

F
280
G3
V89

F
280
G3
V89



CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Manufactured by
GAYLORD BROS. Inc.
Syracuse, N. Y.
Stockton, Calif.
PAMPHLET BINDER
CORNELL

the author.

A. B. FAUST

BULLETIN *of the*
University of South Carolina

**The German and German-Swiss
Element in South Carolina
1732-1752**

GILBERT P. VOIGT

Professor of Modern Languages in Newberry College

ISSUED MONTHLY
BY THE UNIVERSITY

No. 113

September, 1922

COLUMBIA, S. C.
Second-Class Mail Matter



F
280
G3V89

A. 883184

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTIONI

PREFACEII

Page

German and German-Swiss Immigration Into South Carolina, 1732-1752..... 5

Side-Lights on Conditions in Certain German Settlements in South Carolina, 1734-51..... 21

Swiss Notes on South Carolina..... 44

Some Saxe-Gothan Settlers..... 56

INTRODUCTION.

Professor Gilbert P. Voigt, A. M., of the chair of Modern Languages at Newberry College, was a special student at this university in 1911-12. Among his subjects of research here and in Europe in the summer of 1912, was the German element in the peopling of South Carolina from 1732-52, based mainly upon and with numerous citations from original documents. Neither Bernheim, in his *History of the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas*, nor Faust in his *German Element in the U. S.*, has laid due emphasis upon the social and economic life of these early German emigrants, and McCrady has barely touched upon the subject. Mr. A. S. Salley, in his valuable county history has mainly restricted himself to a story of the Germans and Swiss-Germans in Orangeburg, with some reference to Amelia and Saxe-Gotha townships.

In these papers Professor Voigt has blazed the way for a complete investigation of this largely neglected and important phase of the history of South Carolina.

YATES SNOWDEN.

P R E F A C E .

A number of years ago I engaged in a study of the German-speaking element in South Carolina under the direction of Dr. Yates Snowden. While valuable work in this field has been done by Bernheim, Salley, Faust, Judge Smith, and Miss Fries, there is a great deal of additional material still available, some of which is presented in this bulletin. It has been gathered both in this State and, to a small extent, in Europe. In the preparation and publication of it, I have enjoyed the valuable co-operation and aid of Dr. Snowden, Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., Prof. R. L. Meriwether, and my father, the Rev. A. G. Voigt, D. D., to all of whom I am appreciatively grateful.

GILBERT P. VOIGT.

June 13, 1922..

German and German-Swiss Immigration Into South Carolina 1732-1752

ITS PROPORTIONS, CHARACTER, AND CAUSES.

Of the four leading elements in the colonial population of South Carolina, *i.e.*, the English, the Scotch-Irish, the Huguenot and the German, including the German-Swiss, the last named has hitherto been rather overlooked. There are certain facts that probably account for this apparent neglect. In the first place, the Germans and Switzers spoke a foreign tongue that was little known in the Province. Again, they were, for the most part, poor folk without the training or temperament to enable them to aspire to social or political leadership. Furthermore, they were frontiersmen, settling chiefly in accordance with the desire of the Provincial government, on the outskirts of the Province, as at Purrysburg, Orangeburg, Saxe-Gotha, and New Windsor. In this paper an attempt will be made to appraise the contribution made to the population from 1732 to 1752 by these immigrants from the German states and the German cantons of Switzerland, to indicate the causes of their coming, and to determine what sort of people they were.

It was in the year 1732 that the first body of German-speaking settlers set foot on South Carolina soil. In the company of immigrants brought to the Province in that year for the purpose of settling the new township of Purrysburg, there were a number of Germans from "Switzerland and other places." From the Journal of Council, Mar. 4, 1730-31, Jan. 28, 1731-32 and the Journal of Assembly, Jan. 29, 1731-32, we learn of another similar project that was evidently abandoned in the end, for we have no other record of it. In these entries references are made to the memorials of a certain Captain David Crockatt, "relating to His Transporting Palatines into this Province." "A List of Necessaries for Strangers to be Imported by Capt. Crockatt" was prepared by the Council, in which were set forth the bounty and "provision" to be granted the new settlers that Crockatt was to bring in. His second memorial was read in

Council and recommended to the lower house, where it was laid on the table.

O'Neill, in his "Annals of Newberry", pp. 23-24, claims that Saxe-Gotha Township was laid out as early as 1711 for several members of De Graffenried's party from Newbern, who had made their way to South Carolina, but there is no adequate evidence to bear out this assertion. A recent German writer, Dr. Haeberle, of Heidelberg University, makes a more surprising claim in his work entitled "Emigration of the Palatines" (Kaiserslauten, 1909). On page 106 we read: "First, Carolina can claim for herself the honor that it was on her soil that the first unified group of Germans who came to America settled. These were Alsatians and Hessian Protestants, who found a second home in Port Royal in 1562." To an inquiry as to the sources from which he drew this statement, Dr. Haeberle replied that he found it in a work of some German-American historian—just which he could not at the moment recall. There are, however, no facts to warrant the statement.

From the time of the arrival of Purry's first party, there was a fairly rapid influx of "Palatines" (as all settlers from the German States were called) and German-Swiss, or Switzers, almost until the Revolution. This movement was not a steady stream, but rather intermittent, spasmodic, and wavelike. The first wave brought the Purrysburgers in 1732-35; the second, the settlers of Orangeburg and Amelia, 1735-37; the third and fourth, those who settled at New Windsor and Saxe-Gotha, 1737-sq; the fifth, a number of settlers in Fredericksburg Township, 1744-sq. Besides these, there is said to have been a movement of Germans from Pennsylvania into the upper Dutch Fork, around what is now Pomaria, probably about 1745. In addition to these waves, there were scattered arrivals.

The files of the "South Carolina Gazette" show that from the year 1744 on there were frequent arrivals of immigrant ships, whose passengers served to swell the population of the several German settlements, besides adding to the strength of the German colony in Charlestown, of which we find a trace as early as 1734. In addition to these companies of settlers who came direct from Europe through Charlestown there were in-

dividuals and groups who moved southward from Pennsylvania and Cape Fear, and a few who migrated from Georgia to different parts of the Province. By the year 1752 we find Germans or German-Swiss in greater or less numbers not only in the places already mentioned, but also in the lower Dutch Fork, on the north side of Broad and Santee rivers, at Port Royal, Pallachoccolas, near Goose Creek, Pon Pon River, Monck's Corner, and elsewhere. An estimate of their number, which is necessarily rough but is based upon the sizes of the parties whose arrival is mentioned in the "Gazette" and upon the number of families given in petitions from the several settlements, would indicate that in 1752 there were about 3,000 in all.

