a party of Creeks suspected of stealing horses to the Oconee River, where they came upon a camp of Upper Creeks unaffiliated with the crime. However, to the English and Irish peoples of western Georgia, one Creek Indian was no different from another. Therefore, the Irishmen "killed one [Creek] and whipped the other very Severely and left him tyed to a Tree – and took away their Skins and every other Article they found there." This violence invited retaliation from the Creeks, who "wanted to fall on the white people for Satisfaction." Such thefts and violence remained rampant, culminating in the murder of John Carey in late 1771. Like prize fighters with bad blood between them, the Creeks and the Queensborough Irish exchanged blows back and forth, and in the process inflicted as much damage on Galphin as they did to each other.[397]

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[397] 6 February 1770, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XV: Journal of the Commons House of Assembly: October 30, 1769 – June 16, 1782* (Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1907), 109-110 ("uneasiness," "Forts," "Petitioners"); "James Wright to the Lieutenant of the Cowetas, Selechee and all the other Head Men and Warriors in the Lower Creek Country," *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: Georgia, 1735-1784*, CO 5/661, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 3-5 ("Oconees"); 29 October 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume X: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from January 6, 1767 – December 5, 1769* (Atlanta: Franklin Turner Co., 1907), 80-87 ("whipped the other"); James Habersham to John Stuart, 6 February 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842,* Folder 4 ("McNeil"); 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 148-154 ("fall on the white people").

Although Galphin held "several Conversations" with his Coweta allies and his Irish dependents, both asking the Creeks to restrain "their runagating People…from killing the white People" and "advise[ing]…the Irish settlers…to avoid such rash and unjustifiable Proceedings for the future," Galphin and Governor Habersham admitted to one another that it was becoming more and more difficult to "remedy this growing Evil." To Galphin's chagrin, it seemed that not even his own relationships, alliances, and partnerships could prevent such violence. In one last ditch effort to turn things around, Galphin sent a letter to Escotchaby, telling him "I do not Write to you as from the Governour, or the beloved Men…but as One Friend would do to another, giving you good Advice." He pleaded with Escotchaby to stop "your ill usage, killing them [English and Irish], Stealing their horses and killing their Cattle." To conclude, he invoked their relationship with one another as a reason to avert further bloodshed, for "you know I do all that lyes in my Power to keep peace between you and the white people," asking that Escotchaby find it in his heart to do the same. Ultimately, Escotchaby responded to Galphin in hopes "that the path might be white and Clear, for the Traders to Come as usual, without dread and fear," and that the conflict might be "all done and Over." But the enmity between Galphin's allies and dependents merely simmered rather than subsided. All it would take to reignite hostilities between them was a simple misunderstanding rather than an overt act of aggression.[398]

Ironically enough, it was Galphin who sparked the violence that reemerged in 1773. Galphin's role in the violence derived from his abusive trade practices, efforts to attain Creek lands for his personal use, and his role in negotiating the Treaty of Augusta

[398] James Habersham to Hillsborough, 24 November 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842,* Folder 4 ("Conversation," "runagating," "Evil"); 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII,* 148-154 ("One Friend," "ill usage," "lyes" white and Clear").

(1773). As James H. Merrell observes about Pennsylvania around this time, "far from being part of the solution to stormy relations between native and newcomer[,] the go-between turned out to be part of the problem." To Galphin, his traditional bread and butter – the deerskin trade – underwent radical changes in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War. While the British Empire initially attempted to impose more stringent regulations upon the trade to ward off "unregulated traders," imperial authorities eventually gave up on this plan. In his complaints to the Board of Trade in London, Governor Wright remarked that "every Man…Trade[s] where he Pleases," which meant that "The Indians are over Stock't with Goods by the Great Number of Traders that go amongst them." This unregulated deerskin trade encouraged "Irregularities & abuses Committed by the Traders or those they Employ…who are generally the very worst kind of People" in their efforts to gain an edge over one another in a very competitive and glutted market in deerskins. Wright concluded that this "growing evil…has a very bad Effect…& will for some years to come." While Galphin confided to his imperial allies that he "adhered to the Rules and Regulations" of the trade, but ever since the empire abandoned its regulatory efforts, he "[has] been under an indispensable necessity of deviating" from the "Rules and Regulations" in order to keep pace with the "unregulated traders." It became increasingly clear, then, that Galphin's twin goals of commanding profit and influence within the skin trade, while keeping peace between Creek and British peoples, no longer worked as it once had in the 1750s and 1760s. By establishing illegal out-stores, employing "Indian factors," and erecting an Irish settlement near Creek lands, Galphin was a part of the problem rather than a solution.[399]

[399] Merrell, *Into the American* Woods, 256 ("problem"); Russell J. Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 21, 106

Galphin deployed the same abusive methods that other traders used in their negotiations with Native Peoples as part of the deerskin trade during the 1760s and 1770s. Stuart remarked that a seemingly endless wave of "Mr. Galphin's Hirelings" "observe no regulations whatsoever" as Galphin "sent in people with goods without any Certificate or any Other Authority whatsoever to Trade." Stuart's agents even complained that Galphin seemed at "liberty to send in who he pleases and to fix them in the Hunting Grounds or even in the Towns" without any fear of censure. These men also accused Galphin's traders of "Ideling about the Nation" and refusing to abide by "any Regulations," often venturing "from Town to Town…with goods without any kind of Certificate to show to whom they belong, [for] they say it is Mr. Galphin's orders to do so." Creek leaders who shared relationships with Stuart similarly vented against Galphin and issued public rebukes of his trade practices. Complaints ranged from the mundane – that "Mr. Galphin refuses to send them any…Ammunition," or that the packs of goods "were too small & not the Number agreed for" – to the more pressing concerns of "Mr. Galphin's Indian Trader trading at the Standing Peach Tree contrary to what was agreed on at the late Congress that they should trade in Towns only."[400] Even Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee added their voices to Creek protests,

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(imperial regulations, "unregulated traders"); James Wright to the Board of Trade, 28 June 1766, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVIII Part II,* 157 ("Pleases," "Stock't," "Irregularities," "evil"); "Memorial of the Principal Traders to the Creek and Cherokee Nations," 10 November 1771, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 6, Volume 73, 328-335 ("Rules," "deviating").

[400] To compound matters, Galphin employed half-Creek, half-Anglo traders or "Mustees" despite laws to the contrary, who were constantly observed coming and going from Silver Bluff where they "traded as they pleased & pay no regard to any Regulations." Galphin's traders even made it common practice to lighten their loads of goods intended for the Creeks which "thereby Cheated the Indians." Like most traders, Galphin's employees also peddled rum to Creek hunters in exchange for their skins, despite stringent laws forbidding such transactions. David Taitt to John Stuart, 17 December 1774, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies: Indian Affairs Series 1*, Reel 7, Vol. 76, 37 ("Mustees," "Regulations"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 28 September 1773, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 439 ("Cheated").

despite their intrigues with Galphin in the 1760s to create "out-stores" that reaped advantages at the expense of other Creek towns. Escotchaby professed that "If you do not put a Stop to those Out-Stores [and other abuses]…it will bring on a War upon your Country & it will not be in my Power to Stop" it.[401] Due to Galphin's commercial abuses, his personal and spatial connections among the Creeks started to slip away from him, which exacerbated his increasingly precarious relationships within Coweta.[402]

Galphin only aggravated the disillusionment of his Coweta allies and fanned the flames of their discontent when he demanded 88,000 acres of land in 1772. Presumably intended to support his Creek children as he sought to retire from the deerskin trade, Galphin exploited his relationships with the Cowetas and used every ounce of his personal, political, and commercial weight with Escotchaby to convince Lower and

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[401] Creek leaders also noted in frustration that "Mr. Galphin drove a great many [cattle] for the Mobile market without our consent," or that "his Cattle [went] over Ogeechee on the Indian land." In particular, Creek headmen complained of Galphin's 3,000-4,000 head of cattle that the Creek "Indians…encounter[ed]…at almost every turn" and "more often than not, those encounters resulted in damage to Indian property, to the offending creatures, or to both." To the Creeks, Galphin's cattle served as the "advanced guard of English settlement" upon Creek territories, particularly since he "was the first who drove cattle through our nation." In the wake of Galphin's precedent, Creek headmen complained that "many others [were] driving cattle and settling cowpens on our land without our consent." Thomas Brown to Governor Patrick Tonyn, February 1776, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XII: Transcripts, 1776*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 72 (3,000-4,000 cattle); Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 9 ("offending creatures"), 243 ("advanced guard"); Mart A. Stewart, "'Whether Wast, Deodand, or Stray': Cattle, Culture, and the Environment in Early Georgia," *Agricultural History* 65:3 (Summer 1991): 14 ("drove cattle"); Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772*, 550 ("Indian land"); "Proceedings of the Congress with Upper Creeks," 31 October 1771, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume III: Transcripts, 1771*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 212-231 ("consent," Mobile market).

[402] Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772*, 521 ("hirelings"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 28 September 1773, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 439 ("no regulations," "liberty"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 24 January 1774, *Sir Frederick Haldimand Unpublished Papers, 1758-1784,* Add. MS #21672, British Library, London, 166 ("Town to Town"); "Complaints of Sundry Headmen in the Creek Nation for nonperformance of some articles of the Last Treaty at Augusta," 3 January 1774, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, 35-36; "A Talk from Escotchaby or the Young Lieutenant of the Lower Creeks to John Stuart," 26 April 1770, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 5, Vol. 71, 584-587 ("Out-Stores"); "Proceedings of the Congress with Upper Creeks," 31 October 1771, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. III*, 212-231 ("consent"); Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772*, 550 ("land").

Upper Creek headmen to consent to the cession. Galphin's intimate knowledge that Escotchaby was one who "has more to do in Land Affairs, than any other Indian of the Lower Creek being a privilege annexed to his Family" served him well in this case. To legitimize this grant, Galphin sent Stephen Forrester to Coweta and Yuchi to ask "land for Galphin's Indian Wench & her Children," where he invoked Metawney's clan ties with Escotchaby to sanctify Creek consent for the land given to "Maturney and her Children." Galphin, in effect, rendered the cession as a contract between Creek peoples by manipulating the cultural and clan rules of Creek society, and in doing so, remained within bounds of imperial law. Galphin also convinced Escotchaby to lead Creek leaders to Augusta and act as "Attorney" for the "Creek Nation," where he signed the land over to "our beloved Sister Matawny."[403] At the same time, Galphin planted his own intimates – like his son Thomas – as the witnesses for the land grant, while his allies like governors James Wright and James Habersham turned a blind eye to the affair. In short, Galphin did everything in his power to get what he needed, which included manipulating his relationships with Creek allies, particularly Escotchaby.[404]

The final straw for Galphin's Coweta allies came with the Treaty of Augusta (1773), the fourth such land cession between the Lower Creeks and the empire in less

[403] British agents observed that the deliberations between Galphin and the Cowetas over this land met "with some difficulty," although the agent failed to elaborate. One can only guess the Cowetas voiced their concerns with their ally and clansman, which added to the growing distrust that gradually isolated Galphin from his Coweta confidants. "David Taitt's "Journal to and through the Lower Creek Nation," 30 April 1772, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume V: Transcripts, 1772*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 275.

[404] John Stuart to James Grant, 15 March 1764, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 1 ("Land Affairs"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 21 September 1772, *Records of the British Public Records Office, America and West Indies: Indian Affairs, Series 1*, Reel 5, Vol. 74, 28-29 ("wench"); "Creek Indian Nation to our beloved Sister Matawny," 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Book,* Book BBB, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 95 ("whole Creek Nation," "Young Lieutenant," "Attorney" "Creek Indian Nation"); *Ogeechee River Basin Map, 1783*, MS #1361, MP 416 [3-6-11].

than a decade.[405] Earlier in 1763, Galphin's imperial and merchant partners relied on him to gain Creek consent to extend the boundary line separating Creek Country from the British colonies. According to Governor Wright, he turned to "Mr. Galphin who I knew the Indians were well acquainted with and who was their Friend." Wright no doubt recalled that Galphin also served in such a capacity in 1768 and overcame Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee's "Jealousy" when "every Hint of Land was thrown out." Galphin accomplished this task by working with Stuart to provide an "abatement of the prices of [trade] goods" in collaboration with London merchants.[406] In 1773, then, Governor Habersham wrote to Galphin for his support in arranging a new treaty, flattering Galphin that "you have it more in your Power than any person I know to induce the Creeks to consent to it." Galphin's partners in London similarly believed

[405] The Treaty of Augusta (1773) originated with Governor James Wright who "propose[d] a matter which I have long had in view" to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in December 1771. Wright perceived that the Georgia colony lay in danger "from the present small number of inhabitants" that "lies greatly exposed to the invasions of the…Indians who often rob and plunder His Majesty's subjects of their property and sometimes murder them." He hoped to populate the western fringes of the empire in North America with "industrious" settlers "better than the common sort of back-country people," which might provide greater security from the "insult[s] and plunder[s] by these runagating Savages." To accomplish his aim, Wright looked eagerly to the three million acres that the Cherokees and Creeks agreed to cede to the British "in order to pay the debts they owe to the Indian traders." Accordingly, Wright asked Galphin to secure "the Consent of the Creek Indians." "Memorial of Governor James Wright to the Earl of Hillsborough," 12 December 1771, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. III*, 269-272; Earl of Hillsborough to John Stuart, 3 July 1771, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XIV: North and South Carolina Treaties, 1756-1775*, ed. W. Stitt Robinson (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 316-317; Louis De Vorsey Jr., *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 171; James Habersham to John Stuart, 6 February 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4; Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the King, 9 November 1772, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. V*, 216-218.

[406] John Stuart asked Galphin in 1767 to convince the "merchants concerned in Trade to the Indian Countrys" to provide an "abatement of the prices of goods," which Galphin achieved by mobilizing his relationships with his merchant and Creek allies. At the treaty council itself, the trade reductions were "read by Mr. George Galphin and agreed to by the Indians without any Objection." Journal of Superintendent's Proceedings with the Indians and Traders at Augusta, 30 April 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers,* American Series, Vol. 137 (enlist Galphin); Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings, 5 May 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, American Series*, Volume 137 ("merchants," "abatement"); Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings, 28 May 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 137 ("Objection").

that "what is proposed…is of the greatest consequence to the Security and Welfare of the Colony," not to mention their profit.[407]

Galphin proved more than willing to assume the primary role in the treaty negotiations, particularly since he held a serious financial stake in the success of that treaty as he inched closer toward retirement. With the profits of the deerskin trade plummeting on account of the empire's inability to regulate that traffic, Galphin suffered from a growing debt as his traders could not repay what they owed him, and he in turn could not pay off his creditors in London. However, the treaty offered a way to solve Galphin's financial distress, as all of the debts the Creeks owed to their traders would be forgiven in exchange for three million acres of land. Those lands would be sold off, and the proceeds of those sales would be used to pay off the traders' debts in London.[408] The potential clean slate, along with the opportunity to claim parts of the "Ceded Lands," provided the impetus for Galphin to take an active role in the treaty.[409]

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[407] James Wright to Emistisiguo, 5 September 1768, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume IX: Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council from January 4, 1763 – December 2, 1766* (Atlanta: Franklin Turner Co., 1907), 571-582 ("Friend"); John Stuart to James Grant, 22 July 1765, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819*, Reel 17 ("Hint," "Jealousy"); Journal of the Superintendent's Proceedings with the Indians and Traders at Augusta, 5 May 1767, *Thomas Gage Papers, 1754-1807, American Series*, Vol. 137 ("abatement"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 8 October 1771, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("Power"); "To His Majesty from the Earl of Dartmouth and Council," 9 November 1772, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXIV: Entry Books of Commissions, Powers, Instructions, Leases…1754-1781* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 634-636 ("greatest consequence").

[408] Galphin stood to potentially reap £9,800 from the 1773 treaty, the single largest claim by any trader or merchant, all on account of the debts that the Creeks and other traders and merchants owed him. Those indebted to Galphin included his intimates like Timothy Barnard (nephew) and his dependents John Miller, Benjamin Stedham, Robert Toole, Edward Haynes, James McQueen Jr., James Durozeaux, John Pigg, John Anderson, James Burgess, and William Newton. "Certificate of the Secretary of Governor & Council – Claim of George Galphin for self & other Indian Traders," 6 June 1775, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, 246-247; Georgia Council meeting, 2 May 1775, *The Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council of Georgia, October 4, 1774, through November 7, 1775, and September 6, 1779 through September 20, 1780,* ed. Lilla M. Hawes, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Vol. X (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1952), 21.

[409] Galphin also played an instrumental role in convincing John Stuart, a vocal opponent of the treaty, to throw his support behind the land cession. In 1771, he privately petitioned Stuart that "The Lands proposed to be Ceded is too near our Settlements to be of any Advantage to either Creeks or Cherokees,"

As David Taitt observed on the eve of the treaty conference, "Mr. Golphin has taken upon himself to get the Consent of the Lower Creeks."[410]

However, when Galphin opened a dialogue with his Coweta allies in regards to the treaty, he was met with a rather lukewarm reception. Galphin sent traders "Rideing about the nation" to inform Creek headmen that their debts would be wiped out in exchange for land, but Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee feigned indifference. Even when coaxed with tangible rewards such as a reduction in trade prices or additional horse-loads of goods, Coweta headmen ignored Galphin. It was not until Galphin threatened "in case of [their] Refusal [he might] stop sending Goods amongst them," that the Cowetas listened to what he had to say. From the summer 1772 to spring 1773, Galphin whittled away at the resolve of Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, as he relentlessly badgered and browbeat them until they confessed "they were much tired with the Subject of Land and wanted to have done with it…[and] proposed to cede to His Majesty as payment of their Debts to the Traders all the Lands."[411] While Galphin's

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hence their chance to expand the colony's boundaries and security "by settling on these Lands." Soon thereafter, Galphin sent Stuart a more formal petition signed by all "the Principal Traders to the Creek and Cherokee Nations," which he forwarded once again to Stuart and the governors, informing them that "your memorialists continued their supplys to those Indians untill they have insensibly involved with themselves and their creditors in misfortunes." As Galphin and his fellow petitioners intimated to Stuart, to avoid "the impending ruin" of their debts "and enabling them to continue the Trade," Galphin and the other traders "proposed a mode of extricating themselves and their Debtors…[by] a cession of Lands on Savannah River to the Crown…[and] exposed to Sale." George Galphin, Robert Mackay, James Jackson, & Andrew McLean to John Stuart, 13 November 1771, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, 320-322 ("Advantage"); "Memorial of the Principal Traders to the Creek and Cherokee Nations," 10 November 1771, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, 328-335 ("impending ruin," "Crown").

[410] Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772*, 521 ("Consent"); "Memorial of David Milligan in behalf of himself & his late partner John Clark," 16 January 1786, *American Loyalist Claims, Series II: Georgia*, AO 13/36c, Doc. 971, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain.

[411] After Galphin's relentless pressure, Escotchaby met with John Stuart and confided that "we have considered your Talk to us and also considered the Many Complaints which our Traders have made about their Poverty and being unable to Pay the Merchants for the Goods which they supply us with, and we agree to give the great King some Land to pay our Traders with." Escotchaby further asserted "we

imperial allies thanked him "for the Trouble, you have taken to get the Consent of the young Lieutenant and Symphihephy to join…the Cession of the Lands," they all failed to anticipate the damage that Galphin wrought within Creek-British relations and trade as a consequence of this treaty, with disastrous repercussions for Galphin's world.[412]

The treaty threatened to destabilize Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee's political power in Coweta, since that town's "warriors were unwilling to submit to so large a demand [of land], and their conduct evidently betrayed a disposition to dispute the ground by force of arms." Faced with a resentful warrior population that increasingly questioned the leadership of civil authorities, the Coweta brothers looked for ways to salvage their prestige and influence. While unable to trust Galphin, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee had little other choice since Galphin's connections provided them with one of the only means to appease their town's warriors – the wealth of presents and goods that Galphin distributed to them. But immediately after the treaty, Galphin sent word to his Coweta allies that he intended "leaving off trade in favour of his Sons & Nephew." Such news stunned Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee, for it seemed as if Galphin no longer valued their relationships. It is no coincidence that on the same day, British observers noted Escotchaby "behaved rather a little too rash," although they concluded "it as a mere nothing." Hardly a "mere nothing," Escotchaby appeared visibly upset, no doubt feeling betrayed by Galphin. Shortly after, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee

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Hope that the merchants will be Contended and free the Traders from their Debts and that the Traders will free us." Finally, he stated "we Hope that the Great King will Consider us as well as we Consider the White People" and concluded his talk with a list of goods he demanded "for every town in the Lower Creeks." "Lower Creek Chiefs to John Stuart, accepting Land-for-Debts," 19 September 1772, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 113-114 ("Complaints," "free us," "King," "Lower Creeks").

