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THE SIGNIFICATION OF GEORGIA'S EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GREAT SEALS

Georgia experienced rapid political transformation over the course of the eighteenth century, changing in the space of a few decades from a British proprietary colony to a Crown colony, and then to an independent republic that federated into a new union. The creation of a new great seal for Georgia accompanied each step, because as the ultimate symbol of sovereignty, the seal was a vital tool that conferred legitimacy upon ruling authorities and lent authenticity to their actions. Max Cleland, as Georgia Secretary of State in 1986, described the seal as having “wide value as a symbol,” noting that its power “has been impressed on our entire history.” Georgia’s eighteenth-century seals have indeed had a distinguished legacy. At its founding in 1839, the Georgia Historical Society modeled its seal and logo on the colonial Trustees’ seal of 1733, and since 1998 this image has adorned a growing number of historical marker sites across the state. Georgia’s current state seal remains true to the design of the last seal that was created in the eighteenth century (1799), with only minor alteration. Its three-pillared republican arch also features on the Georgia flag, having proved resilient in the face of almost all of the flag’s past incarnations. These seals were more than just a part of the paraphernalia of eighteenth-century governance, for they were also instruments of cultural hegemony. The act of creating the colonial seals (in 1732, 1733, 1754 and 1767) lay at the heart of the European projection of dominion over the New World. In turn, the act of creating a great seal for the independent state (in 1777 and definitively in 1799) was a chance to explain revolution and to express post-colonial identity. The seals gave material credence to invocations of power, and provided unique opportunities literally to stamp symbolic ideals onto real life. They contained grandiose cultural messages,

all the more concentrated because they were compressed into a circular space of just four inches or so in diameter.¹

This article examines and historicizes Georgia's eighteenth-century seals in turn, charting the changing ways in which self-conscious and inventive ruling authorities sought to depict regional identity. What cultural influences did they seek to evoke, and how and why did they do so? What objectives did they project in their selection of language, symbols, landscapes, and figures? There is no doubt that the powers that the seals represented took considerable care in designing and approving their content, given how highly recognizable these symbols of authority soon became, and their durability and value (being generally made of silver). Yet besides an important piece of archival detective work tracking the formal commissioning of the Georgia seals, they have attracted only cursory attention among scholars, and for this reason they warrant further contextualization as cultural artifacts.² A closer scrutiny reveals that the Georgia seals carried not only sovereign authority but also a series of further influences and associations. Put together, the seals made greater reference to classical antiquity than has been acknowledged to date, both in terms of textual quotation and iconography. They drew heavily on allusion, particularly allusions associated with gender and race, and they shared in common a core veneration of agriculture and commerce. The Georgia seals differed markedly in other respects, for though idealized, they reflected the particular contexts, whims, and goals associated with their various designers. By the end of the century, the numismatic fantasy would morph from an imperial Eden to the Manifest Destiny of the common white man.

Georgia is unusual in having decent images of many of its seals, for relatively few impressions of official seals from across British America or the early U.S. survive into the twenty-first century. The reasons are not hard to fathom: the images (usually engraved on dies or matrixes cast in silver) were pressed into red wax that soon became crumbly, and then

loosely attached (often by ribbon) to formal documents, making them particularly vulnerable to degradation, disintegration, and detachment or loss. The seals carried the sovereign authority of the polity, as legally prescribed either in the terms of colonial charters (which provided for “common seals” issued to proprietors), the instructions of royal governors (who were issued with a “Deputed Great Seal” by the Crown), or according to republican constitutions created during the American Revolution. Their main function was to authenticate documents, much as we might use signatures or chip-and-pin codes today. Authorities affixed these great seals to all manner of documents, including writs of elections, land grants, proclamations, letters patent, charters, laws, commissions, and so forth. By the time of Georgia’s founding, especially as more American colonies fell under direct Crown jurisdiction, the use and commissioning of colonial seals became increasingly standardized. The Board of Trade, in conjunction with the Privy Council, designed or reissued the growing number of circular Deputed Great Seals, organizing for the metalwork to be carried out by well-remunerated royal engravers. All of Georgia’s eighteenth-century great seals bore two images, an obverse (front) and a reverse, which were occasionally used for different purposes. The seals therefore had space for many customized images and mottos, apart from the stock use of the reigning monarch’s coat-of-arms on one side between 1754 and 1776. As this article will show, designers used the space with relish and nuance.³

The Trustees’ first common seal for Georgia had the luxury of two creative sides, but although considerable thought went into its content, it was evidently not initially a luxurious production. When James Oglethorpe put before the board “Proposals from several Persons for making a Common Seal” in June of 1732 and named the respective quotes put to him by “one [person who] ask’d an hundred Pounds, another sixty, another thirty, and another eight” the minutes report succinctly that “Mr Oglethorpe was desir’d to agree for that of eight”: the

Trustees were clearly conscious not only of their duty but also their limited financial resources.⁴ Considering that the approximate cost of the silver required to make two matrixes (thirty or so ounces) was £8 sterling, it is plausible that this winning offer was from an engraver charging only for materials, and prepared to make their labor a charitable contribution, though equally the engraver may have used other cheaper metals such as brass or lead.⁵ The original seal was circular, around four inches in diameter, and first used on a number of deeds and commissions in the latter part of 1732 as the Trustees engaged in a flurry of organizational activity. They affixed the “Seal of the Corporation,” for instance, to each of the commissions for agents approved to collect money around Britain for the Georgia project.⁶

The Trustees’ charter, granted a few weeks before these engravers gave their quotes to Oglethorpe, specified “that it shall and may be lawful for them and their successors, to change, break, alter and make new the said seal, from time to time, and at their pleasure, as they shall think best.”⁷ The Trustees took advantage of this within a year when they decided to modify their seal, reflecting in part their more secure financial circumstances and in part concerns about attempted acts of fraud by people claiming commissions. The Trustees ordered the breaking of the original simple seal on August 1, 1733. From this point a more refined version, with sharper engraving and a more detailed design, then lasted through the duration of the Trusteeship. The first use of this new seal was to affix it to a letter confirming receipt of Parliament’s unprecedented grant of ten thousand pounds, and it was thereafter kept in a special box to which only senior Trustees held keys.⁸

The obverse of the seal, bearing a classical characterization of the province, was used for attesting legislative acts, deeds, and commissions. The reverse, with its simpler silkworm-specific picture, was used to attest orders, certificates, and grants.⁹ Both images consequently enjoyed a high profile in the everyday business of the colony – indeed, the Trustees’ seal

became even more visible to Georgia colonists and their agents from July 1735 when the Trustees began issuing “sola bills” to control their expenditure. Colonial officials had to endorse these bills of exchange (totaling somewhere between £32,000 and £48,000 sterling) upon arrival in Georgia. They imprinted the bills with the seal’s image, after which the paper could circulate as a medium of exchange in Georgia (ultimately to be presented for payment in England). Concurrently with their circulation of sola bills, the Trustees issued warnings that they would no longer be held responsible for exchanges drawn on them unless “under the Seal”.¹⁰

[INSERT FIGURE 1]

The obverse of the seal presented an image steeped in the classical iconography so popular to the visual arts of eighteenth-century Europe, whose symbolism would have been easily recognizable to contemporaries. Oglethorpe in particular was an avid admirer of Greek and Roman colonization projects, worthy of “the first Honours of the ancient World,” and threw out voluminous classical references in his various writings, overwhelmingly derived from books that he held in his own library.¹¹ In the foreground are two bearded men, clothed only in loose flowing robes that cover their thighs and groins, leaning rather awkwardly upon two amphorae or urns, which spill water towards the viewer at cross angles. These figures are river-gods, who respectively describe, as the terms of the Georgia charter stipulated, sovereignty over those lands “in America which lies from the most Northern Stream of a River there comonly called the Savannah all along the Sea Coast to the Southward unto the most Southern Stream of a certain other great water or River called the Alatomaha.” Flowing urns were occasionally deployed to symbolize the irrigation of the earth by the Gospels, but several other indicators affirm that these figures hark back to Hellenistic river-gods that had been commonly depicted on Roman coinage and had subsequently developed into an extremely familiar component of post-Renaissance iconography. Typically river-gods were

drawn as muscular middle-aged or elderly men, reclinant, with loose hair, long beards, and flowing gowns, and besides pouring urns they often held reeds, wooden paddles, or cornucopias.¹² Hanoverian imperialists and their celebrants often looked to rivers, and most notably the Thames (pictured, for example, beneath several monarchs' horses on the Great Seal of the realm), as symbols of winding progress, commerce, and social concordance. The Savannah and Altamaha Rivers were fitting choices on account of their size and scale, besides also marking the colony's boundaries.¹³

A distinctive feature of the Trustees' revised seal was its unusual equipping of these river-gods with spades, which seem rather awkward in their placement – almost appearing as an artistic afterthought that the river-gods are unaware of. The spades symbolized agriculture and “improvement”, and the intention was to suggest the physical harnessing of the land between the rivers by enlightened humankind. Spades were also commonly associated with the biblical Adam, post-expulsion, linking Georgia to an Edenic origin and to the possibility of starting the world anew.¹⁴ The spades were, in effect, a short-hand for the kind of transformation that propagandists eagerly anticipated in Georgia, promising an environmental overhaul: “the Timber being felled the Ground it grew on would become arable, the Swamps being drained would become Meadow and by the clearing of the Woods the noxious Animals would retire or be destroyed. Villages and Farms might be established.”¹⁵

Besides their symbolic meaning, one of the structural functions of the spades here is also to act to frame the central figure in the image, directing the viewer upwards at an incline that describes the topography of the region as one moves westwards away from the seaboard and riverine estuaries. This female figure rests, part-seated, upon a great horn overflowing with flowers and fruits.¹⁶ The horn of plenty, or cornucopia, was intrinsically linked to fluvial mythology. According to the Greek primordial fable, when Heracles defeated Acheloüs, the deity of the largest river in Greece (who fittingly drowned himself), the river-god left behind

his severed bull's horn, which began to bear fabulous fruit.¹⁷ Since antiquity, artists had used cornucopias to symbolize the bounty of the land, and they were therefore logical emblems for colonial projectors which frequently featured in numismatic representations of America. As far as British colonies went, for example, two intertwined cornucopias figured centrally in the Lords Proprietors' seal for Carolina, and others adorned the seals of the Company of Scotland, and were prominent in the earliest American townscapes such as those engraved by William Burgis for New York and Boston in the 1720s.¹⁸

