

Settlements in the Americas

Cross-Cultural Perspectives

Edited by Ralph Bennett

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DELAWARE

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Savannah and the Issue of Precedent: City Plan as Resource

STANFORD ANDERSON

The town of Savannah was laid out on the banks of the river of that name in 1734 under the guidance of the London-based trustees of Georgia.¹ The history of Savannah is not recounted here;² instead attention is directed to an aspect of that town's founding that has endured: the resource of its unique plan. A city plan is a resource in that it long outlasts the moment of its initiation, continuing to provide guidance for later decisions. "City Plan as Resource," implies that a plan is neither a matter of indifference nor merely a reflection of the moment of its imposition upon the land. I want to argue instead that a city's plan is a continuing factor in its historical course—admittedly only one of many factors, but nevertheless a significant one.

A city plan is a system of artifacts that provides conditions of support and constraint over time. For example, a city composed of unusually small blocks, as is the case in Savannah, constrains massive development—a constraint which, it can be argued, has served Savannah well. The same characteristic of small blocks is a support for other urban traits, among which would be the encouragement of a continuously built street edge which, in turn, provides the opportunity for an active exchange between public and private space. I would claim that every city plan has such effects, though in many instances the patterns of support and constraint may be weaker or less well related to one another. Within the study of city plans as resources, Savannah is especially rewarding for it is a particularly clear, and also a particularly positive, example.³

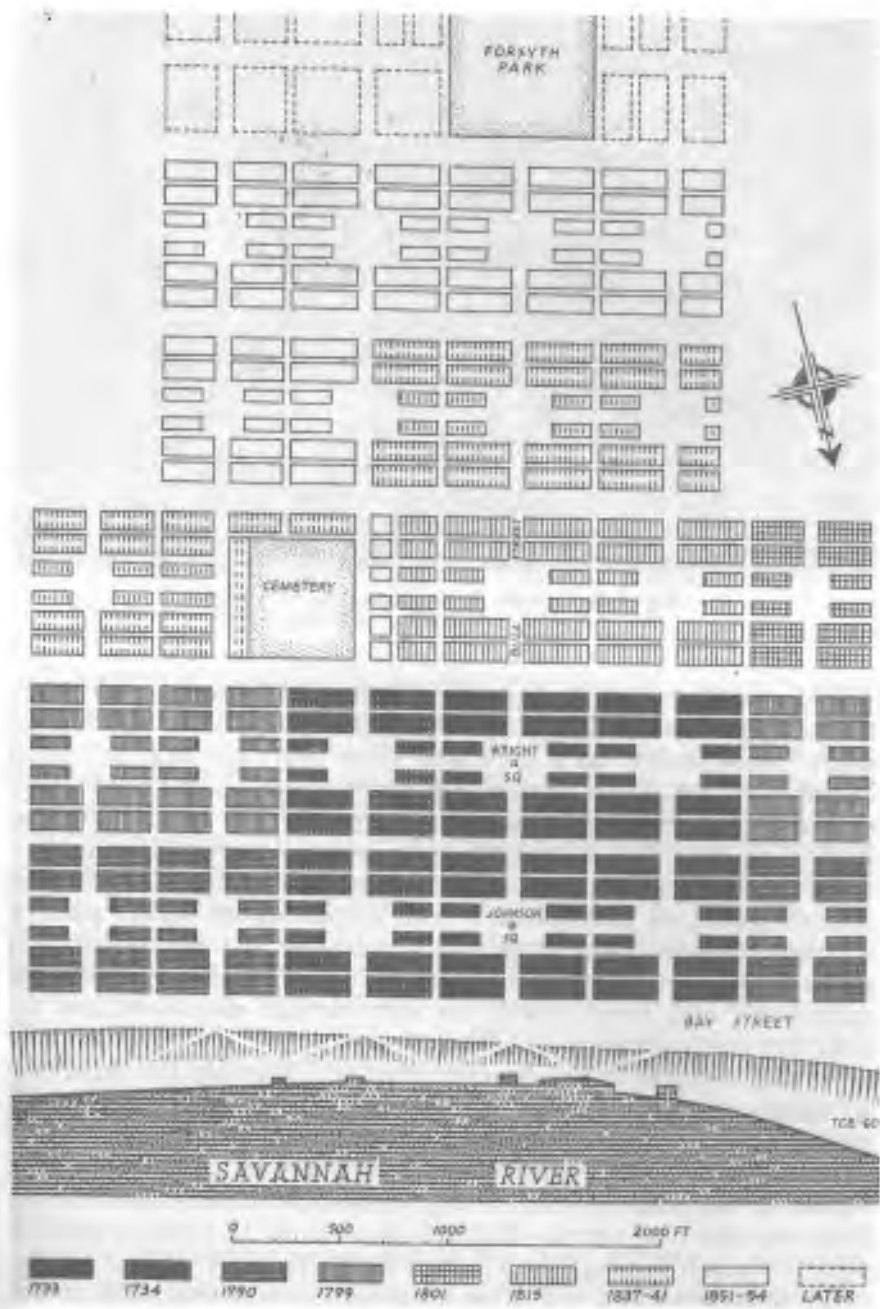


Fig. 1. Savannah, chronological plan, 1733-1854 (drawing by Turpin Banister, based on a plan by H. A. Chandler, *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 1).



Fig. 2. Savannah, Broughton ("Main") Street.

A closer examination of another feature of Savannah may clarify the argument, as can be observed on Broughton Street, Savannah's "Main Street," as it appeared some years ago (fig. 2). "Main Street," in the characteristic American sense, is a nineteenth-century phenomenon, a marketing system that literally had to find its place in the early eighteenth-century plan of Savannah.

In the early nineteenth century, Savannah businesses located and relocated on Broughton Street, displacing an earlier pattern of local commercial activity that dominated around the market square. One can point to features of the plan of Savannah that supported and constrained the incremental decisions that resulted in this formation of a Main Street.

At that moment in the development of Savannah, the third row of wards, counting from the river, was only beginning to be set out (fig. 1). Consequently, there was only one street in Savannah with usable parcels fronting on both sides of the street. That would be the east-west street that forms a boundary between the first two rows of wards—Broughton Street. If local commerce were to reach a magnitude beyond the capacity of one of the original squares and still offer an apparent concentration, if this commerce were to be street-oriented and have a potential for longitudinal extension, then there was only one street in Savannah that could provide the requisite uninterrupted flow of circulation



Fig. 3. Savannah, view in Johnson Square.

and density of use—parcels. In this, the plan of Savannah constrained the choice of locations. This "constraint," however, appears in the provision of the best location for the projected use, and not just the best among poor alternatives. In addition to the continuities of circulation and parcels already noted, only Broughton Street could offer parcels that were serviced, on both sides of the street, by alleys or lanes at the back of the parcels. Finally, Broughton Street was central to the then existing city, easy to reach and noncompetitive with the need for other forms of mercantile space focused on the river front.

Only one street, then, provided support for the desired conditions. The clarity and strength of these locational decisions had positive effects elsewhere in the city. The positively set constraint for commercial locations on Broughton Street had the effect of inhibiting commercial pressure on the squares and lesser streets, thus supporting not only the presence of residential and institutional uses, but also a patterned continuity of these uses (figs. 3 and 4).

In the twentieth century, when the main streets of so many American towns or cities have either failed, or been sustained only by isolating Main Street within a sea of parking lots and environmental blight, Savannah maintained an active Main Street bounded by unusually fine environmental conditions and a



Fig. 4. Savannah, houses in a ward in the northeast part of the city (E. Bryan St.)

changing but still impressive mix of uses. The network of distributed squares paralleling Broughton Street to both north and south is certainly one of the factors contributing to this sustained excellence.

Those who set down the plan of Savannah in the early eighteenth century in no way preenvisioned Main Street or any of the other events mentioned. Nor did the plan of Savannah have some inexorable internal logic that has necessarily resulted in the Savannah we see today. Neither prescience nor determinism can or should be asserted for the planning of Savannah. Rather, I have suggested the idea of a city plan as a resource in order to argue that a city plan provides conditions of support and constraint that are always in dialogue with changing conditions of use. Savannah provides, at the least, an unusually instructive example; the diversity of its plan, which is nevertheless also repetitive, aids in the systematic formulation of an inquiry. Beyond this matter of convenience, I propose that the plan of Savannah, with its patterned diversity, embodies principles of planning from which we still have much to learn. Attention to resource directs our attention to the continuity and even to the future of the plan. Nonetheless, a resource orientation also opens certain avenues into the question of beginnings and poses new questions.

The analysis of what Savannah is now and has been over time requires the recognition of certain features of the plan. These descriptors include the additive grid, the absence of a global focus, and the particular size and organization of blocks and parcels. Such descriptors serve:

1. to review and dismiss proposed precedents for the Savannah plan;
2. when joined with a new search of the archives, to give a fuller account of the invention of the plan;
3. to reveal the innovations of the plan within a tradition defined primarily in terms of settlement systems;
4. to reveal the innovations of the plan in terms of a design method that relied on free reassembly of antecedent forms rather than on either literal precedent or problem-solving.