[412] Taitt, *David Taitt's Journal of a Journey through the Creek Country, 1772*, 521 ("Rideing," "Refusal"); John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 24 April 1772, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 116 ("Subject"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 12 August 1772, *The Letters of James Habersham, 1756-1775*, 199-200 ("Trouble").

renounced any and all connection with Galphin, and exhibited an enmity toward anything British.[413] Therefore, by the winter of 1773, all it would take to push the Cowetas over the edge into war was one simple act.[414]

It did not take long before a chance encounter on the "Ceded Lands"[415] ignited the violence, reopening the wounds and animosity that had simmered over the past year and a half. In December 1773, members of the White family "went out in search of horses that had been stolen from them." After coming across a gang of Cowetas whom they suspected as the culprits, the Whites opened fire and killed "a nephew of the Young Lieutenant." Enraged beyond words even before this incident, the loss of a kinsman compounded Escotchaby's fury and tipped the Cowetas toward violence. On Christmas day, Coweta warriors returned to the "Ceded Lands" and "murdered the whole [White] family" and their neighbors, the Shirrols. When reports of the attacks reached Savannah, Governor Wright dispatched the local militia to investigate. Upon arriving in the "Ceded Lands," the militiamen were ambushed by the Cowetas who

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[413] Juan Josef Eligio de la Puente remarked to the governor of Havana after meeting with Escotchaby in 1773 that there is a "terrible venom which I have perceived coming from the said Indians [Cowetas] towards the English. I am persuaded that they intend to make war." Juan Josef Eligio de la Puente to the Governor of Havana the Marquis de le Torre, 6 March 1773, "The Indian Frontier in British East Florida: Spanish Correspondence Concerning the Uchiz Indians, 1771-1783," ed. Daniel L. Schafer, University of North Florida, Jacksonville FL http://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Projects/uchize/section1.html #03061773.

[414] Kathryn E. Holland Braund and Gregory A. Waselkov, eds. *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 52-53 ("young warriors"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 20 September 1775, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies: Indian Affairs, Series 1*, Reel 7, Vol. 77, 119-120 ("leaving off trade," "rash," "nothing").

[415] Creek headmen and warriors anxiously observed the wave of British settlers that flooded into the "Ceded Lands," those lands transferred to the British Crown by the Treaty of Augusta (1773). Immediately after the treaty, Governor Wright received petitions from Georgia residents to settle in those new territories. Additionally, emigrants from the Long Canes settlements, the Savannah River, and other communities in South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania asked permission to join the Georgia inhabitants in settling the "Ceded Lands." As one South Carolina newspaper estimated, a few weeks after the treaty congress "Upwards of Two thousand Families have already made Application to Governor Wright for Settlements on these Lands." 15 July 1773, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 371-376 ("Ceded Lands," "petitions"); 22 June 1773, *South Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal, 1765-1775* ("2000 Families").

killed four of them and captured a Lieutenant Grant, who was "inhumanly tortured…his mangled Body was [later] found tied to a Tree, his scalp and ears cut off, a Gun barrel thrust into his Body supposed to have been red hot, twelve Arrows sticking in his breast, a painted hatchet sticking in his Head and a painted war Club laid upon his Breast." The Cowetas intended to deliver a stern message to the British: any more Creek deaths, treaties, encroachments, trade abuses, or anything else in-between would not be tolerated.[416] Meanwhile, the Cowetas relayed a far more personal message to Galphin, as "the Path that leads from the Coweta Town to the Standing Peach Tree [Galphin's store]…[had] several trees blazed towards this last place, on one of which was an M with two strokes, and, at a little distance, a bundle of physic." There could be no mistaking the Cowetas hostile intent toward Galphin.[417]

While Governor Wright decreed "the Militia be drafted," ordered "Stockade Forts be erected," and organized a "Plan for the protection of the Settlements" following the attacks, he also asked Galphin to use his relationships in Coweta to bring an end to the violence before it exploded into a full-blown "Creek war."[418] Even though Galphin no

[416] Whereas the early to mid eighteenth century mostly witnessed thefts of cattle and horses by the Creeks as the "legitimate response to the failure of colonists to behave properly" or "to obtain satisfaction for the real or imagined wrongs," late eighteenth century violence against bodies rather than property offered a far more threatening and direct statement of Creek frustrations and intents. Such violence appealed greatly to an increasingly autonomous young warrior population whose livelihoods revolved around proving their battle-worthiness, which convinced more of Coweta's young warriors to turn violent to express "resentment over the New Purchase [1773 treaty]." Joshua Piker, "Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Pre-Revolutionary Southern Backcountry," *Journal of Southern History* 70:3 (August 2004): 519-520 ("legitimate"); Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 157 ("Satisfaction"), 159 ("resentment"); Piker, *Okfuskee*, 99-100 ("point").

[417] 9 March 1774, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* [micro-film], University of North Texas, Denton TX ("search," "nephew"); John Stuart to Major General Frederick Haldimand, 3 February 1774, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume VIII: Transcripts, 1774*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 34-37 ("whole family"); John Stuart to the Earl of Dartmouth, 13 February 1774, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 75, 28-32 (Lt. Grant murder/torture); 25 May 1774, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* ("blazed").

[418] Governor Wright also wrote to London requesting a detachment of redcoats to protect Georgia's western settlements, as "there are about Fifty Villians, who have wantonly murdered 17 of His Majesty's

doubt recognized the signs of resentment that his former allies sent his way, he still delivered a conciliatory letter to "My Friend" Escotchaby. Within, Galphin confided that "I was very Sorry when I heard the difference that was between your People and the white People upon the Ceded Lands," and even though "the white People had killed one of your People first, which was very bad, but it was wrong to kill so many People for one." To indicate his goodwill, Galphin "sent your Son a Coat" and promised Escotchaby "I am doing all that is in my Power to keep Peace here with your People and the White People and I Hope you will do the same there, as you often told me you would do." In conclusion, Galphin promised "You shall never be poor as long as I live" as he tried to salvage their relationship. But Escotchaby did not dignify Galphin's pleas with a response, which in turn precipitated the British boycott of the deerskin trade.[419]

The consequences of Galphin's actions from 1772 to 1773 – and the Treaty of Augusta's violent aftermath – threatened to completely upend Galphin's world. Since his ties to Coweta conditioned all of his other relationships, the severance of those connections endangered all of his other alliances and partnerships. For instance, as

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Subjects." Afterward, Wright – along with the Georgia houses of assembly and Georgia Council – petitioned King George III for his royal "protection and Assistance" against "the Outrages of our Savage Enemies" because "a war with the Creek Indians appears inevitable." However, the Earl of Dartmouth responded that troops could not be sent due to the "Insults offered to the Authority of this Kingdom in one of the Northern Colonies" [Massachusetts]," during the Boston Tea Party. James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 12 March 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVIII Part A: Original Papers, Correspondence…Indian Treaties, 1772-1775* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 186-190; "The Humble Address of the Commons House of Assembly of your Majesty's Province of Georgia to King George III," 8 March 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XV*, 542-543; "The Address and Petition of the Council of Georgia to His Majesty," 9 March 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part A*, 194-195; "The Humble Address of the Commons House of Assembly of your Majesty's Province of Georgia to King George III," 9 March 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XV*, 544; Earl of Dartmouth to the Georgia Council, 4 May 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part A*, 233.

[419] James Wright to the Commons House of Assembly, 28 January 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XV*, 538-539 ("Militia," "Forts," "Plan"); George Galphin to Escotchaby of Coweta, February 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 137-138 ("Sorry," "Coat," "Power" "poor"); 9 December 1771, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XII*, 148-154 ("lyes").

Galphin's dependents from Silver Bluff, Old Town, and Queensborough flooded into the "Ceded Lands" – encouraged by Galphin who used the profits of their land purchases to pay off his creditors – they bore the brunt of Coweta attacks. To these dependents, Galphin had seemingly betrayed his patriarchal responsibilities to care for and protect their communities. In response, these dependents renounced their deference to Galphin since he no longer lived up to his end of the bargain. Therefore, Creek violence dealt a crippling blow to Galphin's prestige as his dependents perceived Galphin as putting their families in harm's way, while incapable of stopping the Cowetas from venting their fury upon Irish bodies. Throughout the colonies, Coweta violence generated widespread panic, with colonists fearing that "it is only the first Operation of a general Confederacy between all the Indian Nations…to expel the white Inhabitants."[420] According to one Georgia resident, "It is now beyond a Doubt that the Creek Indians are our Enemies, and that they mean to exterpate us if they can." Rumors even circulated that Galphin "encouraged those Indians who committed the Murders." Coweta violence, then, unhinged the patriarchal and paternal relationships that Galphin forged with his dependent communities.[421]

To make matters even worse, news of the violence migrated across the Atlantic to Ulster, where the *Belfast News-Letter* informed its readers that the "Cowetas had taken up the hatchet against the English, killed all the traders in their nation and above 30 of the country people… [and] have declared war." Coupled with reports that those "settled

[420] Other newspapers offered conflicting reports, that such a "Confederacy is confined to the Creek and Cherokees," or simply the Creeks "who being supposed in general dissatisfied at the last Dismemberment of their Country." Some papers asserted even more specifically, "the Defection is only the among the Indians of the Lower Towns, or the Cowetas…[and] will not be supported by the Rest of the Nation." 31 January 1774, *South Carolina Gazette*.

[421] 31 January 1774, *South Carolina Gazette* ("Confederacy"); 28 January 1774, *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, MS C, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Doubt"); 14 February 1774, *South Carolina Gazette* ("late Murders").

in Queensborough [have] moved away" and "the Inhabitants are daily deserting their habitations," Galphin's emigration ventures in Ireland took a significant hit as families refused to relocate to Georgia, and no amount of pressure by Galphin's intimates in Ulster could change anyone's mind. But the death knell for Queensborough came from the Irish tenants themselves, who sent letters to their family and friends in Ireland revealing that "We are threatened with an Indian war." In an outpouring of support for Queensborough, the editors of the *Belfast News-Letter* lamented, "what misery do those deluded people expose themselves" as they faced "almost certain Death?"[422] By 1774, Galphin's emigrant project imploded as the flow of Ulster families from Ireland moved northward to South Carolina and Pennsylvania rather than Georgia, and Galphin's Queensborough tenants moved away to escape the wrath of their Creek neighbors.[423]

Unsurprisingly, the violence and retaliatory embargoes on the deerskin trade also played havoc with the partnerships between Galphin and his London merchants. In writing to firms like Clark & Milligan, Galphin and other merchants described the "fatal consequence[s]" that they experienced due to the pervasive disorder in the southeast. These disruptions included the reports that even though "the Indians has a Good many Skins on hand," they had no way to get them to Savannah or Charleston because of the embargo. Ships destined for London were similarly "so long detained," that merchants complained it will "put us back some…Time." Meanwhile, Greenwood

[422] In fact, when the final ship ("Elizabeth") full of Ulster emigrants landed in Savannah in early 1774, the passengers petitioned the Georgia assembly for relief on account of the "present disputes with the Indians," after hearing that Queensborough and other western settlements "were deserted by the inhabitants." 10 June 1774, *Belfast News-Letter, 1738-1800* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA.

[423] 19 April 1774, *Belfast News-Letter, 1738-1800* ("hatchet"); Yulssus Lynn Holmes, *Those Glorious Days: A History of Louisville as Georgia's Capital, 1796-1807* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996), 9 ("moved away"); John Stuart to Governor Josiah Martin, 22 February 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XIV*, 349-350 ("deserting"); 15 April 1774, *Belfast News-Letter, 1738-1800* ("threatened"); 18 April 1774, *Belfast News-Letter, 1738-1800* ("misery," "Death").

& Higginson canceled all orders for Galphin and their other partners, on account of the "fear[s] of an Indian War." Galphin's inability to live up to his reputation as "esteemed throughout the whole Creek Nation" struck his London associates like a clap of thunder. They contracted with Galphin and endowed their trust in him because of his influence with the Creeks. To discover that Galphin's efforts not only proved ineffective in this case, but principally so among the Cowetas, Galphin's allies in London took a good hard look at the depreciating value of their partnership with him. With profits dwindling, skins spoiling, and Indian goods collecting dust, the trust that Galphin's merchant allies invested in him diminished accordingly.[424]

A number of Galphin's imperial allies similarly started to harbor doubts about Galphin's abilities and the worth of their relationships with him, made all the worse by Superintendent John Stuart who not only despised Galphin, but remarked that "I never suffered myself to be duped by him, for neither his knowledge or intelligence were never necessary for me." Even though Stuart and Galphin once considered each other allies, Stuart increasingly distanced himself during the 1770s. In Stuart's mind, Galphin emerged as a rival to his own power, as Galphin "acquired…Connections and influence by having been long amongst the Indians…constantly employed to transact Business with the Creeks by…[the] Governors" James Wright, James Habersham, James Grant, and William Bull. Stuart also received a flood of reports from his agents in Creek Country about Galphin's trade abuses, including talks from Creek headmen who

[424] Andrew McLean to John Clark & David Milligan, 25 April 1775, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780,* in *Records of Ante-bellum Southern Plantations from the Revolution through the Civil War, Series A,* Roll 15, MS mfm R.1068o, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("fatal consequence"); Andrew McLean to John Clark & David Milligan, 21 December 1774, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780* ("detained," "Time"); Andrew McLean to John Clark & David Milligan, 6 August 1774, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780* ("Fear"); 14 February 1774, *South Carolina Gazette* ("esteemed").

"Blame[d] Mr. Galphin for…bringing their Nation into Trouble." To Stuart, then, Galphin came to embody everything that was wrong with the deerskin trade and how imperial power functioned on the periphery of the empire. Stuart confided as much to his London superiors, writing that individuals like Galphin wielded too much personal influence in Creek Country and were not "in any respect responsible to the Superintendent, [who] may with impunity oppose his measures and…render them abortive." Therefore, the Cowetas' violent renunciation of their ties to Galphin touched off a disruptive chain of events that threatened to bring Galphin's world of relationships crashing down around him.[425]

Even as his world teetered on the verge of collapse, though, Galphin restored equilibrium by forging new relationships, alliances, and partnerships while salvaging and privileging old ones. Throughout this crisis, Galphin demonstrated that his connections were not simply defined by their contingent nature, but also by their elasticity. Although circumstances dictated an end to Galphin's relations with the Cowetas, destabilized his paternal connections to Queensborough, and demoralized many of his other allies and dependents, he eventually adapted to each and every one of those changes wrought within his world of intimacies and localities. For instance, Galphin shrewdly renewed and strengthened his personal and spatial connections with other Creek peoples and towns, particularly with those who shared a long – and not

[425] James Graham to John Graham, 8 November 1775, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: East Florida, 1768-1783,* CO 5/566, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 367 ("duped by him"); John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 21 July 1777, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: East Florida, 1763-1777,* CO 557, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 648-654; David Taitt to John Stuart, 22 January 1774, *Sir Frederick Haldimand Unpublished Papers, 1758-1784,* Add. MS #21672, 164-166 ("Blame"); John Stuart to the Earl of Hillsborough, 12 June 1772, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. V,* 114-117 ("abortive").

altogether happy – history with Coweta. These towns included the Cussetas and Yuchis who distanced themselves from the Cowetas after the Seven Years' War. Galphin, therefore, looked to his longtime ally, Captain Aleck, to take the place of Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee. To support Aleck, Galphin mobilized his relationships with Cusseta's Nea Mico (Fat King), "Neaclucko," and the Second Man, while reaffirming old ties with the Cusseta King and King Jack of the Yuchis. Together, this cadre of Creek and Yuchi leaders emerged as Galphin's foremost allies and supporters in Creek Country after 1774, men who came to consider Galphin not only as their "Elder Brother," but at times as a "beloved Man" to whom their "Ears shall be open to what [he has] to say."[426]

Galphin also intensified his connections among Upper Creek towns like Okfuskee and Tallassee, communities that had a decades-long rivalry with Coweta over "their privileged place in the Creek-British relationship." By drawing upon his pre-existing relations with the Handsome Fellow, White Lieutenant, Wills' Friend, and the Old Tallassee King and his "Son," Galphin threw his personal, commercial, and political weight behind these allies rather than the Cowetas, and these Upper Creek leaders in turn welcomed such connections with Galphin. In fact, these newly strengthened ties between Galphin and the Upper Creeks came to life in 1774 amid the Coweta violence when the Okfuskees sent the Mad Turkey to Galphin, both of whom worked together to end the violence. Throughout that year, Mad Turkey traveled back and forth between Okfuskee, Coweta, and Silver Bluff as he attempted "his utmost…to persuade his countrymen to endeavour to make peace," and from there venturing "to Mr. Galphin's"

[426] "A Talk from the Cussita King sent from the Nation by…Captain Aleck," 19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents Vol. XII,* 183-190 ("Neaclucko," "Brother," "beloved Man," "Ears").

where they collaborated on ways to end the conflict. Undoubtedly for the Okfuskees, their actions in 1774 represented a reassertion "of Okfuskee's relationship with the British" amid Coweta's renunciation of that same relationship. In short, Okfuskee leaders offered themselves to British officials as an effective replacement for Coweta within the Creek-British alliance, ultimately relying on their "Father, elder Brother, and Friend" Galphin to act as their intermediary with imperial authorities. Therefore, as Galphin reknit his world of relationships back together, he shrewdly adapted to the violent chaos of the early 1770s by shedding his connections to Coweta in favor of the Lower and Upper Creek peoples who were increasingly at odds with the Cowetas.[427]

By recalibrating his alliances within Creek Country to fill the gaping hole left by Coweta, Galphin restored a semblance of his influence and prestige with his imperial allies and merchant partners. For instance, Governor Wright and the other "Gentleman [of] Augusta" and Charleston came to Galphin's defense against Stuart, who blamed him for the violence. One commentator in the *South Carolina Gazette* claimed Galphin as "a Gentleman, distinguished by the peculiar Excellency of his Character – of unbounded Humanity and Generosity – incapable of the least Degree or Baseness" and that by "his Influence alone that many a Rupture with [the] Indians has been prevented." Likewise, Governor Habersham warned Galphin of Stuart's hostility, informing Galphin that "Mr. Stuart came here two days ago…about some other Matters *concerning you*," and telling Galphin to be on his guard. To renew and strengthen the trust between him and his London allies, Galphin wrote letters to his merchant partners

[427] Piker, *Okfuskee*, 26 ("privileged place"), 66-67 ("Okfuskee's relationship"); 2 March 1774, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* ("Mad Turkey," "Galphin's," "Governor"); 30 March 1774, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* ("persuade"); "A Talk from the Handsome Fellow of the Oakfuskeys," 18 June 1777, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XVIII: Revolution and Confederation, 1776-1789,* ed. Colin G. Calloway (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 223-225 ("Handsome Fellow").

and promised to "be Security to you for whatever goods" they might send him and to "see you paid." To Galphin's credit – and in large part due to his continued connections in Creek Country – these merchant firms remained in partnership with him. Both Clark & Milligan and Greenwood & Higginson "sent over…several assortment of [Indian] Merchandize…[at] the desire of George Galphin," and afterward came to a just "Balance of the account between them." Skillfully, then, Galphin emerged from the Coweta violence with a completely refurbished network of personal and spatial connections, a feat he accomplished in only a matter of months.[428]

In the process of making such extensive changes and readjustments to compensate for the violence, Galphin put himself back on track to retire from the deerskin trade. Sometime in early 1776, Galphin marched to the local courthouse accompanied by a contingent of his family and friends – Thomas, George, John, William Dunbar, Clotworthy Robson, and Daniel McMurphy – who acted as witnesses when he filed his last will and testament in the colonial court system. Within his will, Galphin detailed plans for ceding his businesses, partnerships, property, wealth, and connections to his intimates, or to provide what Henry Laurens called "the Corner Stone of large Fortunes to your Children's Children." In return, all Galphin wanted was to "mind my Plantation" and "be Easey the remainder of my Life" as a landed gentleman, capable of enjoying the fruits of his labors over the past three decades.[429]

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[428] 14 February 1774, *South Carolina Gazette* ("Humanity"); James Habersham to George Galphin, 19 October 1772, *Habersham Family Papers, 1712-1842*, Folder 4 ("concerning you"); George Galphin to William Greenwood and William Higginson, 27 August 1773, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, ("Security"); "Memorial of David Milligan," 16 January 1786, AO 13/36c, Doc. 971 ("Eminent," "Merchandize"); Andrew McLean to Clark & Milligan, 25 February 1776, *Andrew McLean Letterbook, 1774-1780* ("Pensacola")

[429] 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*, 000051 .L51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC; Henry Laurens to Elias Vanderhorst, 6 March 1772, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume VIII: Oct. 10, 1771 – Apr. 19, 1773*, ed. Philip M. Hamer

Galphin then handed over his Silver Bluff account books – the keys to the kingdom, if you will – to those family and friends. Within those books, Galphin's intimates came upon a note that Galphin had etched several years earlier when first planning his retirement, before being interrupted by Coweta violence. While nearly indecipherable, the message that Galphin inscribed was to "Go all ways right _____ You, Go all ways right _____ you will Never _____ _____, Bare Light your person _____ Bare Light your hand, Be Brave Boys, Love George Galphin." This note is quite revealing, for it sums up Galphin's lifelong efforts to do all in his power to provide for those who meant the most to him. By turning over those account books, Galphin transferred ownership of the firm to his family and friends, who renamed it "Galphin Holmes & Co." In writing to his London partners, Galphin informed them that "No people in these parts ever went into trade on a better footing. They buy off no old debts…I let them have use of the House, Store, and plantation where I carried on the trade clear of rent. They are worth at least in negroes and land 10,000 pounds." Galphin had finally ceded his commercial and political connections to his intimates, which transformed these family and friends into "Men of Credit." Galphin accomplished, then, what he had set out to do nearly forty years ago: to provide for, protect, and ensure the futures of those who meant the most to him.[430]

Along with his businesses, Galphin stipulated that all of his remaining wealth and resources be granted to his family and friends at the time of his death, which further

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(Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 214-215; George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 20 July 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XI: Jan. 6, 1776 – Nov. 1, 1777*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 402-403.

