

THE SALZBURGER EXILE, EMIGRATION,
AND ESTABLISHMENT OF EBENEZER, GEORGIA.

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April 27, 1987

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T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

FORWARD i

PART I

THE BEGINNINGS OF LUTHERANISM IN SALZBURG 1

FORCED EXILE 5

EMIGRATION 7

EBENEZER 10

PART II

GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY 13

OTHER SALZBURGER TRANSPORTS 14

THE CONGREGATION OF THE SALZBURGERS 16

APPENDIX

CONSTITUTION 20

A SERMON AGAINST THE SALZBURGERS 24

DIARY ENTRIES CONCERNING MR. VAT 27

DIARY ENTRIES CONCERNING MR. VON RECK 29

FORWARD

The main emphasis of this paper, as the title indicates, is to follow the Salzburgers from the time they leave their homeland until they are well established in Georgia. The paper, therefore, begins with background information on the territory of Salzburg itself. The main emphasis will be on the first group (or transport) of Salzburgers to the new world. Their journey across the continent of Europe, to England, and then to America, will be discussed. Also included are details of their first years in Georgia as they establish themselves in Ebenezer. This account will end as of the year 1740. By this date, the Salzburgers are well established in Georgia.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first is a chronological account of the exile, emigration and establishment of Ebenezer by the Salzburgers. The second section adds information that would not otherwise fit well into the narrative. The third section is an appendix. This section contains documents and larger portions of Bolzius' diary that add flavor to the historical account, but would unnecessarily interrupt the narrative if included there.

THE BEGINNINGS OF LUTHERANISM IN SALZBURG

The teachings of the Lutheran Reformation found an eager audience in the territory of Salzburg. This was not merely coincidental. Despite the strong Catholic leanings of her rulers, the seeds of reformation doctrine were planted in Salzburg many years before. In fact, it is possible that already in the twelfth century some of this seed was sown. The teachings of Peter Waldo are known to have reached into the Rhineland. Therefore, the possibility does exist that his teachings also reached a ² little further; namely, into the territory of Salzburg. (Mauelshagen, p. 53)

By the beginning of the fifteen century, no doubt remains that many in the province no longer held to the Catholic faith. The dogma of Huss and Wycliff reached Salzburg. The Catholic rulers were already taking notice. In 1420, Archbishop Eberhard III declared that the "heretical teachings of the Wycliffites and Hussites had crept in as a wolf in sheep's clothing, and that their converts had the audacity to teach and defend their heresies." (Mauelshagen, p. 53)

With this background, Lutheranism found a field ripe for harvest. Reaction by the Catholic rulers of the province was just as quick. Shortly after the 95-Theses were posted by Luther, two men, Stephan Agricola and Paul Speratus, were bold enough in their Lutheran convictions to preach that doctrine at ^{the} Salzburg cathedral. The Catholic reaction forced Speratus to flee. Agricola was arrested, brought to trial and barely escaped an attempt on his life. Another instance of an arrest of a priest for teaching Lutheran doctrine was the immediate cause for the Peasant's War in Salzburg.

From this point on, the persecution of Lutherans in Salzburg became gradually stronger. Archbishop Wolf-Dietrich von

Raitenau(1588-1612)began by demanding from all non-juring government officials an oath of allegiance to the Catholic faith. This already resulted in the departure of many of Salzburg's wealthy burghers.

The persecution was renewed under Maximilian Gandolf von Kuenburg(1668-1687)when some Salzburgers walked out of a Catholic service when the priest openly denounced Reformation doctrines(See the appendix for an example of such a sermon). When the news of this incident reached Gandolf, two of the people who walked out were immediately arrested. While standing before Gandolf's court they openly confessed their faith in Lutheran doctrines. After three days of imprisonment, they were given one more chance to renounce Lutheranism. They held to their previous confession and were, therefore, thrown into prison for fifty days. Two Capuchin monks were assigned the task of "converting" them while they were in prison. The monks had no success in their task, instead they were "themselves discomfited by the apt quotations that these humble Christians made from the sacred Scriptures."(Stobel, p. 30) After this failure, the archbishop demanded from them a written confession of their faith. Joseph Schaitberger carried out this task. This man was a poor miner with no formal education, yet this confession displays a deep and well informed faith. Consider the following excerpts from his confession:

Most noble Prince, our most gracious Lord: Those are truly strong and terrible words, which our Lord Jesus Christ himself has spoken to hypocritical Christians, who deny their faith before the world, when he says: "He that is ashamed of me and denies me before men, of him will I be ashamed, and will deny him before my Father and the holy angels." Luke ix. and Matt. x. These words, may it please your princely grace, move us not to deny our faith before men, lest we should prove to be hypocrites in the sight of God and of men, which may God prevent....As it regards the Holy Supper and Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, it rests most heavily upon our hearts and consciences, in view of our soul's salvation, as one of our highest duties. But that we have not hitherto drank, according to Christ's command, the blood

of Christ in the cup, this we and our forefathers have ever lamented, for it is indeed written, "Drink ye all of it," that is not only the priests, but all men. Matt. xxvi. (Strobel, pp. 31-32).

As one might well guess, this confession caused an increase in the persecution of Lutherans. Not only did Gandolf continue to banish those who held to the Lutheran faith, he also began a policy of splitting up families. Children under fifteen were forcibly taken from their parents before they emigrated (over 600 children are thought to have been taken between 1684 and 1686 alone). These children were kept in monasteries in Salzburg "in order that their souls might be saved through Catholic indoctrination." (Mauelshagen, p.72) Yet very few were moved even by this to give up their faith.

The persecution continued through the reign of Max Gandolf's successor, John Ernst Thurn (1687-1709). The next man in line, Franz Anton (1709-1727) eased up slightly on the persecution. Franz Anton, however, marked the end of what might be called the preliminary stages of persecution in Salzburg. In the years to come, Salzburg came under the control of a true Machiavellian ruler. This man was determined to rid Salzburg of all who did not espouse Catholicism. He cared little about the effect this policy would have on the people and economy of Salzburg. He cared even less about the effect this policy would have on those families expelled from his province. The man ruled Salzburg from 1727 to 1744. His name was Archbishop Leopold Anton Eleuterius Freiherr von Firmian.

Archbishop Firmian was determined to rid Salzburg of all religious dissent no matter what the cost. Firmian even went so far as to bring some Jesuit monks into Salzburg to strengthen those who already were Catholic and to "convert" those who were not. This was considered a drastic move even by the Catholic monks and clergymen in Salzburg since

the Jesuits were well known for their "thorough" methods.