I propose to begin, then, with an account of the criteria that are necessary for a description of the plan of Savannah, and thus for the analysis of proposed precedents.

Extant literature on city planning makes much of the importance of orthogonal planning—the setting out of straight streets in right-angled relations to one another—as against what is often termed *organic* or *irregular* plans like those of medieval hill towns. A major subcategory of orthogonal planning is the grid plan in which the orthogonal streets form a continuous, repetitive fabric defining rectangular blocks.

Savannah can be placed into the set of orthogonal plans and into the subset of grid plans. However, beyond this rudimentary distinction, one must recognize further characteristics of the plan of Savannah that will facilitate an inquiry into its tradition. A quick review of those characteristics may begin with the general observation that Savannah is built on a repetitive grid without implied boundaries (fig. 5). Even such a broad characterization puts a question to any presumption of precedent in such well-defined entities as fortified towns (fig. 6). A second obvious characteristic, that the Savannah plan at no time had a predetermined focal point, is still more decisive. Most grid plans, and particularly those for military encampment, are given a focal point from the outset—very often a center from which the city, bounded or not, radiates.

However, a detailed criticism of proposed precedents for Savannah must turn on a finer set of descriptors. In contrast to centralized grid plans, the additive, nonfocused grid of Savannah works mainly for an openness of location. A socially powerful

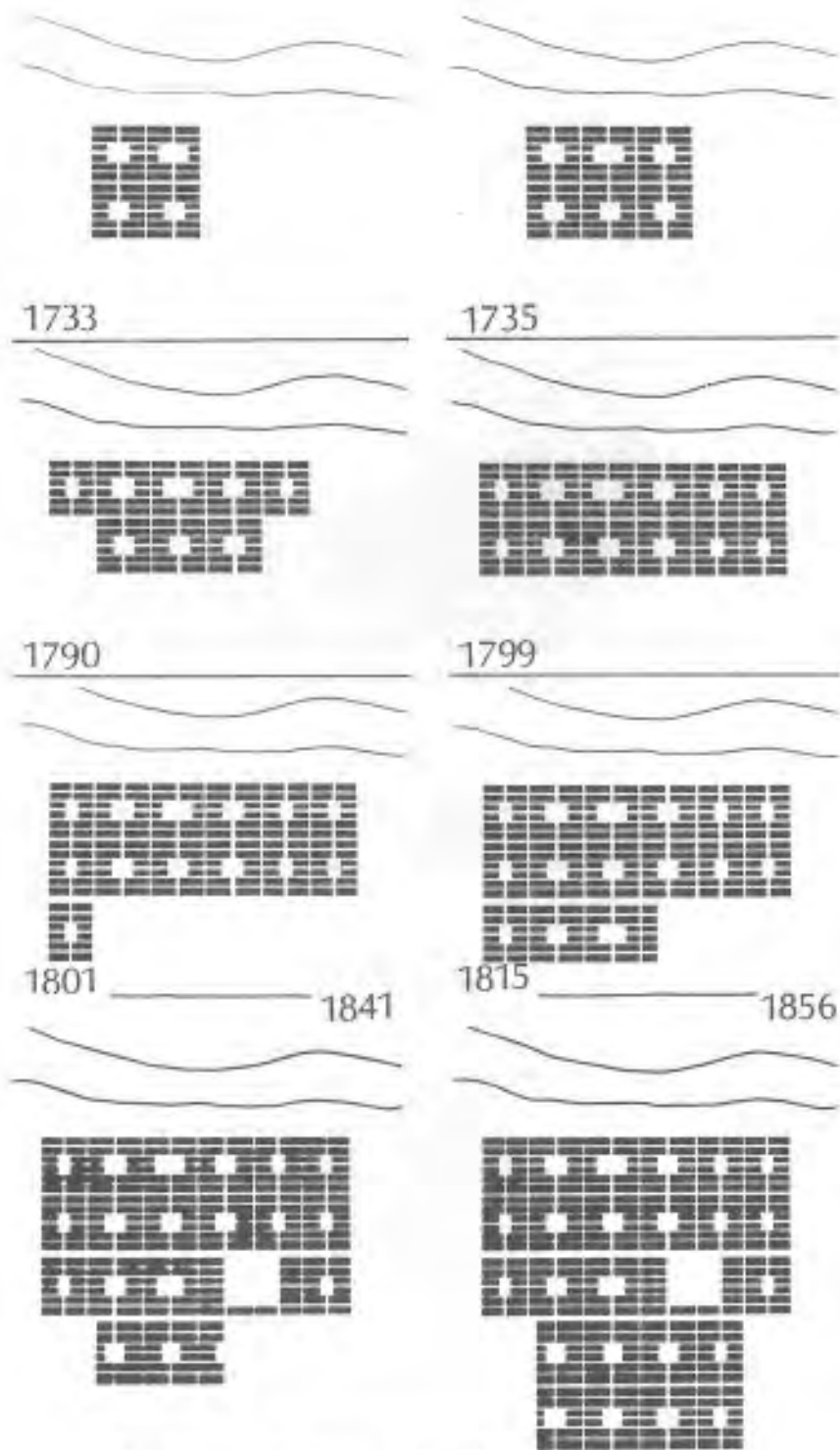


Fig. 5. Savannah, chronological plans of the city's growth.



Fig. 6. Charleville, France, 1656.



Fig. 7. Savannah, Chippewa Square in Brown Ward, 1733. First Baptist Church (Elias Carter, ca. 1833).



Fig. 8. New Orleans, Jackson Square, 1721. St. Louis Cathedral.

church or governmental entity may attain a certain prominence by its own strength and thus lend status to its location (figs. 1 and 7); but this not to be reinforced by a unique and preferred initial locational decision as was done in the towns of the French and Spanish New World. Compare the principal square and institutions of New Orleans (fig. 8) with the diversity of buildings on Savannah's numerous trust lots.

Other plan factors of Savannah inherently possess double readings and interact with one another systematically in such ways as to resist any monolithic changes in use and meaning.

The Savannah plan contains eight street types and at least ten parcel types within each ward (fig. 9). What is important to the actual Savannah, and therefore to the question of precedent or tradition, is not the specific number of street or parcel types, but rather that the organizational schemata is more differentiated (has a larger number of inherent street and parcel types) than is common. Savannah provides openness of choice in site selection, but concomitant constraint in that any chosen parcel or street possesses characteristics that make it, for any use, more or less suited than some other site. Thus differentiation establishes an energetic coexistence of openness and selective reinforcement by means of various types of location in a patterned array throughout the plan (fig. 10).

At a slightly grosser level of analysis, the topology of the wards

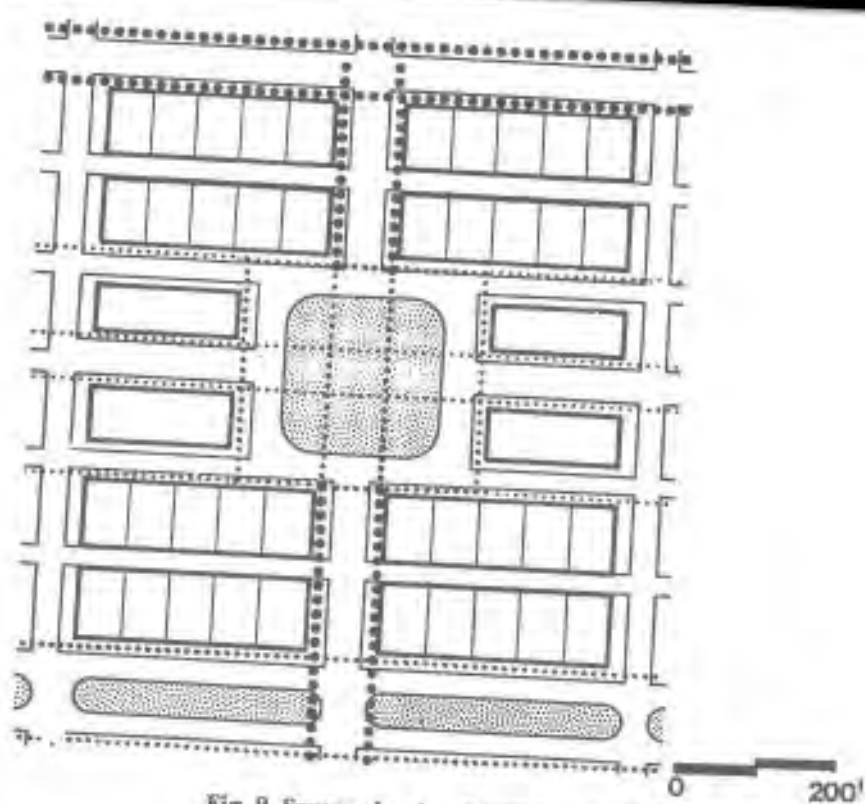


Fig. 9. Savannah, plan diagram of a ward.