[430] 8 November 1773, *Silver Bluff Trading Post Account Book, 1767-1772*, MS #269, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA; George Galphin to William Greenwood and William Higginson, 27 August 1773, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin* ("mind," "trade," "10,000"); Sarah M.S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 112 ("Creditworthiness"), 126 ("Men").

fulfilled his wishes to leave a legacy for those intimates. Galphin divvied up the Silver Bluff and Old Town plantations to his sons and daughters, although his sons also attained lands in Georgia, on the Ogeechee River, and throughout the "Ceded Lands," in addition to his sawmills, gristmills, and brick houses. Galphin also surrendered control over the 88,000 acres that the Creeks granted to his family to his sons George Jr. and John. As for Galphin's daughters, he favored Barbara, who was not only set to inherit a large portion of Silver Bluff, along with lands in Georgia and South Carolina, but was more importantly granted "her freedom…[from] all manner of Slavery and Bondage." Together with her husband William Holmes, Barbara took over the day-to-day affairs of Silver Bluff. Galphin's Anglo-Creek daughter Judith and her husband William Dunbar were likewise granted parts of Silver Bluff and the "Ceded Lands," in addition to her third of the 88,000 acres. To his Anglo daughter Martha, Galphin provided her with thousands of acres throughout Georgia and the "Ceded Lands," as well as several plots for her family in Augusta. For his other African daughters, Galphin decreed that Rose, Rachel, and Betsey be freed from a life of slavery and given their own land.[431] To all of these children, Galphin distributed his fortune in horses, cattle, furniture, weapons, apparel, and other luxuries, all of which demonstrate Galphin's desire to leave an opulent inheritance for his children.[432]

Galphin also reserved and portioned out his residual capital and resources to the other members of his family. In particular, Galphin provided his Irish sisters and their

[431] Galphin also freed two other African slave children in his last will and testament. These children, Brian and Sally, were the offspring of Galphin's Creek son, George Jr., who fathered those children with Galphin's slaves, Hannah and Clarissa. After freeing Brian and Sally, Galphin provided them with land, cows, cash, and even slaves, although he transferred custody of Hannah and Clarissa to George. 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*.
[432] 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*.

families with a legacy that eluded them as children in Ulster. Galphin conveyed thousands of acres in Georgia, South Carolina, and the "Ceded Lands" to Martha, Margaret, and their Crossley and Holmes families. In addition, Galphin bequeathed a wealth of horses, cattle, cows, hard cash, and other luxuries to his Irish relatives, which ensured that their families would never again face the poverty that Galphin and his sisters endured in Ireland. He even reserved a portion of land and money for his Crossley and Holmes nephews "still in Ireland," although he favored David and Robert Holmes "now living here." As for his sisters Susannah, Judith, and their families who remained in Ulster, Galphin left them with a prosperous inheritance in land, cows, horses, and cash, providing them with legacies they never would have thought possible during their years together in Ireland. To his childhood friends and family who lived at Silver Bluff or stayed in Ulster – such as the Pooler, Rankin, Foster, and Lennard families – Galphin granted them both land and financial rewards. Meanwhile, Galphin sent to his closest friends and confidants, like Lachlan McGillivray, William Dunbar, Daniel McMurphy, Clotworthy Robson, John Parkinson, and the family of John McQueen, "suits of mourning" and "mourning rings" that they might remember him by, along with other small gifts. While rather sparing in what he granted his "sworn brothers,"[433] Galphin depended on these men as the administrators of his estate to ensure that his will was carried out as he wished after his death. In short, these "mourning suits and rings" acted as a bond of trust between Galphin and these men,

[433] In fact, it seems common practice in the eighteenth century that the executors or administrators of one's will, oftentimes family or close friends, were only granted mourning suits and rings to commemorate the person's passing. Thus, Lachlan McGillivray only left "my loving friend George Galphin…the sum of fifty pounds sterling to buy a suit of mourning and a ring": McGillivray did the same for his other friends John Rae and William Struthers. 12 June 1767, *Last Will and Testament of Lachlan McGillivray of Vale Royal*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA [accessed through Ancestry.com, 26 October 2012].

united not only in fraternity, but also in a responsibility to see Galphin's will done.[434]

Finally, Galphin entrusted the care for his dependents and their several communities to his family and friends. While Galphin's sons and daughters assumed ownership over Silver Bluff and Old Town, they in turn inherited the obligations of the many peoples who lived and labored at those places. Galphin also bequeathed to his sons and his Irish relatives the lands and title to Queensborough, despite the faltering health of that community. In doing so, Galphin shifted the obligations of his Anglo and Irish tenants, traders, laborers, and their families to his intimates, while at the same time making his family and friends responsible for those settlements. Galphin similarly reallocated the debts of his dependents to his family, debts that totaled nearly £30,000. Lastly, Galphin redistributed all of his African slaves, numbering around two hundred and fifty people, among his kith and kin. In other words, Galphin would not only relinquish his material wealth upon his death, but effectively cede his vast pool of personal and spatial connections to his family and friends for their perpetual use.[435]

However, Galphin's hopes to "be Easey the remainder of my life" proved rather short-lived as the flames of violence between Creek and British peoples refused to die out. English and Irish settlers continued to mete out their own brand of justice in response to Creek violence. These colonial vigilantes also viewed the empire and its

[434] In contrast to the generosity that Galphin showed most of his intimates, Galphin was rather unkind to the mothers of his children. Other than Metawney who Galphin provided with a suit of mourning and stipulated she live with George Jr. and John at Old Town where she was to be "cloathed by them," the rest of Galphin's female companions were largely disregarded. To his Anglo mistress Rachel Dupre, Galphin gave her a few cows, furniture, and a small allowance of £20, but only "as long as she is virtuous or lives Single." To Catherine Galphin who remained in Ireland, Galphin allotted £150 "in lieu of any part of my Estate She may lay any Claim to." As for the slave women who bore Galphin's other children, their reward was to remain in a life of perpetual slavery. In particular, Galphin passed the servitude of Nitehuckey to George Jr., Sappo to John, Hannah and Clarissa to his daughters, while Rose died before Galphin codified his will. 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*.

[435] 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*; *Galphin Estate Papers & Inventory, 1782-1787*, South Carolina, Ninety-Six District, Court of Ordinary, 0000042 .L42235, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC.

representatives like Governor Wright and Superintendent Stuart with contempt, for the empire not only proved unable to stem the bloodshed, but at times seemed to favor Creek peoples and their interests. For instance, after a Creek Indian named Big Elk flashed the "watch and false hair" of Lieutenant Grant who was killed in 1774, British inhabitants "followed him…into the woods" and "dispatched him." Shortly thereafter, Thomas Fee came across Galphin's Okfuskee confidant, the Mad Turkey, and "barbarously murdered" him despite his "friendly errand…to make peace [in] this province." When imperial agents arrested Fee, English and Irish residents lauded him as a hero, after which "ten armed white Men…forced [Fee's] Prison open, after having threatened to put the Jailor to Death" and set him free. Following his prison-break, Fee organized a posse to scour the "Ceded Lands" for more Creek targets, all of which led Wright to fear "the Indians may [soon] take revenge." Altogether, these violent events fed into a popular ethos of Indian-hating, as well as a backcountry resistance to imperial authority, both of which plagued Georgia by 1776 and as some scholars assert, acted as "the opening chapter of the American Revolution" in Georgia.[436]

This time around, though, Galphin did not misinterpret the violence and what it showed him – that Creek and British peoples now possessed two irreconcilable worlds and ways of life. Where at one time cross-cultural relationships proved common-place and customary in North America, now such interactions seemed taboo and dangerous.

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[436] John Stuart to Thomas Gage, 12 May 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 143-145 ("watch," "woods"); 4 April 1774, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("Errand"); 30 March 1774, *Georgia Gazette, 1763-1776* ("barbarously murdered"); 16 May 1774, *South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* ("armed," "Jailor"); James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 18 April 1774, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume VII: Calendar, 1774 – 30 June 1775*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 90 ("revenge"); Edward J. Cashin, "'But Brothers, It Is Our Land We Are Talking About': Winners and Losers in the Georgia Backcountry," in *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution*, eds. Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985), 245 ("chapter").

Most of the English and Irish settlers who moved nearby or intruded onto Creek lands in the 1770s cared little for Native sensibilities, culture, or compromise. Galphin lamented as much, noting that "since the first settling of the Ceded Lands there has been a Diference between the Indians & the Settlers," not only "killing one another," but also turning "the minds of the people for…[an] Indian war." In fact, Galphin's words proved prophetic as the revolutionary crisis that brewed to the north spilled over into Georgia by 1776, exacerbating the violence between Native and British peoples in the southeast. With the onset of a war that engulfed all of eastern North America, Galphin watched haplessly as his world of intimacies and localities turned completely upside down.[437]

[437] George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 26 October 1778, *George Galphin Letters 1777-1779*, in *Henry Laurens Papers*, Roll 17: Papers Concerning Indian Affairs, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston SC.

Chapter 8 – "I am sorry an Independence is Declared": George Galphin, the American Revolution, and the War of Intimacy, 1776-1780

In August 1776, George Galphin penned a letter to his nephew, Timothy Barnard, in which he related that "A man just come from Charles Town says Independence is declared." To Galphin, news of the "Declaration of Independence" was not a joyous occasion. Instead, Galphin lamented to Barnard "I am sorry an Independence is declared, for I was still in hopes affairs wou'd have been settled but now it is all over." For a man who sought to sit back and enjoy the genteel life he built for himself over the past three decades, the Revolutionary War could not have been more ill-timed. Still in the process of retiring from the deerskin trade and transferring custody of the firm over to his family and friends, Galphin dreaded that the end to the imperial relationship threatened to disrupt these activities, and endanger his family, friends, and their livelihoods. To make matters worse, British assaults upon Savannah and Charleston in early 1776 coincided with a continued Coweta violence, which brought the conflict straight to Galphin's doorstep. To complicate things even more, Galphin informed Barnard of an American army led by "General [Charles] Lee is Just come to Savannah with 3000 & odd Men…upon a secret expedition" that Galphin speculated had something to do with an attack on St. Augustine, which would undoubtedly jeopardize the Galphin stores in East Florida. Therefore, in August 1776, Galphin found himself between a rock and a hard place. In the end, Galphin was forced to abandon his dreams of living the high life as the war dragged him back into the thick of Native-European politics and commerce.[438]

[438] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Volume 78 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1983), 559-563.

Like so many others caught up in the revolutionary wave of 1776, Galphin's loyalties during the war were dictated more by his circumstances rather than by republican ideology or imperial loyalty. According to Maya Jasanoff, a "historical tradition has portrayed the American Revolution first and foremost as a war of ideals," rather than what she calls a "war of ordeals." Jasanoff and the new historians of the loyalist experience argue that a person's decision to take sides during the revolution stemmed from the local realities that governed a person's life. In Galphin's case, he was bombarded by his intimates, allies, and dependents to pledge his allegiance to the American rebels or the British Empire. Forced to weigh the costs of choosing one side or the other, Galphin's decision would ultimately come down to what was best for the welfare of those who meant the most to him – his family and friends.[439]

In his correspondence with Barnard, then, Galphin pressed his nephews and sons "to get your Skins down to Pensacola as soon as you can" and "ship them as soon as possible, [so] that you may pay your debts in England" before the war cut off all ties to London. To compound his growing fears for those family and friends, Galphin remarked to Barnard that the revolutionaries seized "12 Merchant Ships [and] carried [them] into Philadelphia, among them our friend…McGillivray's Ship from Pensacola" and a brig owned by Galphin's partners, Clark & Milligan, both of which carried a wealth of skins for Galphin Holmes & Co. The situation spiraled even further out of control when Galphin received news that the British navy blockaded all ports in North America, fulfilling King George III's promises to "prohibit all Trade and Intercourse" with the former colonies until the rebellion ended. Finally, Galphin learned the

[439] Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Press, 2011), 23 ("ideals," "ordeals").

Continental Congress decreed that "all Tories Estates will be seized." Consequently, Galphin faced a no-win situation. If he allied with the British, he forfeited Silver Bluff and all of the other properties, resources, and wealth he sought to give to his family and friends, which he realized likely doomed those intimates to an existence like that of his own in Ulster. But if he declared his allegiance to the revolutionaries, he alienated his imperial and merchant allies across the Atlantic, and what's worse, became a traitor in the eyes of those he did political and commercial business with.[440]

At first, Galphin tried to act as if everything was normal despite the Revolution swirling around him. Galphin thus called upon his merchant contacts in Charleston and Augusta to find ways around the British blockade and American boycotts, so that he might "deliver [his] gang of Steers," bushels of corn and indigo, and his sons and nephews' skins to transatlantic markets. Although deprived of commercial connections to London, Galphin remained optimistic that trade might survive since his merchants "had great encouragement from the French, Spain, & the Dutch [who] say they will protect their trade." Meanwhile, Galphin capitalized upon his alliances with the headmen in Cusseta, Yuchi, Tallassee, and Okfuskee to affirm peace and commerce between their towns and Silver Bluff, maintaining a steady flow of trade between those places to ensure the survival of Galphin Holmes & Co. Finally, Galphin managed to remain in the good graces of both imperial and rebel authorities, using those connections to protect his family, friends, and their interests. With Governor Wright, Galphin secured total compensation for the debts that the English Crown owed to him

[440] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563 ("Skins down," "Impossible," "Merchant Ships," "Estates"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 13 March 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume. XI: Jan. 6, 1776 – Nov. 1, 1777*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 157-159 ("Galphin Holmes & Co." skins).

from the sale of the "Ceded Lands."[441] When pressed by Wright to declare his loyalties, though, Galphin assured him that "he would not act…[and] have nothing to do with them [rebels]." Similarly, when approached by the revolutionaries, Galphin arranged with the Councils of Safety to let his firm continue its business despite the commercial restrictions. Faced again with questions about his loyalties, Galphin simply remarked to the rebels that he only intended "to keep the Indians peaceable" through trade.[442]

Before long, though, Galphin could not ignore the fact that war threatened to destabilize his world, which became quite evident in the relationships with his dependent communities. In writing to Barnard in 1776, Galphin complained that his Irish and Anglo tenants joined the "majority of the people [who] wants a Creek War." Galphin also noted that his Creek townsmen "wou'd be glad to Join them" in such a conflict. Therefore, Galphin's dependents on both sides of the cultural divide continued to perpetrate violence against one another despite his pleas and interventions, the most recent of which ended in the murder of "a white man" by the Cowetas as revenge for attacks by the Queensborough Irish. Instead of appealing to Galphin, though, his Irish and Anglo dependents petitioned Charles Lee "to make an attempt to exterminate and

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[441] Galphin's claim to the Ceded Lands was the single largest claim of any trader, merchant, or planter, totaling a staggering £9,791. "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift: Claim of George Galphin for Self and other Indian Traders," 6 June 1775, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA.

[442] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563 ("Steers," "encouragement"); "Indenture by the Creek Indian Nation to our beloved Sister Matawny," 27 August 1772, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book BBB, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA (88,000 acres); George Galphin to the Council of Safety, 15 October 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume X: Dec. 12, 1774 – Jan. 6, 1776*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), 467-469 ("peaceable"); James Wright to John Stuart, 6 July 1775, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 76, 167-168 ("not act"); "At a Meeting of the Council of Safety," 15 May 1776, *Proceedings of the Georgia Council of Safety, 1775 to 1777*, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society Volume V, Part I: Proceedings of the Georgia Council of Safety, 1775 to 1777 (Savannah: Braid & Hutton, Printers and Binders, 1901), 52 ("peaceable").

rout those savages," fed up with "living on the frontiers of…Georgia [that] are much exposed to the barbarous attacks of the Creek Indians." Galphin's tenants, debtors, and laborers even singled out Galphin as to blame for their plight since his firm "tends to bring those savages down into the settlements, and they seldom return without either committing murder or robbery, and generally both, upon the white people." Galphin bemoaned the fact, then, that his dependents now spurned the bonds of deference and paternalism that once existed between them.[443]

Galphin could hardly be surprised at the alarming rate of depopulation that plagued his communities in 1776. In particular, large numbers of his tenants, laborers, and debtors fled his settlements for Savannah, Charleston, and British strongholds like St. Augustine or Pensacola. For many of those dependents indebted to Galphin, the chance to escape their financial obligations proved to be an opportunity too good to pass up. In addition, a number of Galphin's dependents joined the wave of Georgia residents who fled en masse to British lines or loyalist enclaves. The revolutionary government grew so disconcerted with the mass defection of its inhabitants that the Councils of Safety placed "a scout every 6 miles…watching for fear of people going off." More often than not, the militia only captured "Negroes that were willing to" flee the plantations, although these scouts failed to catch a group of Galphin's slaves who seized an opportunity to liberate themselves from the chains of slavery. All-in-all, Galphin watched haplessly as the war undermined his dependent relationships.[444]

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[443] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563 ("Creek War," "white man"); "Petition of the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. George and St. Paul…to General Lee," 31 July 1776, *American Archives: Documents of the American Revolution, 1774-1776*, ed. Peter Force, Series 5, Vol. 1 (Washington: GPO, 1837), 685 ("exterminate," "barbarous attacks," "robbery").
[444] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563 ("scouts,"

When push came to shove, then, Galphin could not ignore the realities of war, especially when his inveterate rival, John Stuart, spearheaded British efforts to incite the Creeks to war against the revolutionaries. While historians argue that Stuart never intended to drag the Creeks into the conflict, both the Americans and Galphin genuinely believed that Stuart "by the hands of Indians, [would] deluge our frontiers with the blood of our fellow-citizens!" Out of their fears of "a Creek War" and knowing that Galphin's influence among the Creeks rivaled that of Stuart, the rebel leadership pleaded frantically with Galphin to do all in his power to "contradict and counteract [Stuart's] bad Talks…[to] the Creeks."[445] Galphin realized all too well that he and his intimates – along with everything he accumulated and accomplished throughout his life – were not simply caught in the crossfire between two warring sides, but in a manner of speaking had targets painted on their backs. In writing to Henry Laurens, Galphin confided as much, writing that "Mr. Stewart has been my Enemy ever since I got the Indians to give up that body of Land in Georgia to pay their debts, & Wou'd be glad of an opertunity to do me an Ingery." In Galphin's mind, then, Stuart and a "Creek War" represented the greatest threat to both his world and his family and friends. So when faced with that momentous decision to declare his loyalties in 1776, Galphin risked

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"Negroes"); 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*, 000051 .L51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("Ingratitude"); George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 16 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collections, Vault Box Ayer MS 313, Folder 3, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("indulgent").

[445] While historians are divided in opinion over whether or not Stuart actively sought to convince the Creeks to go to war against the American states in the early stages of that conflict, it is more important to note that the revolutionary leaders and Galphin genuinely believed that Stuart was capable and willing to do so. Therefore, when Joseph Habersham presented evidence in the Georgia state legislature in the summer of 1775 that Stuart intended to use his agents to "dispose those people [Creeks] to act in defence of his Majesty and Government," the revolutionary leadership asserted that they must "frustrate the design of the British Administration" that sought "by the hands of Indians, to deluge our frontiers with the blood of our fellow-citizens!" "Letter from James Habersham about Indian Affairs," 16 June 1775, in *Georgia and the Revolution,* ed. Ronald G. Killion and Charles T. Waller (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1975), 136-137 ("tampering," "dispose"); "Declaration published by South Carolina Congress," 19 November 1775, *American Archives*, Series 5, Vol. 3, 58-60 ("deluge").

everything when he wrote to the Councils of Safety that "I will forfit my Living to Keep the Creeks peasable" and to oppose John Stuart.[446]

Having declared his loyalties, Galphin immediately cemented relationships with allies among the revolutionaries who could support him and offer security to his family and friends. Through his connection with Laurens, Galphin rubbed elbows with the leading civilian and military authorities for the American war effort in the south, which included Charles Lee and Benjamin Lincoln, Governor John Rutledge, and the men of the Carolina and Georgia Councils of Safety like Lachlan McIntosh and Samuel Elbert. These men in turn confided in Galphin and believed that without him, or in the event of "his Death, [we] would be [at] an irreparable Loss." Laurens additionally served as a delegate to the Continental Congress and linked Galphin to those men, who came to value Galphin's expertise and appointed him as the "Continental Commissioner of the Southern Department of Indian Affairs." In the process of such alliance-building, Galphin's new partners allocated resources and manpower to support his campaign against Stuart, which Galphin also used to protect his family and friends.[447]

But Galphin remained a reluctant revolutionary at best. When notifying his intimates like Barnard that "I concern myself [in] no way but to keep the Creeks peaceable [and] that I will do it if in my power," Galphin also confided that "I think [revolutionary] Government ought to be obliged to me, for if their Commissioners had

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[446] John Rutledge to Henry Laurens, 8 August 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI,* 434-435 ("Creek War"); South Carolina Council of Safety to Georgia Council of Safety, 24 July 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. X,* 243-244 ("contradict"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 7 February 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI,* 93-97 ("Stewart"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 15 October 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. X*, 467-469 ("peasable").