The persecution inflicted by Firmian reached its peak when he issued the "Emigrationspatent." With this document, Firmian intended to rid Salzburg of all Protestants while, at least outwardly, abiding by the Treaty of Westphalia. This treaty demanded that subjects who were not in agreement with their ruler in religious matters were to be allowed to sell their properties and emigrate. The Emigrationspatent expelled every Lutheran or Evangelical in the territory. Property holders were allowed three months to dispose of their property before they were compelled to leave. Not nearly so fortunate were the peasants. The peasantry was given eight days to leave the territory. This part of Firmian's decree was especially cruel since the date on which he had the Emigrationspatent publicly read was November 11. Not only did he force hundreds of people from their homes, he also sent them out at the beginning of the winter season.

For anyone who professed to Lutheranism, the only way to remain in their homes was to return to Catholicism. An oath was required of anyone who wished to take this course.

They had to swear:

Ist. That the Protestant Faith is new, Heretical and Damnable, on the Contrary that the Roman Catholick is the only right and true faith without which no Man can be saved.

IInd. That the Popish Mass is a Sacrifice for the Sins of Men both Living and Dead.

III. That without the Intercession of the Virgin Mary and other Saints no one can be saved.

IV. That there is certainly a Purgatory in which we can make atonement for our Sins, and thereby obtain Mercy.

V. That we cannot be saved by Faith alone but by Good Works also.

VI. That the Popish Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, under one Species is more efficacious than the Protestant Sacrament under both Kinds.

VII. That all these and other such Articles must be believed in order to ^{the} Salvation.

VIII. Some of the last Companies affirmed that All who are any Ways suspected must take this Oath and must at the same time Damn such as were already gone out of the

Country.(Jones: Letterbook, p. 242-243)

Instead of a mass return to the Catholic fold, however, literally hundreds prepared to emigrate from Salzburg. Volk, a contemporary of Firmian and a Catholic himself, reported: "It almost seemed, when troop after troop was driven from its home in the spring of 1732, that Firmian had made up his mind to rid the valleys of his principality of their population."(Mauelshagen, p. 118) Volk was not exaggerating either. Many areas of Salzburg were left with only a fraction of their initial population. For example, of the three hundred people who worked in the Duerrnberg salt mines, thirty were Catholic.(Mauelshagen, p. 101) Only fourteen families remained in the village of St. John.(ibid, p.103) Overall, one out of every seven citizens of Salzburg emigrated at this time and in the decade that followed.(ibid, p.107)

Firmian hoped that these measures would remove the last vestiges of Lutheranism from his territory either by forced exile or by scaring them back into the Catholic fold. It is truly a memorial to the work of the Holy Spirit that the faith in the hearts of these simple peasants did not fail. In fact, the opposite was often true. Their confession, so evident in both word and action, had its effect on their Catholic friends and neighbors. Mauelshagen(p. 100)states that:

Catholic members of Protestant households were so impressed by the crusading spirit which prevailed as to profess adherence to the Lutheran faith, so that they might take leave with their Kith, Kin, and neighbors. In fact, some Catholics were so overcome emotionally as to want to join the crusade. In some villages the urge to follow along had gained such a momentum that armed guards were needed to restrain Catholics from leaving their homeland.

FORCED EXILE

The journey of the Salzburger from their homeland in Germany to ^(Austria)

the shores of Georgia has been compared by many, including the Salzburger themselves, to the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land. The first leg of this journey brought them to Rotterdam. Once the exiles reached Lutheran territory they were often received as heroes of the faith. A long detailed account of this part of journey would result in much repetition. Instead, let the comments of two eye witnesses serve to give some overall impressions of the joys and hardships faced by the Salzburger during this part of their journey.

This first selection is a portion of a pamphlet written by Pastor Andrew Walther of Gera in Saxony.

Everywhere, whether in Saxony or any other state or principality of Germany, the miraculous manner with which God works among people in all walks of life was manifested by the Salzburg trek. The news that the Salzburger were approaching a city suddenly transformed it into a community which seethed with enthusiasm. Folks ran, walked, rode, and went by horseback to meet them. As they walked forth toward and into the city the inspired mass of townsmen who had gone forth to meet them followed them and proceeded on either side of them into the city and through its streets. These were crowded with spectators, doors and windows were thrown open to greet and welcome the noted visitors....These Salzburger, tanned by wind and weather, with beautiful and sparkling eyes, were a sight never to be forgotten. Of one accord the people of the community gladly made contributions for them to the amount of hundreds, yes, thousands of Thalers. One received cloth, another linen, still others shoes, stockings, coats, vests, and bedwarmers, all of which were taken from homes and shops....All joined in singing "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," "I Am a Poor Exile," and other hymns appropriate to the occasion. Townsmen broke ranks to lend a helping hand to the aged by grasping their arms and leading them on their way. Children were taken from the arms of their mothers, were kissed and embraced by welcoming townsfolk....When they departed they were given money and personal apparel....With few exceptions in every community, similar scenes were enacted. At Gotha in Thuringia, when it was reported that Salzburger were soon due to arrive, the city council ordered a survey made of the city to ascertain how many might be accommodated. Hardly had four streets been canvassed, when the necessary quota was filled. (Mauelshagen, pp. 121-122)

It is interesting to find similar comments even from a Catholic

source. W. Volk makes the following comments.

The Count of Koburg, his mother, wife, brother, and two princesses considered it a favor to set before them plates filled with food and to remove the empty dishes when their honored guests had dined. City councilmen and Knights served food and drink for them and waited until the Salzburgers had finished before they sat down to eat....All Germany was overcome by an epidemic of adulation for these Salzburg saints. Even Jews and Catholics were carried away by the enthusiastic reception accorded to them.(Mauelshagen, pp. 118-119)

The Lord was indeed taking care of these people. Yet their trek was hardly free from difficulties. They faced many hardships. They were traveling in the winter months. They had few if any wagons or animals, so young and old, strong and weak alike traveled on foot. Many Catholic areas would not allow them to enter at all. In other Catholic areas they were threatened with hanging or burning. In one such area the Salzburgers took the precaution of tying their children to them overnight because of the threat of the villagers "to see that they should not go to the devil, even if the parents chose to do so."(Dallmann, p. 5) At Augsburg, since it was ruled by Catholics, they waited outside the city for five months before they were allowed to enter.(Dallmann, p. 14) Despite these hardships, however, they discovered that they had many benefactors. Many of the Salzburgers soon learned of yet another benefactor.

EMIGRATION

In order to understand how the Salzburgers ended up in Georgia, it is necessary to look at a little bit of English history. On June 9, 1732, King George II granted a charter to twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen in England. The corporate name for this group of men was: "The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, in America." The purpose of this charter, as stated by the Trustees themselves,

included a provision to furnish "a refuge for the distressed Salzburgers and other Protestants."(Dallmann, p. 19) The colony itself was planted by General James Oglethorpe. Oglethorpe, alone with a group of English colonists, arrived in Georgia on January 20, 1733. This group founded the city of Savannah.