In the year 1744 there were in Purrysburg sixty German-Swiss and Germans, to whom grants had been made. In the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society we find a duplicate letter of Governor Glen to the Duke of New Castle, dated Feb. 11, 1745, in which the former writes: "Set out to visit Orangeburg, Amelia, Saxe-Gotha, and Fredericksburgh (?), chiefly settled with German Protestants." As early as 1750 Saxe-Gotha contained 280 Lutherans besides many more German-Swiss of the Reformed faith. (cf. Urlsperger Reports, April 25, 1750.) In the preceding year Governor Glen had stated in his "answers to the queries from the Right Hon. The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations:" "We have betwixt two and three hundred Germans within these three and four years and betwixt two and three hundred families within this year or two from other Provinces." John Jacob Riemensperger, the Saxe-Gothan promoter of immigration, claims in his memorial of November 30, 1749, that he had secured upward of 600 Germans (Palatines and Swiss) for the Province. On October 3d of this year the governor had informed the Council that he had "certain Accounts from Great Britain" of the fact "that there were about 800 Persons coming from Germany to settle in this Province upon the bounty and Encouragement given to foreign Protestants by this Gov't." Four years later the Salzburger pastor Bolzius states that on a trip from Ebenezer, Georgia, to Charlestown he had found people everywhere. To quote his exact words: "In Carolina

I met everywhere many German people of the Lutheran and Reformed religions, to whom I proclaimed the counsel of God concerning their salvation."

The following list of immigrant ships and parties will also serve to indicate the strength of the influx of German-speaking settlers from 1732 to 1752:

1732 Purry's first party. 45 Germans, largely if not exclusively Swiss.

1732 (Dec. 2) 50 Palatines expected..

1733 (July) 25 Salzburgers for Purrysburg.

1734 (November) 260 Swiss for Purrysburg. Some of these may have been German-Swiss.

1735 (July) 250 German Switzers.

1735 (July) 200 German Palatines.

1735 (July) 250 German-Swiss.

1736 (October) "A Great Number of German Swiss people." One hundred and seventy (?).

1737 (February) "Above 200 Switzers out of the canton of Tockenburgh (Toggenburg)."

1744 Captain Ham's ship, which brought over some Swiss from Bern, Ulrich Stokes from Chafhausen (Schaffhausen), and perhaps other settlers.

1744 Captain Abercrombie's ship with 260 or 300 Germans was captured by the Spanish. The settlers seem to have been released and allowed to proceed to Carolina.

1744 (December) Capt. Brown's ship with 100 Palatines.

1749 (October) Ship "Griffin" with a "number of "healthy Palatines."

1750 (January) Ship "Greenwich" with German servants.

1751 (November) Ship "Anne" with 200 Germans.

1752 (September) Ship with German servants.

1752 (October) Nearly 300 German servants..

1752 (November) Nearly 200 German servants.

There were some German-speaking settlers who, after landing in Philadelphia made their way to South Carolina. At least three or four cases of this sort are mentioned in the Council Journal. In 1742 Peter Negerli with his wife and four children, Peter Huber with two children, Anna Negerlei with four children, and Barbara Horger with one child "arrived from

Holland by way of Philadelphia." In 1747, Christian Kotiler, who had agreed with a certain Captain Wilkinson to transport him from Rotterdam to South Carolina, but who had been taken to Philadelphia instead, was granted land on the bounty. In the following year grants were made to three men, Geo. Hind, John Bokman, and Henry Crody, who had come to Pennsylvania in Captain Steadman's ship. These seem to have been among the number of Germans and German-Swiss referred to by John Jacob Riemensperger in his petition to the Council on Nov. 30, 1749, which was in substance as follows: "That your Pet'r on the Encouragement given him by this Gov't went to England, from that to Holland, and thence up into Germany and Switzerland," in order to get settlers. He secured three thousand persons, many of whom, however, were not able to defray the costs of the trip. He therefore asked them to remain at home while he went to London to solicit the king's bounty for them. While he was engaged on this errand, they had a chance to secure transportation down the Rhine; and, fearing that they would not have another that year, "the greatest number of them" came as far as Holland. There they hoped to find either Riemensperger or some order for their transportation or support. Finding neither of these, and in many cases being without the necessary funds to support themselves in Holland, "the greater and richer part" of them were induced by Mr. Steadman of Rotterdam to take passage for Pennsylvania "in some vessels of his." The remainder went over to England, where Riemensperger provided for their support while he was securing passage for them. But, in the meantime, some were prevailed upon to go to Georgia instead of Carolina. Nevertheless, after these losses, there were still "upwards of Six Hundred" whom Riemensperger claimed to have secured for South Carolina. He also cherished the hope that "many of those who have gone to other Provinces will upon further Enquiry and better Information, Still come here to Settle." He further believed that if he could make another voyage with vessels for transporting his "Countrymen" without delay, he could secure a considerable number of additional Germans and Switzers.

These German-speaking immigrants had come principally from the German cantons of Switzerland, Wuerttemberg, and

the Palatinate, though there were some from Prussia, Hamburg, Alsace-Lorraine, and elsewhere. Some of those who came from the Palatinate, such as the Fricks (Friks), Kieselers, and others, were of Swiss extraction, but had migrated to the Palatinate at the end of the Thirty Years' war. So we were told by a Mr. Frik (Frick) in the State Archives at Zurich. Rotterdam and Hamburg were the two ports in which the emigrants assembled and from which they were furnished transportation by large merchant firms such as Steadmans and Hopes.

As we have seen, many, if not most, of the Palatines and Switzers were poor. Some of them, the so-called indentured servants, were so indigent that they were unable to pay their passage money and had to work it out as peons. This, however, was not an unmitigated evil, for, as some one has pointed out, the new-comer in his ignorance of the English language and of local conditions, found it to his advantage to work for an older inhabitant until he could familiarize himself with the language and geography of his new home. Bolzius, the Salzburger pastor, states that while many of the Germans whom he had found in Carolina on his trip from Ebenezer to Charlestown in January, 1753, were indentured servants, "the most" were free. Still there were five ship-loads of "servants" to arrive in Charlestown in the years 1750 to 1752.

These settlers were chiefly farmers and mechanics, though some of them became slave overseers. Bolzius states that those Germans he found in 1753 "worked either at their trade or cultivated their farms." The fact that, as he states, most of them were located on the "extreme borders" of the Province, indicates that very many must have been small farmers, or farm laborers. Bolzius charges them with neglecting agriculture, claiming that most of them were "given to idleness and merchandising." It is a question as to what extent this charge is true. Mills, in his "Statistics," page 661, tells us that the Germans in Orangeburg obtained "crops from poor pine lands, equal in quantity, according to acres and hands, with most farmers on oak lands." On the Congaree and Santee, too, German farmers were to be found, and "their plantations exhibit more the appearance of farms than otherwise."

The life of these frontiersmen was naturally simple and rude. Church and school facilities were inadequate. The pietistic Salzburger pastors complain of their worldliness and indifference to religion and education. Yet there was an old school master who died in Purrysburg in 1735; also one in New Windsor—for a time, at least. A petition presented to the Council by John Tobler, John Jacob Sturzengher, Daniel Browner, Lienhard Hortbund, and "several other" residents of New Windsor in behalf of an immigration project contains this interesting statement: "That there is a great want of people in this Township as also of a School and pastor to be settled among them, for want of which many, they say, go into Pennsylvania." (January 21, 1745.) Again, there came to one of the Salzburg pastors within a year or less time, two requests from the Lutherans at Saxe-Gotha that he visit them for the purpose of serving them with the Word of God and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the second letter they asked that he "help them to get a church and a preacher." A like desire for "an upright pastor" was expressed by the Purrysburgers. In Saxe-Gotha the Reformed (Swiss) element had received five hundred pounds of "Carolina money" for the erection of a church. It was these Switzers who, in 1740, sent a request to the authorities and citizens of Zurich for "a complete order of divine service with a psalter arranged for four voices" along with Testaments, Bibles, and other literature. In his petition of March 3, 1747, Riemensperger makes the interesting assertion that it was "chiefly from the Interruption they have had in the Exercise of their Religion" that the Switzers in Saxe-Gotha had been led to leave their native land.