[447] "Commissioner of Southern Department of Indian Affairs at Salisbury to the Continental Congress," 13 November 1775, *Henry Laurens Papers, Kendall Collection,* in the *William Gilmore Simms Papers,* MS P, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Commissioner"); John Rutledge, 30 August 1777, *John Rutledge Papers, 1739-1800,* Manuscripts mfm R.281, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC ("Loss").

got their ends…there wou'd have been an Enemy in the Creeks now on their way to Pensacola." Galphin's unwillingness to wholeheartedly join the revolutionary movement owed largely to his fears of what the war might mean for his family and friends. In fact, he only embraced the revolution when forced to by the circumstances of war, for he felt "twas a Duty Incumbent on me…knowing my interest in the Creeks was so great, that it was not in the power of any Man [Stuart] to set them upon us if I oposed them." Galphin, in effect, gambled everything on a revolution that he did not necessarily believe in. Through Galphin, then, we can see that a person's loyalties during the Revolutionary War – to either the colonial or imperial worlds – could be defined by one's local and personal connections or circumstances, rather than by imperial or republican ideologies and identities.[448]

Galphin learned the hard way, though, that the bonds of kinship did not always translate into familial loyalty. Shortly after writing to his nephew, Galphin learned that Barnard betrayed his confidence by transmitting the contents of their correspondence to Stuart. The Galphin-Barnard letters included intelligence about American troop movements, naval strategy, and diplomatic overtures with the French. To twist the knife in Galphin's back, David Holmes joined Barnard in pronouncing his loyalism and afterward turned Galphin's stores in West Florida over to the British. To Galphin's horror, Holmes and Barnard appropriated and deployed Galphin's own network of relationships and localities against him, using the connections they maintained for their uncle among the Upper and Lower Creeks in support of the British interest. To make

[448] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563 ("my power," "Government"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 7 February 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 93-97 ("Duty").

matters worse, Galphin's nephews exploited the estrangement between Galphin and Coweta as they colluded with Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee to draw the Lower Creeks to the British side, after which Coweta's leaders affirmed "they have thrown away the Virginians [Americans] & purpose to hold [the British] fast." For the remainder of the war, Galphin not only competed with Stuart for influence among the Creeks, but against his own family. Galphin also learned that even his "sworn brother" Lachlan McGillivray supported the empire over the rebels. In all of these ways, the revolution evolved from a contest between Galphin and Stuart for the neutrality or support of the Creeks, into a war that pitted Galphin's own family and friends against him. Galphin's experiences during the Revolutionary War reveal, then, that this conflict was every bit as much a war of intimate relationships as it was a war against imperial authority.[449]

George Galphin, therefore, highlights several underappreciated facts about the revolution – that one's family and relationships acted as a powerful and integrative force that helped people cope with wartime trauma; that family dictated one's loyalties during the war; and that family determined how the war itself was fought. This look at the revolution through Galphin reveals the very pivotal role that one's personal connections played throughout this conflict, as Galphin used his relationships to navigate the chaos and violence of the war for his family and friends. So when Galphin wrote to Barnard in August 1776 that "they were [all] in Hell…now as there is an Independency declared" as "so many brave men [were to be] killed & God knows when

[449] David Holmes to John Stuart, 26 September 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 541-542 (Holmes defection); John Stuart to the Earl of Dartmouth, 25 October 1775, *Documents of the American Revolution Volume XI: Transcripts, July – December 1775*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 167 ("his two nephews"); Thomas Brown to John Stuart, 29 September 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 544-549 ("thrown away").

there will be an end to it," he vowed his family and friends would not be among the dead. If anyone would be sacrificed upon the altar of rebellion, it would be Galphin, who jokingly preferred "to be hanged a Longe with all the [other] Leading men" in England. Even though the fires of war consumed his world of intimacies and localities, Galphin managed to salvage the relationships that meant the most to him, and in the process provided the means for his family and friends to live out their lives and forge their own futures after the war.[450]

The trajectory of Galphin's path from ambivalent neutral to reluctant revolutionary mirrored that of the Georgia colony itself. Surrounded by Native Peoples, British Florida, and the imperial navy, and beset internally by a strong loyalist support base and a "Black Majority," Georgia did not so much join the revolution as it "had to be dragged into it." Led by a minority of elites within the lower house of assembly between 1765 and 1775, the Georgia resistance movement largely failed to get up off the ground until late 1774 when Governor Wright reported to London that "a Spirit of Licentiousness, or what they call Liberty, and Such a total Contempt of His Majesty's Authority, Law, and Government now Prevails."[451] From 1774 to 1775, Wright grew

[450] George Galphin to Timothy Barnard, 18 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 559-563 ("Hell," "God"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 29 December 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XV: Dec. 9, 1778 – Sept. 1, 1782*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 19-21 ("hanged").

[451] From 1774 to 1775, Wright repeatedly dissolved the Georgia assembly as political opposition mounted in protest to the "Intolerable Acts." Wright grew increasingly worried by February 1775, as "a great many People have Work't themselves up to Such a Pitch of Political Enthusiasm with Respect to their Ideas of Liberty, and the Powers of the British Parliament, and of their Right to Resist what they call unconstitutional Laws, that I do not expect they will yet give up their Pretensions." Georgia Assembly Journals, 2 March 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XXXVIII Part A* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 222 ("Representatives of the People"); James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 13 February 1775, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part B* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 392 ("Enthusiasm").

concerned as political agitation spread outside the legislature to infect the general populace.[452] When news of Lexington and Concord reached Savannah, Wright feared "People here are much Changd & many seem disposed to follow the example of the other Colonys, and I am really afraid will do so." Shortly thereafter, the legislature supplanted Wright and "styled themselves a Provincial Congress," and "adopt[ed]…the American Declaration."[453]

To grapple with the imminent threat that John Stuart and the British "Indian Department" posed to Georgia, the men of the Provincial Congress and Council of Safety appointed Galphin as their "Indian Commissioner." But in assuming that role, Galphin stipulated that the American "Indian Department" would operate out of Silver Bluff and be staffed by the intimates he trusted and surrounded himself with. For instance, Galphin insisted that the Council of Safety employ Daniel McMurphy and William Dunbar as "Assistant Superintendents for Indian Affairs," who fulfilled many of the same responsibilities they performed for Galphin's firm. Similarly, Galphin

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[452] In February 1775, "a number of Persons came in disguise…Faces being blacked and having on Sailors Cloaths" to the Savannah wharf where they confiscated casks of molasses and sugar, led by "People of the Town and of the Better Sort." Soon thereafter, Wright complained to London that "the Kings Gun Powder Magazine was broke open and Robbed," "The Liberty Folks…put up a Liberty Tree & a Flagg, & in the Evening Paraded about the Town," and of the "Tarring and Feathering" of Loyalists, all of which "contribute towards…that Levelling Spirit…amongst the Children and Common People…[in] Contempt of Government and Authority which has so much Prevailed throughout the whole American Continent." "The Testimony of James Adgar," 27 February 1775, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part B*, 399-400 ("blacked," "Better Sort"); James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 12 May 1775, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part B*, 439 ("Gun Powder"); James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 17 June 1775, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part B*, 466-467 ("Liberty Folks"); James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 29 July 1775, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part B*, 523 ("Tarring"); James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 24 April 1775, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part B*, 424-425 ("Levelling").

[453] Killion and Waller, *Georgia and the Revolution*, 3 ('dragged"); James Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth, 12 December 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part B*, 359 ("Licentiousness"); "Provincial Congress reports to Governor Wright," July 1775, *Georgia and the Revolution*, 111-112 ("Styled"); "Georgia Joins the Revolution," 6 July 1775, *Georgia and the Revolution*, 146-147 ("American Declaration"); James Wright to Lord Dartmouth, 19 December 1775, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVII Part II* [micro-film], Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 53 (delegates).

suggested it was prudent to enlist "[Stephen] Forrester…[as] a proper Person for the Purpose…to oppose any bad Talks…in the [Creek] Nation." Meanwhile, Galphin immediately returned to Silver Bluff and transformed his plantation into a hub of the "United Colonies…Indian affairs," and he recruited his family and friends to support his labors.[454]

Galphin's kith and kin rallied behind him and augmented his efforts to keep the Creeks at peace, often acting as his eyes, ears, and mouth in Creek Country. Of all his intimates, Galphin depended on his Anglo-Creek sons as his primary intermediaries with their Native allies, "Stay[ing] out there to Encorage our frinds" for weeks on end.[455] For the duration of the war, George Jr. and John constantly shuttled back and forth between Silver Bluff and Creek Country, where they delivered their father's talks, transported goods or weapons to their allies and neutrals, and traded information and intelligence.[456] Stuart's agents constantly complained about George and John, who "came up to the nation…on purpose to communicate every intelligence [they] could

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[454] Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 4 October 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. X*, 447-449 ("Indian Commissioner"); "Account of Colo. Daniel McMurphy against the State of Georgia, audited by John Wereat," *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, TCC778, Digital Library of Georgia, http://metis.galib. uga.edu/ssp/cgi-bin/tei-natamer-idx.pl?sessionid=5f181d40-5c02a54626-8844&type=doc&tei2id=TCC778 (McMurphy's appointment)"; Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 29 March 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 197 (Dunbar's appointment); South Carolina Council of Safety to the Georgia Council of Safety, 24 July 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. X*, 243-244 ("proper Person");

[455] Galphin's Anglo son, Thomas, enlisted with the Continental Army early in the war: he served under the command of a Colonel Thompson and later Brigadier General John Twiggs. From 1778 to 1780, he was stationed with his regiment in Charleston before British forces seized that city in May 1780. Thomas remained in service until the end of the war. Lucian Lamar Knight, ed. *Georgia's Roster of the Revolution* (Atlanta: Index Printing Co., 1929), 91, 214, 382 ("Thomas Galphin," "Twiggs," "Georgia"); 13 August 1778, "Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimke, August 1778 to May 1780," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Volume 13, No. 1 (January 1912): 47 ("Parole," "Charleston").

[456] Galphin also used his Anglo-Creek sons to sow misinformation among Native Peoples. Thus Galphin "sent out my Indian Son[s]…to let the Indians [k]no[w] we had a powerfull armey on this side of the river & that we would sone drive the Enemey backe." George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 16 February 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780* ("armey"); Charles Shaw to George Germain, 19 June 1780, *George Sackville Germain Papers, 1683-1785*, Volume 12, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("very indefatigable").

obtain [for their] father," and feared they might "raise the Indians against us" or "stir up the People to Rebellion." Galphin's sons even managed to restore a semblance of the skin trade with the Upper Creeks, supported by the Tallassee King, who communicated to Galphin through his sons that "he had still Skins by him [Galphin]…and to Let him know when he must Come Down with the skins." Although George and John performed the most dangerous labors out of all of his intimates, Galphin feared the least for their safety since the British "Can not keep my Son[s] Longe if they tacke [them]… [as their Creek] Relations wood Sone have" them released.[457]

To assist his sons, Galphin relied on Daniel McMurphy and William Dunbar to secure the resources and goods necessary to placate Native communities, in addition to helping George and John transport such goods to Creek Country. For instance, Dunbar handled the finances of Galphin's "Indian affairs," which required his constant correspondence with the Councils of Safety, Provincial Congresses, and Continental Congress in order to ensure a steady supply of revenue and commodities.[458] With the assistance of Clotworthy Robson, Dunbar trafficked in £10,000 worth of merchandise at a single time, composed of trade goods, weaponry, provisions, and rum all destined for neutral or allied Creek towns. McMurphy then accompanied those goods into Creek County, where he conducted the face-to-face interactions on Galphin's behalf with

[457] George Galphin to the South Carolina Council of Safety, 15 October 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. X*, 467-469 ("Encorage"); "A Talk Delivered at Silver Bluff to George Galphin by the Tallassee King," 3 November 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780* ("Skins," "Come Down"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 7 July 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 159-161 ("on purpose"); 30 January 1779, *Journal of an Expedition against the Rebels of Georgia in North America under the Orders of Archibald Campbell, Esquire, Lieut. Colo. of His Majesty's 71st Regimt.* (Darien, GA: Ashantilly Press, 1981), 52-53 ("Indians," "Rebellion"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 29 December 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XV*, 19-21 ("Longe").

[458] Galphin typically concluded his letters to Henry Laurens and the Councils of Safety with the salutation, "William Dunbar will call upon you for money." George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 13 March 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 157-159 ("money").

Captain Aleck, the Handsome Fellow, White Lieutenant, Nea Mico, and King Jack of the Yuchi. While in Creek Country, McMurphy prevailed upon allied or neutral headmen to "hear [Galphin's] talks" and even "to kill or drive away all [Stuart's] Officers out of the Nation." When not traversing the trade paths, McMurphy joined Galphin in planning the congresses they hosted with Creek leaders, and often escorted Creek delegations to and from Silver Bluff. McMurphy proved to be so valuable to Galphin that British agents "wish[ed] we could get hold of [Galphin] and McMurphey," going to such extreme lengths as placing bounties on both of their heads.[459]

To fulfill Dunbar and McMurphy's logistical needs, Galphin called upon Quinton Pooler, John Parkinson, and the Crossley family to oversee the transport of provisions and goods from Europe to Silver Bluff. Pooler and Parkinson continued to act as Galphin's commercial proxies in Savannah and Charleston, and managed to skirt the British blockade when they sent Galphin's skins and other merchandise across the Atlantic through extra-legal channels. In return, Pooler and Parkinson arranged for the delivery of commodities from Europe back to Silver Bluff aboard their "Canoe Boat[s]," which they sailed down the Savannah River under the noses of British enforcers. At the same time, Galphin's Crossley kinsmen organized the transport of those same trade goods over land, spearheaded by John Crossley and his brothers, who

[459] Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 29 March 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 197 ("£7000"); "Account of Colo. Daniel McMurphy against the State of Georgia, audited by John Wereat," *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842* (Robson, McMurphy); Augustine Prevost to David Taitt, 14 March 1779, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 8, Vol. 80, 288 ("McMurphey"); Robert R. Turbyfill, "Daniel MacMurphy and the Revolutionary War Era in Georgia," *Richmond County History Journal* Volume 24, No. 2 (Winter 1993): 10 (protection); John Stuart to William Howe, 23 August 1777, *British Headquarters Papers of the British Army in America (Carleton Papers), 1747-1783*, Reel 6, Frame 649 [micro-film] (Washington, D.C.: Recordak Corporation Microfilming Service, 1957), 1-3 ("hear his talks," "to kill"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 25 June 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XIII: Mar. 15 – July 6, 1778*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 513-515 ("bounty").

were familiar with the paths that led from Silver Bluff to Augusta, Savannah, Charleston, and Florida. In addition, Galphin relied on his Crossley relatives to drive his cattle and livestock to the Continental Army's camps, where they slaughtered those animals to provision the revolutionary forces. Finally, Galphin repeatedly called on his brother-in-law, William Crossley, to convey his many letters and intelligence to the revolutionary leadership in South Carolina and Georgia.[460]

To round out his circle of family and friends within the "Indian Department," Galphin delegated the authority and responsibility for those traders and dependents still in his employ to Patrick Carr, who emerged as Galphin's principal agent for combating Stuart's influence among the Creeks. Carr's rise from a lowly trader in the 1760s to one of Galphin's trusted companions during the war illustrates that Galphin's world of relationships was not simply characterized by the hierarchical boundaries that segregated family and friends from allies and dependents, but also defined by its fluidity. At the start, Galphin considered Carr of low value, but over the years, Carr emerged as a man worthy of Galphin's trust and confidence, and thereby ascended to the ranks of Galphin's intimates. After earning such trust, Carr assumed custody over the grassroots labors for Galphin's "Indian department." He conducted diplomatic and commercial exchanges with Native leaders, stamped out rumors spread by British agents, and transmitted talks and intelligence back and forth between Silver Bluff and

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[460] Henry Laurens to Lachlan McIntosh, 21 December 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 286 ("Canoe"); George Galphin to James Burgess, 28 August 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 7, Vol. 78, 528-529 ("John Crossley"); 30 January 1779, *Journal of an Expedition against the Rebels of Georgia in North America,* 52-53 (William Crossley).
William Crossley fulfilled a similar function when British commander Archibald Campbell threatened to invade Silver Bluff in late 1779. As Galphin's representative to the British Army, Crossley transmitted letters back and forth between Galphin and Campbell, setting up a "Plan of Correspondence for future Information." 2 February 1779, *Journal of an Expedition against the Rebels of Georgia in North America,* 56.

Creek Country, all the while eluding Stuart's efforts to capture him.[461] Moreover, Galphin relied on Carr to sustain a constant presence in Cusseta where his contacts – Patucy Mico and Nea Mico – kept their ears open among the Lower Creeks and kept tabs on the intrigues between Coweta and Stuart.[462]

Meanwhile, Galphin mobilized his personal connections in Creek Country to create one of the largest information-gathering infrastructures for the revolutionaries in the south, headed by Carr and McMurphy.[463] Stuart constantly complained "it is

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[461] Carr conducted Galphin's "Indian affairs" with the assistance of other traders like John Pigg, Richard Henderson, Benjamin Steddyman, and "Young [Stephen] Forrister," who constantly traveled back and forth between British America and Creek Country where they facilitated diplomatic and commercial interactions with Galphin's Creek allies and neutral towns. In particular, these men often fought to defuse rumors among the Creeks that the Americans intended to wage war against them. Carr reported to Galphin that "it would be no wonder if the Indians were to knock us all in the head…[for] a Number of the Indians who heard that you wanted them to go to war. Very fortunate for us they will not Believe it." These men also transmitted Galphin's "good talks which you have often Given them" that "you did not want your Friends destroyed by the war." As Henderson wrote to Galphin, "Stuart tried all Devilish Skemes to get his End Araising of Lies to overset every good thing you have told the Indians [but] I am sure & confident that we will carry the Day with the Indians in spite of all Stuarts Goods if we keep giving them Good Talks." In other instances, Carr directed Galphin's traders like Steddyman and "Young Forrister" to spread word throughout Creek Country that "Mr. Galphin's Store was full of Goods & Rum" in hopes of deterring Creek towns from attending conferences with Stuart in Florida. Carr and Galphin's traders also acted as spies who sent news of enemy plans to Galphin, including the time Pigg intimated to Galphin that "Intelligence by the Indians that came from Pensacola" revealed Stuart "wanted the Indians to join and fall on and enlarge in their Boundary…[and] this Summer to help him to take Charles Town." Patrick Carr to George Galphin, 10 June 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*, in *Henry Laurens Papers*, Roll 17: Papers Concerning Indian Affairs, South Carolina Historical Society, Columbia SC ("no wonder," "fortunate," "good talks," "Friends"); Richard Henderson to George Galphin, 12 June 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Devilish Skemes," "Patucy Mico," "Tallassee King"); John Pigg to George Galphin, 13 June 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("takes Charles Town"); Timothy Barnard to John Stuart, 9 November 1778, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 8, Vol. 80, 161-166 ("Young Forrister," "Rum").

[462] Patrick Carr to George Galphin, 10 June 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Patucy Mico"); Edward Cashin, *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 168; Timothy Barnard to John Stuart, 9 November 1778, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 8, Vol. 80, 161-166.

[463] Patrick Carr emerged as Galphin's spymaster during the war, and cultivated a network of informants among Galphin's traders, and even stole a few away from Stuart. In particular, Carr commanded the labor of Bernard Miller, John Lambeth, Thomas Gough, William Oats, and Killeresh, who trafficked in information about British troop movements and Stuart's "Indian affairs." Carr worked with Lambeth to facilitate rumors, intelligence, and trade goods back and forth between Cusseta and Silver Bluff. As British agents complained of Carr and Lambeth, "those Rebel Trader[s]" transported "Cargoe[s] of Goods" to the Cussetas and other neutral or friendly Creek towns on Galphin's behalf. Patrick Carr, "A Journal of my Proceedings from Ogechee to the Creek Nation and back Again," 23 September 1775,

impossible to prevent the Rebels having Emissaries and every sort of Intelligence…[as] every Trader has his Packhorsemen, and hirelings, and there is one perhaps two, three Traders in every Town of the Nation with their hirelings." He concluded "there cannot be then by any wonder that Mr. Galphin finds Spies and Tools amongst them." To make matters even more difficult for Stuart, Galphin maintained his alliances with some of the leading Creek headmen among the Lower and Upper Creeks, who refused to go to war for either side, which was more than enough for Galphin. Consequently, leaders like Aleck, the Tallassee King and his "Son," Handsome Fellow, Cusseta King, Nea Mico, Wills Friend, and other headmen acted as Galphin's "Informer[s]" in Creek Country and relayed information to Galphin's "Spies and Tools." A flood of intelligence thereby flowed into Galphin's hands, and he redirected it to the Councils of Safety, General Benjamin Lincoln in Charleston, and the Provincial and Continental Congresses.[464] Since Galphin's intelligence operations proved quite frustrating to the British interest, Stuart often had to defend himself to imperial authorities, blaming his inability to influence the Creeks on Galphin's "emissaries" who counteracted the British influence within Creek towns. Stuart explained that Galphin's men went under the guise of "traders, packhorsemen, and servants" that allowed them to constantly

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Henry Laurens Papers, Kendall Collection; David Taitt to John Stuart, 3 August 1777, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 7, Vol. 78; "Information of George Barnes and John Lamberth," *American Archives,* Series 5, Vol. 3, 650-651; William McIntosh to John Stuart, 3 April 1778, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 7, Vol. 79, 867-868 ("Cargoe").