Fig. 10. Savannah, plan diagram of a portion of the historic district.

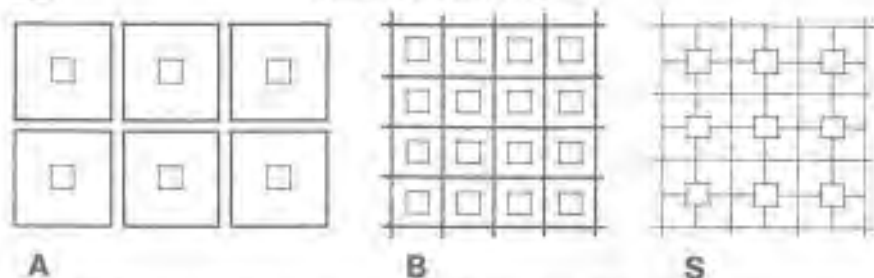


Fig. 11. Savannah, diagram of a ward, illustrating effects of change of scale.

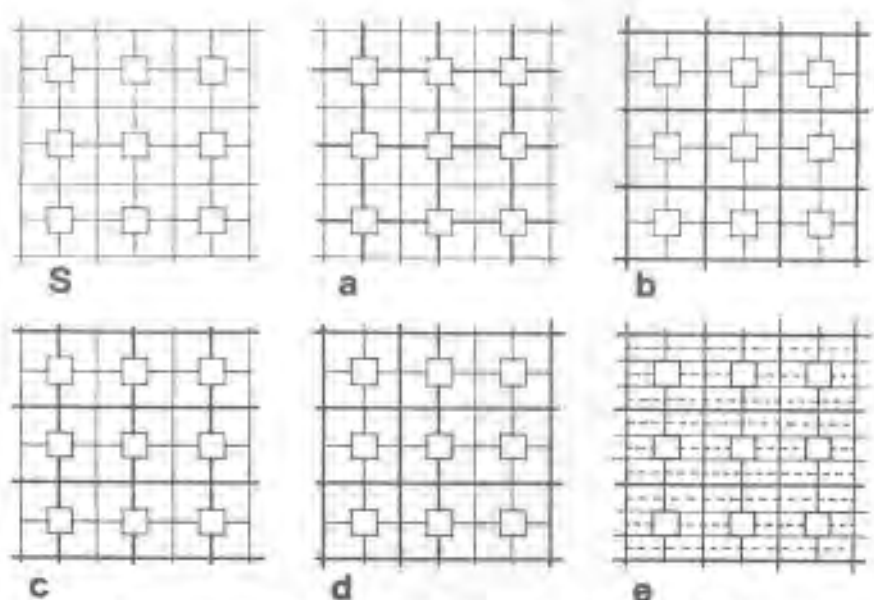


Fig. 12. Savannah, diagram of a ward, illustrating alternative hierarchies of streets.

in relation to the entire city creates alternating centripetal and centrifugal forces—inward to the squares and outward to the streets that are simultaneously a boundary to the wards and the fullest continuity of the larger city structure. Translating this topology into a plan with actual dimensions of streets and wards, one of the two forces might easily be made to dominate; but the actual dimensions of Savannah turn as many development parcels to the periphery as to the internal streets (fig. 11). The two forces are thus placed in a tense equilibrium that inhibits the city from becoming either a mere collection of independent wards or a

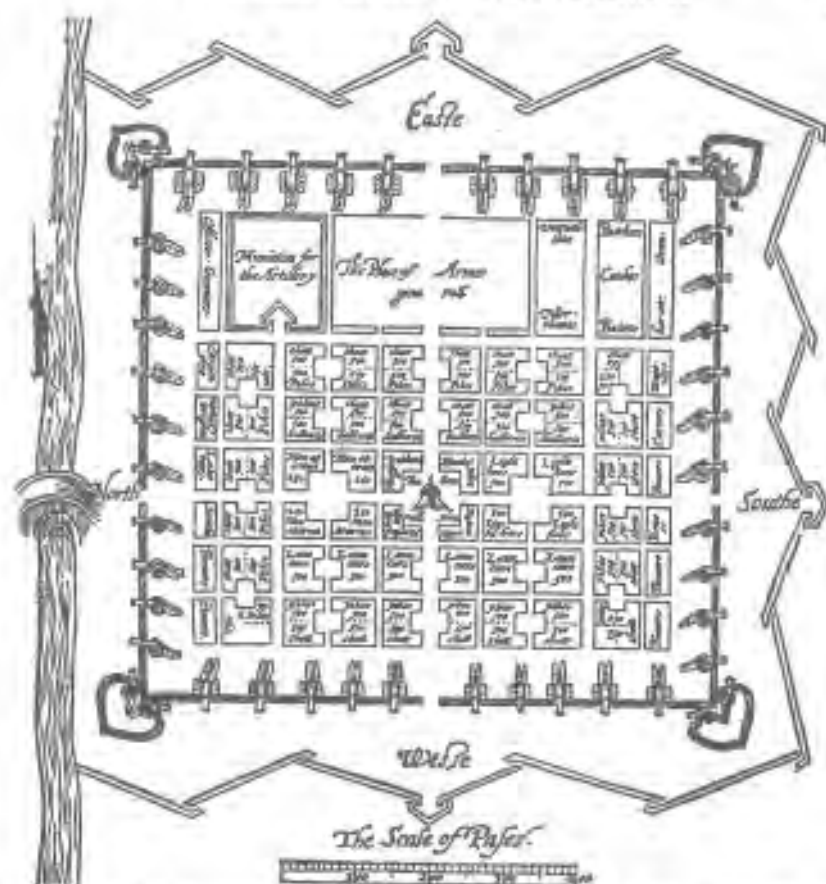


Fig. 13. Plan for an encampment of 36 thousand troops, from Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Modern Wars*, 1598.

system of undifferentiated continuities. Yet the weighting between these isolating and amalgamating forces can be redrawn, within certain limits, in adjustment to changing circumstances (fig. 12).

In turning now to examine proposed precedents for the Savannah plan, I propose to keep in mind these descriptors:

1. additive grid;
2. no determined focus;
3. range of street and parcel types, yielding a marked level of differentiation;
4. copresent readings of whole and parts;

5. parcel and block sizes, and organization, that inhibit radical changes of the public space via private development decisions.

A number of precedents have been proposed for the plan of Savannah. Here I shall only discuss what I consider to be the three strongest claims.

In the major scholarly essay on the origins of the plan of Savannah, Turpin Bannister⁴ emphasizes the military purposes of the Georgia trustees and finds the encampment plan of Robert Barret⁵ (fig. 13) of indisputable significance as the model on which Oglethorpe based the plan of Savannah.

The Barret encampment does contain plan units similar to the wards and squares of Savannah. Setting aside the facts that the Barret plan was then already more than one hundred thirty years old, and that we have no document tying it to either Oglethorpe or Savannah, we must also recognize differences, even beyond some that were acknowledged by Bannister. Barret's plan is conceived as a functional whole rather than as an open, additive system. The encampment is as centralized and hierarchical as the system that inhabits it. The general's tent is set in the large "General's Place" at the center of the entire camp, reached by especially broad streets forming cross-axes through the plan to the gates in the walls. The General's Place is further reinforced by the uses assigned to its surrounding parcels: lodgings of nobles, treasurer, and marshal, and the marketplace. One can read the parts as well as the whole in Barret's plan, but there is never any ambiguity about the subservient role of the parts in the hierarchical system of the whole.

Each of these differences denotes characteristics in Barret's plan that are logically related to military organization and efficient ordering of the camp, while Savannah is emphatically of another order. Throughout its history, except for temporary defensive walls in several wars, Savannah was remarkably unfortified. There was never a fortification similar to that at Savannah's frontier post of Frederica, nor was there an initial wall and moat as at Fredrica. In the early months of settlement, James Oglethorpe, the military leader and representative of the trustees, lived in a tent external to the gridded plan of Savannah, on the banks of the river (fig. 14). The dwelling he later used was of the same scale and type as the original norm and located at the river-edge of the plan. Savannah never had the determined focus of the military plans. Conversely, the military plans do not have Savannah's unconfined additiveness, its fruitful ambiguities of whole and part, its unusually self-stabilizing dimensional characteristics, nor the same



Fig. 14. Savannah, Peter Gordon view, 1734.



Fig. 15. London, detail of a plan of 1746.

degree of street and parcel differentiation.

The most telling argument against military planning as the inspiration for the Savannah plan is that Savannah's own defensive outposts, Frederica and Augusta, evidence conscious acceptance of the military precedent.⁵

Another possible precedent for the plan of Savannah is the conventional, additive development of English towns (fig. 15). In the rationalized English planning of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—one thinks of Wren's Covent Garden, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Bloomsbury, and other squares—certain of the characteristics of Savannah may be recognized: additiveness, multiple or nondetermined focus, street and parcel differentiation, and the ambiguous reading of part and whole. An American city such as Boston offers similar traits on a new foundation and in a collapsed time frame—the perpetuation of an incremental decision-making system.