An unexpected bit of evidence as to the literacy of the Palatines and Switzers is an advertisement in German which appeared in six issues of the "Gazette" near the end of the year 1749. Peter Timothy advertises an almanac published in Philadelphia.

The South Carolina Germans and Switzers form a small contingent of the great host of German-speaking immigrants that invaded the shores of the Thirteen Colonies during the eighteenth century. As Prof. Faust, in his "German Element in

the United States", Vol. I, p. 52, well puts it: "In the first decades of the eighteenth century there rose a great tide of German immigration. Its volume presents a strange contrast to the sparseness of German settlements in the 17th century, . . . The change was produced by historical causes, operating as mighty forces. Destructive wars, religious persecution, relentless oppression by petty tyrants, rendered existence unendurable at home, while favorable reports from earlier settlers beyond the Atlantic, more plentiful means of transportation, and an innate desire for adventure (the German Wanderlust), made irresistible the attraction of the foreign shore." In the case of the South Carolina settlers, economic pressure and religious persecution on the one side of the Atlantic together with the activity of immigrant agents, the influence of previous settlers, and the inducements offered by the provincial government on the other seem to account for the migration to America. We shall consider each of these causes somewhat in detail.

In his diary, June 1, 1741, Pastor Bolzius remarks: "I recalled what Mr. . . . included in his letter to Mr. . . . : "The people (in South Carolina and Georgia), especially our Germans—Wuerttembergers, Palatines, and others—leave their countries because of the poverty and distress there.'" Prof. Julius Goebel, in an article dealing with certain letters of German emigrants in the years 1709, states that it was "bitter distress, which compelled the poor people to leave their beloved home", as is shown by the "touching, yes sometimes heart-rending tones" in these letters. "Failure of crops, over-population, and in the back-ground the political wretchedness of Germany" were responsible for this desire to emigrate. The people were oppressed with burdens in the form of taxes for the maintenance of the princely houses, universities, etc. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Germans forsook their native land, "in whose welfare they had lost all interest", and turned their faces westward towards America, "the land of unlimited possibilities", with the express purpose of "bettering themselves", as one of them, Antony Ransman, puts it in a petition to His Majesty's Council in May, 1740. So bad were conditions at home and so keen the suffering of the masses that certain ministers likened the emigration to America to "the exodus of the

people of God from the house of bondage and praised the world beyond the seas as the Promised Land."

In the Palatinate, Switzerland, and, to a certain extent, also in Wuerttemberg religious oppression and persecution were a powerful motive for emigration. This persecution was of two kinds: in the Palatinate it was the Protestants who were oppressed by the more powerful and numerous Catholic party, while in Switzerland and Wuerttemberg it was intolerance on the part of the Protestant state-church party towards the Separatists. As has already been noted, John Jacob Riemensperger claimed that it was "the Interruption they have had in the Exercise of their Religion" that caused the Swiss at Saxe-Gotha to come to America. A pious Swiss wrote to Pastor Bolzcius from Charlestown that he had arrived in South Carolina some time before, his motive in emigrating having been solely the desire to further the glory of God and his soul's salvation. This was in 1737.

To the causes just mentioned must be added the innate and characteristic Wanderlust of the Germans. As a Swiss soldier of fortune puts it, he "had a desire to see Carolina." But it was not only the occasional adventurer who was seized with this desire to migrate or travel. In his "Emigration of the Wuerttembergers", 1796, Bunz speaks of the "national desire of the Germans for emigration" and he proceeds to show how in the 18th century this desire was more perceptible among the Southwestern Germans than among those in the Northeast. His reasons are three in number: 1, in a wine-country like Wuerttemberg and the Palatinate food and drink were costlier and wages were not so high or steady as in a beer-land; 2, there was less peonage in Southwestern Germany than in the northeastern provinces. The South German "servants" could emigrate with greater ease than their brothers in the North; 3, the indentured servants, or peons, of the North were less "cultivated" than those in the South, and among the less cultivated people there is more "climatic" patriotism. It is a noteworthy fact that almost all of the Germans who settled in South Carolina in the 18th century were from Southern Germany.

Concerning the circumstances of the Swiss emigrants Prof. Faist in his preface to the "Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the

Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies. Zurich to Carolina and Pennsylvania, 1734-1744," writes as follows: "A very large number of the young people have lost their fathers, thereby missing either the parental protection at home, or the authority to curb their youthful spirit of adventure or 'Wanderlust'. Divorced persons and widowers are frequent, and widows with numerous children, who are allowed to go because of the fear that they might fall a burden to the community. Young couples leave their homes because of objections to their marriage, they are frequently united on the way or on ship-board. But economic distress exerts the strongest pressure. From Richtenschweil we hear of a group of emigrants who frankly declare that they had to work day and night at home, and even then they could not earn their daily bread, hence they were forced to leave. The hope of escaping unbearable conditions is the greatest driving power." The Swiss cantons, or certain of them, became alarmed at the extent of the outflow of settlers for Carolina and Pennsylvania, and consequently "decrees against emigration were issued every few years."

In their despair and reslessness the Swiss, Wuerttemberg and Palatine peasants—and even others—fell an easy prey to the bold, clever, and unscrupulous immigration agents from America, who were quick to avail themselves of this opportunity to ply their trade to advantage. The epithets applied to these agents by writers of the time may be too strong, but are probably not altogether undeserved. They are termed "deceivers", "godless agents", and "barterers of souls". In a letter written from the Hague under date of Sept. 6, 1752, a certain Blaufelder, from Stuttgart, who had gone to Holland with a band of emigrants at the instigation of one of these agents, reports to the Duke of Wuerttemberg their nefarious worknigs, stating that from selfish and mercenary motives they seduce guileless people and lead them to Rotterdam in order to sell them into the hands of the merchants and ship-owners there by whom they are employed. They are accused of receiving three gulden "a head" for the emigrants they thus deliver at Rotterdam. One of their devices to induce people to emigrate is to forge letters praising America. These letters are purported to have been written by certain

settlers in the New World whose original letters to their friends and relatives in Europe were burned in Rotterdam. A circular published in Frankfort, 1753, attempts to "stem the torrent of seduction and total ruin of our poor fellow-countrymen," and to give a "succinct but just idea of those, who, guided by the most revolting self-interest, have carried on for a great number of years such an unworthy commerce." Bunz likewise scores these agents along with their victims: "Are there not", he writes, "everywhere credulous, giddy, convivial, restless, and debt-burdened people? For all such, these promises [of bounty] were the most splendid bait, especially since they [the gullible Europeans] have been the victims of many untruths, partly oral and partly written, perpetrated by deceivers." It must be said, however, that Bunz is an apologist for the government of Wuerttemberg.