Already in October of 1732 the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge began discussing with the Trustees the possibility of helping the Salzburgers. It took some time for these two groups to raise sufficient funds and gather enough people to start a new settlement. When all the arrangements were made, however, the emigrating Salzburgers were well provided for. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge provided the emigrants with two pastors and provided also for their salaries. The Trustees provided passage, sea-stores, an allotment of land and the provisions they would need until they were capable of self-support. The allotment of land, mentioned above, amounted to about fifty acres. Each family was given three lots: one for a home, one for a garden near the town and one for crops.

On November 27, 1733, the first group of emigrants assembled in Rotterdam. While they were in that city, the pastors promised them by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge arrived. The two men who accepted the call to serve the Salzburgers in America were the Reverend Mr. John Martin Bolzius and the Reverend Mr. Israel Christian Gronau. "The Minister (Bolzius) is a little thin man about 31 years of age....The Catechist (Gronau) is about 25 Years a Tallish ruddy looking young man, they both seem very sober persons"(From a letter by Capt. Coram--of the first transport--Jones, Letterbook, p.406)

They set sail to Dover on December 21, and on the eighth of

January, 1734, they set sail for Georgia. The following excerpts from the diary of the two pastors will provide some of the highlights of the 104 day voyage to Georgia.

Jan. 9. Just as most of the people became very sick at the beginning of the voyage, we too have become stricken with seasickness. But it is not as violent as it was on the trip from Rotterdam to Dover. (Jones, vol. I, p. 39)

Jan. 28. This afternoon at two o'clock all of us aboard the ship had a great scare which impressed our hearts and our congregation's hearts very much (may God grant it to all aboard the ship!) and effected much good through God's grace. When the captain's dinner was cooking, the cabin boy who had to prepare it spilled the broth from the meat into the fire so that the steam penetrated throughout the ship and into the cabins. Since some sailors were in the powder magazine at that time, someone got the idea that the powder had caught on fire. He immediately called for water and came running on the deck in great fear. Thereupon the captain and everybody ran to the bow of the ship and everyone thought his last hour had come. It is impossible to describe what a wretched sight this was and how miserably the old and the young were screaming. After the panic had passed, we called our congregation together and sang the hymn: "I shall, as long as I live here," etc. We praised God in prayer and reminded them briefly of the verse from the 13th Psalm which we had considered in this morning's prayer hour: I have trusted in Thy mercy. (Jones, vol. I, p. 43)

Feb. 1. In the evening after 8 o'clock, we were furtively overhauled by a ship which we had not noticed during the whole day. Our captain hurried on the deck at once with his speaking-tube and called to the ship, but he received in answer a shot from a cannon, which caused great commotion and brought everyone on deck. The captain ordered all sails to be hoisted. But God changed everything for the best. Our innocent mobilization and preparations and perhaps also the many people that were to be seen frightened the pirate ship, for which we took it, so much that it left us and gave the appearance of wanting to escape us. God be praised for having saved us from this danger too! (Jones, vol. I, pp. 44-45)

Feb. 19. (This was the second day of this storm) All day long the wind continued to blow so violently against us from the west-north-west and the waves were so high that we could spread only two sails in the wind while the ship continued to be tossed from side to side. (Jones, vol. I, p. 50)

Beyond these incidents, the voyage of the Salzburgers to Georgia was uneventful. They encountered only the problems common to any ocean

voyage of the day. They would encounter days of absolute calm or even adverse winds. Yet for the most part they arrived in Georgia in good health, happy to be done with their first experience at sea.

EBENEZER

The Salzburger received a cheerful reception when they sailed into the Savannah harbor. The emigrants were given temporary shelter within Savannah while the process of choosing a location to settle was in progress. The emigrants from Salzburg were allowed to choose whatever place they desired as the location of their settlement. The location they finally chose was about thirty miles inland. This location was undoubtedly more familiar to these emigrants than the sea-coast would have been.

A group of single Salzburger men then set out for this location to make initial preparations for the whole group. After they had erected a temporary structure to house all of the settlers, the rest of the colonists were guided to their new home. At the place where they settled, a rock was set up and the place was named: Ebenezer.

The Salzburger encountered much difficulty in establishing themselves in the land. The area they had chosen was thickly wooded. Great amounts of time and effort were required just to prepare the land for cultivation. While all that work was going on, no work could be done in preparing permanent dwellings. In addition to that, the colonists soon discovered that there were no tradesmen in their number. They were dependent on Savannah for carpenters, board cutters, etc. It was, therefore, quite some time before any individual homes were erected.

The Salzburger also found themselves in a climate that they were

not at all used to. The heat in the afternoons forced them to work only in the mornings and evenings. The combination of a new climate, hard work, and the ill effects of nearby marshes took their toll. Bolzius wrote in his diary: "The people at this place have been here barely four months, and already death has claimed four men and two women." (Jones, vol. I; p. 80)

Within two years, the Salzburgers had become quite dissatisfied with the area they had chosen to establish Ebenezer. The two pastors, Bolzius and Gronau, were sent to Savannah to discuss the problem with General Oglethorpe. The General immediately went with the two pastors back to Ebenezer to see for himself how serious the problem was.

The disappointment the Salzburgers had with the land they occupied was threefold. 1) They did not feel that the land was able to produce enough for them to ever become self-sufficient. 2) The climate proved to be unhealthy for them. 3) The river on which their town was located turned out to be unsuitable for navigation to and from Savannah.

Their disappointment with the location of Ebenezer had some merit. That the climate was unhealthy has already been shown. Their land was of a sandy nature and did not hold any promise of plentiful harvests in the future. John Vat, commissioner of the second transport of Salzburgers, agreed with that opinion.

At the Sight (of Ebenezer) we were confirmed of what every Body had told us of the Barrenness of this Part of this Province being chiefly Pine barren, a sandy white Ground not above one Fifth or at most one Tenth Part of tolerable mould, Cane Land or Swamps; which swamps seeming to be Good are covered with a black mould about one or Two Inches Deep, but under it appears a White Sand like salt. So that every one who cometh hither saith The People will never be able to get a Livelyhood in this Place be they never so Industrious and Laborious; For upon a rainy Day the Black mould being washed off nothing but white sand is seen in large Places like paths in a Walk so that the poor Salzburgers were exceedingly struck down and disheartened. (Jones, vol. I; p. 539)

Their dissatisfaction with the river was also well founded. The first problem with it was that it was only navigable when it was swollen. At other times it amounted to little more than a creek. Fallen trees and sand bars then made it impossible to traverse. When it was swollen enough to navigate, it still left much to be desired. Its meandering rivals the best of Wisconsin's Kettle Moraine streams. By land, Savannah was only six miles from Ebenezer. Going by boat increased that distance to over twenty-five miles. (Strobel, p. 87) The result was that desperately needed supplies often had to be carried over land to Ebenezer. This situation not only resulted in much tedious work for the men of the colony, it also required great amounts of time from men who were needed for clearing farm land, building houses, etc.