The character depicted is a relaxed but vigilant female, representing Georgia, clothed in a figure-hugging classical gown with only her arms bared. Most commentators have followed Thomas Salmon in the 1738 volume of his *Modern History or the Present State of All Nations*, in which he posited that she carries in her right hand a spear. For instance, in 1904, Georgia "boys and girls" were informed that "the spear signifies the power of the colony to overcome its foes." Such an interpretation would seem to find support in the fact that she is looking in the direction of St. Augustine, Florida, whence Georgia settlers rightly anticipated Spanish incursions against the southern frontier of British America.¹⁹ But although the figure did carry a spear in the original, short-lived Trustees' seal that Salmon probably described, this was no longer true of her better-known successor. Since no point is visible on the rounded-off shaft, the most likely interpretation of the figure is that she represents the Graeco-Roman goddess Demeter/Ceres. Ceres, goddess of agriculture (from whose name comes "cereal"), was routinely depicted with a cornucopia, and was a more matronly figure than some of her counterparts (such as Minerva or Venus), commonly bearing a soft expression and being fully attired and rather desexualized, as in the Trustees' seal. Artists also frequently showed her carrying a simple wooden staff, as in the statues of her at the Vatican museums. It was thus by no means illogical that the new Georgia figure carried a staff, again underlining her rustic credentials as the goddess who taught humankind

the agricultural arts and oversaw their harvests; other common items Ceres held were torches, plough shafts, and ears of wheat, but never spears.²⁰

As with the river-gods, the seal's central allegorical figure also carries some distinctive hybrid allusions, for Ceres was typically portrayed wearing a wreath or garland as headwear. Yet this figure wears prominently the signifier of Roman, English (later British), and ultimately American freedom: the "liberty cap," which seems in this case (as in many others) to be a conflation of the *pileus* (worn by Roman emancipated slaves) and the "Phrygian cap".²¹ This libertarian ornament, even before it was further empowered in the years preceding the American Revolution, denoted freedom from tyranny. It arrived in the colonies by a circuitous cultural route described by J. David Harden as "reclaimed from antiquity by a learned tradition which began in Italy and the Low Countries, then migrated first to England and then to Colonial America," later returning to Europe to figure prominently in the French Revolution.²² The designer of the Georgia seal presumably intended the liberty cap worn by the Ceres-like figure to associate the Trusteeship colony with the pursuit of "English" liberties. These had been acclaimed especially proudly since the Glorious Revolution of 1689, and by the early eighteenth century drew within their orbit a host of interlinked meanings derived from (among others) "classical republican" political ideology, the natural rights of Lockean liberalism, and the particularities of English jurisprudence with its revered "common law".

Like the extraneous spades, the cap, then, adorned a figure of antiquity with particularly modern British credentials, in this case promising to transplant to Georgia what jurist Sir William Blackstone described as the "idea and practice of...political and civil liberty [which] flourish in their highest vigour" in Britain, being "deeply implanted in our constitution, and rooted in our very soil."²³ The Trustees doubtless sought to reference their own virtue and "Spirit of disinterestedness" as Georgia's rulers, qualities which were

recognized as important to the upholding of liberty, and celebrated in some of the published sermons preached in support of the project. Several of their initial colonial policies also obviously coalesced around this nationalistic tradition.²⁴ These included their patronage of persecuted Protestants in continental Europe, their broad religious toleration, their limiting of property ownership to ensure a yeoman majority (thereby guaranteeing access to land), and not least their prohibition of slavery. Ironically, within a few years, the Trustees' strictures and regulations themselves would soon come under attack. Discontented settlers viewed their own liberties as being unfairly constrained, however well-intentioned the Trustees' motives. The Malcontents ended one blistering published critique by lamenting that contrary to her seal, Georgia's "Improvements [were] a By-Word, and her Liberties a Jest."²⁵

A short phrase, *COLONIA GEORGIA AUG.*, wrapped around the perimeter of the obverse, and is problematic to interpret; it may well have deliberately signaled two meanings simultaneously. The abbreviated root "Aug." pointed logically to the king's second forename, Augustus, which would have been feminized because applied to a territory, and hence may have simply been a title, "The Colony of Georgia Augusta." However, this interpretation is weakened by the fact that the formal charter made no reference to the extra name, and an alternative plausible rendering is *colonia Georgia augeat* (or *augescat*) – meaning "May the Georgia colony flourish." This second meaning fits more closely with the graphic content, again calling upon Ceres's particular patronage of both agricultural abundance and demographic fertility. The possibility of an intentional double meaning is strengthened by the fact that there was eminently space to complete the term in the revised seal, had it been desirable to so clarify it, and that Ceres herself was frequently given the epithet Ceres Augusta, especially on Roman imperial coins.²⁶

Though impossible to state categorically, it is probable that the prominent tree and rising foliage positioned in the top-right quadrant was intended to depict mulberry, selected

symbolically ahead of the more common longleaf pines, red cedars, and oaks that colonists encountered in reality.²⁷ The base of the tree's trunk almost touches the tip of the cornucopia, visually connecting the two features, plotting a downhill route from silk culture to colonial wealth, and linking the obverse with the reverse of the Trustees' seal. On the reverse was a simpler design, displaying a symbolic mulberry leaf, upon which lay both a silkworm and a silk cocoon, though not quite to scale. The leaf was pointing upwards, resembling the ace of spades, and the worm climbing, so positioned to indicate the ascendant hopes of establishing silk cultivation as a mainstay of the province's economy. Pictures of target commodities were also common to other seals, for instance the fish and pine for New Hampshire, tobacco for Virginia, or vineyards for West Florida.²⁸ The Trustees' selection of the silkworm also matched well with their conception of their altruistic sacrifice of time, connections, and resources in setting up the colony, which they did for no financial profit. The silkworm itself spends its short existence working frantically to build a cocoon wrought of prized silk, and then gives up its life (albeit involuntarily) whereupon others benefit from the fruits of its industry.

This selflessness and noble intent was most famously encapsulated in the motto on the reverse, *NON SIBI SED ALIIS* (meaning "not for oneself, but for others"). It is possible that the Trustees or their designer created this phrase, but an alternative explanation which is more plausible, is that they appropriated it from an earlier source that would have been familiar to elite devout Englishmen of their era, steeped in an education that included formal rhetoric. An almost identical phrase figures in the very last line of St. Augustine of Hippo's *De Doctrina Christiana* (397-426 CE), a pioneering theological text in which Augustine sought to demonstrate how to establish, propagate, and defend scriptural truths using the sophistication of the classical inheritance. Scholars view this work as important both to Christian homiletics (as the first effort to adapt the "pagan" art of rhetoric to Christian

purposes) and to the history of philosophy (by legitimizing a partial adoption of arts and sciences that accommodated intellectual sophistication within early Christianity): “Augustine was able to overcome the wholesale rejection of pagan learning by uncoupling rhetoric from the pagan values Christian leaders found offensive.”²⁹ The fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana*, which alone took around thirty years to complete, became a “landmark text in the history of rhetoric that set the agenda for Christian education until the end of the seventeenth century.”³⁰ Augustine closed this final book of the mammoth multi-volume work with a statement hoping that he had depicted the sort of man “who desires to labor in sound, that is, in Christian doctrine, not for his own instruction only, but for that of others also” – *non solum sibi, sed aliis etiam*.³¹ The contraction of this phrase into *non sibi sed aliis* served to render it into an even less self-interested and more virtuous statement, placing the service of wider humanity as a primary rather than secondary goal, as the fuller phrase implied (“not for oneself alone, but also for others”).

By invoking Augustine of Hippo, the Trustees linked Georgia’s seal to another of their core objectives: the spreading of Christianity. Their first promotional pamphlet promised that “Christianity will be extended by the Execution of this Design...[which] will contribute greatly towards the Conversion of the *Indians*.”³² The Trustees, after all, had grown out of an earlier organization, the Associates of Dr. Thomas Bray, who formed in 1723 with the intention of ameliorating the spiritual and temporal condition of the “heathen” populations of British America (i.e. both slaves and Indians), in conjunction with other recently-established Anglican societies such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (1699) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1701).³³ Augustine, more than any other figure in the Christian intellectual world, epitomized the possibilities of salvation through conversion. He himself had famously converted aged thirty two from a glittering earlier life of sin that he had explicated in his autobiographical *Confessions* (398

BCE). Moreover, Augustine emphasized not escapist contemplation but a commitment to activism attached to “goodness of purpose and character” in this world, which chimed well with the Trustees’ intentions and outlook.³⁴ His theology was deeply philanthropic, for “love of and service to humanity were for Augustine inseparable from the love of God, and to promote them he recommends the study of such arts as agriculture and navigation.”³⁵ The Trustees’ motto on the seal’s reverse therefore connected the colonial project to the wider mission of bringing not just prosperity but also salvation to the new lands that were graphically described overleaf.

All in all, the seal expressed a profound sense of self-confidence in the imperial project, and displayed a particular understanding of the relationship between nature and its bounty and the role of the enlightened settler in directing and unleashing it. Invoking and adapting powerful symbols of classical mythology and pertinent Christian tenets, the Trustees’ seal was a providential statement about the anticipated transformative power of western “civilization” to harness American nature, through instruction and improvement. The seal was perfectly in step with what Benjamin Martyn, for one, promised to prospective Georgia settlers and supporters in his promotional tract: “the whole Face of the Country chang’d by Agriculture, and Plenty in every Part of it.”³⁶ Significantly, in contrast to most depictions of the New World, there were no native peoples, animals, plants, or settlements in either of the frames. This absence firstly underscored that the Georgia project was an even more acutely metropolitan conception and projection than its contemporaries. Secondly, it played a legitimating role by emphasizing that the Georgia plan was to bring abundance and liberty to *res nullius*, i.e. land that was unsettled and uncivilized, and therefore ripe for occupation according to Roman law.