Among those immigration agents, there were three who figured largely in the emigration to South Carolina. First, and probably foremost, of these was Jean Pierre Purry, the founder of Purrysburg. It is true that many, if not the majority of his settlers, were from the French cantons of Switzerland, but there were also a considerable number of German Swiss, besides Salzburgers and scattered Germans from Wuerttemberg and elsewhere. "Das 21ste Neujahrsblatt der Zuericher Huelgesellschaft", 1821, contains an article based on original records, which mentions Purry's enterprise at some length. We are told that he set out from Neuenburg with a party of his fellow-men, whom several Germans followed. "Towards the end of 1733 he undertook a journey to Switzerland and brought with him several letters from different emigrants, who testified of their absolute contentment in their new home. He himself, too, published some reports concerning Carolina, which together with the aforesaid letters in German translations he published under the title: 'The Contented and Homesickless Swiss Settler in the New World.' Bern, 1734. This pamphlet was spread broadcast over the land. Allured by these descriptions, the number of emigrants soon increased." A letter written by a citizen of Bern who had settled in London contains a reference to Purry's work: "Three hundred Switzers have arrived here with no money left to pay their passage

to Carolina and in the direst misery on account of Mr. Purry's booklet wherein Carolina is represented as being much better than it really is, and the hardships, cost, and manner of undertaking the journey are not mentioned." Any one wishing to attest for himself Purry's ability as a press-agent will be interested in the glowing picture he paints of the Carolina Eldorado, as it is found in Carroll's Collections, Part II.

Scarcely less resourceful and enterprising than Purry was John Jacob Riemensperger, of Saxe-Gotha Township. In 1740 he and Christian Galliser set out for Europe to obtain settlers for the Province. They were armed with pass-ports from Lieutenant-Governor Bull and George II.; a letter from the King requesting for them the privilege of passing and repassing through Germany and Holland on their way to Toggenburg, Switzerland; a description of Saxe-Gotha, written by a Magistrate, Christian Motte, and attested by all the German inhabitants of that township; and a testimonial from Motte. As to the success of this mission, we know that Riemensperger and a party of German Swiss arrived in Charlestown late in 1741 and were taken to Saxe-Gotha. Later, in 1748, with the "Encouragement" of the Government he returned to Switzerland and Germany and "procured upwards of 3,000 persons", only 600 of whom really came to Carolina, many others having been deflected to Georgia or Pennsylvania by a rival immigration "promoter" in Rotterdam. The Journal of Council 1749 records the fact that Riemensperger was granted 350 pounds sterling for past services.

It seems that Riemensperger like Purry was lavish with his promises and his praise of Carolina, for one Peter Herr made petition to the Council in behalf of himself and "all" his countrymen, alleging that Riemensperger had deceived them with "many untruths" to get them to South Carolina. He had assured them that the King would pay their passage from London to Carolina and that a contribution would be made for the purpose of defraying the cost of their transportation from the continent to England (the proceeds of this contribution had been pocketed by Riemensperger); further that they should have everything necessary for a beginning of life in Carolina. The Council upon investigation decided that these complaints

were "frivolous and that Riemensperger had not acted anyways unfairly by them." Yet we have strong evidence in favor of Herr's claim in the form of a letter from the Georgia Office in London to the editor of the Salzburger Reports, Jan. 5, 1749; which states that seventy persons from Salzburg and Wuerttemberg had been brought to London by Riemensperger, and that he had intended to send them to Carolina. They had been deceived in their hopes and in the promises made them; herce they had become confused and miserable. The Georgia trustees decided to send them to Ebenezer.

The third prominent immigrant agent from South Carolina who operated among the Germans and German-Swiss was Sebastian Zouerbuehler, who entered into a contract with the Provincial Government June 27, 1735-36, to bring over 300 families of German Swiss to settle on the frontier of the Province near Savannah Town in a new township to be called New Windsor. In a petition to the London Board of Trade he asks for land and compensation for the proposed settlement of 100 Swiss families in the new township. He promises to bring over these families in one year's time with the understanding that they are to receive grants and bounty on the same terms as Purry's settlers. After the settlement of this first hundred, he agrees to bring over 200 more without charge. Permission is asked to select a township-(site) on Santee River to which his settlers should be transported at the cost of the Province. It seems that only fifty families were brought over. Associated with Sebastian Zouerbuehler were his father, the Rev. Bartholomew Zouerbuehler, of St. Gall, and Governor General Tobler who had been deposed from his position as a result of disorders in Appenzell. These two conducted the party of Switzers from eastern Switzerland—chiefly Appenzell—to Carolina. Shortly after their arrival, the Rev. Bartholomew sent back reports of their prosperous voyage, friendly reception, fertile soil,, and high hopes. He added that his son would soon return to St. Gall to bring over fifty to sixty additional families. The Swiss government which objected strenuously to the operations of the emigration agents, prevented him from carrying out this plan. In 1743 he proposed to His Majesty's Council to bring over a number of foreign Protest-

ants on the same terms that had been offered Purry, viz., 400 pound sterling. In the letter containing this proposal he outlines the work of an emigration agent as follows: . . . "to conduct the whole affair (of bringing over a party) by answering letters, going about to rendezvous and bringing them down to Holland, to provide vessels and provisions for their Imbarcation." The Journal of Council contains no indication of the acceptance of this proposition.

Another agent who attempted to organize parties of Switzers for emigration was Peter Huber, who in 1742 tried to lead a colony from Haslei and Interlaken to Carolina, but was arrested in Basel. He was tried and condemned to everlasting banishment from the city and country, with a threat of severe punishment should he return. Peter Inabnit, who had returned to receive a legacy, was arrested as an agent and killed in an attempted flight.

The emigration agents received invaluable aid in their work from the pamphlets written by themselves or others, in which the new Promised Land is described in laudatory terms. Probably the most notorious of these pamphlets is that of Purry, which we have already mentioned. But, even before the appearance of this booklet there seems to have been a glowing account of South Carolina and Georgia, written by a Switzer Ochs from Basel. In the "21stes Neujahrsblatt der Zuericher Huelfsgesellschaft, 1821" we read: "Already in the year 1711 had appeared a most favorable description of those regions (South Carolina and Georgia) and the advantages of the settlements there, together with an appended chart, from the pen of a Basler by the name of Ochs then living there, and a considerable number of copies had been quickly sold." The South Carolina records, however, contain no references to such a person as Ochs, though it is possible that he had found his way to the Province along with other stray adventurers. Furthermore, this was a number of years before the settlement of Georgia. From the Swiss pamphlet mentioned above we learn that John Tobler, who possessed some knowledge of astronomy and surveying, prepared a calendar for circulation in his native land (Switzerland) which contained a description of Carolina. The Salzburger Reports were circulated more or less in Europe and

brought both Georgia and Carolina to the attention of people. A certain little group of Switzers were led to emigrate to Carolina through the reading of these reports.

In addition to this literature, there were letters from settlers to their relatives and friends in Europe, in which the nature of the country and the condition of the colonists were set forth. This "direct personal influence" was a powerful instrument for stimulating emigration to America. We have already indicated how Purry and Riemensperger employed it to further their selfish schemes. The latter petitions the Governor's Council in 1748 for the copying of more than forty letters from the settlers of Saxe-Gotha to their relatives and friends in their native land. He is about to leave for England for the purpose of securing a "number of poor Protestants" for the Province, and wishes to take these letters with him as "campaign material". So valuable were favorable letters that (as we have seen) unscrupulous agents in Rotterdam forged such.