General Oglethorpe was not unsympathetic with the plight of the Salzburgers. He did, however, have reservations to their request to move the colony elsewhere. His reservations were also well founded. A move of a few miles would not remove the effects of the Georgian climate. Moreover, he did not feel that the new location they had chosen would prove any more suitable for agriculture. In addition to those factors, he pointed out that here they were already established with homes and cultivatable fields. If they chose to move to a new location, they would have to begin anew the process of building houses and clearing the land.

Since the General did not forbid the move, the Salzburgers decided to relocate. General Oglethorpe gave them whatever assistance he could, even though in his opinion, they should not have moved. They did, indeed, encounter many difficulties because of the move. Health, more than anything else, continued to be a problem. In July of 1737, Bolzius reported in his diary:

We have been asked to report at the end of the diary the number of the deceased and living members of the congregation who have been with us from the beginning. Thirty-one of the adults have died here and in Old Ebenezer and twenty-four children; among the living are eighty-nine adults, and forty-three children. (Jones, vol. IV, p. 144)

A much more joyful report is found in his diary, however, on January 13, 1738. "God has caused us an unexpected pleasure through the unexpected arrival of Mr. Thilo....An unusual joy has arisen among the congregation at his arrival." (Jones, vol. V, p. 14) Mr. Thilo was a doctor; the first to live among the Salzburgers in Ebenezer. Unfortunately he did not prove to be as great a blessing as had been hoped. His remedies were not entirely successful, and he himself soon became chronically ill.

In years to come, however, Ebenezer developed into a prosperous community. It would not be long before they would become the most prosperous settlement in Georgia. (Jones, vol. IV, p. xiv) The following complementary description is from a letter dated September 18, 1740 (written by a Mr. Thomas Jones):

Thirty miles distant from this place is Ebenezer, a town on the Savannah river, inhabited by Salzburgers and other Germans, under the pastoral care of Mr. Bolzius and Mr. Gronau, who are discreet, worthy men; they consist of 60 families and upward. The town is neatly built, the situation exceedingly pleasant; the people live in the greatest harmony with their ministers and with one another, as one family. They have no drunken, idle, or profligate people among them, but are industrious, and many have grown wealthy. Their industry has been blessed with remarkable and uncommon success, to the envy of their neighbors, having great plenty of all the necessary conveniences for life (except clothing) within themselves; and supply this town (Savannah) with bread-kind, as also beef, veal, pork, poultry, &c. (Strobel, pp. 111-112)

GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY

Ebenezer was considered a missionary station. As a missionary station, it was under the care of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and also of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany. In the area of religion, the pastors required each member of the congregation to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. They were also required to submit to a code of regulations. This code was originally written in 1733. The authors of this document were Samuel Urlsperger, Frederick Zeugenhausen, and Gotthelf Augustus Franke. With only a few changes, this document remained in effect until 1843. (This document is duplicated in the appendix).

At Ebenezer, the actual governing was originally carried on by Pastor Bolzius and Commissioner von Reck. This allowed for the natural

division between political and religious authority within the settlement. Von Reck soon left, however, leaving authority in both areas in the hands of Bolzius. He soon proved to be quite capable of handling both very well.

With the second transport of Salzburgers came Commissioner Vat. Along with him came trouble. Commissioner Vat assumed that temporal authority would be given to him. Bolzius, for reasons that cannot be completely discerned, wished to retain his temporal authority. The return of Commissioner von Reck with the third transport only served to further complicate the matter.

In the struggle for temporal authority in Ebenezer, Bolzius finally won out by default. Commissioners Vat and von Reck had lost all credibility among the Salzburgers. By February of 1736, Bolzius had taken over Vat's position as the distributor of provisions. By the end of August, von Reck had also lost all of his authority. (Jones, vol. III, pp. xiv-xv) Some typical diary entries concerning the problems between Bolzius and the two commissioners are printed in the appendix.

OTHER TRANSPORTS OF SALZBURGER EMIGRANTS

There were in all four major transports of Salzburgers from the continent to Georgia. Other Salzburgers filtered over the ocean from time to time. These, however, were not funded by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The Society organized and funded the transport of four separate groups during the 1730's and 1740's. No further details are needed on the first of these transports since that was already covered as a part of the initial Salzburger emigration.

Not much information was available on the second of the Salzburger transports. This group set sail on the "Prince Edward" on November 12,

1734. John Vat was named as commissioner of this group of Salzburgers. They arrived in Savannah on December 27 of that same year. About two weeks later, on the 13th of January, 1735, they completed their journey with the move to Ebenezer. Even though the Salzburgers already there were having a difficult time providing for their own, the newcomers were received with enthusiasm. This group soon proved to be a great blessing to Ebenezer since this transport contained a number of craftsmen and engineers. Up to this time the Salzburgers were lacking any with those much needed skills.

The third transport of Salzburgers sailed on a ship named the "London Merchant." This voyage began on anything but a good note. Before they were even able to leave England, a dangerous leak in the hull of the ship had to be repaired. The sea-worthiness of this vessel continued to be in doubt, however. Before they could set out to sea, they had to stop also at the Bay of Biscay for more major repairs. After all that, six men were still needed to man the pumps at all times to keep the ship afloat. Despite these problems, they arrived safely in Savannah in February, 1736.

Upon their arrival, they also encountered problems. This group was originally scheduled to land at Frederica. From there they would move to St. Simons Island where they were to settle. Commissioner von Reck (who was also commissioner of the first transport) decided to settle this group at Ebenezer instead. Their supplies, however, were still shipped to Frederica. This transport, therefore, was left without its desperately needed supplies. The storehouses of Savannah alleviated some of the shortage, but could not compensate completely.

Furthermore, this group was not well accepted by those already in Ebenezer. Since it was not intended to go to Ebenezer, recruitment for

the group was not as carefully done. Many in this transport were not Salzburgers, and many were not of the same faith as the Salzburgers.

Added to this cause of friction was the return of von Reck himself. As commissioner of the first transport, he assumed that political authority in Ebenezer would automatically return to him. Commissioner Vat and Bolzius himself did not quite agree.

The fourth transport of Salzburgers set out under the leadership of Johann Gottfried von Mullern. He was assign to lead the group "from Augsburg through the Ulm and Württemberg regions and on the Neckar and Rhine down to Rotterdam." (C.H.I.Q., vol.56 #1 p.6) From there the leadership of the group was assumed by Mr. Vigera. This voyage was characterized by frequent storms and contrary winds.