The Trustees last used their seal by affixing it to their deed of surrender, marking the formal closure of the Trusteeship on April 23, 1752, after which the matrixes were defaced.³⁷

Over the next two years, the imperial machinery ground into action to fashion a new seal to accompany direct royal rule, though this seal effectively only had one creative side (having to sacrifice the obverse to monarchical heraldry). A close inspection of the image on the reverse of Georgia's new seal also reveals some noteworthy parallels and adaptations of earlier influences, this time in the very different symbolic context of the iconography mobilized on Deputed Great Seals. The Georgia design, paradoxically, was both highly derivative and highly innovative.

According to the minutes of the Privy Council then meeting at Kensington Court, on June 21, 1754, King George II approved a draught which had been drawn up by the Board of Trade, in which “a figure, representing the Genius of the Colony, is described, offering a skein of silk to his Majesty.”³⁸ The king “was pleased to approve of the same draught, and to order that his Majesty's Chief Engraver of Seals do forthwith engrave one Silver Seal” which he subsequently also approved on August 6. The Board of Trade ordered the engraver, John Pine, to make the Georgia seal “of the same size with those sent to his Majesty's Provinces of South and North Carolina.”³⁹ After its creation, the seal departed with the first royal governor, John Reynolds, and was ceremonially passed on to his successors – investing them with the full powers of government in the council-chamber in Savannah with great fanfare, until its successor was smuggled out of the province, with much less fanfare, by the fleeing Governor James Wright in the spring of 1776.⁴⁰

[INSERT FIGURE 2]

The Georgia image bore a considerable likeness in its framing and layout to preceding Deputed Great Seal engravings for other southern mainland Crown colonies, such as Queen Anne's seal for Virginia in 1714. This involved a monarch, usually standing, bedecked in formal coronation regalia, positioned on the left of the seal, receiving homage from a

submissive figure (representing the colonial region in question) positioned on the right of the seal, usually kneeling, and often dutifully offering up American produce as a token of obeisance. A diagonal incline from top left to bottom right structured the scene. This described not only the relative positions of the figures, thereby subtly reinforcing the status contrast between aloof monarch and cowed subject, but was also mirrored in the landscapes and skies behind them. The template, which seems to have originated in William and Mary's 1690 seal for New York, allowed a degree of latitude for the inclusion of distinctive graphical features, which designers and engravers applied with relish.

The figure personifying Georgia is identifiable as a Native American figure on account of the feathered headdress she is wearing, an established hallmark of the iconography of indigenous American peoples in metropolitan representations.⁴¹ It thus broke markedly with the Trustees' purely classical figures, and marked the merging of two earlier traditions on seals: firstly, the type of the kneeling Indian offering produce, and secondly, the depiction of feathered, semi-naked native females. Examples of kneeling Indians predated Queen Anne's Virginia seal, in which a grave male with long hair and a crown of long feathers holds forth a bunch of tobacco leaves. Between 1686 and 1689, the unpopular Governor Edmund Andros used an elaborate seal for the short-lived "Dominion of New England." According to its formal description this showed James II in full panoply beneath a regal canopy, "the right hand being extended towards an Englishman and an Indian, both kneeling; the one presenting the fruits of the country, and the other a scroll."⁴² Earlier seals had sporadically shown partially-clothed and female Indian figures, perhaps first in the Taino Indians depicted on the Jamaica seal of February 1662. Its designer, William Sancroft (a future Archbishop of Canterbury), employed a number of explicitly American visual references – including pineapples, crocodiles, and "On the dexter [right] side a [bare-breasted] West Indian Native Woman [with a single-feather headdress] holding in the exterior hand a Basket of Fruits."

Much like the Jamaica seal, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina opted in 1663 for their “supporters” to consist of Indian figures of each sex, the feathered dexter female this time wearing a smock, carrying an infant and supporting another young child. In both these Restoration seals, the inclusion of native female figures fitted with the wording of the mottos: in Jamaica’s case “Both Indies shall serve one” (*indus uterque serviet uni*) and in Carolina’s case “Tamed by the husbandmen of the world” (*domitus cultoribus orbis*), accompanied by spiraling cornucopias.⁴³

The Georgia seal, then, within the sigillographic structural template that had become established for the Deputed Great Seals of the eighteenth-century South, combined the tropes of the economically submissive Indian, and the semi-naked American female. The result was an expression of colonial ambition framed in heavily sexualized terms. If a 1672 printer’s woodcut of the Massachusetts Bay seal was, as Cathy Rex has argued, “rife with sexual innuendo”, then surely a heavier claim can be filed for the thinly-disguised sexual suggestivity on the royal Georgia seal. The Georgia figure is more than simply “offering” the skein of silk to George II, and unlike the Virginia male Indian of 1714, who grasps his tobacco closely and somewhat sullenly, she reaches out to attach it tenderly to the belt centered on the king’s groin. Although his figure is rather stiff and upright, the erectness emphasized by the angles of the scepter and the sheathed hilt of his sword (symbolizing his martial capability even in a time of peace), his arm nonetheless reaches out in a gesture of encouragement, with his fingers almost touching her cheek. George II’s left hand is empty, though past monarchs had been holding an orb, and the central object between the two figures, the skein or hank of silk itself, assumes a transparently phallic appearance, given its scale and its placement.

On the Virginia seals, the Indian’s right knee was the one on the ground, rotating him away from the viewer, and the same was true of the curtsying figure on the South Carolina

seals. The Georgia female, however, is a much more open figure on account of her left knee being placed on the ground, an openness accentuated by her trailing left arm, which gestures gracefully outward. The effect of this different torsion, of course, is to fully expose her body to square view, and accentuate her falling *chiton* (classical tunic) and her bare breasts, placed at the same level as her right hand grasping the phallic skein.⁴⁴ Particular detail was given to her expression, which is playful and half-smiling, using especially the softened eye and raised eyebrow, and the lips are deliberately full-bodied.

The physique, facial features, hair, and clothing of the Georgia figure, of course, should naturally give pause to any suggestion that this is an attempt to genuinely portray a Southeastern American Indian. Even the feathered headdress, the only meaningful visible signifier of this as an “American” personage, is chimerical. This was clearly not for the want of information, for perfectly good models existed from very recent sketches of Georgia Indians.⁴⁵ Rather, John Pine’s engraving, no less than the Trustees’ seal, and arguably much more so, was a piece of self-conscious metropolitan fantasy. This female figure was a sister to the hundreds of allegorical personifications of America before her (often also coy, welcoming, and semi-nude), drawn in such a way as to use gender to bolster imperial dominion. Their nakedness in itself emphasized an absence of culture, from a European point of view, though its characterization had evolved from a rawer cannibalistic or Amazonian rendition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to a softer, more graceful and voluptuous one in the eighteenth.⁴⁶ The sexual overtones on the Georgia seal simply lent added sharpness to this tool of colonialism, for where other semi-nude female figures on seals were passively helpless and inviting (as on the Massachusetts woodcut or the post-proprietorship South Carolina seals), the Georgia female was actively participatory. And because the image was on a Deputed Great Seal, this sexualized message would literally be imprinted time and time again in colonial life. Ruling authorities tacitly encouraged settlers of European origin to

calibrate their own dutiful behavior against this benchmark, emphasizing the fantasy that, in Tiffany Potter's words, "a North American Indian woman is driven by the true submissive nature that underlies universal female civility." Real Indians can only have been bemused when colonial officials presented them with such images, which they frequently did, for use of the seals (as markers of trust and authenticity) were important to the choreography of diplomacy and trade.⁴⁷

How closely George II (then in his seventies) either appreciated or approved of this imagery is impossible to tell, but it is difficult to resist the temptation to posit that he may have liked such a misogynistic fantasy of iconographic sexual compliance, for according to his latest biographer, he "enjoyed a healthy dose of comic vulgarity." He was a boastful man prone to sexual indiscretions, something that ran in his family (both of his parents famously committed adultery leading to the dissolution of their marriage in 1694), and Lady Mary Montagu believed that he saw women as "creatures he might...kiss for his diversion." He took numerous mistresses during his marriage to Caroline of Ansbach, most notably Amalie von Wallmoden, who would be made Countess of Yarmouth in 1740 (the last royal mistress to be so titled), and his indiscretions brought the scorn of English wit Samuel Johnson, who wrote "his tortured sons shall die before his face / While he lies melting in a lewd embrace." But George II reputedly enjoyed the satires that circulated about his affairs and sexuality because they publicized his manly virtues, in an era when lewdness in English prints more generally was "ubiquitous, unsuppressed, and highly popular."⁴⁸

The man responsible for Georgia's Deputed Great Seal engraving, John Pine (sometimes Pyne) of Soho, held the positions of "Bluemantle Pursuivant" (an office at the College of Arms) between 1743 and 1747, and royal chief engraver from July 1743 to his death in 1756 aged sixty six. According to fellow professional, William Henry Toms, Pine was a stout, jovial man who "resemble[d] a satyr in person and manners," and another friend

and London engraver, William Hogarth, satirically nicknamed him “Friar Pine” in his *The Gate of Calais* (1748). Pine’s appointment to the royal position followed a highly successful freelance career, first launched by his frontispiece to Daniel Defoe’s bestseller *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). He built his career not only around his undoubted artistic gifts but also his skilful self-marketing – the latter cannily boosted by his networking within the blossoming movement of Freemasonry.⁴⁹ The Deputed Great Seal, in fact, was not the first time that Pine had been asked to draw a Georgia scene. His illustrations provided frontispieces and internal miniatures for both of Benjamin Martyn’s promotional tracts for the Trustees, published in 1732 and 1733.⁵⁰ Pine’s work here was not allegorical, but nonetheless optimistic: it showed a scene of hectic activity, depicting the founding of Savannah, with axes rather than spades flying as European settlers cleared a forested wilderness in the foreground to reveal a neat settlement. The whole was viewed from something like the perspective of Hutchinson Island, and George Jones subsequently chose a similar vista in his sketch based on information from Noble Jones and Peter Gordon, which was engraved in 1734 in Charing Cross (London) by Huguenot Paul Fourdrinier, a specialist in architectural engravings.⁵¹ John Pine therefore brought a very particular understanding to the Georgia seal, having been involved in the colony’s earlier fortunes, and, incidentally, there remains a tantalizing possibility that it was he who actually created both the Trustees’ and the Deputed Great Seal, though this is seemingly not possible to substantiate.