However, in Savannah these features are incorporated in a coherent plan-type capable of systematic extension over time. London has distinctive sectors as infill to the adhoc metropolitan structure; the large-scale system either bypasses the part or must invade it. In Savannah the parts are ambiguously woven together in such a way that alternative readings can emerge. The most frequently noted feature of Savannah—the squares—can be seen in this way. The London squares are private enclaves separated from local circulation systems, which in turn are hierarchically related to streets that are necessarily more important (fig. 16). The Savannah squares are inherently multifarious. Their scale is intimate and often quite directly related to residential uses. Yet no residence can ever assume an axial dominance of the square (fig. 17). The continuities of movement to and through the squares is part of the public pedestrian system. The squares are on the principal axes of the overall city network with the widest streets of the city arriving at all four sides of each square. Yet for easy vehicular circulation these wide but necessarily circuitous roadways are displaced by the narrower but continuous peripheral streets. Such multiple readings may be found in other aspects of the Savannah plan as well. The entire urban system has greater potential in that any of several readings of this dialectical confrontation may receive relative or temporary dominance according to the needs of the presently inhabiting forces. Yet the alternative readings will remain for the attentive observer, and are available when needed.

A large, systemic view of planning within the English tradition, and thus suggestive for Savannah, might be sought in the plans



Fig. 16. London, Bedford Square.



Fig. 17. Savannah, Monterey Square.



Fig. 18. London, Richard Newcourt's plan for rebuilding after the fire of 1666.

for the reconstruction of London after the great fire of 1666. Several of these plans merit attention, but here we shall attend only to the two related "fire plans" apparently most similar to Savannah.

Richard Newcourt's plans⁷ employ repeated rectangular units separated by streets of equal dimension (fig. 18). Throughout the plan, these units are bisected on both axes by minor streets that lead to a central square occupied by a parish church. In one of the two versions, the area of the entire parish is only about 7 percent larger than the area of the typical Savannah ward. These modular parishes of the Newcourt plan constitute the obvious and principal similarity to the plan of Savannah and its modular wards.

Newcourt's plan, like all the other fire plans, has multiple foci. None of these plans establishes a formal system that would inhibit addition or further extension of its own system of planning. Thus all these London plans share some characteristics that distinguish them from most military, bastide, and ideal plans, and associate them with Savannah.

Nevertheless, the London plans must be distinguished from the plan of Savannah. None of the plans has Savannah's insistent, non-hierarchical multifocal character. None of the fire plans has the possibility of multiple readings equivalent to that established by the dialectic of local and global characteristics in the plan of Savannah.

A closer look at the apparently most similar plan—the Newcourt plan—serves best to reveal the traits that set Savannah so much apart from any of the fire plans. Both the ward of Savannah and the parish of Newcourt's plan establish a rectangle of boundary streets as well as streets on cross-axes that terminate in an internal square. Here the similarity ends. In Newcourt's plan the boundary streets have not only their obvious directness and continuity; they are also at least twice and perhaps three times the width of the internal axial streets. A simple two-step hierarchy is emphatic: (1) the large-scale public circulation of the boundary streets with its counterpart in the larger open spaces of the total plan; and (2) the parishes nested within this framework, accessed by their small axial streets meeting in the internal focus of the parish church. In Savannah, there is no such established hierarchy, still less such a coincidence of hierarchies. At a given time in the history of Savannah, we will have to recognize one hierarchy of streets relative to vehicular circulation, another for pedestrian movement, another for commercial activity, and yet another for residential use. An analysis of institutional locations will suggest a certain dominance of the system of central squares. The squares are also important symbolically and ecologically, but in many other respects their position is ambiguous or subordinate. And those relations we describe will change over time. It is, then, difficult to describe the Savannah squares, wards, and larger structures because characteristics of each of them will stand in reversed hierarchies to the same characteristics in another description.

The London plans display the two types of square distinguished by Steen Eiler Rasmussen in *London: The Unique City*.⁸ The characteristically English domestic square at the focus of an enclave, but also, in diminished form, the continental type of the square at the intersection of major streets, usually marked by significant buildings. Savannah overlays one of these types on the other. The Savannah square is local by its strong sense of place and its role as foyer to the houses and institutions that ring it; but within a ward as many houses face outward as inward, countering any dominance of center. In a more important contrast with Newcourt's plan, the streets that are axial to the Savannah squares are, as

already noted, among the widest in the city. The strong continuity of these streets links the squares as intervals on the most public circulation. The preconceived designation of large parcels for public purposes to the east and west of the Savannah squares, the narrowness of the north-south boundary streets, and the accessing of all private development parcels along east-west streets set up a continuous east-west striation through the wards, in counterpoint to the multidirectional grid. The continuity, the generous width, and the double-sided parceling of the east-west boundary streets open them to both public access and the most intense grouping of private uses. The complement of this horizontal patterning of activities is an emphasis on circulation on the continuous north-south boundary streets.

The Savannah ward was originally a political unit with limited local needs and services, but so small and so continuous with other wards that its primary reference was always as a part in a whole. Even the earliest churches, facing on a square, never had reference to that ward alone. Rather, the designation of special parcels and blocks for such uses assured the distribution of institutions and the reservation of space for unspecified communal uses throughout the fabric of the city.

In this discussion and criticism of assertions as to precedent for the Savannah plan, frequent mention has been made of individual traits such as additive growth, multiple focus, differentiated streets and parcels, alternative readings of part and whole, and the influence of absolute dimensions. No one of these traits is unique to Savannah, nor so important as the fact that they interact with one another, establishing multiple possible readings of every part in itself and in its relations to other parts throughout the successive levels of aggregation. Public and private, and local and global potentials are distributed throughout the Savannah system. While actual use at any moment may correspond with only one "reading," alternative readings are potentially available. These potentials may be realized and rerealized in gradual adaptation to changing forces over time, while the rigid hierarchies of many plans, including the apparently similar Newcourt plan, must be accepted or overthrown.

The trait of inherent multiple readings; the concomitant potential for adaptive change; and the consequently enhanced opportunity to preserve earlier accomplishments during such change are aspects of the very special initial and evolved resource that Savannah represents and that none of the proposed precedent plans approximates.

An obvious source for information on the invention and the



Fig. 19. John Pine. Tailpiece of the Savannah prospectus: [Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the Georgia Trustees], *Some Account of the Designs of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America* (London, 1733 [possibly 1732]).

tradition of the plan of Savannah has been strangely neglected—the illustrations made by John Pine for the second edition of the prospectus of the Georgia colonial program.⁹

The tailpiece to that prospectus, showing the rite performed by the founder of an ancient Roman city, when combined with documentary material particularly of John Percival, the diligent president of the Georgia trustees, assures us that the trustees were much aware of the long history of new town foundations as a system of colonization.¹⁰ In 1733, the secretary of the trustees, Benjamin Martyn, published a tract on the establishment of Georgia which, though largely addressed to the economic benefits of the colony, does not fail to invoke ancient traditions.¹¹ Martyn based his comments on ancient colonies on the only authority he cited at all, Walter Moyle who, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was “remarkably anti-Royal, anti-aristocracy, anti-standing army, and writing his Athenian and Roman history accordingly.” In “An Essay upon the Roman Government,”¹² Moyle traced the course of Rome from the necessity of Romulus as a single leader through monarchy and oligarchy to the time, the 386th year of the city, when the people won “a free and impartial Commonwealth.” “The chief strength of the popular Constitution was the Licinian law,” the first and foremost of eleven laws or institutions Moyle lists as important to the commonwealth, and which he had earlier described as limiting “the possessions of all private men to 500 Acres of land; which estab-

lished the great Balance of the Commonwealth, and would have rendered it Immortal, had the Law been effectually put in Execution."¹³ Citing ancient authorities, Moyle goes on to detail the advantages of colonies for the Commonwealth: "(1) To enlarge their Empire; (2) To defend their Borders against a Revolt of their Allies; (3) To multiply their People; (4) To transplant their poor Citizens; (5) To prevent Seditions; (6) To reward their Veterans"; plus "preserving the popular Ballance by such large Division of Land to the Commons, and the infusing of Roman Manners and Discipline into the conquered Provinces."¹⁴ The principle and efficacy of limited landholdings could be pushed to extremes. In an essay newly republished, lauded by the trustees, Sir Francis Bacon had asked: How much land did the Romans assign to settlers? His answer was that the amount varied with the fertility of the land, but that it was always very little. At Veij it had been three acres though there is the assumption of common pasturage and wood.¹⁵ The trustees did not slavishly imitate any such information, but they did study it, and adopt those features that suited their purposes. The trustees denied themselves any gain from Georgia, which was to be a commonwealth of freeholders with property freely given but also limited to fifty acres of inalienable land divided among town, garden, and farm lots. Common land surrounded the town and was also dispersed in each of the other areas.