Their ship, The Loyal Judith, passed Dover on October 2, 1741. Bad weather, however, forced them to return to the continent. Nine days later, they passed Dover once again. Because of the delay, however, they missed their escort. The fleet of Admiral Cavendish, which was to escort them, left two days before they reached London. Despite the lack of an escort, they had no trouble with pirates. There were a couple of scares, but none turned into an actual attack by pirates. Mr. Vigera describes these incidents in detail in his diary. He also describes this incident which occurred during a storm.

This morning at 9:30 o'clock a great danger hovered before our eyes. A half hour away from our ship, to the south, a violent whirlwind arose. That was terrifying to look at, as if a seething water was boiling; one could indeed see the smoke. This was followed by a severe lightning storm in the north. (C.H.I.Q. vol.56 #2, p.57)

The group survived this and all other problems and arrived safely at the mouth of the Savannah River on the first of December.

THE CONGREGATION OF THE SALZBURGERS

Samuel Urlisperger wrote in his preface to the first installment of Bolzius' diary:

There is no doubt that all those who have received sufficient information about the Salzburger Emigration, as it occurred from the end of 1731 until 1733, and also about the emigration of single persons, which is continuing unto this day, and do not willfully refuse to recognize the Finger of God, will readily admit that this is surely one of the greatest revelations of the power and grace of God in the Church Militant. (Jones, vol. I, p. xix)

The grace and power of God certainly are evident in this saga. One clearly sees God's providence in the exile and emigration of the Salzburgers. Despite the greatest of hardships, they always found benefactors who provided for their most desperate needs. They were also blessed with two good pastors who devoted their lives to serve this congregation. These blessings of God bore fruit in the lives of the Salzburger emigrants. Their two pastors spoke of them in glowing terms (in a letter from them to Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge).

We are exceedingly glad to perform by God's direction divine offices among them. Their Love to the holy word of God is very great, and they show by words and by deeds, that That was the chief and only reason of leaving their native Country. They not only come on Sundays three times to our Assemblies, but their Zeal to Edifying their Souls is so ardent, that at their desires we have appointed in the Evening about half an hour's time for instructing them in Christian Duties and putting up with them, to Almighty God, our prayers in the Weekdays. (Jones, Letterbook, p. 536-537)

Another contemporary of the Salzburgers (Hofrat von Caprivi of Wernigerode) wrote:

The Salzburgers should serve as a good salt to set many cities to thinking and to a vigorous awakening, especially those among us that in the bright light of the Gospel are sleeping, yes, lying in death.... In the life and walk of most of these Salzburgers we have met with a picture of the character of the first Christians and a living apology--defence--of those who to-day turn their Christianity into a holy life.... They are zealous to be truthful, do not make more of themselves than is coming to them, are temperate, and very firmly hold together. (Dallmann, p. 11-12)

The effect that the Salzburgers had on the cities of Europe through which they travelled has already been mentioned. The effect of their open confession also had its effect on their ship-mates. Numerous times in Bolzius' diary during the sea voyage mention is made of sailors or other passengers being affected by them. Some even began to attend their daily devotions.

The most famous of these incidents occurred during the third transport. Among the passengers of that transport were John and Charles Wesley. As the Salzburgers on board were worshiping, a storm suddenly came up. The severity of this storm caused great fear for many on board, including Wesley. The Salzburgers, however, continued singing their hymns. Wesley was influenced greatly by this incident. He later wrote in his Journal: "I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God." (Dallmann, p.20) In his "Centenary of Methodism" President Jackson of the British Conference sums up the incident in this way:

In these strangers the English Methodists beheld Christianity in a light more gentle, attractive, and consoling than that in which they had ever before seen it. In storms and hurricanes, when others were ready to die with fear, they calmly sang the praises of God, expressing a cheerful confidence and resignation in the prospect of immediately perishing in the great deep. With the tempers of these people the Wesleys were at this time personally unacquainted. Neither of them was delivered from the fear of death, and they had no just conception of the holy cheerfulness which is produced by an application of the blood of Christ to the conscience and abiding witness and operations of the heavenly Comforter. Theirs was a religion of fear and mortification rather than of holy peace and joy. (Dallmann, pp.19-20)

What is probably the greatest compliment that can be given the Salzburger congregation is that they consciously lived their lives so as to be a light to others. Bolzius reports (during the first transport): "Today one of them said, among other things that...perhaps others would be converted to the Lord Jesus through their

conduct."(Jones, vol.I, p.46) In general, Pastors Bolzius and Gronau were blessed with a congregation of sincere Christians.

CONSTITUTION

In the name of God:--The fundamental constitution, articles, and rules upon which a German Evangelical Lutheran congregation was formally established, upon the basis of the Holy Bible, our Augsburg Confession, (and the other Symbolical Books,) since the year 1733, in and about Ebenezer, in His Great Britannic Majesty's province of Georgia; and which were unanimously approved, confirmed, and unalterably determined upon, under their hand and seal, by the reverenced founders, viz. Messrs. Samuel Urlsperger, Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, Gotthelf Augustus Francke, most worthy members of the venerable society in England, instituted for the promotion of the Knowledge of Christ; together with the first ministers, elders, deacons, and regular church-members, His Great Britannic Protestant Majesty's faithful subjects. (Vide Preface to the first article of the Americanische Ackerwerck Gottes, p.3.)

CHAPTER I.

That no congregation can preserve its establishment and regulations, and maintain good order for the furtherance of its true interests, unless there be elected as deacons men who are members of the congregation, and who have both the qualifications and authority to provide for the maintenance of good regulation and wholesome discipline of the whole congregation, is taught by sound reason, the Holy Scriptures, and experience. Therefore, as we are taught in the important admonition contained in the last verse of the fourteenth chapter of I Cor.: 'Let all things be done decently and orderly,' (or in accordance with good regulations and decorum.) And that we may be the more encouraged to obey this injunction, the holy apostle declares, in the twenty-eighth verse of the twelfth chapter, preceding, 'that God, being a God of order in his churches purchased with a precious price, appointed not only apostles, prophets, and ministers,' but also adjutors and rulers: that is, men highly gifted and favoured, who have, both by word and in deed, contributed, as the wants and ordinances of the churches required, every thing that was possible for the good regulation and the maintainment of the churches. It is also a fact, clearly taught by the word of God, that such men were appointed in the church of God, even in the Old Testament dispensation, from the time of Moses, for the purpose of maintaining good order. Accordingly, it is in perfect keeping with the will of God and the example not only of the primitive, but also of the succeeding Christian churches, that such church elders, or adjutors and rulers, have been jointly elected by the whole congregation; also among us, whose duty it is to promote the best interests of this our parish, as is directed by the English ecclesiastical canon. As, however, our congregation does not properly belong to the English Church, and consequently cannot, in all points, exist under its ecclesiastical canon, but must enact its own regulations for the worship of God and for edification, it becomes necessary for the members of our congregation to invest the proposed church-elders, as is the practice of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in London, (and others which need not be mentioned,) with special authority to support our congregation; and intrust to them also their

establishments and regulations. For all this, if made incumbent upon the ministers alone, is a burden for too onerous and insupportable.