In the background behind the left shoulder of the Georgia figure on George II’s seal can be viewed a pair of trees and a square-rigged ship, sailing under just foresail and main topsail, against mountains and clouds in the distance. These perhaps symbolized respectively mulberry orchards (the origins of the silk being attached to the royal person), particularly in light of the female figure’s left index finger, and Georgia’s steady and strong commercial promise – signs of imperial worth as well as imperial interest. If allusions to silk, commerce,

waterways, and perhaps mulberry trees bore some continuities relative to the earlier Trustees' seal, also notable by their absence are cornucopias, conventional classical figures (including Ceres), and emblems of liberty. The Deputed Great Seal was altogether a more grounded image, which perhaps recognized Georgia's economic struggles in the intervening two decades and also carried obvious implications about sovereignty and royal dominion. However, a noteworthy agricultural and classical reference remained in the new seal, albeit buried in the text rather than on the image itself.

The exergue inscribed on the royal seal has often been translated as "Hence hope for praise, o colonists," but the full provenance of this motto has seldom if ever been acknowledged, for it is derived from a creative contraction of a passage in Virgil's epic didactic poem (c.29 BCE), the *Georgics*. The English writer John Dryden stylishly translated this poem, consisting of four books, in 1697. The educated country classes consequently treated it as an immensely popular reference point, revering Virgil for his reformist credentials and his linking of imaginative landscapes to empirical improvement.⁵² Eighteenth-century agriculturalists in particular venerated Virgil, and deemed the *Georgics* the foremost among a list of authoritative classical texts (by Cato, Varro, Columella, and others).⁵³ The association of Virgil with colonial America was particularly strengthened because his subsequent epic, the *Aeneid* (c.19 BCE), described the overseas plantation of a fledgling polity (Rome, destined for global imperial hegemony) in terms attractive to British Americans engaged in colonial expansionism. Educated Americans of the eighteenth century read no other classical author so universally.⁵⁴ Indeed, since 1721, the Deputed Great Seal of South Carolina bore a motto borrowed from the *Aeneid*, *propius res adspice nostras* (look more closely upon our affairs), which may well have derived from the colonists' frustration with the Carolina Proprietors and their appeal for royal oversight. Both West and East Florida's seals from 1764 would also bear quotations from the same work: *melioribus utere*

fatis (enjoy a better fate than was mine) and *moresque viris et menia ponet* (he will set up customs and walls for his warriors).⁵⁵

Designers of the royal Georgia seal took the exclamation (*hinc laudem sperate coloni*) from the original line: *hic labor, hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni*. This passage was dedicated explicitly to the management of woolly sheep and shaggy goats (*lanigeros agitare greges hirtasque capellas*), as Virgil turned away from treating herds of larger animals.⁵⁶ Given its context, not one of the many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century translators of the *Georgics* into English prose or poetry – however loose their style – selected “colonists” as the appropriate term in their translations. Rather, they correctly interpreted *coloni* (from *colonus*) to mean a common farmer of one sort or another: Thomas May in his *Virgil’s Georgicks Englished* of 1628 chose to render the phrase: “This is a taske: hence, Shepherds, hope to get your praise.” James Hamilton preferred in 1742: “This is a difficulty; hardy swains, from this hope ye for praise.” Thomas Nevile in 1774 framed it more poetically: “Labour not light: hence, emulous of fame, / Rise ye, of husbandmen who boast the name!”⁵⁷ However, the Latin *colonus* also had a secondary meaning, derived from the first, which is readily recognizable to us as “colonist” – or what Elisha Coles described in his monumental Latin-English dictionary of 1720 as “an inhabitant of a forreign Plantation” – and perhaps the nearest word in modern usage that begins to capture both meanings of *colonus* would be “planter”.⁵⁸

The Georgia seal’s reference to the “authoritative yardstick” of Virgil would have been recognizable to eighteenth-century literati used to “dialogic” engagement with the *Georgics*.⁵⁹ The rendition of Virgil’s phrase on the royal seal removed the emphasis on the difficulty of labor (by omitting *hic labor* and *fortes*), and played on the dual elided meanings of *colonus*. It also made inferential reference to the hopeful pursuit of difficult textiles, though in this case woolen cloth rather than silk – a textile which had previously been

deliberately invoked in relation to Georgia silk, when Thomas Boreman anticipated in 1733 that “the English Nation will speedily be enriched with this golden Fleece.”⁶⁰ There is good reason, of course, why no corresponding phrase could have been lifted from Virgil that was explicitly about the silkworm, as we might otherwise expect, for the Romans had not yet fully discovered how silk was fabricated. More than a century after Virgil’s *Georgics*, Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* maintained that “the Seres [Chinese]” picked silk as a “fleecy product” of the forest, a “pale floss, which they find growing on the leaves.”⁶¹ Finally, one last piece of subtle wordplay within the seal’s reference probably derived from the phonetic commonalities in the lettering of “Georgia” (which came from the Hanoverian monarch’s forename) and the Greek for agriculture, *γεωργία*, from which the title *Georgica* was derived. Overall, then, the selection and contraction of a phrase from the *Georgics* ingeniously linked the plantation of Georgia to a classic work held up as a model for pioneering enlightened agriculture.

Though very different in design, the Trustees’ common seal and the Deputed Great Seal shared a fundamental sense of purpose and orientation, for the hope of silk culture dominated both. This reflected that, unlike several of the Trustees’ other idiosyncratic ambitions which had subsequently collapsed (such as the prohibition on slavery and the banning of rum), hopes for silk had survived the transition to royal rule in 1752 unscathed, and even experienced something of a resurgence, with output reaching its peak in the 1760s. Georgia silk never came near the production levels that promoters promised or manufacturers craved, but it was an obstinate peripheral pursuit. Its Arcadian characterization on the colonial seals served as a nagging reminder to each governor and to numerous settlers – as if they needed it – that their exploding plantation economy based upon slaves, rice, and indigo, was a deviation from the imaginary world they were supposed to inhabit.⁶²

The accession of George III in 1760 made it necessary to change the whole catalogue of colonial seals to reflect the new monarch's arms and titles, a moment which usually brought with it minor changes to the stylings and content of the seals. The old seal remained in use in Georgia until the new one arrived, which was not until the summer of 1767, when the new engraver Christopher Seaton (sometimes Seton) at last fulfilled the instructions issued to him by the Board of Trade in January 1762.⁶³ Seaton's five-year delay owed much to the formidable workload required of the chief engraver. Demand for new seals soared because of both the new reign and also the new territories won by Britain during the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), which naturally took priority over existent colonies. Seaton's obverse, while in the same format as Pine's, was much softer in its rendition. A younger monarch (fittingly, since George III would only have been twenty-four years old at the point of commission) here leans graciously to accept the gift, which is positioned less suggestively. The overall effect is not simply to significantly desexualize the image, but also to lessen the emphasis on the silk skein, the item of hope (*sperate*), and to bring the Southern plantation colonies closer together in appearance, according to Seaton's "generally more relaxed, gracious, and humane treatment" of devices on colonial seals. The new seal for South Carolina, for example, whose matrix is the only one still known to exist, now followed the Georgia seal in leaving the king's left hand empty (no orb) and baring both breasts of the supplicant representative female figure (though she remained kneeling on her right knee).⁶⁴ Ironically then, the picture softened on Georgia's silver seal just as relations hardened in reality, and in both worlds the once-proud hopes of silk now somewhat drooped and faded from view.

The removal of the Deputed Great Seal in the throes of the American Revolution urgently necessitated the creation of a new state seal for Georgia, to validate the actions of the fledgling republican faction, a process which began the transition to the seal design that is

still in use today. “Doubt have arisen” warned the Provincial Congress which proclaimed temporary “Rules and Regulations” on April 15, 1776 “with the several magistrates how far they are authorized to act under the former appointments, and the greatest part of them have absolutely refused to do so, whereby all judicial powers are become totally suspended to the great danger of persons and property.” As improvisation turned to organization, the Georgia constitution of 1777 specified, under article fifty seven, a new “great seal of this State.” Although ruling authorities used multiple versions of this seal during the two decades after independence, and there were slight variations, its fundamental features and layout remained consistent with the description in the constitution.⁶⁵

[INSERT FIGURE 3]

Georgia’s revolutionary seal firmly captured the spirit of the movement for independence, and in several respects marked an abrupt and fundamental break with the past. The radical shift in content reflected the radical character of the Georgia constitution, which was one of the most democratic of all of those created in the aftermath of the Declaration of Independence, with a powerful unicameral legislature and wide (white male) suffrage. It is likely that the unknown designer was one of the “new political generation” seizing momentum, while the engraver was probably drawn from the growing ranks of skilled urban Lowcountry artisans (which included Savannah silversmith Adrian Loyer and Charleston engraver Thomas Coram). The central feature on the obverse was an enormous scroll, bearing the engraved text “The Constitution of the State of Georgia.” This part of the seal was clearly specified in the article, but the unknown designer made a further point in their creative positioning of the scroll. At first glance, the scroll appears to dangle from the branches of an ancient, thick-trunked tree. This literally showed the strong roots of the republican cause, and gave it a naturalistic, organic feel. It suggested a process linked to a robust pedigree – perhaps even an English oak, symbol of great strength and endurance. Closer inspection shows that a

giant hand is actually passing the scroll down through the branches, almost certainly conveying an act of divine providence. As opposed to the seal of the Dominion of New England, in which King James II handed over a scroll or charter to his kneeling subject, the Georgia constitution is being handed down directly by God. Seal designers of the Revolutionary period often looked to providential symbolism to explain their claims to sovereignty, as most famously in the Eye of Providence placed atop the pyramid on the reverse of the United States Great Seal of 1782. Finally, the motto made crystal clear the shift in political sovereignty from monarchism to republicanism that was taking place across the newly-independent states, surrounding the scene with its exclamation *pro bono publico* (“for the good of the people”). The triple justification offered on the seal (of ancient right, divine sanction, and popular will) reflected much of the conviction, as well as some of the paranoia, of a revolutionary cause whose merit remained much contested in Georgia in 1777. It also conveyed a sense of the textual fervor and ideological innovation of this era which was dominated by radical new publications and constitutions – including of course Paine’s *Common Sense*, the Declaration of Independence, and a raft of new state constitutions built upon republican principles.⁶⁶

Whereas the obverse of Georgia’s revolutionary seal dealt with ideological roots, the reverse treated future hopes. It pictured a curious pastoral scene that might not have been out of place among other Deputed Great Seals of the British Crown, showing (according to the constitution) “an elegant house, and other buildings, fields of corn, and meadows covered with sheep and cattle; a river running through the same, with a ship under full sail.” These features showed much more continuity with Georgia’s earlier seals. They emphasized a Europeanized landscape of prosperity, agriculture, and commerce, almost as if the product of the reforming spades wielded by the Trusteeship river-gods. The garden’s prominent fences and the flying flag convey a concern with order and patriotism, and the protection of the

home. They must have taken on a particularly fantastical character considering the bloody internecine fighting and destruction that occurred in the state during the years that followed.