The several immigration agents, Purry, Riemensperger, et al, worked hand in hand with the Provincial and Royal governments in their colonization schemes. In fact, without the endorsement of the Provincial authorities and the Encouragement offered by it to new settlers, their efforts would have been almost, if not entirely fruitless. The Governors and their advisers were awake to the opportunity afforded them by the unfavorable conditions in various parts of Europe—more especially in Switzerland, the Palatinate, and Wuerttemberg—to obtain settlers for the frontiers of the Province, who might serve as a *cordon sanitaire* against the hostile Creeks and other Indian tribes.

The several parties of Swiss brought into the Province from 1732 to 1736 were given tools and provisions for one year, but when Zouberbuehler's and Tobler's party arrived in 1737 they found that this practice had been discontinued. On Feb. 3, 1737-38 the Lower House of the Assembly sent a message to the Council complaining of the discontinuance of the "Provision" and calling attention to the large number of begging immigrants in Charlestown. The Council presented the excuse of a shortage of funds and stated that the Lieutenant-Governor had inserted in the "Gazette" an advertisement giving notice of

the suspension of the practice of providing the new settlers with tools and provisions. The House in reply accused the Governor of misapplying the Sinking Fund and thus bringing about the shortage in the New Settlers' Fund. The upshot of this controversy between the two Houses was the passage of a bill in 1741 "for further securing his Majesty's Province of South Carolina by encouraging poor Protestants to become settlers therein". On April 2, 1743, it was decided to issue "a declaration and certificate" to be published "in Holland and elsewhere," giving notice of the resumption of the practice of assisting the poor Protestant settlers.

In 1745, Riemensperger presented to the Council another of his numerous petitions (which finally exhausted its patience and called down upon him a rebuke for "much speaking") in which he requests that, in view of his contemplated trip to Europe as the commissioner of the Switzers at New Windsor, for the purpose of getting settlers, "the Act for Encouragement of Foreign Protestants be translated into the German language and be given to him with the great seal of the province appended thereto, that so the said Foreigners may see that they are not imposed on and w'ch your Petit'r proposes to print in Germany and distribute among them wherever he should go—"

The numerous shiploads of German-speaking immigrants who arrived in the years that immediately followed this period of renewed activity in securing settlers would seem to indicate that the efforts in this direction were highly successful.

A final and relatively insignificant factor in the emigration to Carolina was the frequent escape of criminals from their native lands to America. Bunz refers to this class of emigrants in his work on the emigration of the Württembergers. While we have no definite mention of any such settlers in South Carolina, still it is natural to infer that among the many indentured servants there was occasionally one "who had left his country for his country's good."

Side-Light on Conditions in Certain German Settlements in South Carolina 1734-1751.

The pastors of the Salzburger who settled at Ebenezer, Georgia, in the year 1734 have left us a well kept diary (in German), which is bound together with some letters and other material in seven volumes known as the *Salzburger Reports*. These were edited by a German-Lutheran minister, Samuel Urlsperger, and were published in Halle and Augsburg, 1741-54. These volumes contain some interesting items concerning conditions and happenings in the sister colony of Carolina, gleaned from personal observation or else through other persons. Certain of these references I have translated and grouped.

It should be said at the outset that allowance must be made for the narrow pietism of these pastors, when we read their descriptions of moral and religious conditions in the South Carolina settlements.

It is only natural that, in view of their proximity to Purrysburg, the Salzburger pastors should have kept in rather close touch with events and conditions there. Not only did they visit this settlement at times, but they also learned from Purryburgers who came to Ebenezer how the latter were faring in their Carolina home. A letter of Pastor Bolzius to a friend in Berlin, dated June 30, 1737, gives a brief general description of Purry's settlement.

"Besides Savannah . . . there is another very scattered town . . . Purrysburg. Its appearance, however, is not at all that of a town. Its population consists exclusively of French-Swiss of the Reformed faith, together with many Germans from Switzerland and other places, whose condition is for the most part wretched." Almost all of these Germans spoke Swiss German—so we are told in an entry during the year 1751.

One is not surprised that the Salzburger pastors were deeply interested in the spiritual condition of their neighbors in Purrys-

burg, especially the Germans, as is indicated by a number of references to it. Very soon after the arrival of the Salzburger in Ebenezer (1734), one of the two pastors visited Purrysburg. An interesting account of this visit is given in the diary under date of March 19.

"Already in Dover we had learned from Mr. Purry that there were many Germans in Purrysburg, who longed for an Evangelical (Lutheran) preacher. Inasmuch as an opportunity now presented itself, one of us went to that settlement and found there three families of our Evangelical Lutheran persuasion. On Sunday the judge (Linder) who is from Berlin, reads aloud to them a passage from a collection of sermons. At the instance of Mr. Ogelthorpe, who was present on this occasion, a Gospel message based on Gal. II, v. 20, was proclaimed to these dear people to their great joy, and they proposed to visit our settlement, which is situated only a few miles from Purrysburg, diligently, in order to hear the Word of God and to avail themselves of the holy sacraments. They esteemed the Salzburger very fortunate in that they have their own preachers. A short while ago they, along with the Reformed Protestants at this point, had for their preacher a French student. But they accuse him of having led a shameful life and of having meddled with evil things, in consequence of which they chased him away and are, therefore, now without a minister."

On June 8th of this year Bolzius was invited to Purrysburg to baptise a child and to administer the Holy Communion "to those who had now been longing for it a long while." On his return he related among other things (1) that before he had allowed the people to come to the communion he had held preparatory services twice a day for the purpose of instructing and waking them. These services they had attended very faithfully. (2) That they had partaken of the Holy Supper with great reverence and eagerness and had praised God heartily for having bestowed upon them such a great benefit, contrary to their thought and expectation. For they would not be given a preacher until there were 100 families of our [Lutheran] confession in Purrysburg. . . (4) That the people had shown him all possible kindness and had shared their hearts with him, although they for the most part did not have much

wealth as yet; (5) that some of them wanted to send their children with him to Ebenezer, in order that they might be instructed in Christian doctrine, reading, and writing, and that those who were grown might be prepared for the Holy Supper. But since there was no chance of giving these shelter by day and by night, he had not been able to grant their request at that time."

On Sunday, August 10th, one of the Salzburger pastors stopped in Purrysburg en route to Ebenezer. Because he did not like to travel on Sunday and furthermore because "the good folks in Purrysburg exhibited a great desire for the Word of God," he remained there and preached to them in both the forenoon and afternoon. "The dear souls gathered in large numbers in the home of the sick herdsman" (Kieffer).

In a letter to Prof. Francke, of Halle, dated March 28, 1735, Pastor Gronau states that one of the Purrysburgers "had no greater desire than that the Germans in Purrysburg also might have some one who would take charge of them as a good shepherd There is, indeed, a preacher in Purrysburg, but he preaches in French, and as a result of this the Germans are in a sad plight."

Pastor Gronau (?) states that at this time (1736) many people were dying in Purrysburg on account of their wretched external and spiritual circumstances, etc. Some families still talked of their desire to get permission from Gen'l Ogelthorpe to join the Salzburgers at Ebenezer. In February two Evangelical Lutheran families from Purrysburg did seek permission and the Salzburger pastor thought their request would be granted.

On April 24th of this year eight Purrysburgers came to Ebenezer "to attend the festival service (Easter?) and to go to the Holy Communion."