[464] Galphin constantly corresponded with revolutionary leaders, sending information about "the temper & spirit of the [Creek] Indians" or enemy movements like the "Body of 200 Indians led by one Graham…on their way against the Settlements of Georgia." Benjamin Lincoln to George Galphin, 4 April 1779, *Benjamin Lincoln Papers, 1635-1974,* Reel 3 [micro-film], University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington TX, 234-235 ("temper"); Andrew Williamson to John Bowie, 14 October 1778, *John Bowie Letters, 1776-1780,* 900000 .P900015, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("Graham").

travel and interact with Creek peoples "without danger of being detected."[465]

Galphin also converted Silver Bluff into a base of operations for the Continental Army, reallocating plantation resources and manpower to support the revolutionary forces. In late 1776 and again in 1778, Galphin conspired with General Charles Lee to lead an "irruption into…East Florida," with Lee at the head of an army, while Galphin soothed "the minds of the Creeks," which Lee considered "an object of the highest consideration." In preparation for the expedition, Galphin converted his "trading boats" into troop carriers "fitted up in the manner of Spanish Launches with a piece of cannon in the prod." Spanish observers in Havana marveled at "Maestre Galfen" who readied weapons, provisions, soldiers, and Creek scouts for transport to East Florida. Despite Galphin's logistical masterwork, these American expeditions never materialized, since plans for the invasion were undoubtedly leaked by David Holmes and Timothy Barnard. Galphin also collaborated with Benjamin Lincoln to transform Silver Bluff into a supply depot and a staging base against loyalist guerillas,[466] which led to the construction of a "train of Artillery," an army hospital,[467] and a permanent garrison at

[465] John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 28 July 1777, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Board of Trade: East Florida, 1763*-1777, CO 5/557, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 687-689 ("Emissaries," "Tools"); John Pigg to George Galphin, , 13 June 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Informer"); "A Talk from Wills Friend and the Half-Breed to George Galphin," 9 June 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*; John Stuart to Augustine Prevost, 24 July 1777, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume XIV: Transcripts, 1777*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 147-149 ("detected").

[466] Galphin constantly outfitted American forces with "Goods & Ammunition," who in return protected Galphin's shipments for Creek Country, such as the "detachment of 100 Men [who] Escort[ed] Waggons from Mr. Galphins House at Silver Bluff" to "Rebel Towns." George Galphin to Benjamin Lincoln, 7 November 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780* ("Ammunition"); Andrew Williamson to John Bowie, 5 November 1778, *John Bowie Letters, 1776-1780* ("Waggons"); John Stuart to William Howe, 4 February 1778, *Henry Clinton Papers, 1736-1850,* Volume 31, Folder 4, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI ("Rebel Towns").

[467] Apparently, the construction of an army hospital at Silver Bluff proved a source of contention between Galphin and Lincoln, which led Lincoln to apologize to Galphin and order "the hospital…removed; I am sorry that it hath been so troublesome to you. I do myself the pleasure to enclose you a certificate, which will secure your horses from being empressed: I do it as a piece of justice

Silver Bluff. In observing Galphin's work and his relationships with the civil and military leadership, General Robert Howe praised Galphin's "unwearied exertions" to his superior, George Washington.[468]

Of greater importance, Silver Bluff emerged as the location for negotiations between the revolutionaries and Native Peoples. In 1776, Galphin opened Silver Bluff[469] to his allies from Cusseta, Yuchi, Tallassee, Okfuskee, and others,[470] and cautioned them to not listen to "the Kings people," and to remain "steadfast friends." He also promised that "a great many Ships [have] gone off to look for Goods & when they return we will let you know." In the meantime, he offered his allies what "goods [we have] for you here." In addition, Galphin reaffirmed his fictive familial ties to Aleck, the Cusseta King, and the Tallassee King when he counseled "My Friend[s], I hope you nor none of your people will concern [yourself]" with the war. These Creek

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to you, and because I think the public interest requires it." Benjamin Lincoln to George Galphin, 9 July 1779, *Benjamin Lincoln Papers, 1635-1974*, Reel 3, 385.

[468] "Opinion of the Georgia Council of Safety," 19 August 1776, *American Archives*, Series 5, Vol. 1, 1052 ("irruption"); Charles Lee to the President of South Carolina, 1 August 1776, *Charles Lee Letterbook, July 2 – August 27, 1776*, MS P3584, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC, 50 ("minds"); Thomas Brown to John Stuart, 29 September 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 544-549 ("trading boats," leak information); Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente to Diego Joseph Navarro, 1 April 1778, *Transcriptions of Records from Portada del Archivo General de Indias*, Texas Tech University in Seville, Spain, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, MS #1236, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("Maestre Galfen"); Benjamin Lincoln to Brigadier General Moultrie, 22 April 1779, *Benjamin Lincoln Papers, 1635-1974*, Reel 3, 281-282 ("Artillery"); Benjamin Lincoln to George Galphin, 9 July 1779, *Benjamin Lincoln Papers, 1635-1974*, Reel 3, 385 ("hospital"); "Return of the Georgia Brigade of Continental Troops Commanded by Colonel John White," 25 June 1779, *Benjamin Lincoln Papers, 1635-1974*, Reel 4, 17 (garrison); Major General Robert Howe to George Washington, 3 November 1777, in *The Papers of George Washington: The Revolutionary War Series, Vol. 3*, ed. Philander D. Chase (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1985), 103-104 ("exertions").

[469] When not at Silver Bluff, Galphin often met with and entertained his Creek allies at Old Town, in one instance spending "almost 9 weeks" there because "I knew my presense there was nissisey as the Indians was Daley a Coming Down…[and] was not one Day Clear of Indians all the time I was there." George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 26 October 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XIII*, 452-454 ("9 weeks," "Day Clear").

[470] Other Creek allies included the Hitchetas, Parachucolas, "Hilligees," Coolamies, Swaglas, Tomathlie Old Fields, "Muckasukey," "Swaglatasches," Otassee, "Swaglmeshops," "Sagohatchys," and Appalachicolas. "Talk from the Young Tallassee King from the Upper and Lower Towns…to George Galphin," 15 December 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780*; "Talk from the Cusseta King and the Fat King to George Galphin," 4 November 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*.

allies responded that they "look upon Messr. Galphin…not only as my Elder Brother but as my Father and Mother…[and] Whatever Talks Messr. Galphin…shall send to me, I will stand to [it]."[471] In keeping with this familial theme, Galphin framed the war in terms that he and his Creek allies understood best, the war was a "Family Affair between England & this Country" or "a dispute between a Father & his Children [which] we hope it will soon be over," and a dispute that the Creeks need not concern themselves with. To conclude matters, Galphin swore upon their relationships with one another that trade and peace would continue regardless of the war's disruptions, and remarked that he always "spoke the language of Truth to you upon all Occasions [and] will not deceive you now" and "will always strive to deserve" their friendship.[472]

Galphin even tried to reach out to Coweta in 1776 when he invited the headmen Nitigee, LeCoffe, and the Head Warrior to Silver Bluff. While in conference together, Galphin pled for those leaders to "quiet the minds of Simpiaphy" and Escotchaby, confiding in them that he was "sincerely sorry" for all that had taken place between

[471] Galphin constantly invoked the familial intimacy between himself and his Creek allies, whereas other American diplomats simply told Creek headmen that the war was in response to "Our King [who] wants to make us poor" and "wanted to make his white People like the Black Slaves." Because these diplomats failed to forge an understanding with Creek leaders, it was largely up to Galphin who articulated a familial vernacular to create a space for mutual understanding. In addressing the Creeks, Galphin remarked that "you and the people of this Country are one and the same people, [and] nursed by the breast of the same Mother," and thereby asking for their neutrality while Great Britain and the colonies resolved their differences. "LeCoffe's Report to David Taitt on Augusta Conference," May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XII: Georgia & Florida Treaties, 1763-1776*, ed. John T. Juricek (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 190-191 ("make us poor"); "Patrick Tonyn's Private Talk with the Pumpkin King and Kaligie," 8 December 1775, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 498-500 ("Black Slaves"); Speech delivered to the Head Men & Warriors of the Creek Nation at Treaty held on River Ogeechee," 17 June 1777, *Early American Indian Documents, Volume XVIII: Revolution and Confederation, 1776-1789*, ed. Colin G. Calloway (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1989-), 221-223 ("Mother").

[472] George Galphin to the Creek Indians, Fall 1776, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 551 ("King's People," "many Ships," "goods," "Family Affair," "My Friend"); "Talks from the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department at Salisbury," 13 November 1775, *Henry Laurens Papers, Kendall Collection* ("Father"); "Journal of a Conference between the American Commissioners and the Creeks at Augusta," 16-19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 183-190 ("Elder Brother," "Truth," "deserve it").

them in the recent past. He was also forced to apologize to the Cowetas after learning that Georgia residents murdered a Coweta townsman, "lament[ing] with you the Loss of our brother the Indian who was killed."[473] At the end of their congress, Galphin hoped that Nitigee, LeCoffe, and the Head Warrior might reopen the channel between him and Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee. But the damage wrought by Galphin in his relations with his former allies proved to be too much, and the Coweta headmen rejected his offer for reconciliation. In fact, Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee traveled to Florida in early 1777, where they presented a "String of White beads" to none other than David Holmes, who emerged as one of Stuart's primary agents among the Creeks. While there, the Coweta headmen asserted to Holmes that the "Path shall be White…[from Coweta] to Pensacola" while forsaking their connections to Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston. Stuart then observed that while Galphin "gain[ed]…the Cussita Town," "not one of the Cowetas" joined him and instead "remained most firmly attached to his Majestys Interest; and I expect much service from them."[474]

With lines drawn in the sand then, Galphin focused his energies on the towns of Cusseta, Yuchi, Tallassee, and Okfuskee, and tried to convince Creek leaders and communities to remain neutral in the "Family Affair." Galphin's allies like Aleck and Handsome Fellow held fast to their relationships with Galphin out of a mutual trust and

[473] Thomas Fee, the same man who killed Galphin's Okfuskee confidant, the Mad Turkey, and reignited the violence of 1774, also killed this Coweta townsman. Cashin, *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier,* 228-229.

[474] "Journal of a Conference between the American Commissioners and Creeks at Augusta," 16-19 May 1776, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 183-190 ("Simpiaphy," "Sorry," "Loss"); "Talk from Escotchabie, Sempoyaffee, et. al.," 6 February 1777, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 7, Vol. 77, 604 ("White bead," "shall be White"); David Taitt to Patrick Tonyn, 23 May 1777, CO 5/557, 601-604 ("Two hundred"); David Holmes to John Stuart, 26 September 1776, CO 5/77, 63-64 (Gray); David Taitt to John Stuart, 23 May 1777, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. XIV*, 93-95 ("prevail"); John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 21 July 1777, CO 5/557, 648-654 ("Rebel Agent," "firmly attached").

faith in Galphin's ability to sustain the Lower Path that linked their towns to Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston. Yet these Creek leaders competed and at times conflicted with towns and leaders that sympathized with Stuart, like Emistisiguo of Little Tallassee, who sought to undermine the Lower Path to Galphin and the revolutionaries.[475] To compensate for such inter-town rivalries, Galphin's Creek allies like Opoitley Mico and the Tallassee King's Son presented Galphin with a "white Belt" to affirm "the Path may be white & Clean from Charles Town to Savannah & from there to the Cussitas and then to [our] Towns to the Oakfuskeys." In another instance, leaders from Okfuskee and Cusseta gifted Galphin with a wampum belt that signified "peace [at] one end of the belt…[which] is the cusitaws & the other end is your

[475] Emistisiguo emerged as Stuart's primary ally in Creek Country during the 1770s and the Revolutionary War. Emistisiguo sought to replace the Lower Path from Creek Country to Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston, which traditionally privileged the Lower Creeks at the expense of more distant towns like Little Tallassee. In its place, Emistisiguo sought to create a new trade path to nearby Florida. He set in motion his plans as early as April 1774 when Upper Creek leaders met with Stuart to try and bring an end to the Coweta violence that plagued British-Creek relations before the war. At that conference, Emistisiguo denounced "the Cowetas [who] have now shut up the path between us," and he supported the "Stopping the Trade to all parts of the Nation…[to] bring them [Coweta] to a proper way of thinking." As Emistisiguo concluded "the Cowetas must stand for themselves." To further weaken Lower Creek power, Upper Creek leaders sabotaged Galphin's efforts to negotiate a separate peace amid the violence, when they informed Stuart that Galphin "made the lie" that the Cowetas need only "put one of the principal murtherers to death," rather than "insisting upon the whole satisfaction" like Stuart had. By undercutting Galphin and Coweta, Emistisiguo and many Upper Creeks sought to reroute the entire skin trade from Creek Country to West Florida, and thereby replace the Lower Path with what they called the "Southern Path" (or "Pensacola Path"). It is no coincidence that amid the Coweta violence, Emistisiguo asserted that the "Cowetas who are the Front Part [of the Creek Nation] seems to want to bring us who are the back Part [Upper Creeks] into poverty by their doings," and that where once "there was but One Path [that] was Peaceable but not so Now, for there is *too many Paths*." Instead, Emistisiguo suggested the British "send us goods from Pensacola and Mobile which are the safest Paths," to which Stuart and other imperial leaders agreed. "Conference between Governor James Wright and the Upper Creek Indians," 14 April 1774, *Documents of the American Revolution, Volume VIII: Transcripts 1774*, ed. K.G. Davies (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972-), 90-95 ("shut up," "Sempiaffe"); David Taitt to John Stuart, 8 July 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 150-151 ("made the lie"); John Stuart to the Earl of Dartmouth, 15 December 1774, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. VIII*, 244-245 ("murtherers," "whole satisfaction"); Emistisiguo to John Stuart, 4 February 1774, *Early American Indian Documents, Vol. XII*, 133-134 ("Front Part," "safest paths"); "Post-Talk Conference with the Upper Creeks," May 1774, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XXXVIII Part A*, 254-261 ("too many Paths"). For further information about the new paths that emerged in Creek Country during the inter-war period between the Seven Years' War and the American Revolutionary War, see Joshua Piker, "'White & Clean' & Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Spring 2003): 315-333.

houses…which is straight and white" to Savannah and Charleston.[476] Similarly, whenever Escotchaby, Sempoyaffee, Emistisiguo, or other Creek leaders threatened to attack the Lower Path, or seemed inclined "to come out against the White People," Galphin could count on his Creek allies to stop them. In one particular case, when the Cowetas plotted to launch raids upon the Georgia settlements, the "Cussetaws made Answer and said they [Cowetas] were not the Master of the Land and if they did come out they [Cussetas] wou'd send word to their friends [Galphin], and immediately kill all the [British] Commissaries or drive them…to Pensacola."[477]

True to their word, Galphin's Creek allies collaborated with him to set in motion the "British Expulsions of 1777,"[478] in which they forcefully evicted all of Stuart's agents and traders from Creek Country. Additionally, Galphin's supporters sought to remove pro-British Creek leaders from power, including Emistisiguo and Alexander

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[476] Galphin's Cusseta and Okfuskee allies sought to usurp Coweta's traditional role as guardians of the Lower Path, while supported by their "Brother Towns" Yuchi and Tallassee. This collaboration between Cusseta and Okfuskee has long been documented, particularly by Joshua Piker, who observers that Cusseta and Okfuskee together resisted Coweta hegemony over Creek interests throughout the mid to late eighteenth century, during Malatchi's reign and in opposition to the Bosomworths. While Piker admits "the Okfuskee-Cussetas relationship was ad hoc, even messy – but that did not mean it was, in Creek terms, disorderly." Also, Handsome Fellow of Okfuskee always harbored an "anti-British bias" and cultivated a rivalry with the Little Tallassee headman, Emistisiguo, who served as Stuart's main ally among the Creeks and established the rival "Southern Path." Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 282; Kathryn H. Braund, "'Like to Have Made a War among Ourselves': The Creek Indians and the Coming of the War of the Revolution," in *Nexus of Empire: Loyalty and National Identity in the Gulf Borderlands, 1763-1821*, eds. Gene A. Smith and Sylvia L. Hilton (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2010): 44.

[477] Braund, "'Like to Have Made a War among Ourselves': The Creek Indians and the Coming of the War of the Revolution," 45 (Pensacola Path); "A Talk from Opoitley Mico of the Tallassees and the Tallassee King's Son," 22 February 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("white Belt," "white & Clean"); "A Talk from _____ Mico of the Ockfuskeys to George Galphin," n.d. [1777], *Benjamin Franklin Papers, Part XIII: Miscellaneous Franklin Materials, 1640-1791*, Mss B.F85inventory13, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia PA ("your houses"); "A Treaty of Peace and Commerce held at Old Town on Ogeechee River," 6 November 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779*, South Carolina Historical Society ("Brother Town"); Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*, 236 ("allies"); Patrick Carr, "A Journal of my Proceedings from Ogechee to the Creek Nation and back Again," 23 September 1775, *Henry Laurens Papers, Kendall Collection* ("White People," "Master of the Land").

[478] For further information on what I have called the "British Expulsions of 1777," see Bryan Rindfleisch, "'Our Lands are Our Life and Breath': Coweta, Cusseta, and the Struggle for Creek Territory and Sovereignty during the American Revolution," *Ethnohistory* Volume 60, No. 4 (Fall 2013): 581-603.

McGillivray of Little Tallassee. In recounting that event to Galphin, Cusseta headmen noted that they had forced the British to "run off in the Night to Pensacola, [and] after they were gone the Cusitaw Women went over to their houses and pulled them down…We took all the Commissary Goods & horses and shared them among [ourselves]." To Stuart's proxies like William McIntosh, though, these expulsions seemed more like an attempt upon their lives, as he recalled "a fellow called Long Crop from the Cussitaws with some others yesterday came over here with a View to take my Scalp, but he mist his aim."[479] Afterward, Galphin gloated to the revolutionary leadership that we "got all Stuarts Commissers Drove out of the nattion [and] the [Creeks] plundered…upwards of 100 horse Lade of ammiton and other goods that was Cared up there to give the Indians to Come to war against us."[480] It seemed, then, that Galphin and his family and friends, along with their Creek allies, had seized the upper hand by the end of summer 1777, a position soon bolstered by news of the American victory at Saratoga. These months, though, were the height of Galphin's success during the war as events quickly took a darker turn in the southeast.[481]

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[479] It should be noted that Galphin's Creek allies never intended to "kill" Stuart's agents, but merely scare them out of their towns. Again, the Cussetas, Yuchis, Tallassees, and Okfuskees hedged their bets on the Lower Path rather than the "Pensacola Path," but they were never willing to ignite a civil war within Creek Country, the likes of which consumed their neighbors the Cherokees. If one examines the documentary record for the Creeks during the Revolutionary War, what unfolds is a narrative of contending town interests that seemed at times to reach the point of no return, but the Creeks always found ways to reduce the inter-town tensions. For the internal dynamics among Creek towns in the Revolution, see Rindfleisch, "'Our Lands are Our Life and Breath,'" *Ethnohistory* 60:4, 581-603.

[480] It should be noted that Sempoyaffee, Escotchaby, and the Cowetas "refused to Listen to the Rebels" and sought to stop the "British Expulsions of 1777." They provided sanctuary for William McIntosh and other British agents and promised to keep them hidden "untill the Cussitahs [and Galphin's other Creek allies] are brought to their Senses." John Stuart to George Germain, 6 October 1777, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 758-763 ("Senses").

[481] "A Talk from the Head Men of the Upper and Lower Creeks – Nea Micko and Neaclucko to George Galphin," 13 October 1777, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Night," "Cussitaw Women"); William McIntosh to Alexander Cameron, 6 July 1777, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78 ("Long Crop"); George

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From the very beginning of Galphin's tenure as the American "Superintendent for Indian Affairs in the South," his efforts to undermine Stuart's intrigues among the Creeks suffered from the mixed signals he received from his new allies in the revolutionary movement, while facing subversions of his authority and power from his own intimates and dependents. For most of the war, Galphin's most pressing concerns revolved around acquiring goods and presents for his Creek allies and to guarantee an open trade along the Lower Path. In the absence of the connections to his London partners, Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan,[482] Galphin often found himself at the mercy of the Councils of Safety for goods, provisions, and weapons necessary to conduct trade and diplomacy with Creek towns. While Galphin at times gained access to French and Dutch merchants through Pooler and Parkinson – who provided "large supplies of goods and ammunition…from the French Islands" beyond what he acquired from Councils of Safety – the death of Pooler in 1777 significantly

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Galphin to Henry Laurens, 13 October 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 552-553 ("plundered").