The exergue around the reverse declared *Deus nobis haec otia fecit* (“God has given us this tranquility”). It thus echoed both the confidence in divine providence on the obverse and the continuing penchant for quoting Virgil, since this phrase is taken from his *Eclogues* (c.37 BCE, book one, line 6). The use of Virgil and a host of classical references persisted on a number of American seals. This reflected not just the Founding Fathers’ shared educational culture, but also their wish to reclaim and mobilize the classical heritage and especially those components which spoke to republican values and systems. Again, the passage that the designers chose from Virgil was not coincidental, for it involved a conversation between two shepherds that was not about utopian bucolic bliss but rather about their battles for their livelihoods. Though one shepherd (Tityrus) was contented and the other (Meliboeus) distraught, both made reference to dispossessions of their farms or property in the past. Tityrus claimed that with God’s blessing, after many trials, he had secured his property – a message that was very comprehensible to Patriots in their struggle for independence.⁶⁷

Overall, the designers of Georgia’s first independent seal replaced numismatic obedience to the king with reverence for a written republican constitution. They introduced notions of divine approbation, and oversaw the disappearance of silk (for the first time). Significantly, the use of an idealized female Indian to personify the province also vanished from the Georgia seal, never to return. Such an omission occurred more and more commonly as white Americans across the continent suppressed their association with the stereotype of the noble savage, and discarded its naked implications of cultural inferiority. Yet echoes of earlier English agricultural ideals remained, and there were continuities in the symbolism of rivers and merchantmen, as well as in the use of Virgil. The reconfiguration of Georgia’s first independent seal reflected, as John Higham put it in relation to the history of art, that

Americans now “needed symbols that would connect them with the civilized world while declaring their political separation.”⁶⁸

In the decades after independence, most states took action to refine or redesign the constitutions and Great Seals that they had hastily established in the crucible of revolution, and Georgia was no exception. The 1777 Great Seal remained in use for some twenty years, and its use carried a fee which was payable to public officials. Governors received two shillings and four pence for attaching the seal “to any paper” while the Secretary of State received five shillings and nine pence for preparing a census and authenticating their “Testimonial with the Great Seal.”⁶⁹ A new constitution in 1798 instructed that “the general assembly shall, at their first session after the rising of the convention, cause the great seal to be altered by law,” and in due course a contest was announced for the best new design. Most of the conceptual elements of this design were prescribed by the Assembly, who announced them in an advertisement in the *Louisville Gazette* in February 1799. Daniel Sturges, Georgia’s surveyor general, won the thirty-dollar prize by default, drawing up a sketch that has only been slightly modified since. The draught, once engraved into silver matrixes, was deposited in the office of the Secretary of State on October 8, 1799.⁷⁰

[INSERT FIGURE 4]

Georgia’s last great seal of the eighteenth century, like its predecessors, encapsulated a social, economic, and political vision. Its power and success lay in its simplicity of message and its fit to context and purpose, even though its artwork was arguably less impressive than its forebears’. This was perhaps unsurprising, given the non-professional commission and the smaller size (a diameter of 2 ¼ inches) specified in the act of the legislature. On the obverse, Sturges used the symmetry of neo-classical architecture to describe the structure of republican government, emphasizing the constitution’s dependency upon three pillars

bannered in virtues. The legislature (guided by wisdom), the judiciary (guided by justice), and the executive (exercising moderation) take the guise of Corinthian columns holding up the governmental edifice. The seal's explicit recognition of the constituent branches of political power and the need for integrating and balancing them contrasted with the 1777 design. This reflected the rapid maturation of political philosophy in the United States in the intervening period, during which competing factions spilt some blood and much ink over the best systems for redistributing sovereignty and power. Perhaps a further reason affirming Sturges' choice was that, like the London engraver John Pine before him, Sturges was a prominent Mason. The three grand columns or pillars supporting an arch were popular Masonic symbols, as Farris Cadle has noted, particularly with one representing "Wisdom".⁷¹

More significantly in terms of its cultural associations, the Sturges design heralded the visual appearance for the first time on Georgia great seals of ordinary people. Standing guard beside the executive pillar was a sword-bearing figure, dressed like a militiaman or Continental Army soldier. According to the design specification, he represented "the aid of the military in defense of the constitution." On the reverse toiled the small hunched figure of a farmer behind a plough led by two horses. Purged of the river-gods, goddesses, kings, and mythic Indians, Georgia now gave numismatic recognition for the first time to the common white man, who struck simple, masculine poses as Jeffersonian farmer and militiaman. The seal also jettisoned classical quotations, relating its text in straightforward English rather than Latin and preferring direct language to layered references: on one side was written "State of Georgia" and on the reverse, "Agriculture and Commerce." Other seals created in sister states similarly depicted the newfound importance of the ordinary man, such as the yeoman farmer and citizen soldier on the great seal of Delaware (1777) or the farmer and sailor on that of Maine (1820), and many gave preference to the English language. Virtually none found space for either nudity or Native Americans.⁷²

The Sturges seal also made a firm statement of regional identity in some of its other allusions. Rather than referring to hoped-for imperial British products (such as silk) or European staples (sheep and cereals), it depicted agricultural produce that was identifiably American and important to the economy of contemporary Georgia. In the foreground of the reverse, vessels either transport or stand ready to load cargo that consists of bales of cotton and hogsheads of tobacco. Tobacco and especially cotton were increasingly dominant within Georgia agriculture, production of the latter increasing by a factor of twenty between 1791 and 1801 alone. Their appearance on the design allowed the seal not just to capture economic vitality but also to encompass a healthy spread of Georgia's territory and social classes, ranging from the upland tobacco farmed by small family units to the cotton plantations operated by the wealthiest slaveholding planters in the growing "Black Belt" counties and on the Sea Islands.⁷³ A final affirmation of identity is apparent in the "Stars and Stripes" Union flag flying from the large ship, which rides at anchor near the wharf. With this, the designers were marking their confidence and faith in the stable political and commercial relationship between state and federal nation. Overall, the imagery thus offered a distinctively southern twist to the picture on Georgia's great seal, while recognizing the relational importance of the United States.

In conclusion, this examination of the images and phrases exhibited on Georgia's eighteenth-century seals opens up an intriguing window into imagined regional identity, a window through which both continuity and change is apparent. It is clear that throughout the century, designers drew from a common fund of cultural references, selectively dressing up their differing hopes and objectives for Georgia in appropriate figures deployed from classical antiquity – be it in their choice of quotations, characters, or columned architecture. Virgil loomed large on two designs, while other references invoked St. Augustine, Ceres,

river-gods, and classical republicanism. All of the designs also showed a willingness to innovate and tinker with established templates, using spades, insects, Native American figures, scrolls, and militiamen to add imaginative and modernist dimensions. No matter what the prevailing political status quo, the seals also shared a common recognition that Georgia's identity was somehow intrinsically linked to the pursuit of agriculture and that her economy was predestined to export surplus along waterways – as shown, for example, in the continued prominence of rivers and symbols of fertility and commerce. The seals thus captured what the American (rather than Roman) “classic” author J. Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur put into words when he described American “rude soil” as the foundation of “our importance as inhabitants of such a district.”⁷⁴

Beyond these core similarities, however, the different seals bore categorical witness to the dramatic changes that arrived in Georgia in the eighteenth century. The transition from utopian scheme to imperial project to republican experiment was firmly in evidence. It was most obvious in the awakening sense of political autonomy, which culminated in the rise to symbolic dominance of the common (white) man on the seal of 1799, albeit some decades before the full unbridling of “Jacksonian Democracy.” The inclusion of local Georgia products (tobacco and cotton) and ordinary working citizens (soldiers and farmers) anchored this autonomy, leaving behind the silkworms, stiff kings, fantastical provincial characterizations, and divine scrolls on earlier seals. No less significant were the omissions: the disappearance of female figures and Native Americans, and the vanishing of the liberty cap, which quickly became something of a toxic symbol for those states, like Georgia, committed to the post-revolutionary extension of slavery.⁷⁵ It is perhaps easy to misread or to read too much into the seals, and their complicated triangulation of possession, imagination, and identity. But as Crèvecoeur himself concluded in the above passage on American

farming, “These images, I must confess, I always behold with pleasure, and extend them as far as my imagination can reach.”