In the course of time the Lutherans of Purrysburg became scattered throughout the surrounding country, as is shown by the following item (Nov. 12, 1737): "The Evangelical inhabitants there [Purrysburg] are no longer as close to one another as they formally were, but are scattered here and there on their plantations or in other lines of business. Therefore we are able to proclaim the Word of God and have the Lord's Supper there less often than we used to."

On November 17, 1737, one of the pastors writes: "Last Saturday I was taken to Purrysburg in order that I might preach the Gospel there . . . Hence on Sunday I held divine service twice at the place where at other times service is held for (both) the German and French Swiss. One Sunday the local preacher delivers a regular sermon to the latter; on the next he conducts a prayer meeting for the former, using the English Book of Common Prayer which has been translated into German; and so he alternates Sunday after Sunday. He never preaches in German, though, as was stated, on the high festival days he does read a sermon. This is because he has not learned German aright, so it is said. The place where diviine service is held is the preacher's house; which was completed only a short time ago. He does not live in it now, for it has been adapted to use as a church, and the intention is to use it as such until the regular church building, already in process of construction, shall be ready for use. The Germans there would be highly pleased if they could hear a sermon every Sunday, and such an arrangement, I can see, would not be without value, since they are pleased when they learn that one of us is coming to their town to deliver a sermon or to conduct a prayer meeting. The Evangelical Lutherans are, to be sure, the fewer in number, but yet equally as many, if not more, of the other inhabitants come, when they know of it (a service), unless they live too far out on the plantations."

It seems that the Reformed element (in Purrysburg) had for a time as its ministers the Zouberbuhlers—Rev. Bartholomew and Sebastian—who were father and son. The diary informs us, Nov. 3, 1739: "He (Mr. Oglethorpe) has promised the student Zoberbulla, who since his father's death preaches to the Reformed folks in Purrysburg on Sundays, something"

But, although the Lutherans in Purrysburg had to forego the satisfaction of having regular preaching services in German, they had the use of some volumes of sermons. For on May 8, 1739, the pastors write: "The little Sunday sermons of the late Prof. Francke we loaned the people of Purrysburg a few years ago, and we don't feel that we can well ask for their return, because some of the people derive edification from them." Later, in 1751, we learn that the pastors at Ebenezer

provided the Germans in Georgia and South Carolina with edifying books, Bibles, Testaments, Catechisms, Arndt ("True Christianity"), etc.

On Jan. 4, 1741, one of the pietistic pastors paints religious conditions in Purrysburg in dark colors: "I hear that in Purrysburg they have no holy-days, (festivals) except that the name of Sunday is outwardly known among them . . . They have no scruples, therefore, about calling the people from the plantations together on New Year or on other festival days for a muster, as has happened in the past. The people there, for the most part, have no regard for divine service; therefore God allows such burdens and services to be laid upon them as have been altogether spared us."

Materialism was rather prevalent in the little settlement, according to the Ebenezer pastors. On April 21, 1741, we are told that one of the pastors preached to a small gathering of Germans there and that the "anxiety about nourishment and the lust for wealth destroy body and soul; nevertheless there are some people there who have spiritual hunger". On the following (?) day the pastor had had opportunity to reconcile some young married people on Kieffer's plantation. Confirmation of the dark report of the pastor is furnished by one Peter Reiter, who on Dec. 16, 1741, is reported as thanking God "that He has brought him again to Ebenezer," adding that he would "rather be sick here than to be well among the rough people in Purrysburg." Six years later, July 11, 1747, a similar characterization of the Carolina Germans is given: "The Germans, who scatter themselves here and there in Carolina for the sake of their stomachs, are to be greatly pitied both for their own and for their children's sakes. For they generally become libertines, or else fall into the hands of seductive people. The Salzburger, Ruprecht Zित्रauer, of whose great lapse I made mention some time ago (he was lazy and drunken) is now an overseer of negroes or black slaves on a plantation in Carolina. His two children are growing up in ignorance and wickedness." One of the pastors warned those parents who had been accustomed to arrange banquets on occasions of infant baptisms "not to sin against God by such a nuisance and dishonor the baptism which their children receive" Purrysburg and South

Carolina were not alone in their shortcomings according to the Salzburger pastors. At one place in the diary we are told that "in Carolina, Capefare (Cape Fear?) Viginia and Nova Scotia there is a total lack of Evangelical (Lutheran) teachers and Christian discipline."

The diary contains a number of references—ten or more—to educational matters, one of which has already been given. At the beginning of September, 1735, there was no school in Purrysburg—at least none for the Germans—inasmuch as one of the pastors reports that "the need of the youth was again pictured to me touchingly. For want of a school they become wilder and wilder from day to day." But this want seems to have been supplied immediately thereafter, for on Sept. 14 we are told. "Yesterday towards evening there came to us three of the Evangelical people in Purrysburg, among whom was the newly engaged schoolmaster, who asked for some books for the poor children and also for some advice as to how to handle the children aright. We tried to give him aid partly by word of mouth and partly in writing. He liked our method and has, therefore, promised to adhere to it closely. And inasmuch as we received from Germany some time ago some A B C charts along with a good supply of A B C books and catechisms, we also gave him some of them, in order that he might have in his school one sort of books, which arrangement is very helpful to the children in learning. The books have to remain in his keeping at all times and may not be taken home by the children."

This schoolmaster, whose name was Schoenman Gruber, or Schmansgruber, proved a worthy man, for on Nov. 12, 1735, one of the pastors states that his "dear colleague," who "returned home this evening," "brought word that the schoolmaster at Purrysburg was exhibiting great diligence and faithfulness and that the children were deriving much profit from his instruction. The school term was very short, for on Dec. 10, 1735, we find the following statement in the diary: "The quarter during which this man (the schoolmaster, Gruber) has kept school, is at an end, and at this time the money promised him for his work is sent him. The school, however, will not be continued. This Gruber is an honest and at the same time capable man, whom one could use to good advantage with children, were

there an occasion for employing him. For the sake of enjoying the Word of God he would like to move to Ebenezer, if this were feasible."

As a probable consequence of the closing of this school, in January two women from Purrysburg came to the Salzburger pastors simultaneously for the purpose of putting two children in the Ebenezer school. In the following year we find two similar instances; again in 1741 one case. After a time these children were taken out of school by their parents, for we are told on Sept. 13, 1742: "A few people from Purrysburg have had their children here. They have been boarded in the orphanage. The little expense attached to this arrangement they may, however, have soon found to be too great for them; hence they have taken the children home and now allow them to go astray and grow up wild rather than expend some money for their board. Most of the people care only for their own and their children's stomachs; little or nothing being spent upon church, school, and the education of their children. Even though some who are poor could for the asking send their children to school, they prefer to use them in tending cattle, in agriculture, for fishing, hunting, and oversight of negroes; and it indeed appears that by and by a wild, dissolute Indian life will be found among most of them."

After the closing of his school, Gruber tried to support himself by weaving, but without success, as we learn from the entry for April 26, 1736: "Schmansgruber, who formerly conducted the school in Purrysburg, is leaving Purrysburg, and is moving further northward again, whether to Pennsylvania or to New York he himself does not yet know. In Purrysburg he is unable to earn his bread by means of his weavers' trade, and he has not learned how to farm; therefore he has to suffer care and want after he has spent his small supply of money on the erection of his home. He is an upright man and gives earnest attention to the welfare of his soul. At first he thought of coming to our new settlement, but he does not like certain conditions which the local colonists have to agree to."