If, now, men thus chosen and empowered are to promote by word and in deed, both the existence and the welfare of the congregation, so that it may endure and be maintained by its establishments and regulations; and as such well-being of the congregation cannot be promoted without means, it follows quite naturally, that the requisite means must be placed in their hands by the members of the congregation, as is done by the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in London, before alluded to, and also by all other Christian congregations.

Hence, inasmuch as the government, or the English ecclesiastical constitution, provides nothing for this purpose, and as, in consequence of the troublesome and warlike times in our German fatherland, we cannot, with certainty, expect as much aid as was received in former years from our beloved benefactors in Germany, toward the maintainment of our church and school establishments, and also toward the alleviation of the wants of the poor and sick, it becomes a stern demand of necessity, that is, the honour of God and our spiritual welfare require, that the members of the congregation bind themselves, in love, mutually to contribute from year to year as much money as is and will continue to be requisite to the support of the school-teachers, and the preservation of the church and school edifices and the parsonage. Those persons, therefore, who are members of the congregation, and who are desirous of participating in its spiritual benefit and privileges, will, it is hoped, also be disposed to lend their assistance in bearing the expenses of the congregation, by contributing cheerfully their share toward the sustainment of the said proposed regulations and establishments. Those, however, who are unwilling to take upon themselves any of the labours, and who will not perform what is their covenant duty with feelings of gratitude, notwithstanding their ability to do so, debar themselves and their families, by these very means from the congregation and its spiritual benefits; which will not surely tend to their advantage: 'God loveth a cheerful giver.' 'He that soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully.' 2 Cor. ix. 6,7,8;(ix. 10.) Such as are members of this our evangelical congregation, and are willing to contribute as much as may, from time to time be found requisite, according to the amount which the appointed church-deacons may compute and deem proper, toward the support of the school-teachers, the parsonage, the church, and school edifices, and also the supplying of any other necessities, will please subscribe their names to this writing, and annex the sum that they will give. And as, through the gracious providence of God, our beloved inhabitants have, in this respect, a great advantage in point of privilege and ease from cares over many other Christian congregations, because they are not required to compensate their pastors, not minister to their temporal support, it is expected that they will be the more prompt in contributing their quota toward the sustainment of the above regulations and establishments, which are designed for the support of the congregation and the upholding of the worship of God. They should even rejoice that the opportunity is afforded them to manifest the activity of their faith, through the love of God, to his word, the church, and the schools; but when there is no active love, there is not true faith, 'Show me thy faith by thy works.' James ii. 18.

Finally, touching the office and duties of the church-elders, in regard to the ministers in the churches, the teachers in the schools, the whole congregation, and the money intrusted to them, it shall, in conclusion, be indicated in the words of the printed London German Church Discipline, given to us, altered, however, in several instances, to accord with our peculiar circumstances, as follows:--

1st. They shall employ the utmost diligence in providing that the word of God be declared unto the Christians of our congregation, in its purity and without admixture, by pious teachers and ministers; that the holy sacraments enjoined and instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ be administered, and that the pure doctrines be preserved and transmitted to our posterity. And in order that this object may be attained, some of them, at least, in case all cannot, shall always be present when the word is preached.

2nd. It shall be their duty to see that the school-teachers receive duly their stipulated salary semi-annually; likewise, that every thing else which may concern the congregation be fully performed. For this purpose they shall also collect, half-yearly, the contributions of the congregation, and enter the receipts regularly into the church register. They shall also, semi-annually, receive from the parents whose children receive instruction in the schools, a certain amount of payment for tuition, proportionate to their means; so that the contribution of the whole congregation for the defrayment of the congregational expenses, may be somewhat diminished.

3rd. The church-deacons shall make it their duty, in conjunction with the ministers, to see that all sins, disgraceful conduct, and scandal be avoided; or, otherwise, duly punished and corrected.

4th. They shall keep a particular account of all expenditures made on behalf of the congregation, and also of every thing which any one may have voluntarily vowed or promised to give toward the support of the churches. And, after the expiration of his office, each one shall submit his account to all the other church-deacons collectively.

5th. They shall, at the end of the year, and when leaving their office and service, render an account to the contributing portion of the congregation, of all the money which they received during their official year for the use of the church; so that each one may know how the funds of the congregation are applied and expended, and thus be more willing to contribute again.

6th. They shall submit the church register to the inspection of any one of the contributors who may desire to see how the money has been employed.

7th. Those church-deacons who have served their term of office shall be duly bound to assist on all occasions, by word or deed, at the meetings of the deacons and of the congregation, if desired; and when cited to do so, they shall appear without refusal.

8th. The church-deacons newly inducted, and at all times those coming into office successively, shall also be held responsible for the performance and fulfillment of all measures which may have been resolved and agreed upon by their predecessors, conducive to the tranquility, peace, prosperity, and advantage of the congregation.

9th. On those Sabbaths when the Lord's Supper is administered, they shall also stand at the doors of the church with suitable vessels(dishes or bowls)to receive and collect from the congregation while leaving the church, gifts and contributions for the benefit of

the church and the poor. It is also reasonably expected that not only residents should contribute something for the administration of the rite of baptism, the performance of the marriage ceremony, and for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, but strangers should also be held to the performance of this duty. For if the congregation is not sustained by its institutions, these can also not enjoy the privileges mentioned.

These above-mentioned deacons, of whom not less than seven shall be elected annually from among the members of our Evangelical Lutheran congregation, conscientiously and according to the best of their knowledge, have the power to apply the money intrusted to them to this purpose; yet, in very important matters, as when a church is to be built, or an important repair is to be undertaken, &c., the acquiescence and approval of the whole congregation convened in mass must be obtained. To these establishments may God, who is a God of order, add his heavenly grace, for the sake of Jesus Christ! Amen. (Strobel, pp. 94-98)

The following is an example of the type of sermons that were being preached to against the faith of the Salzburger Lutherans. Mr. P. Fyffer, the priest who delivered this sermon, invited the Protestants eight days in advance. It is no wonder that Lutherans were angered by such a sermon which included false accusations and open ridicule. This sermon is included in Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks (Jones, pp. 247-250)

Abstract of a Sermon Preached by a Popish Priest at Augsboung 11th Sunday after Trinity 1732.

His Proposition was:

The Glory of the Lutheran Church, which she hath from the Exiles of Salzburg.