Figure 1 (credit = Ed Jackson OR Georgia State Archives)

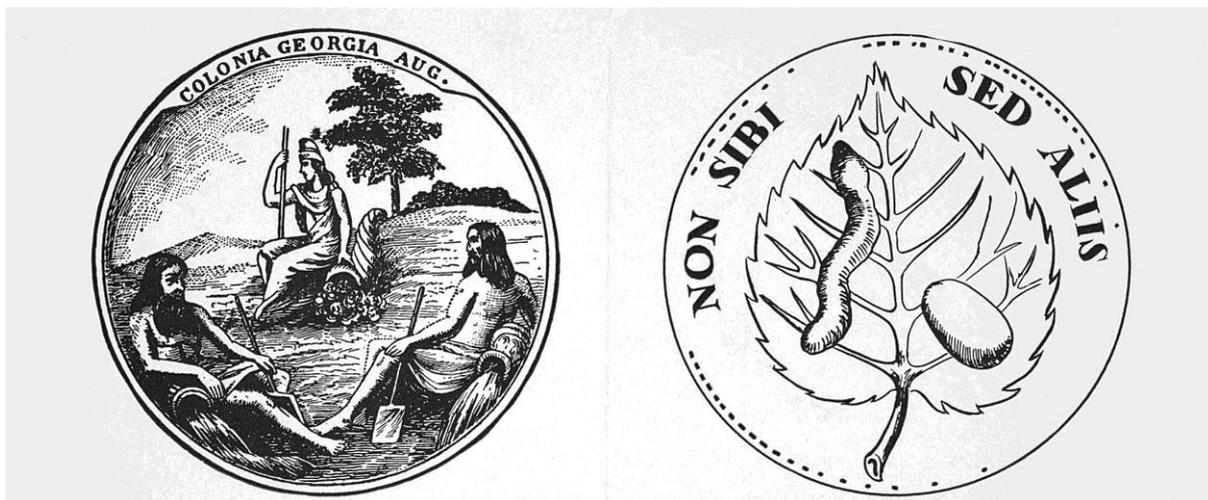


Figure 2 (credit = Royal Mint)



Figure 3 (credit = GHS)



Figure 4 (credit – Edwin Jackson)



ENDNOTES

¹ Max Cleland, "State's Seal History Impressive," *The Rockmart Journal*, April 2, 1986 (first quote). As well as the Georgia Historical Society, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Georgia also appropriated the Trustees' seal at their founding in 1893. See respective websites containing information about these heritage societies and their use of the Trustees' seal, accessed June 21, 2011, <http://www.georgiahistory.com/> and <http://nscdaga.org/about-us/>. On the Georgia flag, which omitted the features from the seal between 1879 and 1902, see Edwin L. Jackson, "State Flags of Georgia," *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, accessed June 5, 2011, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2671>.

² Peter Walne, "The Great Seals Deputed for Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 62, no. 4 (1978): 281-287. There is also some brief engagement in Goetchius, "The Great Seals of Georgia," 253-262, in which commentators described with relish how the great seal had been successfully concealed from Republicans at the collapse of the Confederacy, noting how "the great seals of a state not only mark the great epochs in its political history, but they symbolize a nation's honor, and around them cluster the sacred sentiments of a people's faith and patriotic devotion" (260); also very brief mention in Heisser, "Warrior Queen of Ocean," 179.

³ For general discussions of the origins, functions, and variation in Deputed Great Seals, see: Peter Walne, "The Royal Seals of Colonial America," *Antiques*, 114 (July 1978): 142-149; Hilary Jenkinson, "The Great Seal of England: Deputed or Departmental," *Archaeologia*, 85 (1935): 320-329. For specific articles on North American colonies in chronological order, see: Lyon G. Tyler, "The Seal of Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, no. 2 (October 1894): 81-96; Otis Grant Hammond, *History of the Seal and Flag of the State of New Hampshire* (Concord, 1916); Peter Walne, "The Great Seal Deputed of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 66, no. 1 (1958): 3-21; Peter Walne, "The

Great Seal Deputed of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1960): 30-37; Peter Walne, "The Great Seal Deputed of New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 79, no. 4 (1961): 223-231; Robert R. Rea, "The Deputed Great Seal of British West-Florida," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1978): 162-168; Peter Walne, "The Great Seals Deputed of North Carolina," *Carolina Comments*, 28, no. 2 (March 1980): 53-57; Peter Walne, "The Great Seals Deputed of Massachusetts Bay," *Proceedings of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 59 (1982): 551-559; Peter Walne, "The Great Seals Deputed of British East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 61, no. 1 (July 1982): 49-53; Peter Walne, *The Royal Great Seals Deputed of South Carolina* (Columbia, SC, 1982); David C. R. Heisser, "'Warrior Queen of Ocean': The Story of Charleston and Its Seal," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 93, no. 3/4 (1992): 167-195; Cathy Rex, "Indians and Images: The Massachusetts Bay Colony Seal, James Printer, and the Anxiety of Colonial Identity," *American Quarterly*, 63, no. 1 (March 2011): 61-93.

⁴ Rodney M. Baine, ed., *Creating Georgia: Minutes of the Bray Associates, 1730-1732 & Supplementary Documents* (Athens, 1995), 114. This sum was presumably bundled in with others in the Trustees' accounts which described over £42 spent on "Charges of a Seal for the Corporation, a Conveyance, Grants of Land made by the Trustees, and Commissions to collect Benefactions," Allen D. Candler et al., eds., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, 39 vols. to date (Atlanta and Athens, Ga., 1904), 3:16. Unpublished volumes in the collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah.

⁵ For this costing, see the accounts of engraver John Roos listed in Walne, "Great Seal Deputed of Virginia," 15.

⁶ Candler et al, *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 1:71. The first recorded use of the seal seems to have been on a commission prepared for Governor Robert Johnson of South Carolina on August 3, 1732. *Ibid.*, 1:69. Another surviving example in 1889 was appended to a deed

dated 1732, reported by J. J. Howard, "Note on a Great Seal of the State of Georgia, 1732," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 12 (1889): 415-416. Copies of the images of this seal can be found at the Georgia Historical Society (A-1361-126) and the British Library (Seals.LXXXVII.28-29), which gives the following description in W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols. (London, 1900), 6:717: "O[bverse]. A group designed after a classical model, representing BRITANNIA, helmeted, with spear in the r.h. and cornucopia in the l.h., seated on a rock betw. two reposing figures of bearded men, each holding a rudder in the exterior hand and a water-vessel from which water is pouring in the interior hand. R[everse]. A mulberry leaf, thereon a silkworm and a cocoon of silk, emblematic of the chief products of the country."

⁷ Candler et al, *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 1:13 (also 11:26).

⁸ Candler et al, *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 1:132. The people initially selected to hold the "three Keys of the Box (wherein the Seal is inclos'd)" were Henry l'Apostre, James Vernon, and Thomas Tower, *Ibid.*, 1:133. The charges for "a new Seal for the Corporation, and of Commissions to collect Benefactions, and of collecting them" came to £42.14s.4d. *Ibid.*, 3:52. The changes to detail included placing the allegorical figures farther apart, including landscape, and reshaping several components. The suggestion about fraud is found in the text accompanying the line drawings of the seals, Image Numbers LPC 338a/b, Georgia State Archives, Morrow, GA.

⁹ Lucian L. Knight, ed., *Georgia's Official Register* (Atlanta, 1923), 158-9; Trevor Richard Reese, *Colonial Georgia: a Study in British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, 1963), 137n2.

¹⁰ On the sola bills, and for a note on the origins of these differing estimates of distribution, see Alvin Rabushka, *Taxation in Colonial America* (Princeton, 2008), 531 and n20; Eric P. Newman, *The Early Paper Money of America: an Illustrated, Historical, and Descriptive*

Compilation of Data Relating to American Paper Currency From Its Inception in 1686 to the Year 1800, 4th ed. (Iola, WI, 1997), 11, 128; William E. Heath, "The Early Colonial Money System of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 19 (1935): 145-160.

¹¹ James Edward Oglethorpe, *Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for Establishing Colonys in America*, ed. Rodney M. Baine and Phinizy Spalding (Athens, Ga., 1990), 3; *A Catalogue of the Entire and Valuable Library of General Oglethorpe, Lately Deceased* (London, 1788). For more general discussions of the phenomenon of reverence for antiquity, see: Richard M. Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Comparative Culture* (Cambridge, 1963); Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, *The Classical Tradition and the Americas* (Berlin, 1994).

¹² For a prominent example, see Theodore Galle, "The River God Tiber with the Urn and the Vestal Tuccia, c. 1595," Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, accessed January 16, 2012, [http://alma.boijmans.nl/en/object/L%201975/29%20\(PK\)/](http://alma.boijmans.nl/en/object/L%201975/29%20(PK)/). River-gods allowed designers to show off reverence for antiquity and new styles of rendering nature and landscape, and therefore featured prominently in the work of such classical masters as Nicolas Poussin and Giovanni Pannini. Ruth Michael Gais, "Some Problems of River-God Iconography," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 82, no. 3 (1978): 355-370.

¹³ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995), 356-59; Alfred Benjamin Wyon and Allan Wyon, *The Great Seals of England: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time, Arranged and Illustrated With Descriptive and Historical Notes* (London, 1887).

¹⁴ For example, Linda Morey Papanicolaou, "The Iconography of the Genesis Window of the Cathedral of Tours," *Gesta*, 20, no. 1 (1981): 182, 185.

¹⁵ Oglethorpe, *Some Account*, 21-22. On the application of notions of agricultural "improvement" to the lowcountry, see S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge, Mass, 2006), 13-53 and Mart A. Stewart, "What Nature Suffers

to Groe": *Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920* (Athens, 1996), and for wider recent considerations, Richard William Judd, *The Untilled Garden: Natural History and the Spirit of Conservation in America, 1740-1840* (New York, 2009), 17-54; Anya Zilberstein, "The Rhetoric and Practice of Scientific Agriculture in Northern British America, 1670-1820" (Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2008).

¹⁶ Alexander Hewatt described this figure as male in Alexander Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (London, 1779), 2:18, but this seems to have been a straightforward mistake.

¹⁷ For a sweeping contextualization of the fluvial mythology of ancient cultures and their reincarnations in subsequent centuries, see Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 245-306. There are alternative explanations of the origin of the cornucopia in classical mythology, but the river association seems most pertinent to the Georgia scene.

¹⁸ Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and The Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, 2007), 95; John Hallam, "The Eighteenth-Century American Townscape and the Face of Colonialism," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, 4, no. 3/4 (1990): 144-162. One cultural legacy is that cornucopias survive, of course, to feature prominently in modern Thanksgiving celebrations.