[482] In the initial years of the war, the "American Merchants in London," led by Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan, lobbied Parliament to pursue reconciliation with the American colonies so that commercial relations might be quickly restored. They even "appeared before the Board of Trade to plead for a continuation of trade with South Carolina and Georgia" and petitioned King George III to not allow an "interruption of so valuable a branch of their commerce" through his "system of severity" that threatened "the horrors of a civil war" and "a spirit of enterprising despair." But their pleas fell on deaf ears. The Revolutionary War claimed nearly all of the assets and properties of Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan. James Habersham to Clark & Milligan, 17 April 1775, *American Archives*, Series 5, Volume 2, 337 ("American Merchants"); George C. Rogers Jr., *Evolution of a Federalist: William Loughton Smith of Charleston, 1758-1812* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1962), 75 (Board of Trade); "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty the Humble Address and Petition of the Merchants…of the City of London, concerning in the Commerce of North America," *Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1800*, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia SC ("interruption," "severity," "horrors," "despair"); "Account of Part of the Real and Personal Estate of William Greenwood & William Higginson," 4 May 1782, *American Loyalist Claims, Series II: Georgia*, Audit Office Records, AO 13/34, Part 9, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain; Memorial of William Greenwood & William Higginson, 16 March 1784, *American Loyalist Claims, Series II: North Carolina*, Audit Office Records, AO 13/119, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Greenwood," "Greenwood & Higginson"); Memorial of William Greenwood, 5 March 1784, *American Loyalist Claims, Series II: North Carolina*, AO 13/119.

altered Galphin's ability to sustain the flow of European commodities along the Lower Path. Galphin, therefore, endured a chronic shortage of goods and supplies after 1777, whereas Stuart enjoyed the full commercial might of the empire and sent a seemingly endless barrage of trade goods and "Indian presents" to the Creeks. Even though Galphin complained to the revolutionary leadership about this handicap, they more often than not replied that "It is not at present in our power…to Issue the quantity of [goods]…for the Indian Service," and asked Galphin to instead "trust to Rum & good words for Soothing until we can Satisfy the further demands of our Red friends."[483]

To compound matters, the Continental Congress ordered a boycott of British commerce in an effort to cripple the imperial economy, which just so happened to include the deerskin trade and thereby weakened Galphin's capacity to supply his Creek allies. Galphin proved unable to sustain a steady flow of goods and presents to those allied and neutral towns in Creek Country, which led a number of communities to go to Pensacola instead, where they traded their skins and received European commodities from Stuart. In his protests to Laurens, Galphin exclaimed that "Congress has stoped the Exportation of Deer skins…which will put a stop to the suplying the Indians with Goods, tho' all the promises we have made them that they shou'd be suply'd as Usial…if the Trade is stop'd from here they will go all to Florida, & then we may Expect an Indian War." The situation grew so perilous for Galphin that he threatened if "Trade [remains] stop'd from the Indians I must beg Leave to lay down my Comission," for Congress must decide "which of the two Evils will be the least,

[483] John Stuart to George Germaine, 10 March 1777, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. XIV*, 49-50 ("French Isles"); South Carolina Council of Safety to George Galphin, 18 December 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. X*, 572-573 ("Issue," "Indian Service," "Rum").

either to supply the Indians with Goods, or run the risqe of an Indian War."[484] While it took Galphin's family and friends to convince him not to resign his "Commission because of any present difficulties which you may to encounter," Galphin's frustrations with the revolutionary leadership only deepened as the war dragged on.[485]

To make a bad situation worse, Galphin learned from his intimates and allies in the American camp that a faction in the Provincial Congress openly challenged his loyalty to the revolutionary movement. Laurens informed Galphin that there existed "an attack upon your Character" by the "Reverend Mr. [William] Tennant who had twice before intimated doubts of your attachment," as well as by a "Doctor [David] Gould."[486] Laurens also confided that both men reported to the Congress that when they requisitioned horses, supplies, and other goods for the American forces from Galphin, Galphin angrily declared "Damn the Country [for] I have lost enough by it already," which "seemed very alarming to some People." Fortunately for Galphin, he could count on Laurens to defuse such suspicions, and confronted Galphin's accusers by asking "if the Liberties of America were in any manner concerned in" Galphin's frustrations, to which they "answered No." Laurens jokingly wrote to Galphin after the incident, "whenever I learn or hear of a very Rascally attempt to traduce a Man's Character, I

[484] Henry Laurens urged Galphin not to resign as "Indian superintendent," reminding him at one point that "we have all hard Struggles & up hill work to go through nor could we when we entered into our present unavoidable contest have expected less." Laurens concluded that "the day is approaching when the light of Liberty will again Shine upon us & when we Shall be at leisure to Sit down [and] rest from our fatigues & amply repair the injuries done to our Estates." Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 14 February 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 102

[485] George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 7 February 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 93-97 ("Deer skins," "Usial," "Indian War"); Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 14 February 1776, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI*, 102 ("Commission").

[486] This is the same Reverend Tennant who toured Georgia and South Carolina in 1775 where he preached to rural communities to drum up support for the American war effort, and spent considerable time at Silver Bluff with Galphin and his family. It was likely here that Tennant started to harbor doubts about Galphin's loyalty, when he loitered around Silver Bluff "to speak…[with] three non-associaters" there. *William Tennent Papers, 1758-1777*, MS P #5841/6105, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC.

will call it, Parson Tenents Goulden Evidence." But such rumors about Galphin's "political principles" continued to haunt him for the rest of his life, forcing those closest to him to constantly defend his name, even in court where they reaffirmed "Galphin… during the American war…[was] attached to the Common Cause…[and] a decided friend of the Revolution, from its origin to his death."[487]

However, the greatest blow to Galphin and his influence in Creek Country came from his intimates and dependents, precipitated by the defection of David Holmes and Timothy Barnard. From the start of the war, it was Holmes who leaked information to Stuart and Governor Wright that the rebels appointed "his uncle Mr. Gaulphin…[to] manage all Affairs whatever in the Creek Nation." He and Barnard also single-handedly stole a significant share of the deerskin trade away from Galphin and the Lower Path as part of their plan "to bring on as much of the Trade as possible…if not the whole to West Florida." Holmes and Barnard even appropriated Galphin's relationships with his London partners like Greenwood & Higginson, who sent "Indian Supplies" to Florida rather than Savannah or Augusta. Due to their "great…Influence among the [Creeks]," Stuart appointed both of Galphin's nephews as "Commissioner[s] for exercising the Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs."[488] Time and time again, this betrayal hung

[487] Henry Laurens to George Galphin, 4 October 1775, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. X*, 447-449 ("Gould," "Tennent," "Damn," "Rascally"); "Bonds, Bill of Sale & Deeds of Gift, Book D," 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943,* MS #71, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin ("Cause").
[488] Not all British officials trusted Holmes and Barnard, largely on account of their "connection with Mr. Galphin [that] breed suspicion." In particular, Governor Patrick Tonyn accused Holmes and Barnard of conspiring with Galphin to create "all the mischief in their power to hurt the public Service." Tonyn confided to Stuart that "I am informed by the Indians, who are firmly attached to His Majesty's Service…that Holmes, Galphin's Nephew supplies all the Indian Traders with Goods from Pensacola and these Traders recommended by Galphin deliver his Talks with the Goods, and are most of them seduced to his Service…[with] Timothy Barnard in cooperation with Galphin." Tonyn remained convinced of their duplicity, for "I am confidentially informed [they] convey intelligence to Galphin and [Jonathan] Bryan of what was passing at Pensacola in the Indian Nation and elsewhere by the means of Indian Expresses." Stuart, who placed great confidence in Holmes, bickered back and forth with Tonyn over this, ultimately coming to the conclusion that Holmes was his own man. John Stuart to Patrick Tonyn, 28

over Galphin's head like a black cloud as his nephews deployed their own connections to the Creeks against him.[489] On one occasion, Holmes convinced Creek leaders like Sinnettehagee that "if you listen to [Galphin's] talks, you are not our Friends, which may be the means of making you and all your people very poor," for "none of the Rebels have it in their power to Supply you with Goods." This disloyalty wounded Galphin so severely that he filed a codicil to his last will and testament in which he disinherited both Holmes and Barnard, although he continued to lament the end of these relationships for the remainder of his life.[490]

To complicate things for Galphin, his dependents at Silver Bluff, Old Town, and Queensborough openly defied his oversight and refused to abide by the deference that had traditionally bound them to Galphin. In fact, by war's end these communities ceased to exist altogether, as these dependents seized the opportunities that materialized out of the chaos of war to override the obligations that they once owed to Galphin. For instance, Galphin's African slaves saw the war as a momentous "opportunity to escape from bondage." In early 1779, half of Galphin's enslaved peoples fled Silver Bluff en masse, leaving Galphin to lament the loss of "129 of my negroes. Some were cared off

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July 1777, CO 5/557, 687-689 ("connection"); Patrick Tonyn to John Stuart, 16 June 1777, CO 5/557, 623-628 ("Service," "informed," "Nephew," "seduced"); Patrick Tonyn to John Stuart, 8 Sept. 1777, CO 5/558, 467-468 ("Expresses").

[489] In fact, Galphin asked after David Holmes to the Will's Friend and the "Half-Breed" of Okfuskee, who responded that "Holms…never Mentioned your Name to me Good or bad." "A Talk from Will's Friend & the Half-Breed to George Galphin," 9 July 1778, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779.*

[490] James Wright to John Stuart, 6 July 1775, *Records of the Colonial Office, America and West Indies: Indian Affairs, Series 1,* Vol. 76, Reel 7 [micro-film], University of Oklahoma, Norman OK, 167-168 ("uncle"); James Durouzreaux to Galphin Holmes & Co., 15 December 1775, *Henry Laurens Papers, Kendall Collection* ("West Florida"); Patrick Tonyn to the Earl of Dartmouth, 26 February 1776, CO 5/556, 249 (Greenwood & Higginson, "Indian Supplies"); John Stuart to George Germain, 10 August 1778, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 8, Vol. 79, 27-29 ("exercising," "Influence"); "Journal of an Expedition against the Rebels on the Frontiers of East Florida by David Holmes," 7 August 1778, *Records of the British Public Office Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 8, Vol. 80 ("Sinnettehagee," "very poor," "Rebels"); 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin* (disinheritance).

& others was promised there freedom [by the British] & went off."[491] While the Silver Bluff slaves liberated themselves in hopes of obtaining protection or recognition of their liberty from the British, most of them were sorely disappointed when the English commander Archibald Campbell captured around "90 of Golphin's Negroes [who] deserted his Plantation" and held them hostage for Galphin's good behavior after his capture in 1779.[492] In their exodus from Silver Bluff, though, these African slaves forever severed the bonds of deference that once existed between them and their master, part of a shared process that many of Galphin's other dependents replicated at some point during the war.[493]

Galphin's personal frustrations and incapacities as the "Commissioner for Indian Affairs" took an even more frightful turn when his dependents not only renounced their obligations to him, but also derailed his efforts to maintain peace and order in Creek Country. Galphin confided as much to his revolutionary allies, writing that "most of the people…has wanted an Indian warr Ever Since the Diference between Ameraca & England & [do] Everey thing in there power to bringe it on." In one particular instance, Galphin's tenants from Queensborough and Old Town invaded one of his conferences with Creek leaders, where they interrupted his talks and then threatened "three or four

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[491] In response to the slave exodus from Silver Bluff, Galphin filed another codicil to his last will and testament in which he revoked the gifts he left his slaves upon his death, for he "desired that none of the Negroes may have…anything…on account of their Ingratitude." 6 April 1776, *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin.*

[492] Many of these captured runaways likely served as menial laborers for the British army, were resold into slavery, or tossed into prison like David George who "laid there about a month" before Thomas Brown "took me out." "John Fox Memorial," *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785: The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto…Volume II: Records of their Claims for Losses of Property in the Province*, ed. Wilbur Henry Siebert (Boston: Gregg Press, 1972), 185-186 (laborers); David George, *An Account of the Life of David George.* Canada's Digital Collection. http://www.blackloyalist.com/cdc/documents/diaries/george_a_life.htm.

[493] Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 87 ("bondage"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 18 Mar. 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("lost 129"); 30 Jan. 1779, *Journal of an Expedition against the Rebels of Georgia in North America,* 52-53 ("90").

Indians at my cowpen," declaring to Galphin that "they will kill them [Creeks] wherever they meet them." In other cases, Galphin himself faced the wrath of his Irish and Anglo dependents when "Some of them Sayd I had got the better of them now in keeping the Indians peasable but it wou'd not be Longe before they wou'd Drive me and the Indians both to the Devill," or that they "wou'd Come & kill me & the Indians." For all intents and purposes, then, it seemed as if Galphin had lost complete control of these relationships, as his dependents not only asserted their own interests regardless of the deference they once owed to him, but clamored for "War with the Creek[s]." Galphin, in turn, cursed these communities, "if it was not for these Damed villians…I Should tacke a pleasure in Serving my Contrey."[494]

With Galphin's Irish and Anglo dependents joining the swelling chorus of inhabitants who demanded that Georgia take violent action against the Creeks and seize "the Indian Land without their consent," Galphin felt for "sirtan it wille bring on an Indian Warr." It did not help that several of Galphin's allies in the Continental Army and state militias sympathized with the populace. According to Samuel Elbert, the "Fire & Sword…are the only argument that can avail with them [Creeks]…though harsh in execution, [it is] eventually the most human measures that can be adopted."[495] It should

[494] George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 26 October 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XIII*, 452-454 ("Ameraca & England"); George Galphin to William Jones, 26 October 1776, *American Archives,* Series 5, Vol. 3, 648-650 ("three or four"); George Galphin to Willie Jones, 26 October 1776, *American Archives,* Series 5, Vol. 3, 648-650 ("wherever"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 22 December 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XII*, 175-177 ("Devill"); Joseph Clay to Henry Laurens, 21 October 1777, *Letters of Joseph Clay, Merchant of Savannah, 1776-1793*, in Collections of the Georgia Historical Society Volume VIII (Savannah: The Morning News Printers and Binders, 1913), 576-578 ("War with the Creek Indians"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 20 July 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XI,* 402-403 ("Damed villians").

[495] The Continental officer Samuel Elbert went so far as to threaten the Creeks that if they waged "War with the People of this Vast united Continent, who are numerous as the Trees and bound together like a bunch of Twigs," they would "Crush you…and any body else who dare to make war with them, to Atoms." "Samuel Elbert Talk to the Creek Indians, 1777," 13 August 1777, *Keith M. Read Collection,*

come as no surprise, then, that when Galphin escorted his Creek allies around Charleston in the summer 1777, his Anglo and Irish dependents conspired against him. Led by Captain John Dooley of Queensborough, whose brother Thomas was killed by a Coweta war party earlier in the year, these Irish and Anglo men sought to take matters into their own hands to get "Satisfaction for Dooly's death." Galphin and his Creek allies soon found themselves surrounded by Dooley's militia, who threatened to kill Galphin and "forcibly took the ten [Creek] Deputies…& carried them to…Augusta where they are kept close prisoners." While Galphin managed to secure the release of his Creek allies,[496] bystanders like John Lewis Gervais observed that such "an Insult" threatened "to have put us at the Eve of a War." For his part, Galphin emerged visibly shaken from the incident and in writing to his family and friends about what transpired, he prophetically remarked that the Georgians "brought all the Disturbances we have had with the Indians upon us, & if they are not Stopt it will not be in my power to keep pease [any] Longer."[497]

By mid-1778, Galphin could not keep pace with Stuart's influence among the Creeks due to such sabotage by his own intimates and dependents, as well as the

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1732-1905, MS #921, Box 7, Folder 42, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA.

[496] Immediately after the Creek delegation was taken hostage, Galphin rushed to Governor Rutledge and Lt. Colonel Robert Rae who arrested Dooley and the militiamen, afterward returning "the Indians into his [Galphin's] Charge… & ordered a Body of Men to guard 'em Home, & some new Presents to be given them." Galphin even managed to convince Handsome Fellow and other headmen that the militiamen had been sent by "Stuart & his Emissaries," which led Handsome Fellow to "vow vengeance against the [British] in the Nation." John Rutledge, 30 August 1777, *John Rutledge Papers, 1739-1800*.

[497] George Galphin to Unknown [Benjamin Lincoln?], 9 January 1780, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780* ("Warr,"); John Wells Jr. to Henry Laurens, 28 August 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XIV: July 7, 1778 – Dec. 9, 1778*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 242-243 ("Fire & sword"); John Lewis Gervais to Henry Laurens, 16 August 1777, *John Lewis Gervais Papers, 1772-1801*, in *Henry Laurens Papers*, Roll 19, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston SC ("forcibly," "Eve of a War," "Insult"); John Rutledge, 30 August 1777, *John Rutledge Papers, 1739-1800* ("Satisfaction"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 22 December 1777, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XII*, 175-177 ("Disturbances").

inability to supply the Creeks, which became all the more difficult as the British Empire set into motion its "southern strategy."[498] After a string of British victories at Savannah and Augusta, Galphin found himself facing the full might of the empire when Archibald Campbell moved the British army within a hair's breadth of Silver Bluff. Shortly thereafter, a band of loyalists and Creeks assaulted and plundered Galphin's Old Town,[499] which dealt a crippling financial blow to both Galphin Holmes & Co. and Galphin's "Indian affairs." But Galphin cared little for the loss of Old Town when compared to the threat that the British army posed to the safety of his family and friends. Therefore, when imperial forces "came upon us Like a Clape of thunder," Galphin hastily scrawled letters to his rebel contacts that "georgia is tacken by the kings troops & all Continental troops is tacken out of it [which] has DisCoreged the Inhabitents." From there, Galphin guided his family and friends away from the empire's clutches, "travel[ing] ale night" until "I left them at Savvanna & Returnd backe my Self." Upon reclaiming his seat at Silver Bluff, Galphin informed his allies

[498] In late 1778, the entrance of France and Spain into the war on the side of the revolutionaries transformed the revolution into a global war that threatened Britain's more lucrative colonies in the West Indies, as well as the home isles. As a consequence, British strategists devised what became known as the "southern strategy," which dictated that the British ministry shift resources and manpower to other parts of the empire while sending an army to the American south to be supported by Loyalist, African American, and Native American allies. In effect, the empire sought to turn the burden of the war in North America over to their allies, and thereby free up British forces to protect other parts of the empire. The implementation of the "southern strategy" started in December 1778 with the capture of Savannah, followed by the capitulation of Augusta in January 1779.

[499] These Creek warriors were composed predominately of Cowetas who sought to cause irreparable damage to Galphin's commercial and political power. In addition, the Cowetas engaged in attacks upon Georgia and South Carolina from 1777-1782, in which they overran an American fort, ambushed and "defeated…a party of rebel rangers," stole away horses, cattle, and slaves, and launched attacks on American settlements. As Stuart gloated to his superiors in London, the Cowetas "are now the more firmly attached of any in the Nation to His Majesty's Cause, which is a great and unexpected disappointment to Mr. Galphin." David Taitt to Patrick Tonyn, 15 August 1777, CO 5/557, 695-696 ("irritated," "children"); John Stuart to George Germain, 22 August 1777, *Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. XIV*, 168-169 ("defeated"); John Stuart to William Knox, 26 July 1777, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783*, Reel 7, Vol. 78, 716 ("Cause").

that "I Shall Stand as Longe as I Can."[500]

Even as Galphin's world teetered on the verge of collapse, and it became increasingly clear that there was very little he could do about it, Galphin still clung to that world of intimacies and localities that had served him so well throughout the eighteenth century. Even as the British army marched upon Silver Bluff in 1779, occupied his lands, and seized his wealth and property, Galphin continued to stand his ground. In spite of the British occupation, Galphin managed to maintain a clandestine correspondence with his allies, and at one point optimistically confided "we should still be abele to drive the Enemy of[f] or pen them up." Galphin also continued to conduct an under-the-radar diplomacy with the Tallassee King and his "Son," Nea Mico and Nea Clucko, the Cusseta King, and King Jack of the Yuchi, all of whom ventured to Silver Bluff under the pretense of seeing their "friend" Galphin. At one such conference, Galphin boasted to his Creek supporters, "We've been at war with the English for four years, and they couldn't beat us, what can they do now that the French and Spanish are on our side?" In return, the Tallassee King and other headmen presented Galphin with a "white wing and Beads" to signify their continued relationship with Galphin and the revolutionaries. British agents frustratingly noted that Galphin's "Influence…amongst them [Creeks] is [still] very conspicuous, they have got a considerable party in their Interest." American propagandists touted Galphin's efforts as an inspiration for others to resist the occupation, citing "the unwearied endeavours of Mr. Galphin [to keep] the Indians peaceable."[501]

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[500] Turbyfill, "Daniel MacMurphy and the Revolutionary War Era in Georgia," 14 (raid); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 29 December 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XV*, 19-21 ("thunder," "tacken," "DisCoreged"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 28 March 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("Distress," "Savvanna"); George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 29 December 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol. XV*, 19-21 ("Longe").

However, Galphin could only prolong the inevitable for so long. Following Benjamin Lincoln's surrender of Charleston in May 1780, Galphin found himself cut off from all external support. Shortly after, the new British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Thomas Brown, placed Galphin under house arrest until the royal government could indict him for "high treason." Meanwhile, Brown set up a permanent garrison at Silver Bluff and renamed that place "Fort Dreadnought." While Galphin awaited trial, he could do little but watch as his wealth and property vanished in the blink of an eye, confiscated under the "Disqualifying Act of 1780." Deprived of his hopes and dreams for his family and friends, cut off from them, threatened with execution, and witness to a British army seemingly on the cusp of crushing the revolutionary movement, Galphin likely lived out the final months of his life under a cloud of despair.[502]

But Galphin somehow sustained a dialogue with his Creek and revolutionary allies throughout the summer and fall of 1780, all despite his surrender and the occupation of Silver Bluff. British agent Alexander Cameron bewilderingly wrote to Brown that notwithstanding "the Submission of Mr. Galphin…a few days ago 18 of

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[501] George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 18 March 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1777-1779* ("drive the enemy"); "A Talk delivered by George Galphin…to the Tallassee King and a Number of Warriours and Beloved Men," 7 November 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780* ("French and Spanish"); "A Talk delivered at Silver Bluff to George Galphin by the Tallassee King," 3 November 1779, *George Galphin Letters, 1778-1780* ("white wing"); Augustine Prevost to Henry Clinton, 14 April 1779, *Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Military Dispatches, 1771-1780*, CO 5/237, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain, 47-48 ("Influence," "Interest"); 25 December 1779, *Virginia Gazette, 1732-1780,* Issue 46, pg. 2, MS 900200 .P900049, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia SC ("unwearied endeavours").