Oglethorpe himself pointed to the colonial new towns planted in Ireland by the corporations of London in the early seventeenth century.¹⁶ Londonderry (fig. 21) and Coleraine were both small foundations, similar to earlier bastides (fig. 20); that is to say, similar to other towns planted by English and European crowns for the purpose of securing territory first through economic exploitation and secondarily through the role of the settlers as citizen-soldiers.¹⁷

The underlying plan of all of these planted towns remains the military foundation: a grid of streets extended from a central place and bounded by a wall. In the planted towns the encampment morphology is domesticated by the assignment of uses to the central space and to the regular parceling of the remainder of the settlement for residential and certain productive uses. Yet military features of focus, hierarchy, and functional whole are not overthrown as in the Savannah plan. In the bastides, the differentiation of streets and parcels is not so great as in Savannah; and, to the extent that this differentiation occurs, it is in the service of one overall functional ordering of the community rather than the system of alternative readings of Savannah.

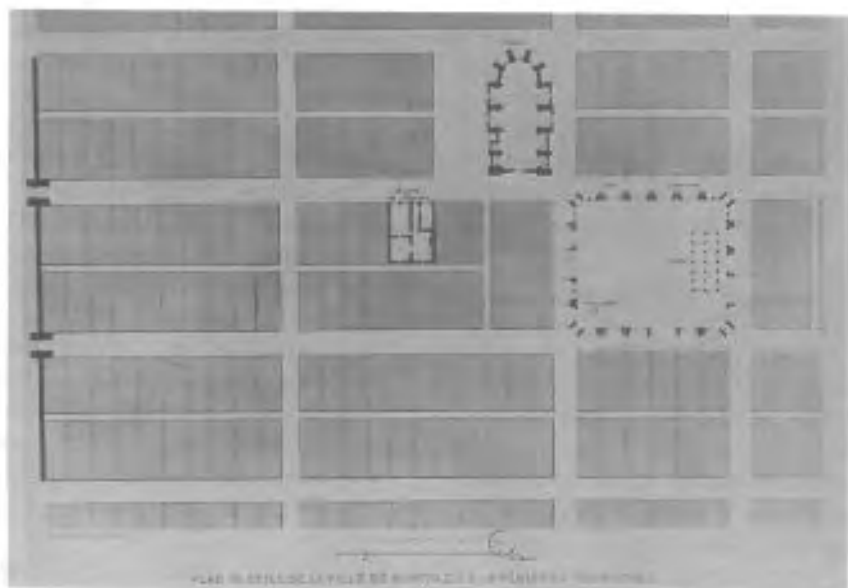


Fig. 20. Monpazier, France, idealized plan.



Fig. 21. Londonderry, Ireland, plan, 1622.

John Reys¹⁸ is correct in noting that Frederica, a Savannah military outpost, is the Georgia foundation that is close to the Irish fortified towns. Yet Oglethorpe's specific mention of the Irish colonial settlements as possible precedent for the Georgia enterprise seems to demand more recognition than is contained solely in the admission of the similarities at Frederica. We should bear in mind that Oglethorpe was reporting on the colonial enterprise, not on the specific physical form it might take. The intentions for Georgia, including military control of a frontier area, agricultural exploitation of a region, and enhanced deployment of an underutilized population, are goals quite similar to the generating forces behind Roman colonization, the medieval bastides, and the Irish settlements. This is indeed the tradition within which the entire Georgia scheme must be placed—Georgia as a region, and also a frontier town such as Frederica. Savannah, however, is an innovation both as a type of city within such colonization and as a formal plan.

The principal illustration to the Georgia prospectus, engraved by John Pine, is revealing (fig. 22).¹⁹ The first observation is that this scheme for an urban region with a carefully planned agricultural hinterland is not a fantasy. It is, rather, remarkably close to the pattern of garden, farm, and plantation parcels set out in Georgia. An early map of the "County of Savannah" shows the graduated grids and the triangulated parceling of peripheral villages.²⁰ The McKinnon map of 1801 still shows the nearer division of farm lands with the larger parcels (originally trust parcels) at the center of gridded areas (fig. 23).



Fig. 22. John Pine. View of the prospective settlement from the Savannah prospectus (from B. Martyn, see fig. 19). Engraving, 1732 or 1733.



Fig. 23. Savannah, McKinnon's map of the city and its garden and farm lots, 1801.

Pine's graphic sources provide the foreground and even the conventional image of a small town as it appears in the Georgia engraving. Pine's sources are among the many indications of the breadth and imaginativeness of the references employed by the trustees and their associates.²¹ The sources for the agrarian plan, which is the main feature of the engraving deserve closer attention. As a type, the birds'-eye view of a region is familiar from the preceding centuries and continued to be much used, particularly to show the seats of nobility.²²

For our purposes, one of the most suggestive of such images, one that Percival once said, in another context, was familiar to everyone, is this view of Herrenhausen²³ (fig. 24). It was familiar because it showed the principal continental seat then still much frequented by George II, the monarch for whom the entire plantation of Georgia was named.

A land development that alluded to the king's favored seat may have been politic, but again the use of precedent is not slavish. Georgia too was a plantation, but a workaday plantation on the frontier. Land division was not for noble diversions but to assign productive parcels equitably. The later plan of the Savannah



Fig. 24. Herrenhausen, near Frankfurt, Germany. Engraving, ca. 1714.

district and other documents reveal the rationale behind the geometric patterns seen in the Pine engraving.

If gardens served as the analogy for the agrarian district of Savannah, what of the town plan of Savannah itself? Not at all uniquely, Percival spent much time visiting gardens, commenting on them in his journals and letters. His taste in environmental form, whether of cities or gardens, favored the orderly and repetitive. Percival admired the regularity he found in the plans of the cities of Dieppe²⁴ and Lille,²⁵ while his cousin Ned Southwell knew he would like to hear of Turin that "the Town is very beautifull, all the Streets uniform, bien peneis et sireis a cordeau. The Squares are noble, and the famous Rue de Po is all built upon Piazzas and of a vast length which terminates in a Palace at one End and a Gate of the Town at the other."²⁶ He admired the regular gardens, productive as well as pleasure gardens, often of wealthy merchants, on the flat lands of the Netherlands as at Syon and Honslaardyck. Yet these Dutch gardens could be too lacking in variety.²⁷ Percival's favorite garden was that of Marly with its

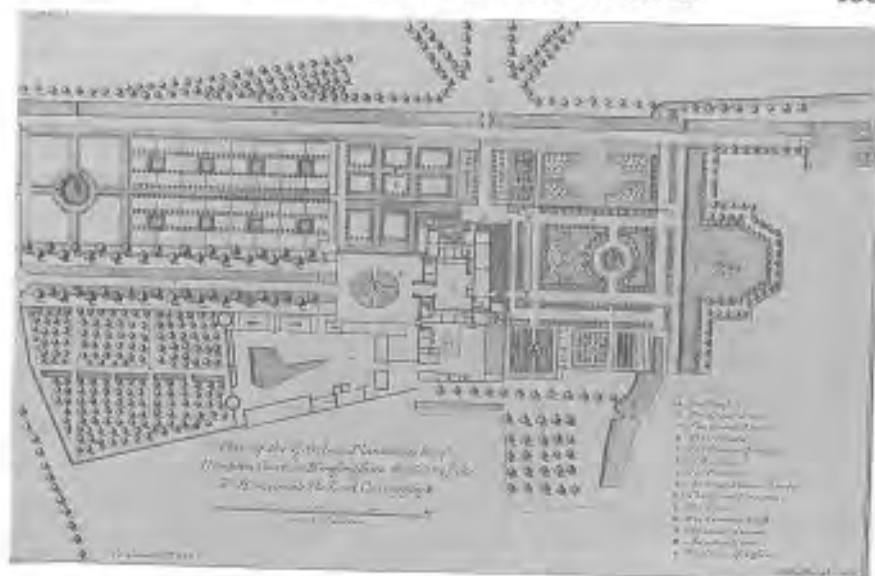


Fig. 25. Hampton Court, Herefordshire, 1725. The kitchen garden is the grid of eight squares at the upper left.