¹⁹ Thomas Salmon and Herman Moll, *Modern History: or, the Present State of All Nations. Describing Their Respective Situations, Persons, Habits, ... Animals and Minerals. By Mr. Salmon. Vol. XXXI.* (London, 1738), 442; Katharine B. Massey and Laura Glenn Wood, *The Story of Georgia: for Georgia Boys and Girls* (Boston, 1904), 18-19.

²⁰ Barbette Stanley Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres* (Austin, 1996); Césaire Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's 'Iconologia'*, ed. Edward Andrew Maser (New York, 1971), 34, 54.

²¹ Richard Wrigley, "Transformations of a Revolutionary Emblem: the Liberty Cap in the French Revolution," *French History*, 11, no. 2 (1997): 134; James Epstein, "Understanding the Cap of Liberty: Symbolic Practice and Social Conflict in Early 19th-Century England," *Past and Present*, 122, no. 1 (1989): 75-118; Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap As a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, 1, no. 2 (1987): 58-60.

²² J. David Harden, "Liberty Caps and Liberty Trees," *Past and Present*, 146, no. 1 (February 1995): 68. That the liberty cap was in a process of iconographic transition is evident in the fact that the North Carolina seal commissioned just two years earlier (in 1730) depicted the figure of Libertas holding a pole with a broad-brimmed Dutch-style hat atop. Walne, "Great Seals Deputed of North Carolina," 54.

²³ William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Oxford, 1766), 1:127; on the future of liberty caps, and the competing understandings of liberty as played out in the battles for libertarian symbols, see Amelia Rauser, "Death or Liberty: British Political Prints and the Struggle for Symbols in the American Revolution," *Oxford Art Journal*, 21, no. 2 (1998): 151-171.

²⁴ See, for instance, Reverend T. Rundle's "Sermon Preached at St. George's Church" on February 17, 1734 which celebrated not only the Trustees' Christian virtue, but insisted that "As *Englishmen* we must recollect that 'tis our trade and our free constitution that makes us so powerful, so admired, and envied in *Europe*. With us there can be no oppression...In every *English* Plantation the same love for liberty that is our distinguishing spirit is infused." Trevor R. Reese, ed., *The Most Delightful Country of the Universe: Promotional Literature of the Colony of Georgia, 1717-1734* (Savannah, Ga., 1972), 197-213, especially pp.208-9. The phrase "Spirit of disinterestedness" is taken from Oglethorpe, *Some Account*, 25.

²⁵ Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson, and David Douglas, *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, From the First Settlement Thereof Until This Present Period...* (Charles Town, South Carolina, 1741), 118. They also mocked that they had had to flee Georgia to a “Land of Liberty” (South Carolina), p.x.

²⁶ Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, 26-27. The name Augustus itself derived from the same root of *augere* (to increase or enrich). For commentators who have assumed the seal meant Augusta, see for instance, Heisser, "Warrior Queen of Ocean," 179 citing Goetchius, "The Great Seals of Georgia," 253. Neither should be conflated with the naming of the fort (later town) Augusta, which was named so by Oglethorpe in 1736 after Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha (following her wedding to the Prince of Wales on April 27, 1736). I am grateful to Robin Law, Michael Penman, and John Taylor for their assistance with weighing these possible interpretations.

²⁷ For the Trustees’ “half-imagined” understanding of the Georgia environment and landscape, see Stewart, *"What Nature Suffers to Groe"*, 1-47.

²⁸ On other occasions, particular objects or products were chosen on account of symbolic associations – as in the proposed Charleston seal of 1722, which was to carry olive and myrtle branches (signifying friendship), and the scarus fish (signifying mutual love). Heisser, "Warrior Queen of Ocean," 169-170.

²⁹ Quote from Richard Leo Enos and Roger Thompson, *The Rhetoric of Saint Augustine of Hippo: De Doctrina Christiana and the Search for a Distinctly Christian Rhetoric* (Waco, Tex., 2008), 311; see also Gerald A. Press, "'Doctrina' in Augustine's 'De Doctrina Christiana,'" *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 17, no. 2 (1984): 98-120.

³⁰ John D. Schaeffer, "The Dialectic of Orality and Literacy: The Case of Book 4 of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*," *PMLA*, 111, no. 5 (October 1996): 1133.

³¹ Translation cited from James D. Williams, ed., *An Introduction to Classical Rhetoric: Essential Readings* (Chichester, U.K, 2009), 517; see also Martin Camargo, "'Non Solum Sibi Sed Aliis Etiam': Neoplatonism and Rhetoric in Saint Augustine's 'De Doctrina Christiana'," *Rhetorica*, 16, no. 4 (1998): 393-408.

³² Benjamin Martyn, *Some Account of the Designs of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America* (London, 1732), 3.

³³ John C. Van Horne, ed., *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: the American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777* (Urbana, 1985).

³⁴ *bono studio bonisque moribus*, in *De Doctrina Christiana*, 1:10.10.

³⁵ Christine Mason Sutherland, "Reforms of Style: St. Augustine and the Seventeenth Century," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 21, no. 1 (1991): 35.

³⁶ 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 Own Poor, As Well As Foreign Persecuted Protestants* (London, 1733), 37.

³⁷ Walter McElreath, *A Treatise on the Constitution of Georgia: Giving the Origin, History, and Development of the Fundamental Law of the State, With All Constitutional Documents Containing Such Law, and With the Present Constitution, As Amended to Date, With Annotations*, Rev. ed. (Clark, NJ, 2008), 15.

³⁸ Board of Trade, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, ed. K. H. Ledward, 14 vols. (London, 1920), 10:45-54. The Board of Trade requested a sketch of this draught from John Pine on April 29 and reminded him again on May 28, after which he duly complied. Walne, "The Great Seals Deputed for Georgia," 282.

³⁹ George White, *Historical Collections of Georgia: With Name Index of Persons Mentioned in the Historical Collections of Georgia* (Baltimore, 1969), 182n.

⁴⁰ On the authorization of Reynolds to use the seal, Board of Trade, *Journals*, 1:64; on the constitutional powers and the handover, see Albert Berry Saye, *A Constitutional History of Georgia, 1732-1968*, rev. ed. (Athens, 2010), 50, 55, William B. Stevens, *A History of Georgia*, 2 vols. (Savannah, 1847), 1:429; for Wright's flight with the seal, see proclamation of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, April 15, 1776, in Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia*, 3 vols. (New York, 1972), 1:274-5; and Colonel Lachlan McIntosh's report to General George Washington, Savannah, April 28, 1776, in White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 97.

⁴¹ John Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 100 (1991): 46-48.

⁴² This description is from Andros's receipt for the engraving, quoted in Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, *History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1909), 346.

⁴³ See, for example, "Great Seal of the Lords Proprietors," South Carolina Department of Archives and History, accessed June 21, 2011, <http://www.palmettohistory.org/exhibits/GreatSeals/pages/Obverse.htm>. A semi-official printer's cut of the Massachusetts Bay seal in the 1670s and 1680s also depicted a bare-breasted female, discussed at length in Rex, "Indians and Images," 70.

⁴⁴ For a wider discussion of the symbolism of breasts in female allegorical art, see Marina Warner, *Monuments & Maidens: the Allegory of the Female Form* (New York, 1985), especially Part Three, "The Body in Allegory," pp.213-328.

⁴⁵ For more accurate representations one might look to the sketches of Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck or the official paintings of the delegation of Indians (including Tomochichi and Senauki) painted by William Verelst in the 1730s.

⁴⁶ Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess," 48-50, 55; Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America From the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York, 1975), 84-89; E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image As Indian Princess 1765-1783," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 2 (1965): 65-81; Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," *Representations*, 33 (1991): 1-41; Ripa, *Iconologia*, 105.

⁴⁷ Quote from Tiffany Potter, "Circular Taxonomies: Regulating European and American Women Through Representations of North American Indian Women," *Early American Literature*, 41, no. 2 (2006): 198. As an example of the seal's significance to intercultural diplomacy, see, for instance, the negotiations between Governor James Wright and Upper Creek leader Emistesigo who was given a seal in September 1768 "in token of friendship, and the confidence his Excellency had of his Loyalty, Courage &c." Candler et al, *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 586.

⁴⁸ John Van der Kiste, *King George II and Queen Caroline* (Stroud, Gloucester, 1997), 6-7, 25-26, 50-52, 70, 81-82, 104-7, 129, 137, 140-141, 143, 144, 147, 149, 154, 162, 166, 171, "vulgarity" quote on p.50; Lucy Worsley, *Courtiers: the Secret History of Kensington Palace* (London, 2010); the Montagu quote is from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Lord Wharncliffe, 2 vols. (London, 1893), 1:126; the Samuel Johnson quote is sourced from: Samuel Johnson, *The Latin Poems*, ed. Niall Rudd (Lewisburg, 2005), 39. Last quote from Tim Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven, 1997), 148. For an example of the king's love of sexualized images, see the episode involving Giorgio Vasari's *Venus and Cupid* recounted in John Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second: From His Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline*, 3 vols. (London, 1884), 2:206. At least one writer has claimed syphilitic origins for George's death, though this is rather tendentious, and in a work that is hardly historically watertight: Clifford

Brewer, *The Death of Kings: A Medical History of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 2000), 219.

⁴⁹ Pine was also a governor of the Foundling Hospital (set up by Georgia Trustee Captain Thomas Coram). For information on his career and life, see Walter H. Godfrey, Sir Anthony Wagner, and H. Stanford, *The College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street: Being the Sixteenth and Final Monograph of the London Survey Committee* (London, 1963), 193-203 (including Toms quote); "Warrants for Minor Appointments: 1743," in *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1729-1745*, ed. William A. Shaw, 5 vols. (London, 1903), 5:433-40.; John Byrne, Leicester Warren and Eleanor Leighton, *A Guide to the Study of Book-Plates*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1900), 36; Andrew Prescott, "John Pine - A Sociable Craftsman," *Masonic Quarterly Magazine*, 10 (July 2004): 7-10; Clayton, *The English Print*, 86-88; frontispiece, Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner: Who Lived Eight and Twenty Years All Alone in an Un-Inhabited Island on the Coast of America, Near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoque* (London, 1719).

⁵⁰ Frontispieces and pages 4 and 39 respectively of Martyn, *Some Account of the Designs of the Trustees* and Martyn, *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia*.