[502] Thomas Brown to the Earl of Cornwallis, 18 June 1780, *Charles Cornwallis Papers: American Military Campaigns, 1780-1781*, Domestic Records of the Public Records Office, PRO 30/11/2, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain ("Silver Bluff"); "Memorial of Lachlan McGillivray on behalf of George Galphin," 8 June 1780, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume XV: Journal of the Commons House of Assembly: October 30, 1769 – June 16, 1782*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: Franklin Publishing Co., 1907), 590-591 ("high treason"); General Andrew Pickens to General Nathaniel Greene, 25 May 1781, *Georgia Governor and Council Journals, 1781: Augusta Falls to the Rebels,* ed. Mary Bondurant Warren (Athens: Heritage Papers, 2010), 188 ("Fort Dreadnought"); "British Disqualifying Act of 1780," 1 July 1780, *The Revolutionary Records of Georgia, Volume I: 1769-1782*, ed. Allen D. Candler (Atlanta: The Franklin-Turner Co., 1908), 348-349.

Galphin's party of Creek Indians returned in a Transport from visiting him…[and] have lately behaved very much Amiss." Galphin's Creek sons similarly continued to serve as their father's proxies to their Creek allies, and remained a thorn in the side of British officials who complained that they incited "some of [their] country-men to go to [Spanish] Mobile, at the instance of [their] Father." Galphin even managed to smuggle out letters to Henry Laurens and Governor Rutledge, who wrote to Brigadier General Daniel Morgan in December 1780 that Galphin "is certainly our nearest friend & his Influence among the Creeks is still great." Rutledge even encouraged Morgan in his efforts to "get back So. Carolina & Georgia" to free Galphin, who could then "use his utmost Influence, & Interest, with the Creeks, to keep 'em quiet," all of which stands a testament to the fact that Galphin's personal connections remained vital to his allies within the revolutionary leadership.[503]

Miraculously, Galphin found the means to conduct another clandestine correspondence from Silver Bluff, this time with his family and friends. For instance, Galphin sent several messages to his African daughter Barbara and in one astounding letter, told his "Dear Barbary" that "inclosed is a beginning for you, [and] it is 20 times more than I began upon." Galphin had somehow secured a portion of the inheritances he bequeathed to his intimates in 1776 – whether in the form of title to land, cash he accrued from the sales of his property, or the obligations and debts his dependents owed him – and smuggled such legacies to his family and friends. At the same time, these

[503] Alexander Cameron to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, August 1780, *Records of the British Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, Part I: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783,* Reel 8, Vol. 81, 592 ("Submission," "Amiss"); Charles Shaw to George Germain, 19 June 1780, *George Sackville Germain Papers* Vol. 12 ("Mobile"); John Rutledge to Daniel Morgan, 22 December 1780, *Theodorus Bailey Myers Collection, 1542-1786, Series V: Papers of General Daniel Morgan,* Reel 2, No. 1017, New York Public Library Manuscripts & Archives Division, New York NY ("nearest friend," "So. Carolina," "quiet"); John Rutledge, 30 August 1777, *John Rutledge Papers, 1739-1800* ("irreparable Loss").

letters allowed Galphin to say his final goodbyes, closing out his last letter to Barbara as "Your affectionate father." In the final days of his life, Galphin also learned that his "sworn brother" Lachlan McGillivray sent a petition to the royal government in Georgia pleading for his friend's life. McGillivray begged "leave to represent him [Galphin] as a man universally esteemed by all that knew him, and…has most faithfully served his King and Country." Despite Galphin's involvement in "the Rebellion, he declared he would never take any part therein, further than to prevent the Merceless Savages from murdering the helpless Women and Children, which he happily effected." McGillivray concluded with his "hope [that] this House will be pleased to extend their Mercy and forgiveness to [Galphin]."[504]

McGillivray saved his friend from the indignity of a traitor's death, but Galphin still died at Silver Bluff a few months later. Even though he never learned about the dramatic reversal of American military fortunes in 1781, reconciled his differences with Holmes and Barnard, or witnessed the struggles of his family and friends after the war,[505] it seems quite fitting that Galphin ended his days at the very heart of his world

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[504] John Shaw Billings, "Analysis of the Will of George Galphin," *Richmond County History Journal* Vol. 13, No. 1-2 (1981): 47 ("Barbary"); "Memorial of Lachlan McGillivray on behalf of George Galphin," 8 June 1780, *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. XV*, 590-591.

[505] The Revolutionary War claimed the lives of Galphin's wife Metawney, daughters Judith and Betsy, Quinton Pooler, and his mistress Rose. "Indenture between George Galphin and John Galphin and Richard Call," *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books*, Book BBB, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA, 105-106.

After the war, Galphin's children and other relatives inherited the great debts of "Galphin Holmes & Co." with little ability to pay back what they owed on account of the war. Foremost among their creditors were Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan, to whom Galphin Holmes & Co. owed more than £13,500. To compound matters, Galphin's claim to nearly £10,000 for the proceeds of the sales of the "Ceded Lands" between 1773 and 1775 went unpaid, despite his intimates' efforts to seek compensation from the English Crown. What little inheritance that Galphin's sons received from their father was either paid to their creditors or sold off to pay back their debts. John Chapman, *A History of Edgefield County from the Earliest Settlements to 1897* (Newberry, SC: Elbert H. Aull, 1897), 176-177; John Shaw Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin*, in *Hammond, Bryan and Cumming Family Papers, 1787-1865*, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC, 72-76; John Shaw Billings, "Analysis of the Will of George Galphin," 33; "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, Book D," 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin, 270-272;

of intimacies and localities. In the wake of his passing, the many peoples who shared a relationship with Galphin testified to the fact that he was a man of great "connexion." For his Creek allies like the Tallassee King, Galphin had been more than just "his old friend" whom he kept "in continual remembrance," but in his lifetime "was looked upon as an Indian." Or, in the words of William Bartram, Galphin "possessed the most extensive trade, connexions, and influence." At an even more personal level, Galphin's legacy of personal and spatial connectedness lived on through the family and friends who followed in his footsteps and built upon the world that Galphin had carved out for them. Out of appreciation for this fact, after learning of Galphin's death, his niece Susannah Crossley and her husband Daniel McMurphy honored the man who had given them so much – by naming their first-born son George Galphin A.Y. McMurphy.[506]

Henry William Desaussure, *Report of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Chancery of the State of South-Carolina, and in the Court of Appeals in Equity, Vol. IV* (Columbia: Telescope Press, 1819), 390-393; John Galphin to Henry Osburne, 25 May 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs* (NY: W.S. Hein Publishers, 1998), 36.

[506] "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift, Book D," 27 October 1809, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, Box 6, Folder 9: Galphin ("connexion"); "Talk delivered by the Tallassie King to the Governor & Council," 20 September 1784, *Georgia Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837*, W.P.A. Georgia Writer's Project, MS #1500, Hargrett Rare Books & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 159-160 ("old friend," "remembrance"); "Tallassee King's Talk delivered to the Governor & Council," 22 September 1784, *Georgia Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837*, 161-163 ("as an Indian"); Thomas P. Slaughter, ed. *William Bartram: Travels and Other Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1996), 259-261 ("trade, connexions, and influence"); Turbyfill, "Daniel MacMurphy and the Revolutionary War Era in Georgia," 16 ("Galphin A.Y.").

CONCLUSION

For George Jr. and John Galphin, the Revolutionary War turned their world upside down. In addition to the loss of their father, the war crippled the Galphin estate, and for the rest of their lives, the Galphin children fought tooth and nail against the creditors who seized what remained of their inheritances.[507] This precarious financial situation included continuous court battles with the firms of Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan, a lengthy conflict between the United States and British monarchy over the "Galphin claim" to the Treaty of Augusta (1773), and the Georgia legislature's confiscation of 88,000 acres of land granted to Metawney by the Creeks in 1772. To compound matters, pervasive debt forced the Galphins to sell off most of their lands around Silver Bluff during the 1790s and 1800s, followed by the liquidation of their other plantations like Old Town and lands in South Carolina and Georgia. In short, Galphin's intimates suffered under the weight of a crushing debt that gradually stripped them of their inheritances and, for some, independence.[508]

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[507] The firms of Greenwood & Higginson and Clark & Milligan were quite avid in their attempts to recoup their losses and debts, using political connections in Georgia and South Carolina to bring civil suits against the Galphins, and even using their connections within Parliament and King George III's ministry to strong-arm the United States government under the Treaty of Paris (1783) to pursue "all debts and demands" owed to those firms. As early as March 1784, those firms submitted memorials to the Loyalist Claims Commission, Parliament, Georgia and South Carolina state governments, and the United States that being "Deprived of the debts due to them in that Country they will sustain a loss exceeding ninety nine thousand six hundred & eighty pounds six shilling & two pence. Galphin Holmes & Co. was one of the primary debtors. "Memorial of William Greenwood & William Higginson," 16 March 1784, *American Loyalist Claims, Series II: North Carolina,* Audit Office Records, AO 13/119, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain.

[508] "Memorial of William Greenwood & William Higginson," 16 March 1784, AO 13/119; "Memorial of David Milligan," 16 January 1786, *American Loyalist Claims, Series I: Georgia,* Audio Office Records, AO 13/36c, British National Archives, Kew: Great Britain; "Speech on the Bill to Prevent Frauds upon the Treasury of the United States – in defense of Mr. Corwin – and the Galphin Claim," 13 January 1853, in *Alexander H. Stephens, in Public and Private with Letters and Speeches before, during, and since the War*, ed. Henry Cleveland (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1866), 386-388 ("Galphin claim"); "Petition of John & George Galphin," 23 February 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837*, W.P.A. Georgia Writer's Project, MS #1500, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA (88,000 acres); John Shaw Billings, *Silver Bluff: DeSoto and Galphin,* in *Hammond, Bryan, and Cummings Family Papers, 1787-1865,* MS mfm R.1068a-c, South Caroliniana

Amid such financial paralysis, George and John – more than any other Galphin – lived out their father's legacy of forging personal and spatial relationships, and in doing so knit their worlds back together. The Galphin brothers not only created their own circle of intimates, but also cultivated a series of alliances, partnerships, and dependencies like their father before them. These relationships extended to the peoples and places of the Native southeast, the transatlantic commercial world, imperial Spain, a newly christened United States, and the British Empire. In the process of creating such connections in a post-revolutionary world, George and John discovered that this was not the same world that their father had once thrived in. Instead, they confronted a new nation-state that was ideologically and materially committed to sweeping Native Peoples out of the way and divesting itself of European attachments.[509] This new nation, in turn, threatened the Galphins' ability to wield their relationships within the Native, imperial, and transatlantic worlds in ways that exuded influence, power, and control like their father. Even though George and John followed in their father's footsteps, then, they discovered the conditions and circumstances that made it possible

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Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia SC, p. 75-76 (sale of Silver Bluff); Indenture between George Galphin and John Galphin with Richard Call, 9 September 1783, *Georgia Colonial Conveyance Books,* Book BBB, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA (sale of Old Town).

[509] For scholarly works on the United States turn against Native Peoples after the Revolution, see Peter Silver's *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*, David Silverman's *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America*, Patrick Griffin's *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and the Revolutionary Frontier,* Angela Pulley Hudson's *Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in the Making of the American South*; Andrew Frank's *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier*, Tiya Miles's *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*, Nancy Shoemaker's *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America*, and Alan Taylor's *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderlands in the American Revolution.*
For scholarly works on American attempts to divest the new nation of its European attachments – and at times their uses of "Indians" to do so – see Kariann Akemi Yokota's *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation*, William H. Truettner, *Painting Indians and Building Empires in North America, 1710-1840*, Sam W. Haynes's *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World*, Eve Kornfield's *Creating an American Culture, 1775-1800,* and Philip J. Deloria's *Playing Indian* (chapter 1).

for their father to exert such influence and power in North America no longer functioned as they once had. George and John thus found themselves torn between two irreconcilable worlds and ways of life, between that of the Creeks and the new Americans. When ultimately forced to choose sides, George and John joined their Creek intimates and allies in resisting the encroachments of the United States.

John carved out a circle of intimates in Creek Country when he married the daughter of the Hallowing King, one of the key leaders in Coweta after the deaths of Escotchaby and Sempoyaffee. This marriage for all intents and purposes restored the Galphin "connexion" to Coweta, and through John's relationship with his "Father-in-Law," he wielded a "good deal of influence in the Cowetas." John also maintained clan ties to his mother's Coweta relatives,[510] which were now bolstered by clan linkages that he gained through his new wife. Accordingly, John cemented relationships with other clan-related headmen, like his lifelong companion Emautly Haujo, and his "cousin" and the "beloved man" Sohonoketchee. These two men further paved John's way back into Coweta when they told the other "beloved men" that "We, the chiefs, solicit, that John may be permitted to come in, [and] if you see proper, [we] wish you would look upon him as another Indian." Haujo and Sohonoketchee promised they "will make it [our] duty, and promise it here, before all the chiefs, to look after him in [the] future." In addition, John established connections with his fellow half-European, half-Creek counterparts who retreated into Creek Country following the Revolutionary War,

[510] During the Revolutionary War, John Galphin's Coweta clansmen went out of their way to protect John and George when they were sent by their father to "to Encorage our [Creek] frinds" against Stuart and the British Empire. As Galphin confided to Henry Laurens, if his sons were captured by the British "they Can not keep my Son[s] Longe [for] if they tacke them his Relations wood Sone have" them. Accordingly, when George and John were captured by the British commander Archibald Campbell, their Coweta clansmen intervened and set them free. George Galphin to Henry Laurens, 29 December 1778, *The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume XV: December 9, 1778 – September 1, 1782*, ed. Philip M. Hamer (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 19-21.

several of whom were related to John by kinship and clan ties. These relatives included the influential trader and merchant, John Kinnard, who often relied on "my nephew Johny Galphin" to represent his commercial and political business to Coweta headmen and Spanish authorities. In exchange, John used Kinnard as a commercial and political contact within Creek towns like Hitcheta and with Spanish and American leaders.[511]

Meanwhile, George kept a foot in both the Creek and Euro-American worlds, solidifying his own group of intimates when he married Frances Nunez, a half-African, half-Jewish daughter of the prosperous trader and merchant, Samuel Nunez. With Nunez's sons – Alexander, James, Robert, and Samuel Jr. – George revived the deerskin trade among the Lower Creeks in the aftermath of the war. In the words of one observer, "the Galphin and Nunes crews" led the way in reconnecting Creek Country to eastern North America through trade. This restoration of trade profited the town of Cusseta more than any other, as George shared a powerful "connexion…with the Cussetahs" and its leaders like the Cusseta King, who favored relations with the United States over Coweta who preferred the Spanish. More so than John, George also

[511] James Durouzeaux to Arthur O'Neill, 10 April 1793, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794: Translations of Materials from the Spanish Archives in the Bancroft Library, Volume I*, ed. Lawrence Kinnaird (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949); 19 November 1797, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Volume IX (Savannah: The Morning News Press, 1916), 238 (John wife); David Humphreys to George Washington, 26 September 1789, *Correspondence of the American Revolution, Volume II*, ed. Jared Sparks (Little, Brown and Company, 1853), 277-278 (father-in-law); George Galphin to Andrew Picks and Henry Osborn, 27 May 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Volume I* (Buffalo, NY: W.S. Hein Publishers, 1998), 35-36 ("connexion," "good deal of influence"); 12 November 1797, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, 231 ("Emautly Haujo"); Proceedings of the Coleraine Conference, 22 June 1796, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 601 (Sohonoketchee, "cousin," "beloved men," "another Indian," "duty"); John Kennard to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 13 October 1795, *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813*, Joseph Byrne Lockey Collection – East Florida Papers, University of Florida, Gainesville FL (Kinnard, "nephew," Spanish connection, Quesada); James Seagrove to the Secretary of War Henry Knox, 24 May 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I,* 387-388 (Seagrove, Knox); Cusseta King, Mad Dog, White Lieutenant, and John Kinnard to James Seagrove via George Galphin, 16 May 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I,* 388 (Hitcheta).

sustained their relationships with other Galphin family members. In particular, George labored alongside the American "Creek agents" Daniel McMurphy and Timothy Barnard, who together called "meeting[s] of the chiefs to deliver them Talk[s] from" the Georgia governors, the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, and the Secretary of War, Henry Knox, while striving "toward Concluding a peace upon a permanent basis." George additionally corresponded and conducted business with his siblings, Thomas, Martha, and Barbara, who were themselves fully enmeshed within the new American world. Through his brother and sisters, particularly Martha, George maintained personal and spatial connections to the new states of Georgia and South Carolina, which included relations with the influential and powerful Milledge family.[512]

Outside of their family and friends, George and John cultivated a series of alliances and partnerships in Creek Country that supported their interests as well as those of their intimates. Besides their attachments to the Cowetas and Cussetas, the Galphin brothers reaffirmed their father's relationships with the headmen of Tallassee, Okfuskee, and Cusseta, such as Nea Mico, the Old Tallassee King, White Lieutenant, Opoithly Mico, Mad Dog, and others. In turn, these headmen employed "our friend[s] George Galphin" and John to represent their interests to Spanish and American officials. In one instance, Creek leaders asked the Galphin brothers to convey their

[512] *Last Will and Testament of Moses Nunez*, 14 October 1785, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah GA [accessed through Ancestry.com, 26 October 2012] (Frances Galphin, sons); Timothy Barnard to the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, February 1794, *George Galphin, Indian Trading Patriot of Georgia and South Carolina*, 105 ("crews"); George Galphin to Andrew Pickens and Henry Osborn, 27 May 1789, *American State Papers, Series II, Vol. I*, 35-36 ("connexion" to Cusseta, Galphin-Barnard); Alexander McGillivray to John Habersham, 28 November 1786, *Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905, Series 1*, MS #1170, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA (Galphin-McMurphy, "meeting," "peace"); Timothy Barnard to the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, May 1789, *George Galphin, Indian Trading Patriot of Georgia and South Carolina: Families of his Children of Three Races*, ed. Isabel Vandervelde (Aiken, SC: Art Studio Press, 2004), 103 (Galphin-Barnard); US Supreme Court, *Milligan v. Milledge*, 7 U.S. 3 Branch 220 220 (1805), University of South Carolina, Columbia SC (Galphin-Milledge).

displeasure to American authorities over the murder of several Creeks by Georgia settlers. George and John communicated to Superintendent James Seagrove that the United States must "give satisfaction" or the Creeks would "send our people up, and give them [settlers] the drubbing, and burn their towns, and drive what property they have out of the land." For the most part, though, George and John brightened the "chain of friendship" for the Creeks with the United States, which added to the trust between the Galphins and these headmen. In their talks with American officials, Creek leaders reminded them that the Galphins "are always among you. If you hear of any mischief intended against our settlements, it is your duty to inform…them of it immediately."[513]

In reaffirming their alliances with these Creek headmen who privileged the American interest, George and John could not help but observe that Creek towns were becoming bitterly divided between pro- and anti-American factions. John stated as much, writing that the "Nation is at this time in such a situation that I really cannot with any propriety write you their determination [as] it has been so divided." While the leaders of Tallassee, Okfuskee, and Cusseta collaborated with the United States, new headmen like Alexander McGillivray of Little Tallassee opposed attachments with the new republic. Luckily for the Galphins, they were well acquainted with McGillivray on account of the friendship between their fathers, and no doubt spent time as children or young adult at each other's side. Consequently, the Galphins and McGillivray forged a personal rapport, in which the Galphins used their ties to the Lower Creeks –

[513] Cusseta King, the Mad Dog, the White Lieutenant, and John Kinnard to James Seagrove via George Galphin, 16 May 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 388 (Tallassee King, Mad Dog, White Lt., "our friend," "satisfaction," "our people"); John Galphin to the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, 26 October 1786, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842*, Digital Library of Georgia, University of Georgia, Athens, GA ("Tallecee King"); "Talk of the Fat King to Governor George Mathews and the Georgia Council," 27 July 1787, *Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905, Series 1* ("chain"); "Talk by the Hallowing King and the Fat King," 14 June 1787, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 32 ("always among you").

particularly to the Cowetas – to support McGillivray, which he reciprocated for them among the Upper towns. For instance, McGillivray relied on the Galphins to enlist Coweta against settler encroachments, to counteract the influence of pro-American leaders among the Lower Creeks, and to convince those towns to support "a connection with Spain rather than with America." When push came to shove for McGillivray, as his supporters clashed violently with the Georgia militia in 1789, it was the Galphins who defused the hostilities, for George wrote to McGillivray "We now have, and I am convinced, the last Chance of Settling it on Amicable terms without Shedding innocent Blood which I think the Most Consistent with humanity." Therefore, the Galphins considered the headmen on both sides of the emerging divide within Creek Country as their allies.[514]

The Galphins also sought partnerships within the transatlantic commercial world, which they accomplished through their relations with the Florida merchant William Panton.[515] Formerly a store manager for Greenwood & Higginson in the 1760s and 1770s, Panton transitioned from a British merchant to a Spanish one after the Revolutionary War, and emerged as Spain's primary commercial agent in North

[514] John Galphin to William Panton, 16 October 1793, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Vol. III*, 218-219 ("so divided"); David Humphreys to George Washington, 26 September 1789, *Correspondence of the American Revolution, Vol. II*, 277-278 ("connection with Spain"); George Galphin to Alexander McGillivray, 14 May 1789, *George Galphin, Indian Trading Patriot of Georgia and South Carolina*, 104 ("Amicable").