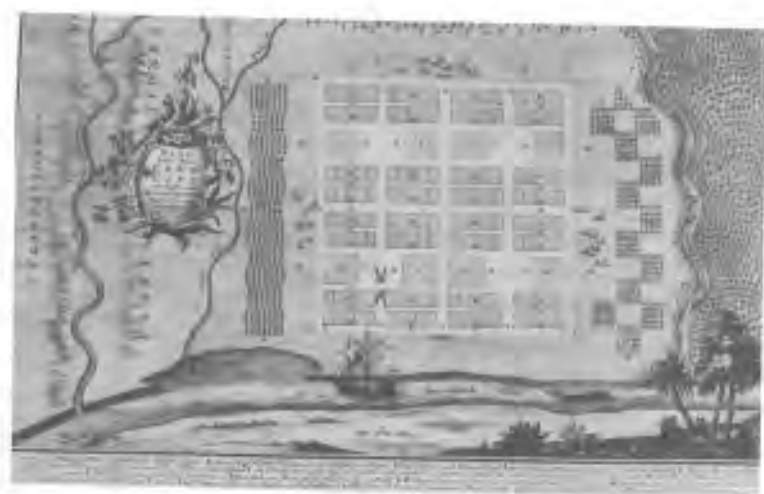


Fig. 26. Ebenezer, Georgia. Plan, published 1752.

dual ranks of square-planned pavilions. "If [the garden of] Versailles is great and surprising, Marly is regular and beautiful, & that I make no scruple to prefer the latter to the former or to any other garden in Europe."²⁸ Nonetheless, Percival also agreed with Sir William Temple's admiration of the difficult art of the relations

of order and disorder as between parts and wholes. Visiting Chantilly, Percival observed, "The Gardens are so large that the particular parts are regular yet taken together nothing is more irregular which I remember Sr William Temple mentions to be perfection of taste, and that of the Eastern Countrys."²⁹ At his country house of Charlton, which he did not own, Percival was proud to be investing in the garden.³⁰ His London library contained many books on gardening published in the first decades of the eighteenth century.³¹ Among these were books on the productive kitchen gardens, a practical aspect of gardening that he also noted when commenting on favorite gardens as at Sceaux.³² Kitchen gardens were typically composed of repeated square or near-square modules with ponds at their centers. In his *The Practical Fruit Gardener*, Stephen Switzer, one of the authors represented in Percival's library, illustrates a "Plan of a Kitchen or Fruit Garden that lies on a Flat for Watering."³³ This kitchen garden might well be seen as a domesticated Marly with an axial canal separating walkways that define slightly oblong garden modules that are connected by subsidiary walks that run axially to the central ponds with their water jets. Batty Langley's models for kitchen gardens are less formal, assemblies of units into larger square groupings with a central unit devoted to water.³⁴ But it is in one of the most well-known architectural books of the early eighteenth century, *Vitruvius Britannicus*,³⁵ that we find the image of a kitchen garden, at Hampton Court in Herefordshire (fig. 25), which is virtually like the plan of Savannah and topologically identical to the second Georgia town of Ebenezer (fig. 26). These plans, within an iconography of sober production, combine all Percival's desiderata of order and regularity, complexity of local configurations within the order of the wards, and the order of the wards within the indefinite extensibility of the whole.

Finally, do we know who designed Savannah, and when? The Pine engraving showing the agrarian district of Savannah has been thought to date from 1733 to early 1734, modern reckoning. On that information alone, it could have been conceived and printed just after the departure of Oglethorpe for Georgia. However, it had to have been printed before word could come back from the settlers. Indeed, the fact that the Pine engraving appears at the head of the engraved commissions for the collecting of funds for the Charitable Colony argues for a date in the latter half of 1732.³⁶ Combining these facts with the near identity of the image to the actual layout of the Savannah region, it is apparent that the district plan was established before departure. Given this and, in general, the thorough planning for the first departure, it

seems likely that the plan of the town of Savannah was also preconceived. Oglethorpe's laconic message to the anxious trustees, "I marked out the town,"³⁷ argues that what he set out was already known to them.

In his engraving, Pine identifies himself as an inventor as well as an engraver. While that makes him the "inventor" of that image, it need not imply that he invented the land division that he illustrated. I doubt that he did. It was the trustees, especially Oglethorpe and Percival, who were concerned with the social policy entailed in land division. It was they who had developed sensibilities about environmental plans.³⁸ It was they who labored so generously for Georgia. They were in full possession of the knowledge of those conventions that were so imaginatively re-employed in the Georgia plans. Evidence points to the design of the plan of Savannah by or under the instruction of Oglethorpe, and perhaps Percival, prior to the departure of the settlers.³⁹ A note from Oglethorpe to Percival well before his departure for America also supports, though not conclusively, the claim that the plan for Savannah had been prepared in London.⁴⁰

For the project of the colony of Georgia, the trustees had drawn on many sources. If, for the plan of Savannah, they referenced garden plans, this was not unique. Gardens were used analogically for the early eighteenth-century plan of Karlsruhe, for example, though in a radically different manner. While I believe I have succeeded in demonstrating that kitchen gardens are the formal analogy for the plan of Savannah, this is not the main point at all. Rather, the entire enterprise of the Georgia trustees, from their attention to academic studies of Roman civilization to their enthusiasm for noble gardens, represents a free and creative use of available conventions to address new or reformulated problems—free of dominating systems, whether from precedent or invention, while holding the immediate facts in perspective. Both their method and their product deserve more attention for their innovative development within a tradition than for their precedents. It is their innovations, inventions that were also discoveries, that made the plan of Savannah so compelling as a resource and thus enhanced the developmental history of Savannah.

Notes

1. The thesis of this paper and several related topics were presented in a special session titled "Savannah: The Plan of Savannah as a Resource" at the annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians in Savannah, April 1979. Participants were the author and the following then students of the

History, Theory, and Criticism Program of the Department of Architecture of MIT: Jonathan P. Mathews, Martha Pollak, Roy Strickland, K. Michael Hays, and Hong-Bin Kang. The papers are reported in *Abstracts of Papers Presented at the Thirty Second Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians* (April 1979), 16-24.

2. A convenient brief account of Savannah may be found in the chapter "Colonial Towns of Carolina and Georgia" in John Reps. *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965). There is an extensive literature on Savannah and Colonial Georgia. An excellent bibliography is to be found in Trevor R. Reese, *Colonial Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1963).

A recent discussion with similarities to this paper is Reps, "C²+L²=S²? Another Look at the Origins of Savannah's Town Plan," pp. 101-51 in Harvey H. Jackson and Phinizy Spalding, eds., *Forty Years of Diversity, Essays on Colonial Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984). Reps's thesis is that one would best look to actual urban schemes known to the Georgia trustees rather than arcane graphic plans as precedent for Savannah. The formulaic title of Reps's essay refers to his thesis that the plans of the central squares of the Irish colonial towns of Coleraine and Londonderry, if overlaid on one another, generate a plan similar to that of the central square of a Savannah ward. Nonetheless, Reps goes on to prefer an argument for a general conflation of London squares as the generator of the Savannah plan. Viewed differently, and more generally, one may see Reps's essay as arguing for the source of the Savannah plan in the general cultural situation of London rather than in specific sources. It is in this latter sense that there is a similarity of the present essay with that of Reps. In detail, we do not agree; I reject the Irish colonial and London precedents with arguments that would extend to the conflated plans that Reps generates.

3. In a related article I have discussed the settlement of Savannah: "The Plan of Savannah and Changes of Occupancy during Its Early Years: City Plan as Resource," *Harvard Architecture Review* 2 (Spring 1981): 60-67.

4. Turpin Bannister, "Oglethorpe's Sources for the Savannah Plan," *Society of Architectural Historians Journal* 20 (May 1961): 47-62.

5. Robert Barret, *The Theorie and Practicke of Modern Warres* (London: William Ponsonby, 1598).

6. Another encampment plan, given in a bird's-eye view similar to that of the Savannah image by John Pine is "The Encampment of the Tribes of Israel" from Johann David Koehler, *Descriptio Orbis Antiqui* (1720?). Each of the tribes occupies a square "ward" composed of nine "blocks," eight of which are occupied with tents of the people while the central square is the communal space of the tribe. These wards are widely deployed in a vast square plan within which is a wide, open space containing the temple at the center surrounded by troops and the tents of Moses and Aaron. The image is of a date and a type to have attracted the attention of the trustees, though I have no evidence they knew of it. In any case, this plan fails as a precedent for the same reasons as the Barret plan (except for the lack of a wall) and also for the characteristic of reinforcing hierarchies discussed with reference to the Newcourt plan. To my knowledge, this image has not been suggested as a precedent for the Savannah plan, and I am indebted to my colleague David Friedman for drawing my attention to it. His source was Gregor Martin Lechner OSB, "Villalpandos Tempelrekonstruktion in Beziehung zu barocker Klosterarchitektur," in the *Festschrift Wolfgang Braunfels* (Tübingen, 1977), 232. Lechner gives as his source another work by Köhler, *Schul- und Reisen-Atlas* (Nürnberg, 1719). In the copies of that work available

to me the engraving of the Israelites does not appear.

7. The Newcourt plans, being formally most similar to the plan of Savannah, are chosen for discussion. If, as I believe, the Newcourt plan cannot be a precedent for that of Savannah, then similar arguments will weigh even more heavily against the other fire plans. My argument leaves aside the further question of whether the Georgia trustees could have known the Newcourt plans, which were unpublished until their rediscovery in the 1930s; see T. F. Reddaway, "The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. A Rediscovered Plan," *Town Planning Review* (July 1939): 1550-161.

8. Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *London: The Unique City* ([1937] Cambridge: MIT Press, 1967), 198-9.

9. The first edition of the handsomely printed prospectus, [Benjamin Martyn, Secretary of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia], *Some Account of the Designs of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America* (title page and 1-4, London, 1792), had only a standard allegorical figure at its head. The British Library has a variant, say second, edition, which has no title page or date. In place of the title page is an engraved commission for the solicitation of funds for the charitable colony. Both the commission and the first page of the second edition of the prospectus bear an engraved view of the projected settlement (to be discussed next, and where it will be argued that this second edition may well date from late 1732 or early 1733 at the latest). The second edition also has the tailpiece discussed here. Both engravings are by John Pine (b. London, 1690; d. London, 1756), who was an important engraver in London during the time of the Georgia trusteeship.

10. The figures in Pine's engraving, though not the landscape, are taken directly from an image (vol. 2, opposite 183, no. 4) in François Catrou and Pierre Julian Rouillé, *The Roman History*, 6 vols. (London: J. Bettenham, 1728-37); vol. 2 was published in 1729; the work appeared originally as *Histoire romaine* [Paris: J. Rollin et al., 1725ff.]; the French artist was A. Huetlot who may have drawn upon the images of Jean-Foi Vaillant, *Numismata Aera Imper* [Paris, 1688], a work also cited as a source by Pine). In both the French and English engravings, the ceremony is given in a picturesque image, but the sources are authentic. Citing ancient authors, Catrou and Rouillé comment on the dispatch of the colonists, whom "Necessity and Want" forced to leave the established community. "The Conduct of this Troop was committed to one single Person, who was probably chosen out of those, to whom the Senate, or People, had given a Commission to put their Orders in Execution. We find some Footsteps of it on many Medals." The authors then describe six images related to the foundation of towns, derived from medals. Of the image chosen by Pine or the trustees, they say, "we see an Ox and Heifer in a Plough, together with military Ensigns, which is designed to shew, that the Colony consisted of such Persons as were partly chosen out of the People, and partly out of the Legionary Soldiers."

The work of Catrou and Rouillé itself contains much information about Roman colonies and their foundation. But this was not the only source for information about the policies and details of Roman colonization. We have numerous records of Percival's avid interest in antiquity. In July 1718, Percival wrote from Paris (BM Add. MS. 47028, ff.243-4) that he had visited Montfaucon "whose great work on antiquity will be published by Easter" (Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* [10 vols., Paris, 1719, 1724]; English edition [10 vols., London, 1721-25]). Percival visited Montfaucon again in September 1725 (BM Add. MS. 47031, ff.6ff.) and in March 1726 Montfaucon showed Percival the collections of antiquities at St. Germain-des-Prés (BM Add. MS. 47031, ff.126v ff.).

Percival collected ancient coins and medals. George Berkeley, a close friend of Percival, in July of 1720 informed Percival from Florence (BM Add. MS. 47089, ff.37v-38v) that he had a series of Roman medals in brass for him. In September 1724 (BM Add. MS 47080, ff.98-99v), Percival wrote his cousin Dale Dering mentioning his visit to Colchester, which he notes as a colony of the Romans where he found some medals, but the locals held them too dear. In April 1726 Ned Southwell wrote from Rome to Percival in Paris commenting on the scholarly value of the study of medals for what they could teach of ceremonies and other matters (BM Add. MS. 47081, ff.138v ff.). This was demonstrated in such works as Joseph Addison's "Dialogues upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals," published in *The Works of the Late Right Honorable Joseph Addison* (London: Jacob Tonson, 2,ed., 1730). The contemporary publication of the Dryden edition of Plutarch's *Lives* (London: J. Tonson, 1727), in the life of Romulus, would have been one source for an account of the Roman ceremony for the founding of a town.

By such routes, the trustees were led in the paths of both ancient writers and modern scholars of antiquity. It is not surprising, then, that in a report titled "A true Account of a new Colony about to be establish'd in America by several Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants" in *The Gentleman's Magazine; or, Monthly Intelligencer* of February 1731/2 (88), we read, "His majesty hath been graciously pleas'd to order the attorney general to prepare a charter to incorporate the petitioners, who intend to establish Colonies in the manner of the old Romans, viz. in liberty and property."

11. Benjamin Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain, the Increase of Our People and the Employment and Support it will afford to great Numbers of our Poor, as well as foreign persecuted Protestants. With some Account of the Country, and the Design of the Trustees* (London: W. Meadows, 1733).

12. Walter Moyle, Esq., *A Select Collection of Tracts* [by Moyle] (Dublin: T. Bensen, 1728). See also "The 'excellent use' of Colonies. A Note on Walter Moyle's Justification of Roman Colonies, ca. 1699," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 23 (October 1966), 620-26.

13. *Ibid.*, 67, 88.

14. *Ibid.*, 93.

15. Sir Francis Bacon, "An Essay on Plantations," *Select Tracts Relating to Colonies*, ed. Anon. (London: J. Roberts, [n.d. but 1732 or shortly before]). It is not inconceivable that this publication was formulated or at least instigated by the trustees. It is favorably cited in an anonymous work from the same publisher that advances the trustees' cause and is often attributed to Oglethorpe: *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia* (London: J. Worsall and J. Robert, 1732); reprinted in A. D. Caudler, ed., *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, vol. 1 (Atlanta, 1904), and *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. 1, 42-78. Evidence supporting the attribution of this work to Oglethorpe is that in the 12 November 1730 meeting of the trustees of Mr. D'Allone's Charity (a body that took on the advocacy of the Charitable Colony before it was formalized), it was "Agreed, that a Treatise be drawn up in Order to be printed, to encourage all charitable Persons to contribute toward a charitable Colony intended to be fixed in some one of the American Plantations Colonysing to the King of Great Britain, and that Mr. Oglethorpe do prepare the same." From the Minutes of the Trustees for Instructing of the Negroes in the Christian Religion, and Establishing a charitable Colony for the better Maintenance of the poor of this Kingdom, and other good Purposes; see 18 of the Minutes for the Trustees of Mr. D'Allone's Charity preserved in the archives of the USPG (formerly

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) in London.

16. Anon. [Oglethorpe]. *New and Accurate Account*, v-vi.

17. Percival, whose title and lands were Irish, was also particularly familiar with Londonderry through his close friendship with George Berkeley, dean of Derry from May 1724. In June 1724, Berkeley sent Percival a long and interesting description of the city (BM Addl. MS. 47030, ff. 68-69).

18. Reps, *Making of Urban America*, 192-95.

19. Martyn, *Some Account*.

20. Samuel Urlsperger, *Der ausführlichen Nachrichten von der Königlich-Gröss-Britannischen Colonie Soltzburgischer Emigranten in America* (3. Theil, Halle: Weysenhause, 1741), preceding 1, has a foldout engraved "Map of the County of Savannah" reflecting conditions, surely somewhat idealized, prior to 1738. The map is reproduced in Reps, *Making of Urban America*, 188.

21. The image of woodsmen and tree in the left foreground of Pine's engraving is a copy (reversed due to the engraving technique) of an image of American Indians (of Darien) cooperating in clearing ground and making a home for a newly married couple of their tribe, save for the transformation from loin cloths to European clothing. The original engraving is by Bernard Picart (b. Paris, 1673; d. Amsterdam, 1733; an engraver known to have influenced Pine), in *Cerémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolâtres* (Amsterdam: B. Picart, 1723), tom 1, 1^{re} partie; plate opposite 172. Still more fortunately, the Indians who assist the new Georgians with the felled logs in Pine's engraving have moved directly from their work of tilling the ground in Darien. The Indian dwelling in the center foreground of Pine's image is a slight transformation from the same Picart engraving. (An English edition of this work was in preparation in these years and appeared as *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World* [London: Claude du Bosc, 173ff.].) The engraving at issue here appeared in a section titled "Marriage and Funeral Rites" under "Religion of the Savages of Darien, Panama, New Granada and Cumana," within vol. 8, *Ceremonies of the Idolatrous Nations; America, Far East* [1734].

The carpenters at the right of the Georgia scene are seemingly those who had earlier worked on Noah's ark, as portrayed in an engraving, following 136 in Athanasius Kircher, *Arca Noë* (Amsterdam: Joannem Janssonium à Waesberghe, 1675). The ark of Kircher's artist is remarkably architectural—that is to say, unseaworthy—and may well be reflected in the Georgians' house. The gentleman, presumably Oglethorpe, holding a board while gesturing with his left hand as he directs the work is the reverse image of the right-handed Noah with his staff in Kircher's image.

The small fortified town that stands in for Savannah is a type of image available from many topographical sources. That we have here a typical image that for a European viewer meant "city" but that does not accord with the plan set down for Savannah is, at least, curious. It may well be that at the regional scale of the Pine engraving, the town plan and limited buildings of the projected Savannah simply could not carry the iconographic weight of "city" that was necessary for a propagandistic image with which the Trustees hoped to induce charity.