In our Catholick Church our Glory are the 12 Apostles with their Faith and Miracles etc. What is the Glory of the Lutherans? What miracles have they? the greatest Miracle of our Time, than which none other hath been greater yet, Viz. That so many Thousand Salzburgers turn to their Church. This is such a Wonder that the whole World must Wonder at it. We will consider therefore

First, The Wonder in it self.

Secondly, As it is an holy Wonder.

1st. The Lutherans say: is it now a great Wonder that above 2000 Men have been enlightened at once? I must confess it is a great wonder; but I read in their Printed Papers, that before Luther's time Faith had been already in Salzburg. which thus You see that they have not been enlightened suddenly, and thus You see that they contradict themselves. Pray consider whether it be a Wonder that Tares are found in a Field, which the People see and cut off but leave the Root in the Ground, therefore it grows again and brings Seed, which falls down upon the Ground in several Places, and spreads it self far and near, and so it happened in this Case.

Further observe, that these People were stubborn from their Childhood, who would not hear when others were willing to instruct them in the Catholick Faith, but resisted, remaining stiff in their stubborn free will, and their scandalous Lives, and choosing rather a Religion that is agreeable to their Nature and Affections where they may live as they please. and are not tied down to any Injunctions of Fasting, of making Auricular Confessions, of mortifying their Body with Works of Penance etc. but where they say it is impossible to Keep the Commandments of God, and therefore we may do what we please.

But what do I say? surely they Keep bravely in an unmarried Life (N.B.: since they were not married by Catholic priests, they were not considered married), the Commandment, increase and multiply; this was evidently seen by several Hundreds of Children, which they brought along, as so many Witnesses, in Wagons. Pray see this is the great Wonder of the Lutherans, of which they speak in their Form of Prayers for the Festival of Peace, of which they have made Pictures and added

Explications to'em, exclaiming with David: it is a Wonder before our Eyes Hallelujah. it is or no great Reputation if People Praise their Goods too much, as we see by the Mountebanks, who make great Noise of their Medicines to make the People buy them, though it is very poor Stuff; and thus do the Lutherans, they proclaim and make a Noise about this matter in single Sheets, in Prints, in so many Books etc. There is likewise published a Print and called a Wonder by Lutherans that a Child of two Years old jumped down three Stories high. Mind the Wonder! the Child of two Years old did know what Faith is and that the Lutheran Faith is the true Faith; the Child of two Years hath Committed himself to the Providence and Protection of God, and jumped down three Stories high; mind the Wonder, it was a little Country House of a Farmer, three Stories high, such as they have in Salzburg. My Christian Believers, what must our Wonder be at this and that Altar? before this and that Image of Grace? they are nothing, our Wonders are all Lies, but with them all is true, and all together a great Wonder.

II. We consider it as an holy Wonder. Mind how the Lutherans praise this Wonder. They say: these People behave themselves very devoutly, O how fervently do they Pray, how humble and contented they are, their Piety & Zeal cannot be looked without Tears. Behold these are the holy People! But Mind, the Lutherans say nothing at all of the Behaviour of these People in their Country. There they sat together round a Table, with a Salt-Cellar upon it, they dipt their Fingers into the Salt, and bound themselves with an Oath, not to leave one another 'till they obtained their Will, they gathered together before the Magistrate's House, as Rebels, attacked him, with several threatening Words, saying there were 800 Men sent from Ratisbon, and 1800 from other Places to their Assistance and were already on the Road; the Popish Heads who resisted them should soon tumble about on the Ground, particularly mentioning their Prince, and other Great Men (N.B.: that such a meeting did occur is true; the details presented here, however, vary from gross exaggerations to complete lies).

Is not this Rebellion? moreover they spoke Blasphemously of Christ, that he despaired on the Cross, because he cried out: "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" likewise of the Blessed Virgin Mary, that She was in the lower most part of Hell. Saint Nepomuck they have called a Hangman, they have disfigured the Image of St. Augustin and other Saints. And yet these are Pious People.

Concerning the Doctrine they have received, Pray, who hath instructed them? I tell You a learned Man, Viz: a Smith. But they have their Faith from Scripture, You say, but how can that be, when they cannot read? But some could read, and read the Scripture unto others that could not. Well, but who hath explained the Scripture and proved that this is the True Faith, for the Lutheran Ministers themselves say that the Scripture ought to be explained? I Answer, the abovementioned Smith and some others amongst them have explained the Scripture. Ha, Ha, this and his Companions are the Learned Men, who can explain the Scripture: 'tis likely they have made a true Explication thereof. What are the most learned Men of our Church and all the Fathers of the Church? They are nothing in Comparison to these People. but who can be so void of Sense and Understanding and believe that these People can explain the Scripture and prove from the same the Articles of Faith. I have often told the Lutherans, and repeat it again to Day, that they shall prove from the Scripture by one Single

Sentence only, but without Explication, that my Faith is a false Faith, I say without Explication, I will turn a Lutheran this very Day.

But it is certain these People have the Lutheran Faith, Why? because their Examination is printed here, there You may Read it: But I find only Nine have Answered, and therefore are all the rest of the same Faith, for all that many may be Anabaptists and I don't know what. And then why must We believe they have Answered so? two Ministers have Subscribed their Names, therefore it must be true, and yet these are themselves interested in the Case. but so it is, what they say, all is true, what We say, is nothing but Lies. Let it be so, but I desire the Lutherans to consider what they do in seducing so many People. May God convert them that they may return to our true Church!

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF BOLZIUS CONCERNING THE STRIFE BETWEEN MR. VAT AND HIMSELF.

Today Mr. Vat made it clearer than usual how he dislikes me and my dear colleague and how much he wishes to harm us; but by this he just alienated the Salzburgers' hearts even further. Not long ago Mr. Gronau had received permission from Mr. Causton (governor of Savannah) himself to have a fireplace built in his house in order to keep himself warm against the wind; and this was told to Mr. Vat. Yesterday he had two people begin the work, but today Mr. Vat sent Mr. Zwifler, whom he had appointed constable, along with two Salzburgers who have had to accept the office of tithingmen, to us and, as delegated Commissioner of both Societies, ordered us to cease our construction at once, regardless of Mr. Causton's permission. The people, as well as we, were most amazed not only at the unexpected protestation but also at the procedure that was so unusual among us. However, we were pleased that the people were obedient and carried out his wishes. We sent him word that he did not have to be so ceremonious, but rather he could have forbidden the matter privately, if he had sufficient grounds and authority, since we had more than once offered to come to him as often as he demanded.