It seems that shortly before Gruber opened his school, another German schoolmaster, Uself by name, had come to Purrysburg, but had died there not long afterwards. On Jan. 3,

1739, mention is made of the fact that a Mr. Falk, who came from Pennsylvania and claimed to be ordained, had been asked by the Purrysburgers to undertake the instruction of their children, but had not consented to do so.

The lot of the Purrysburg settlers was evidently not a very happy one, for there seems to have been much sickness and want among them. In 1734 there was "almost no home in Purrysburg" in which there were not one or more sick persons. The poor people lack the necessary means of subsistence and nursing in which respects the Salzburger . . . are far ahead of them." Again in August, 1736, there was an outbreak of sickness, for the Ebenezer pastors report: "We have word from Haberkorn that almost every one there is down with fever. Similar tidings have reached us from Purrysburg." Early in 1737 we are told that "almost everyone is leaving Purrysburg, because the poor people there can find no nourishment for soul and body." In September of that year a poor man from Purrysburg inquired of the Salzburger pastors whether they could take his son, who was about twelve years old, "into their school and bring him under their care. He could not earn enough in Purrysburg to maintain himself and his family; therefore his wife had been obliged to hire herself out as a maid, while he worked in Old Ebenezer. His little daughter he had also given away [in service?] for a few years . ." In one instance the authorities in Purrysburg, especially "the late Purry," are blamed for the settlers' wretchedness. Kieffer, the herdsman, had drawn up at Ebenezer a petition to the Governor in Charlestown, in which he set forth the "misery that he had had to endure" on this account and begged for "good land, besides some incomplete provisions and the remittance of his passage money." "The gentleman in Charlestown are very favorably disposed towards the poor people and he looks forward to a happy issue in his case, and so an improvement in his circumstances."

But not all of the Germans in Purrysburg were poor. In 1740 there was a rich German widow "there, who put her two children in school at Ebenezer, where they boarded in the orphanage. She was charged 5 sh. sterl. a month board for each boy. After a few months she took the boys home again.

She failed to pay her bill for some time, but in September 1742 we are told that "now, however, that her second husband, who was French, has died, she writes to me and offers to pay her debt soon."

In 1741 "the Kieffers, along with their neighbors," suffered "great damage on their plantations, for the pumpkins, beans, turnips, rice, etc., are ruined by the high water (the result of continued rain), which has flooded the whole plantation; and because the bears have beaten down much grain, it will be ruined in the water." On account of this inundation Kieffer and his family had to flee from their home.

Prices in Purrysburg and Savannah were high compared with those in Charlestown. In fact, they were just twice as high. At one time a German shoemaker in Purrysburg charged 5 sh. 8 p. sterl. for a pair of men's shoes.

As for industries, the Purrysburgers seem to have manufactured a little silk—at least, this was the case in 1751. The South Carolina government had encouraged the manufacture of silk for a time, but later withdrew this encouragement. A result was that "an Italian" offered "only a low price for silk balls." The Purrysburgers once asked one of the Salzburger pastors to recommend a skilled, experienced woman who understood the spinning of silk. In 1741 they had their meal ground at the Ebenezer mill, but in 1750 there was a horse mill in Purrysburg that did not operate very successfully and did not bring its owners much income.

The roads in the vicinity of Purrysburg were "very bad" and there was a "dearth of bridges" so that the members of the Kieffer family who lived near Purrysburg, had to "drag their things hither and thither either on their backs or else on horses." (1742.)

In 1739 we find that Purrysburg was not a thickly settled community, but that because of the size of their farms, "especially those of the so-called lords," the inhabitants lived far apart, "every one as it were in his own forest." This state of affairs resulted in much physical and spiritual harm to the inhabitants, according to Captain and Judge Linder of Purrysburg.

The Purrysburgers owned slaves, but a "Mr. Zuebli, of Pur-

rysburg" wrote to one of the pastors (1743) "that he would keep the most of his negroes only a few days longer, then get rid of this burden and change his manner of life to conform to God's manifest guidance." On April 11, 1742, young Kieffer brought one of his two negroes to church, where the service was held in German, and asked for permission to bring both of them "to church and to the prayer meetings" in order that they might "gradually learn German and hear something of the teaching of Christ." Most of the Germans, however, were not so considerate of the welfare of their negro slaves as were these two men. Pastor Bolzius writes (1746): "Yes, our German people, when they become owners of some slaves, or overseers of them, are masters in the art of treating the poor black heathen right cruelly; and in so doing they themselves become almost heathen, living in the most shameful disorders, and remaining after all poor, miserable people, who finally are snatched away by the judgments of God."

Purrysburg possessed a fort, for we learn that at the beginning of March, 1737, they were building a fortification there, because they feared the Indians, though the fear of the Spaniards was no longer so great as it had been.

There was a German surgeon in Purrysburg, a prominent man, who, however, did not practice his profession there. On May 7, 1737, we are told: "A German captain from Purrysburg, named Holzendorf, who understnads surgery very well, had offered several times to visit us and bleed our people. Yesterday evening, therefore, we had him come and he bled our people free of charge. He offers to visit us again for this purpose as soon as we find it necessary and desire his services. He is quite skilled in his art, though as a matter of fact he does not practice it in Purrysburg and we consider his willingness to serve us a really great physical benefit." This Holzendorf was "a brother of the eminent men of" that "name in the Royal Prussian service" and had been a royal valet de chambre. In addition to him there was for a time a French doctor there, who was drowned together with his family and others when a boat capsized. The Purrysburg tailor, Metzcher, lost three children in this accident. In 1741 we learn of a French Swiss surgeon there, who is said to be "highly conversant with all

sorts of external injuries." The Purrysburgers are reported in 1741 to have resorted to "violent negro-cures," before "extreme need" demanded it.

In February, 1736, General Oglethorpe and Mr. von Reck, the commissioner, went from Ebenezer to Purrysburg, where they were received by "Mr. Purry and the chief men of the town amid the booming of a few cannon." "As soon as the Germans at that point learned of Mr. Oglethorpe's arrival, they gathered in a crowd, and each one presented his petition to Mr. Oglethorpe."

Up the Savannah river near Savannah Town was the Swiss settlement called New Windsor. With the settlers there too the Salzburgers came in touch, especially while the former were still on their way to their new home. Even before they arrived the Salzburger pastors had dealings with Sebastian Zouberbuehler, the promoter of the settlement, who was then a student of theology. They had learned that he was intending to return to Germany and they had given him a section of their diary and some letters to take with him as a favor to them. This was "some time prior" to Feb. 19, 1736, for on that date we are told: "But now, since his departure has been postponed and he has become engaged in new business affairs with Mr. Oglethorpe concerning some Swiss who are to be brought here from St. Gall and other places, we are sending the package of letters in question to a merchant in Charlestown." On April 29th of the following year one of the pastors reports: "I have received word from P. (urrysburg) through Mr. Z. that the newly arrived Swiss intend to have none other than their own fellow countrymen from their home canton in their new town that is to be laid out. This place is situated far up the Savannah river near a village called Savannah Town, which is inhabited by Indians and by merchants. Before they complete the water trip to that point their provisions will almost have been consumed. With a loaded boat the journey requires at least four weeks, during which time they must work unusually hard against the current. The soil there is said to be good, but it is a dangerous place on account of the Indians; and, because of the lack of communication, life there is hard."