22. An engraving (ca. 1730) of the country seat of the Bavarian crown, Nymphenburg, near Munich, provides at least an example of the genre of topographical view that Pine adopted. In the Nymphenburg engraving, as in that of Pine, the foreground establishes the high terrain of the viewer and is similarly peopled with workers while the distant quincunxial layout of the park diffuses into the distant landscape. The engraving bears the title "Haupt Prospekt dess Welt berühmten Churfürstl. Bayrischen Lust-Schlusses Nymphenburg. . ." It is by Jakob Wagner after a drawing by Johann Claudius Sarron, catalog no. 715 in

Munich, Stadtmuseum, *München im Bild* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1968). The entire engraving of Savannah by Pine relies, of course, on the assembly of the subsidiary images within the established convention of such topographical views. Elevated foregrounds and distant mountains were standard graphic devices, which bore no relation to what the settlers would find along the Savannah.

The quincunx could be advocated rationally as a system of "tight packing" in the planting of trees or military deployment. But both as an individual unit and as a network, it could take on many attributes. See Sir Thomas Browne, *The Garden of Cyrus; or the Quincunxial Lorenge, or Net-work Plantations of the Ancients*. . . (London: Hen. Broome, 1658).

23. According to Udo von Alvensleben and Hans Reuther, *Herrnhäuser, Die Sommerresidenz der Welfen* (Hannover: Heim. Festsche, 1966), this engraving is by an unknown artist, but to be dated ca. 1714.

24. While on a continental trip, Percival praised the rebuilding of Dieppe, burned by the English in 1694, "after a Regular manner" (BM Add. MS. 47030, f.150).

25. Percival to Dering from Ghent 22 May 1726: "We past three nights in Lisle the Capital of French Flanders and one of the Beautifullest Citys I ever saw. The streets are for the most part broad, very long, and strait as an Arrow Cutting on the other at right Angles" (BM Add. MS. 47031, f.176v).

26. Southwell letter of 2 November 1725 (BM Add. MS. 47031, f.21).

27. Percival's journal, 1718 (BM Add. MS. 47057, f.65r,v).

28. *Ibid.*, ff. 142-43v.

29. Percival from Lille to Dering, 19 May 1742 [sic; but this letter is in historical and chronological order in the letter book for 1726], (BM Add. MS. 47031, f.174). Percival actually reverses the relations of disordered part and ordered whole instanced by Sir William Temple. Though Temple recommends that "the best figure of a garden is either a square or an oblong," he observes that from what he had heard from those who have lived among the Chinese, irregular forms may be more beautiful. Their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts that shall be commonly or easily observed." Temple advises not to attempt this difficult order. "20 to 1 it fails," *Sir William Temple upon the Gardens of Epicurus* [1685], A. F. Sieveking, ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908).

30. Percival from Charlton to Berkeley, 9 November 1721, (BM Add. MS. 47029, f.80).

31. "Catalogue of the Library of the late Rt. Hon. the Earl of Egmont at the House in Pall Mall. 1771" (BM Add. MS 47211, f.34). The title refers to the second earl, but the first earl built the house in Pall Mall and it is clear that much of the library is owing to him as well.

32. Percival from Paris to Dering, 11 May 1726 (BM Add. MS. 47031, f.170v). In his visits to Versailles, Percival may well have taken an interest in the famous *Jardin du Potager* of the king.

33. Stephen Switzer, *The Practical Fruit Gardener* (London: Tho. Woodward, 1724), opposite 307.

34. Batty Langley, *New Principles of Gardening* (London: A. Bettesworth and J. Bailey, 1728); esp. part 7, "Of the Kitchen Garden."

35. Percival, when writing to his cousin Dering (BM Add. MS. 47030, f.83v) about his travels in England, used this work. Colen Campbell, *Vernaculus Britannicus*, 3 vols. (London, 1717-25), an an obvious reference work for his cousin. The Hampton Court (and note this is not the famous Hampton Court in Surrey, near London) plan references here is from vol 3, 75.

36. Such an engraved commission with the Pine engraving at its head (on its own plate but all on one piece of paper) exists in the British Library. While it bears no date, the acceptance of the form of the commission and the authorization for its engraving was given by the trustees of Mr. D'Allone's Charity on 8 June 1732. See 51 of the Minutes for the D'Allone Trustees, USPG Archives, London. The Pine engraving also appears in the second edition of [Benjamin Martyn], *Some Account . . .* (the British Library copy of this edition is undated but appears together with this commission and suggests a date of late 1732 or early 1733 at the latest). The engraving also appears in both editions of Benjamin Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia . . .* The trustees' authorization of these two editions were made on 7 March 1732-33 and 25 April 1732-33; the March edition is prior to, the April edition just after, the first word that came back from Savannah (*The Journal of the Earl of Egmont, Abstract of the Trustees Proceedings for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1738*, Robert G. McPherson, ed., Wormsloe Foundation Publication No. 5 [Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962]).

37. Oglethorpe wrote to the trustees from Savannah on 10 February 1733: "The whole people arrived here on the first of February . . . Till the seventh we were taken up in unloading . . . [then] set some to the Fortification, and began to fell the Woods, I marked out the Town and Common; Half of the former is already cleared, and the first House was begun Yesterday in the Afternoon." This was read by the Trustees on 18 April 1733. Oglethorpe's letter is published as an addendum to Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia*.

38. I have said little about Oglethorpe's knowledge and commitments in such matters as cities and gardens, for the information on Percival is so much more extensive. However, it can be noted that, as a young man Oglethorpe served under Prince Eugen of Savoy. His mother and sisters resided in Paris. He used his continental travels also as an opportunity to collect books. His name does appear among the patronizing subscribers of major architectural publications in London. He too had a country seat. In brief, he was part of the social and intellectual community we have seen through Percival. The faithful use, by Oglethorpe, of the Savannah plan at Savannah and Ebenezer and its reflection in Fredrica, when he had authority and distance to permit liberties, shows his commitment to the plan.

39. Benjamin Martyn, too, may have been an agent in the Savannah plan as he surely was in the Georgia project as a whole. This claim is advanced by Reys, "Origins," 117, 120, on the basis of the Martyn manuscript "Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for Establishing Colonys in America" (Tampa: Tampa Public Library). The manuscript "Some Account of the Designs of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America" (BM Sloane 3986, ff.38-39v) neither supports nor undermines this claim.

40. A letter of 14 December 1730 from Percival in Bath to Oglethorpe in London (BM Add. MS. 47032, f.248) makes it clear that the latter was the moving force in conceiving a Charitable Colony in America, the authorization of which Oglethorpe was just then negotiating through the Privy Council, the Board of Trade and Plantations, other government bodies, and Parliament. Two weeks later Percival extols the project in a letter to William Byrd of Virginia (BM Add. MS. 47032, f.248), specifying a site on the "River Savana" and noting that "Mr. Oglethorpe, a young gentleman of very publick Spirit, Chairman of our late Committee of Goals [sic Jails], gave the first hint of this project last year, and has very diligently pursued it."

Available records give much information on the efforts of Oglethorpe and others. I reference here a note sent by Oglethorpe on 29 June 1730 (BM Add.

MS 47032, f.203), which informs Percival of a pending meeting of the Associates of Dr. Bray (the group presided over by Oglethorpe, advocating the Charitable Colony, and the members of which formed the core of the eventual trustees) and also requests of Percival. "Please return Plans as the Speaker hath desired to see them this morning." Admittedly, the term *plans*, even in the plural and accompanied by the verb "to see," does not conclusively point to graphic plans; but in these documents, the colonial program as a whole is usually referred to as "the project" and the word *plan* particularly appears in architectural and urban contexts.

The policy of the Georgia trustees was to limit the colonist's landholdings to fifty acres and to divide this in town, garden, and farm lots (see the entry in Percival's journal, *The Journal of the Earl of Egmont*, for 1 November 1732, where he transcribes the trustee's resolution "to establish a Civil Government in Georgia, and a Town on the River Savannah to be called by that name," which stipulates "Grants to persons going over, not exceeding 50 acres besides their houses and garden." It is true that the trustees (Georgia, Trustees Entry Book (1732-40-1), Public Record Office, Kew, C.O.5/670, f.31 [13], 1 November 1732) were careful to empower Oglethorpe legally to "set out and limit dividè and bound Five Thousand Acres of Land . . . in such manner and in such part or Parts of the s^d Province as He shall judge most Proper and convenient for the settling and Establishing a Colony there." Nevertheless, it does seem improbable that Oglethorpe would have been dispatched to implement the Trustee's specific and complicated land tenure policy without a plan. That the actual land divisions of Savannah and its hinterland took no cognizance of topographical irregularities further supports the claim that Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia with a complete physical plan—most probably of his own conception.