Meanwhile I sent word that I would like to come to him now myself if it would not be inconvenient for him. When I came to him I found him trembling with anger. He justified his procedure with English customs and laws, as he has always done up to now, and he vowed he would oppose this construction as well as that of a fireplace in my house to the very limit and with emphasis even if we had permission from Mr. Causton. He kept referring to the commission that was expected from England; and he said that he would soon speak about the matter with Mr. Causton. Mr. Gronau himself went to him and asked him not to cause unrest and strife among us, but he could get no further with him than I could. Thereupon we told him that we were compelled to report this protestation and his recent behavior to Savannah this very day, for which purpose there was, by the Providence of God, an opportunity at hand. My dear colleague had resolved with good reason, and especially for the sake of some people who wished to have Holy Communion in Purysburg, to travel there; and for this purpose some Salzburgers were already engaged to take him there. And because this matter occurred just before his departure, he will have to go the whole way to Savannah.

This time Mr. Vat did not wish to go along, even though we at once offered; but he prefers to go to Savannah on October 13 in order to complain copiously to Mr. Causton because, as he claims, I encroach on his office and make the people disobey him. And in order that Mr. Causton might know the sequence and context of things that he has undertaken among us so far to the harm of the people, and their consequences, I wrote them down briefly and gave them to Mr. Gronau pro memoria. Yet as present we have only reported in a general way how he has behaved toward the people and us. We consider it necessary to incorporate his entire conduct in more detail in this diary so that our benefactors in Europe will also see how he has acted toward us and we toward him.

At first he behaved very well and was able to give a good appearance to all the things about which the people complained on the voyage. Therefore we gave him credit for much good and gave him much good

testimony in the diary. For we greatly prefer to report good things and are accustomed to hold back as long as possible from quoting unpleasant circumstances, especially personal matters. He held back all sorts of things from the Salzburger^s that had been donated by the benefactors and applied it to his own use (of which I shall report some details) and he also wishes to rule over the poor people with great severity and great obstinacy as he sees fit, and this we could not contenance in silence. His greatest vexation at us is that people take refuge with us in all spiritual and material matters and accept our advice; and he denounces this as a contempt of his person and of his commissionership. To all appearances he was especially vexed that I could prove in writing that the ox that Mr. Bryan gave the last Salzburger^s belongs not to him (as he wishes to maintain against me and others) but to the people.

From that time on he has turned much more bitter toward us. I have asked him several times to release the things that were given to the people, for example two kegs of butter, several kegs of brandy, sugar, soap, etc. Likewise he should at least open the wine that Mr. Causton sent for refreshing the sick and give it to the thirsty people. But in this he cut me short as if all matters pertaining to provisions were entrusted to him alone and I should keep out of them, etc. We would have to respect his words and his orders as from the Trustees themselves because he was sent here by both Societies and in their name. We should concern ourselves with nothing but our office, it was his task to give orders.

I showed 1) that we had never had things done through commands and had never demanded blind and servile obedience of the people, but rather we had assembled the people in a conference and showed them their duty from divine and human grounds and explained to them the necessity and value of this or that thing that was to be done.... Our conferences, which we have continued to hold even with the increased congregation, he has never approved, even though he has never wished to say anything directly against them, especially since he heard that our benefactors approve of this method.... 2) I asked him frequently to give it to me in writing that he should rule at our place without us and that we are thus relieved of the care of keeping public order and other arrangements. Yet he did not wish to do this.... Despite all these representations, he steadily rebuked me for being to blame for his miscredit with the Salzburger^s and said they had become indignant at him and disobedient because of me and my actions (even though I know of no disobedience). Therefore he had to give me some details, whereupon the following came out: Once, not long after his arrival in America, when he had journeyed to Savannah and had remained too long, I had distributed 6 lbs. of rice and a half lb. of powder to each head. The people came to me with Mr. Zwifler and complained, for some of them were in want of food. They also declared that, according to the orders of the Commissioner, six of them had to stand watch and had no powder.... He considered it an encroachment on his office that I persuaded the people at the conference to repair the way to Abercorn, to build a slaughter house, etc.... He knows of no other complaints nor does he believe that the above quoted points are of such slight importance that one can hardly think about them. (Jones, vol. II, pp. 156-160)

PORTIONS OF BOLZIUS' DIARY CONCERNING THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN VON RECK AND HIMSELF.

After the prayer hour Mr. von Reck came to me and expressed his displeasure both at our intention to distribute the cows and also because Mr. Oglethorpe had committed the various matters pertaining to surveying the land to me and not to him. He will insist forcefully (as he adds) until Mr. Oglethorpe tells him expressly that he has nothing to do with it. Mr. Oglethorpe is freeing the Salzburgers from all work and burdens that the surveyor could cause them; but, in order to hasten the surveying to his own advantage, he wishes to involve our people in such work even though he has not the least orders for it. He is revealing himself more and more, and we shall surely have our trouble with him. He wanted to make a copy of my letter and of the contract between the Lord Trustees and the surveyor. However, because some instructions are appended to the surveyor's contract that include some points not suitable for him, I had to refuse to let him make it; and thereby I experienced his anger even more.

Friday, the 6th of August. Yesterday toward evening, in anger, Mr. von Reck caused a great scandal in the community because of a trifling matter and thereby caused us great distress. An Indian brought some honey to our place. He took the Indian into his hut. A woman of the congregation also wished to buy some of the honey, but Mr. von Reck soon sent her away very sternly. However, because she thought she had as much right as Mr. von Reck to buy some honey from the Indian, she turned to him and grasped the skin on the floor in which the honey was. Thereupon she was thrust out of the door by Mr. von Reck with force; and her other hand, which was already injured, was so jammed in the door that she screamed as loudly as she could. He drove her further and shoved her to the ground and struck her in the back with his fist on the public street. Her husband came running up; and, hearing what had happened from his wife's words, he told Mr. von Reck that he would suffer according to English law for treating his wife publicly that way on the King's highway. Mr. von Reck then called for his pistol and ran into his hut himself and fetched his sword to shut the man's mouth and chase him away.... Before Mr. von Reck could get to him with his sword, he and his wife took off hastily.... Instead of having later contemplated his scandal in quiet and regretting it, he, along with his servant, blew on a bugle, perhaps to signify that he had performed a heroic action and had triumphed over a woman. In the case of this offence he is not to be brought to recognition and remorse, as in earlier times, but feels himself to have been entirely in the right. (Jones, vol. III, p. 185)

Friday the 13th of August. Mr. von Reck has also caught tertiary fever. When his paroxysm was passed, he had me called to him and announced to me that, if God gave him back some strength, he would gladly hold a conference with me and my dear colleague and confer with us concerning the congregation and several things which he could not accept. The people would not obey him, in most matters they appealed to me as if he could not command them, his authority had been greatly weakened, he was entirely useless here, and therefore he would resolve to go completely out of the country and to spend his life somewhere in tranquility. He could not permit the things that happened here to reach the magistrates in Savannah to be remedied there. (Jones, vol. III, p. 192)

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