⁵¹ On Fourdrinier, see Clayton, *The English Print*, 113, 148, 176-7. For the provenance of the "View of Savannah" and accessible pictures, see Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, accessed June 15, 2011, <http://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/maps/index.html>.

⁵² See, for instance, Nick Grindle, "Virgil's Prospects: The Gentry and the Representation of Landscape in Addison's Theory of the Imagination," *Oxford Art Journal*, 29, no. 2 (June 2006): 185-195.

⁵³ Frans De Bruyn, "From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs: Eighteenth-Century Representations and the "State" of British Society," *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 17, no. 1 (2004): 107-139.

⁵⁴ See for instance Roxanne M. Gentilcore, "Ann Eliza Bleecker's Wilderness Pastoral: Reading Vergil in Colonial America," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 1, no. 4 (1995): 86-98; Everett H. Emerson, "The Cultural Context of the American Revolution," in *American Literature, 1764-1789: the Revolutionary Years*, ed. Everett H. Emerson (Madison, 1977), 10-11; for a wider discussion of the genre of georgics as expressed in American literature, see Timothy Sweet, *American Georgics: Economy and Environment in Early American Literature* (Philadelphia, 2002).

⁵⁵ South Carolina quote from book one, line 526, West Florida from book 6, line 546, and East Florida from book one, line 264. Rea, "The Deputed Great Seal," 165n7, 167n19. The newly commissioned Deputed Great Seal of North Carolina from 1731 also carried a motto contracted from Virgil, this time from his *Eclogues*, book one, line 27, *quae sera tamen respexit* meaning "though late, he has provided for which" but in its full context, "Liberty which, though late, looked upon the idle."

⁵⁶ Lines 286-292 in book 3 of the *Georgics*, which concentrates on animal husbandry.

⁵⁷ Thomas May, *Virgil's Georgicks Englished* (London, 1628), 87; Virgil and James Hamilton, *Virgil's Pastorals Translated into English Prose; As Also His Georgicks...* (Edinburgh, 1742), 92; Thomas Nevile and Virgil, *The Georgics of Virgil Tranlated by Thomas Nevile, M.A.* (Cambridge, 1774), 143.

⁵⁸ Elisha Coles, *A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English, Containing All Things Necessary for the Translating of Either Language into Other*, 9th ed. (London, 1720), 550.

⁵⁹ Quote taken from De Bruyn, "From Georgic Poetry to Statistics and Graphs," 117; on the artful and interactive or "dialogic" reception of Virgil, see Juan Christian Pellicer,

"Reception, Wit, and the Unity of Virgil's *Georgics*," *Symbolae Osloenses*, 82, no. 1 (2007): 90-115.

⁶⁰ Thomas Boreman, *A Compendious Account of the Whole Art of Breeding, Nursing, and the Right Ordering of the Silk-Worm* (London, 1733), ii.

⁶¹ Philippa Scott, *The Book of Silk* (London, 1993), 78.

⁶² For some eclectic literature on Georgia silk, on which subject this author is currently preparing a comparative monograph on attempts at silk in the Atlantic world, see William B. Stevens, "A Brief History of the Silk Culture in Georgia," in Thaddeus Mason Harris, ed., *Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe: Founder of the Colony of Georgia in North America*, (Boston, 1841), 177-189; Mary Thomas McKinstry, "Silk Culture in the Colony of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 14 (September 1930): 225-235; Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Foundation and Failure of the Silk Industry in Provincial Georgia," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 12, no. 2 (1935): 130-148; Pauline Tyson Stephens, "The Silk Industry in Georgia," *The Georgia Review*, 7 (1953): 39-49; Joseph Ewan, "Silk Culture in the Colonies: with Particular Reference to the Ebenezer Colony and the First Local Flora of Georgia," *Agricultural History*, 43 (1969): 129-142; James C. Bonner, "Silk-Growing in the Georgia Colony," *Agricultural History*, 43, no. 1 (January 1969): 143-147; Joan W. Krispyn, "The Silkworm *Bombyx Mori* (Linn.) in Colonial Georgia," *Journal of the Georgia Entomological Society*, 13, no. 2 (1978): 124-128; W. Calvin Smith, "Utopia's Last Chance? The Georgia Silk Boomlet of 1751," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 59 (1975): 25-37; Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815* (Chapel Hill, 1993), 158-65; Ben Marsh, *Georgia's Frontier Women: Female Fortunes in a Southern Colony* (Athens, 2007), 53-61; Julie Anne Sweet, "A Misguided Mistake: The Trustees' Public Garden in Savannah, Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 93, no. 1 (2009): 1-29.

⁶³ Walne, "The Great Seals Deputed for Georgia," 284-285.

⁶⁴ Seaton and his staff were required to prepare all of the dies for the new reign for Great Seals and Great Seals Deputed for home and colonial governments, privy seals, signets, judicial and departmental seals. Seaton was instructed to prepare drafts of seals for the new colonies of Quebec, Grenada, East Florida, and West Florida in October 1763. Walne, "The Great Seals Deputed," 50; Rea, "The Deputed Great Seal," 164, 167. Quote about Seaton's relaxed style from Walne, *Royal Great Seals Deputed of South Carolina*, 13. Previously the South Carolina figure, not in a feathered headdress but wearing a mural crown (signifying Charleston), had only had her left breast exposed according to the original commission given to James Girard in 1720 and its reissue in 1727 by chief engraver John Rollos. *Ibid.*, 4, 9.

⁶⁵ Candler, *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, 1:274-5 (quote on doubts); McElreath, *Treatise on the Constitution of Georgia*, 240 (1777 constitution).

⁶⁶ The Georgia State Archives mention that this seal "was said to be the design of Button Gwinnett" (one of Georgia's signers of the Declaration of Independence), though I have not found this substantiated anywhere. Image Number LPC 338d, Georgia State Archives, Morrow, GA. On the radicalism of the American Revolution in Georgia and for a profile of those likely to have been involved in the design (since involved in the framing of the constitution), see Harvey H. Jackson, "Georgia Whiggery: The Origins and Effects of a Many-Faceted Movement," in Harvey H. Jackson and Phinizy Spalding, eds., *Forty Years of Diversity: Essays on Colonial Georgia* (Athens, 1984), 251-273 (quote about political generation on 265); Kenneth Coleman, *The American Revolution in Georgia, 1763-1789* (Athens, 1958); Harvey H. Jackson, *Lachlan McIntosh and the Politics of Revolutionary Georgia* (Athens, 1979); Leslie Hall, *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia* (Athens, 2001). Georgia artisans, including Loyer in 1775, working in silver and/or engraving are discussed in: Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial*

Georgia, 1733-1776 (Chapel Hill, 1976), 95, 107-8; Walter J. Fraser, *Savannah in the Old South* (Athens, 2003), 69-70. Charleston seal engravers are considered in Heisser, “Warrior Queen of Ocean,” 173. For information on the variance of actual seals used in the revolutionary and early national periods, I am indebted to Edwin Jackson. The live oak would later (in 1937) become the official state tree of Georgia. Benjamin F. Shearer and Barbara Smith Shearer, eds., *State Names, Seals, Flags, and Symbols: a Historical Guide* (Westport, CT, 2002), 112.

⁶⁷ Gregson Davis, introduction to Virgil, *Eclogues*, trans. Len Krisak (Philadelphia, 2010), ix-x. For a good and accessible overview of the Ancient Greek and Roman symbols, slogans, ideas and architecture that saturated the outlook of the Founding Fathers, see Stuart Andrews, “Classicism and the American Revolution,” *History Today*, 37, no.1 (January, 1987), 37-42. Examples of the use of Virgil on seals include: ????

⁶⁸ Higham, “Indian Princess and Roman Goddess,” 57.

⁶⁹ “Act for Settling and Ascertaining the fees to be taken by the several Public Officers and Persons herein after named,” February 25, 1784, Candler et al, *Colonial Records of Georgia*, 19 pt.2:315-316; census responsibilities on 526.

⁷⁰ McElreath, *Treatise on the Constitution of Georgia*, 261 (quote from new constitution); “An act for altering the Great Seal of the State of Georgia,” passed February 8, 1799, as recorded in advertisement, Executive Department of Georgia, “ARTISTS OF ALL NATIONS ATTEND: PREMIUM FOR GENIUS,” *Louisville Gazette*, February 26, 1799. Notice of winner and competitors placed in *Louisville Gazette*, May 7, 1799, which recorded that actually the “best drawing . . . was performed by [sixteen-year-old] Mr. Chas. Frazer, of South Carolina . . . [which] would have obtained the premium had he not through mistake placed all the figures on one side instead of making a reverse.”

⁷¹ Description of the Great Seal in Georgia Code, § 50-3-30, (2011) from Georgia General Assembly Website, accessed June 15, 2011, <http://www.legis.ga.gov/en-US/default.aspx>.

According to a Prof. Ashmore, cited in Goetchius, the virtues were originally intended to be listed at the base of the columns, but the legislature updated its specifications when it realised that this was not artistically feasible. See considerations in Goetchius, "The Great Seals of Georgia," 258; Z. V. Thomas, *History of Jefferson County* (Macon, Ga., 1927), 44-48; Shearer and Shearer, *State Names, Seals, Flags, and Symbols*, 18. On Sturges and for suggestion about Masons, see Farris W. Cadle, *Georgia Land Surveying History and Law* (Athens, Ga, 1991), 180n17.

⁷² The only example of nudity was the bare left breast of Virtus typically shown on the Virginia seal, while the only Indian figure was on the Massachusetts seal, which harked back to the integrity of the original Massachusetts Bay Company charter.

⁷³ For classic works on the development of this production, see for instance Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), 2:673-690 (cotton) and 752-778 (tobacco); James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* (Athens, 1964), 47-92; Joyce E. Chaplin, "Creating a Cotton South in Georgia and South Carolina, 1760-1815," *Journal of Southern History*, 57, no. 2 (May, 1991): 171-200.

⁷⁴ J. Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), letter two, cited in Edwin C. Hagenstein, Sara M. Gregg, and Brian Donahue, *American Georgics: Writings on Farming, Culture, and the Land* (New Haven, 2011), 18

⁷⁵ Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol," 60-63.