[515] Panton developed a surrogate father-son relationship with John Galphin, in which Panton took an avid interest in John's life and looked out for his welfare, largely because "I esteemed his Father & have often lamented this Youths Case" who suffered from "Want of good Advice." As Panton encouraged John, "I know enough of your Spirit, to believe you Capable of every Manly and Brave action. By acting in this Manner you will gain over the respect and esteem of Your Enemys, & will avail yourself of My friendship." In 1793, Panton "Saved John Galphin's life" when John was accused of killing several American settlers at Colerain and then threatened with execution. John thanked Panton, writing that "nothing gave me more satisfaction than to find you had a regard for me [when] I was lost and at the point of putting an End to my Self." William Panton to John Leslie, 26 August 1793, *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813* ("esteemed," "Advice," "life"); William Panton to John Galphin, n.d., *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813* ("Spirit").

America. During his tenure with Greenwood & Higginson, Panton came into contact with George and John as he facilitated commerce back and forth between Silver Bluff and Florida. Naturally, Panton rekindled his relationship with the Galphins after the war, in hopes of expediting a commercial traffic between Lower Creek towns and the Spanish ports of Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans, St. Marks, and across the Atlantic to Cadiz and Barcelona. It is hardly a coincidence that George and John orchestrated a series of commercial "conferences" between Panton Leslie & Co. and the Creeks of Coweta and Cusseta during the 1780s and 1790s, led by none other than John's father-in-law, the Hallowing King. By facilitating a Spanish-Creek relationship, the Galphins enhanced their influence in the Creek world and assumed positions of political and commercial importance among the Lower Creeks by linking those towns to the Iberian Atlantic world. Time and time again, the Galphins appealed to Panton and "our friends the Spaniards" on behalf of their Creek intimates and allies like "the Hallowing King," who desired "hundreds of Articles" and "Arms [and] ammunition."[516]

Through Panton, George and John further secured alliances with the Spanish in Florida. Once again, the Galphins acted as political and commercial intermediaries for the Creeks by cultivating relations with Spanish administrators like Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada and Enrique White. For the Spanish governors, the Galphin brothers offered the means to exert a measure of influence among the Lower Creeks, who they hoped to harness and direct against the United States and thereby discourage American appetites for Florida. Spanish authorities, therefore, welcomed the Galphins into their

[516] John Galphin to William Panton, 26 June 1800, *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813* ("conference," Hallowing King, Cusseta King); John Galphin to William Panton, 16 October 1793, *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813* ("Arms," "Spaniards"); William Panton to John Galphin, n.d., *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813* ("hundreds," "deliverd," "King").

fold, and they became important go-betweens for the Spanish interest in Lower Creek towns. For instance, when Creek warriors launched a string of raids on Pensacola, slaughtered cattle, and stole horses and goods from Panton's stores, it was George and John who "put a Stop to such proceedings." They not only asserted to their Creek allies that "our friends the Spaniards cannot be our friends" if such robberies continued and that "our great friend Mr. Panton has been at the loss of a great many Cattle," but also shamed those warriors responsible for the violence. John concluded, "Don't let us have such bad people, to break the friendship between us & the Spaniards." The Galphins also communicated intelligence and rumors to the Spanish, such as the news "that the Americans are building forts on this side of the Oconee River" and that "the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees…are determined to go in a large body against those people who have established themselves on this side of the Oconee." And when Spanish officials desired to meet in the Lower towns, they relied on the Galphins to arrange this, which led John to inform the Spanish governor that "when the designated days are sent to you, the communique will be accompanied by a letter from me to you, because now I am here for the purpose of writing what the Chiefs decide." Through their ties to the Spanish, then, George and John emerged as central actors within Creek-Spanish relations during the 1780s and 1790s, which further accentuated their influence and importance in Creek Country.[517]

George and John even counted a number of American diplomats and agents among their allies. The men of the Georgia Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs

[517] John Galphin to the Chiefs of the Lower Towns, 24 July 1794, *Records on the Firm of Panton, Leslie, and Co., 1784-1813* ("Stop," "our friends," our great friend," "bad people"); John Galphin to Enrique White, 18 September 1794, *Mississippi Provincial Archives Spanish Dominion, 1757-1820*, Volume 5, Series 695, Box 892, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Biloxi MS ("forts," "large body," "designated days").

– such as John Habersham, Henry Osborn, Andrew Pickens, James Jackson, and James Rae – oftentimes turned to the Galphin brothers, "whose influence among the Creeks seems to have been very great." In writing to John, men like James Jackson stated that "The friendship I always entertained for your father makes me desirous to extend it to his children, in any case where it lays in my power." Consequently, the men of the Board often depended on George and John to fulfill roles similar to that of their father. Such responsibilities included "calling a meeting of the chiefs to deliver them a Talk from the Honorable board," providing key intelligence such as news "the whole Upper and Lower Creeks…were ready fitted off to go out to war," and arranging "to bring about a treaty" for "concluding a peace." Further, the Board of Commissioners relied on George and John to sustain their connections with pro-American Creek towns, as John communicated with the Board that "the Tallecee King got me to rite to you and says that he allways was a frend to the Americans." Even when negotiating with hostile Creeks like McGillivray, the Board sent George and John to Tuckabatchee to try and gain an audience with McGillivray, delivering the "dispatches from the Commissioners …[into] his hands." In return for their services, the Galphins gained several allies in Georgia who promised to look out for their interest and welfare, such as the Board's efforts to recoup the 88,000 acres seized by Georgia after the Revolutionary War. It is unsurprising, then, that during the Colerain conference in 1796, John split his time between American and Creek allies, "in full council of all the chiefs" at one point, but then dining "on board [a] vessel with one of the Georgia commissioners" at the next.[518]

[518] George Galphin to Alexander McGillivray, 14 May 1789, "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 21:3 (September 1937): 293 ("very great"); General James Jackson to John Galphin, June 1796, *George Galphin, Indian Trading Patriot of Georgia and South Carolina,* 109 ("in my power"); Alexander McGillivray to John Habersham, 28 November 1786,

The Galphin brothers also considered the American agents in Creek Country – like Benjamin Hawkins and James Seagrove – as allies, and those agents in turn believed that the Galphins were "useful diplomat[s]" who eased negotiations with the Creeks. Once again, George and John acted as go-betweens by "deliver[ing] sundry articles" or interpreting talks, escorting American dignitaries "to the Upper…[and] Lower towns," inviting Creek leaders to a series of congresses, interceding with "our chief speaker Mr. McGillivray" to attend such conferences, and working with both sides to "get a treaty" and "boundary line between the white inhabitants…and the Creek Indians." Seagrove put it best when he wrote the "Galphin[s] will acquaint you [Creeks] of every particular." In times of conflict, Hawkins and Seagrove deployed the Galphins to calm the violence. George recalled that "on my arrival in the Creek nation, I found it in a very bad situation…as Upwards of three thousand" warriors – led by Coweta – intended "to go to war" against Georgia. But with "my brother John…I set him to work on them [Coweta], and myself with the Cussetahs. We…got them to stop all that were on the move, till we could write Mr. McGillivray." For acting in such ways, the Galphins were "in the pay of the United States" and received a steady wage for their labors, which they invested in horses, cattle, slaves, and other forms of property they moved into Creek Country, all out of reach from their creditors. Hawkins and Seagrove excitedly reported to their superiors that the Galphins were "Chief

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Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905, Series 1 ("meeting," "peace"); George Galphin to Andrew Pickens and Henry Osborn, 27 May 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 35-36 ("out to war," "treaty"); John Galphin to Georgia Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, 25 October 1786, *Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905, Series 1* ("rite"); Alexander McGillivray to Unknown, 16 September 1786, *Telamon Cuyler Historical Manuscripts, 1754-1905, Series 1* ("Commissioners"); Memorial of George and John Galphin to John Houstoun, 18 July 1784, *Creek Indian Letters, Talks & Treaties, 1705-1837*, 53-55 (Galphin lands); Proceedings of the Conference at Colerain, 10 June 1796, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I,* 595 ("full council," "vessel").

Speaker[s] of the lower Creeks" and seemingly committed to the United States.[519]

For a time, George and John even cultivated an alliance with William Augustus Bowles, who briefly ushered the Galphins back into the British fold. Appointed as "Chief of the Embassy for the Creek and Cherokee Nations" by George III, Bowles collaborated with Lord Dunmore – the British governor of the West Indies – and the Nassau merchant firm Miller, Bonnamy and Co. to reestablish a British presence in the southeast during the 1780s and 1790s. In 1788, he led an armed expedition from Creek Country to Florida, with the intent of seizing Spanish garrisons and investing those places with British peoples from the West Indies. To lead the expedition, Bowles settled on none other than John Galphin, "who served under Bowles as [his] second in command." A relationship with Bowles offered the Galphins – as well as their Creek intimates and allies – a renewed partnership with England to attain a more lucrative commerce and ally against American encroachments. Therefore, "Juan Galphin" used "all the influence at his hand to invite and incite the Indians" and captured the stores around Appalachee. However, the expedition soon fell apart and Bowles skipped town, but not before alienating George and John by taking their "sundries" and "property" with him. Despite this disaster, the Galphins continued to make a living for themselves

[519] Timothy Barnard to Benjamin Hawkins, n.d. 1786, *Unpublished Letters of Timothy Barnard: 1784-1820*, ed. Louise Frederick Hays (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Archives and History, 1939), __ ("useful diplomat"); "List of Articles delivered to Mr. John Galphin," 3 November 1786, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842* ("sundry"); John Galphin to Henry Osborne, 1 June 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 36-37 ("towns," "speaker"); "Report of the Running the Temporary Boundary Line between the State of Georgia and the Creek Indians," 22 February 1798, *Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842* ("boundary line"); "A Talk from the Chiefs, Head-men, and Warriors of the Lower Creek Nation," 1 June 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 34-35 ("every particular"); George Galphin to Andrew Pickens and Henry Osborn, 27 May 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 35-36 ("treaty," "three thousand," "war," "in two days"); Major Commandant Freeman to Benjamin Hawkins, 31 January 1797, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, 67 ("pay"); Andrew Pickens and Henry Osborne to George Washington, 30 June 1789, *Founder Online*, National Archives, D.C. http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-03-02-0036 ("Chief Speaker").

in ways reminiscent of their father by establishing alliances in Native, Euro-American, imperial, and transatlantic worlds, while ensuring that the interests of their allies never intersected in destructive ways.[520]

The Galphin brothers also tried to replicate their father's dependent communities, which in this case consisted of their African and "half-breed Indian" slaves. During the 1790s, George and John marched what remained of their enslaved peoples into Creek Country and settled them on lands near Coweta and Cusseta. As a number of half-Creek, half-European men settled slave plantations in Creek Country after the Revolutionary War – those Claudio Saunt calls Creek "mestizos" – the Galphins sought to erect such plantations of their own. When compared to "mestizos" like Efau Hadjo, though, the Galphins possessed far fewer slaves and only sparingly purchased more. Instead, George and John shared very personal connections with their supposed dependents, in which their property lived and labored in the Galphin household alongside the Galphin families. These slaves also accompanied George and John when conducting their commercial and political business in Creek Country, Spanish Florida, and the United States, oftentimes serving – like "John Galphin's negro" – as guides and messengers who delivered "talks" to the Galphin allies. But the Galphins had little in the way of financial resources to purchase or command the dependency of hundreds – let alone dozens – like their father, and they ultimately proved unable to create dependent communities or sustain dependent relationships.[521]

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[520] Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Panton's Apalachee Store in 1792," *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 9:3 (January 1931): 161 (Dunmore, Miller Bonnamy & Co.); Don Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to Don Luis de Las Casas, 25 October 1792, *Mississippi Provincial Archives Spanish Dominion, 1757-1820*, Volume 4, Series 692, Reel 405, p. 270-272 ("second in command"); John Forrester to Senor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 10 October 1792, *Mississippi Provincial Archives Spanish Dominion, 1757-1820*, Volume 4, Series 692, Reel 405, p. 239-240 ("incite," Appalache); 31 October 1797, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, 217-218 ("sundries," "some property").

In the end, it all boiled down to intimacy for George and John, as their relationships with others remained a source of understanding and power just as it had for the Galphin family during the eighteenth century. Like their father before them, the Galphins wielded their connections to peoples and places to assert a political and commercial influence that they could call their own, and in the process maneuvered particular relationships to complement – rather than conflict with – their interests. In ways that would make their father proud, the Galphins utilized such relationships, friendships, partnerships, and alliances to protect and enrich their closest family and friends who were – in George and John's case – their Creek kinsmen and clansmen. Through all of these connections, then, George and John asserted the Galphin family's continued political and commercial relevance within the southeast.

However, when relations between Creek Country and the United States unraveled during the mid-1790s, things started to change dramatically for the Galphins. In particular, George and John quickly discovered that their ability to weave the peoples and places of their world started to break down around them. Confronted by a new nation obsessed with Native lands, and as witnesses to a bitterly divided Creek Country, the Galphins found themselves torn between two worlds as their kinsmen, allies, and partners started to pull them in different directions. Ultimately, when forced to choose sides, the Galphins turned their backs on the United States and embraced the Creek world. They could not ignore the fact that the cultural divide between Native and Euro-

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[521] *Last Will and Testament of George Galphin*. 4 April 1776, 000051 .L 51008, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC ("half-breed Indian"); Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2 ("mestizos"), 47-48, 99-100, 190-191, 206-207 (Efau Hadjo); "Talk of the Hallowing King and Fat King," 14 June 1787, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 32 ("John Galphin's Negro"); "Bonds, Bills of Sale & Deeds of Gift – Manumission," 2 July 1782, *Le Conte Genealogical Collection, 1900-1943*, MS #71, Book C, Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens GA, 3-4 ("grant freedom," "faithful").

American peoples was becoming an unbridgeable chasm that pitted these two peoples and worlds in ideological and violent opposition to one another. In this new world, the early republic made no room for those like the Galphins who sided with their Native relatives. As a consequence, George and John brought the full weight of their relationships to bear against this exclusionary new nation.

Such a decision on the part of the Galphins was nowhere more evident than in the letters they sent to their Spanish and merchant allies in 1793 and 1794. By speaking on behalf of the Lower Creeks to the Spanish – as well as privately confiding to William Panton – George and John articulated notions of Creek unity and nationhood, as they "believe[d] that all of our Nation thinks equally because they see that the Americans only want to deprive us of our rights, and all of our Nation is persuaded of this." George and John, therefore, "determined to go in a large body against these people who have established themselves…on our lands," yet they only sought to "go in defense of our lands, and not to rob or devastate, but only to defend our rights as men and Warriors should do." While their "wish [was] to maintain peace with all Nations," the Galphins perceived that the Americans "do not think in the same manner, because if they did, they would not place themselves in our lands…surrounding us." In closing, the Galphins asserted that "our life is in our land" and they would do anything in their power to "defend our country." George and John decisively embraced the Creek world and emerged as central figures in the battle between the Creek Nation and the United States during the 1790s, "appointed on the part of the Creek Nation" with "the honor of settling their business for them," as well as preserving an incipient Creek sovereignty

against an aggressive and encroaching United States.[522]

American agents soon after complained to their superiors that the Galphins "were…some of the worst characters," and "it is scarcely possible to describe the extreme irregular conduct of [the] Galphin[s]," who are "very dangerous" and full of "villainy." According to Seagrove, "I wish, from my soul, we could get clear of [them]." Joined by a host of other "young men" from Lower Creek towns and given "incoregement from…the Haullowing King," the Galphins led an armed expedition against the settlers who crossed the boundary line separating Creek Country and the United States. American officials observed after the fact that the Galphins' party "killed cattle, stole horses and other property, took off eight negroes, robbed several houses, and burnt one…tied and carried off one man," all the while "declaring friendship to the Spaniards, and that their intention was against…the Americans." Seagrove remarked that "John Galphin was…very conspicuous in declaration of enmity to this country." Rather than continuing such violence, though, the Galphins returned to Coweta and simply awaited the arrival of American diplomats. Upon coming face-to-face with American authorities, John stated their "feeling[s] [that]…the hostilities and bloodshed which has been produced by the differences subsisting between us in all parts of our borders, we now offer, in behalf of our nation, towards terminating the present war, and adjusting such terms as may decide forever the matters now in dispute."[523]

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[522] John Galphin to Burgess, 18 September 1794, *Mississippi Provincial Archives Spanish Dominion, 1757-1820*, Volume 5, Series 695, Box 892 ("Nation," "large body," "Warriors," "peace," "surrounding us," "our life"); John Galphin to William Panton, 16 October 1793, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Vol. III*, 218-219 ("our country"); John Galphin to Henry Osborne, 1 June 1789, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 36-37 ("honor"); Hallowing King to Benjamin Hawkins, 15 November 1797, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, 236 ("appointed").

[523] Edward Price to James McHenry, 24 January 1797, *Records of the Creek Trading House Letter Book, 1795-1816*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, MS #3052, Newberry Library, Chicago IL ("worst characters"); James Seagrove to James Holmes, 24 February 1793, *American State Papers: Indian*

Seen in such light, the Galphin violence – which to American agents seemed like robbery and plunder – was instead a very deliberate strike aimed at asserting and upholding Creek sovereignty against an encroaching United States that disregarded the treaties negotiated between two nations. John explained as much to American representatives, informing them that "You…know the cause of the discontent with us has ever been, the limits of our country; consider that we have retreated from the plains to the woods, from thence to the mountains; but no limits, established by nature or by compact, have stayed the ambitions, or satisfied your people." John elaborated that "It is our determination to adhere to a line fairly agreed on, but such agreement must be by the legislative body of the nation, and not a clandestine bargain with a few chiefs…You well know that no sovereignty was ceded to you." In rationalizing the use of violence, John remarked "we are now, as we always have been, an independent and free people; knowing this, and our abilities to maintain our independence, we view with astonishment the steps taken by the United States to rob us of our rights." With his case presented, John concluded that "Peace is best for all men…[but] know that we have still warriors sufficient to stain your land with blood, and that it is our determination to sell our lives with our country," for "we see the numbers of people who wish to get possession of our lands, and are framing plans for that purpose."[524]

Walking in their father's footsteps, then, George and John lived according to the personal and spatial relationships that they cultivated with their intimates, allies, and

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Affairs, Series II, Vol. I, 377 ("irregular," "dangerous," "villainy," "soul"); Proceedings of Conference at Colerain, 10 June 1796, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 595 ("young men"); James Durouzeaux to Enrique White, 18 October 1793, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794, Vol. III*, 220 ("incoregement"); James Seagrove to Henry Knox, 19 April 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 379 ("killed," "friendship," "enmity"); John Galphin to General Irwin, 21 August 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 371 ("bloodshed").

[524] John Galphin to General Irwin, 21 August 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I*, 371.

dependents, but unlike their father they now wielded such connections in ways that privileged the peoples and places of Creek Country. By situating themselves as members of that "independent and free people" – fighting for "our lands," "our property," "our Nation" – the Galphin brothers embraced a Creek world and identity. George and John thus used their relationships, alliances, and partnerships to combat the United States, and affirm an emergent sense of Creek nationalism and sovereignty. For a time in the 1780s, George and John managed to follow their father's example and carve out their own little niche through their connections with others, and thereby shape the ways that political and commercial power unfolded in the North American interior. However, the following decades revealed to the Galphins that the southeast was no longer a place on the fringes where intimacy could rule. Instead, they found themselves at the heart of a contested space on the verge of being consumed by a new empire.[525]

Although George and John fade from the documentary record at the turn of the century, their experiences in the years after the Revolutionary War reflect the larger importance – and the legacy – of their father.[526] Both George Galphin and his sons, when faced with the disruptive and ruinous forces of British and American colonialism, drew upon their intensely personal and local understandings of the world to ameliorate such conditions. In the process, they converted their relationships with the peoples and places around them into a world of intimacies and localities, which they used to exert influence, power, and purchase in the Irish, Native, imperial, colonial, and transatlantic

[525] John Galphin to General Irwin, 21 August 1793, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Series II, Vol. I,* 371 ("free people," "our lands"); John Galphin to Enrique White, 18 September 1794, *Mississippi Provincial Archives Spanish Dominion, 1757-1820,* Volume 5, Series 695, Box 892 ("our property," "our Nation").

[526] The only reference to the Galphin brothers is a curious notation by Benjamin Hawkins in 1806, in which he recorded John Galphin as one of many "Indians and Indian Countrymen" who owed debts that were "to be paid by the [Creek] Nation agreeably to the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson." 13 March 1806, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806,* Georgia Historical Society.

worlds. These relationships further translated into an influence and control that eclipsed the coercive forces of British and American imperialism. Through their personal and spatial connections, then, Galphin and his sons capitalized upon the opportunities to mold the ways in which politics and trade unfolded in early America, where the local and personal could prove more powerful than the imperial. In the end, the "intimate connections" that existed between peoples and places in the eighteenth century allowed individuals like Galphin and his sons to structure and understand the larger world around them, and to do so on their own terms.[527]

[527] John Gordon to James Grant, 19 July 1769, *James Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 1740-1819,* Reel 17, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing PA ("intimate connections").

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