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ery. Georgia was established as a philanthropic enterprise to provide a haven for British debtors and a bulwark against Spanish colonies to the south, but Georgia's trustees forbade the introduction of slaves from the beginning. However, by the end of the first decade of settling, certain of Georgia's leaders began clamoring for slavery. William Stephens, the colony's secretary, his son Thomas Whitefield, and his business manager James Habersham were the most vocal; Knox, for the time being, was an innocent bystander. In 1743 Thomas Stephens stated the case for proslavery Georgians as a whole when he wrote of the colony's retarded development: "In Spight of all Endeavours to disguise this Point, it is clear as Light itself, that Negroes are as essentially necessary to the Cultivation of Georgia, as Axes, Hoes, or any other Utensil of Agriculture."<sup>16</sup>

Although earlier Whitefield had paraded as a reformer of slavery, by 1747 he was convinced that Georgia could not subsist without slaves. In 1740 he had written slaveholders in the southern colonies that "I think God has a quarrel with you, for your abuse of and cruelty to the poor negroes." The day after he stated those sentiments, Whitefield took possession of the land on which he would build Bethesda Orphanage. Committed to making the orphanage a self-sustaining financial operation, he soon joined the chorus of those who sought to introduce slavery into Georgia. In 1748 he warned the colony's trustees that "Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed." By the time the trustees gave in to the wishes of Georgians, Whitefield was upholding slavery, like Saffin before him, as a "positive good" and arguing that he would consider himself "highly favored" if he could "purchase a good number of them [slaves], in order to make their lives comfortable, and lay a foundation for breeding up their posterity in the