A few days later, May 5th, an Englishman who was to lay

out the new town for these newly-arrived Swiss up the Savannah river in Carolina, called on the Ebenezer pastor(s). "He is on his way down from up there and is going to Purrysburg for the purpose of learning why they are delaying so long. He told me that there [at New Windsor?] good and poor land were intermingled. The present settlers would indeed be supplied with good land, but those coming after them would have to put up with poor land. There was no danger there from the Indians, but in the matter of provisions life would be hard, for it was too far from the present Carolina plantations."

On the evening of May 7 "a large boatload of Swiss from the canton of Appenzell" arrived at Ebenezer and spent the night there. "There is a man among them whom they call governor, who is said to be very capable and to be highly respected by them. The later spoke to some of the Salzburgers in high terms of the land to which they are journeying and which he himself has already seen and related the fact that one of our Salzburgers wrote a very favorable letter to Lindau concerning our local conditions." A few days later four "ungodly" Salzburgers, who were dissatisfied in Ebenezer, went to New Windsor.

Another boatload of Swiss headed for New Windsor arrived at Ebenezer on the evening of June 4th.

In a letter of Pastor Bolzius, dated June 30, 1737, the following mention is made of the New Windsor settlement: "Some months ago, another transport containing Swiss people came to Carolina. These went to establish a town of their own up on the Savannah river almost at its source, but partly on account of the unusually disorderly life of the Christians and the heathen there and partly because of great, unanticipated hardships, they are in a bad state." On Sept. 6, 1737, "an Englishman, who trades with the Indians in Savannah Town," called on one of the pastors and told, among other things, that the Swiss, who lately have begun to build a town in that vicinity, are almost all sick and that some are dying. "Their preacher is not yet with them and they are indeed wretched in both spiritual and temporal affairs."

In January, 1739, we are told that Mr. Falk, the gentleman whom the Purrysburgers had asked to instruct their children

but who had declined, had wanted to go to Savannah Town to deliver a sermon to the "rough people" there. This man, claiming to be ordained, had offered himself to the Reformed element in Savannah as a preacher, but his offer had not been accepted. He could not speak German very well, but spoke Dutch with a fair degree of fluency.

In October, 1737, the Salzburger pastors heard that everything was very dear in New Windsor "because foodstuffs and other necessaries of life must be brought up from Charlestown and Savannah by boat, which is a very hard trip." One month later a Switzer, who, along with some others, was traveling from New Windsor to Purrysburg, called on one of the pastors at Ebenezer. "He was sick and wretched, and all the others are in the same condition. Horribly many (such was his expression) have . . . died in the new town. They are people without the necessaries of life, sheep without a shepherd, and therefore are at present in wretched circumstances."

Some of these Switzers moved from New Windsor to Palla-choccolas where General Oglethorpe had a barony which he wished to settle with some families from among their number. Oglethorpe tried to induce the younger Zouberbuehler, then a student of theology who was preaching to the Reformed element in Purrysburg, to take an interest in these Switzers on his barony. The latter had asked that Zauberbuehler be secured as their "reader and preacher." It would seem that this arrangement was made. In 1741 there was a schoolmaster "in the wilderness near Savannah Town" who inquired of the Salzburger pastors whether they needed a teacher. He "longed" to come to Ebenezer and to bring his wife and children with him.

It seems that some wheat was grown in the New Windsor community, for in November, 1741, "the first boat which came from Savannah Town "brought some wheat to be used by the Salzburgers for seed.

The Salzburger pastors give us some facts, obtained second-hand or by hearsay, concerning the settlement at Saxe-Gotha, or Congaree. In December, 1741, one of them writes: "We have never heard anything of Saxe-Gotha in America before; now we hear that it is a town situated in South Carolina 100 English

miles, or 25 German miles, from Charlestown on the way to Orangeburg, and settled by German people. Most of these are probably Reformed, because a Reformed man, of whose character we know nothing as yet, is the preacher there". But there were Lutherans there also, as is shown by the testimony of John George Ebner, from Strassburg—himself a Lutheran,—who came to Ebenezer in February, 1752, and asked for the private administration of the Holy Communion. He was seeking land in Georgia for himself and certain other Lutherans who wanted to be near a church and school. "Religious affairs are in great confusion there (in Saxe-Gotha), one of the pastors reports, "and especially the children are in great danger." An effort was made to settle Saxe-Gotha thickly, for on April 10, 1751, we are told: "In Carolina the new colonists receive some money at the outset, but they have to go to Congrees [Congaree] and settle there, because this district is to be peopled with many inhabitants as a defense against the Indians, etc."

Among the immigrant agents in South Carolina, such as Purry and Sebastian Zouberbuhler, was John Jacob Riemensperger. Seventy people from Salzburg and Wuerttemberg, who had been brought to London by Riemensperger for the purpose of emigration to South Carolina, were deceived in their hopes and in the promises made them. They, therefore, became confused and miserable. Then the Georgia trustees decided to send them to Ebenezer. This information we find in a letter from the Georgia office in London to Samuel Urlsperger, the editor of the Salzburger Reports, under date of June 5, 1749.

Pastor Bolzius gives the settlers at Saxe-Gotha a bad name. On July 23, 1749, he writes: "This afternoon I received a letter from Pastor Zuebli in which he gives an unfavorable report of Congaree, or Saxe-Gotha in South Carolina, where all sorts of Germans who can't get along in other provinces or who do not wish to do well, have settled and are still settling. These are the people who not long ago wrote me a long letter, in which they expressed the earnest desire that I might visit them some time and supply them with good books. The latter request I granted. The pastor writes me that they live in a very filthy,

nasty, disorderly fashion, and that they treat their Reformed preacher (who, too, is said to be a very bad man) with less respect than they do the humblest member of the congregation. They themselves wrote me that there was great discord among them."

Bolzius did not grant the request of the Saxe-Gothans for a visit for the following reasons: (1) On account of the long and expensive journey; (2) on account of his health; (3) because of the bad name of the settlement. "Congris ist eine colluvies pravorum" (Congaree ist a vile mixture of bad men).

Similar testimony concerning Saxe-Gotha is given in 1749: "Such a place where all sorts of people congregate is Congaree in Carolina. This place the Governor desires to settle thickly with Germans as a bulwark against the Indians. Therefore, great licenses are allowed them, and as a result of the excessive indulgence of this lord towards this new settlement, it is hard to recover fugitive indentured servants." A Charlestown friend of the Salzburgers who had tried to recover for them two indentured servants (?) and three boys who had escaped to Congaree, "was apparently hindered by the government itself, which affords protection and safety to all sorts of people who have congregated in this newly established place, as the result of which many people lose their property."

A brief account of economic conditions in Saxe-Gotha was given by a young Switzer who had come to Ebenezer from Congaree (April, 1750). He stated that there "was, to be sure, work enough" in the latter settlement, but no money. Hence the laborers had to accept as their pay merchandise, meat, cattle or products of the soil. The land was very good, but it was not situated on a convenient stream and the distance to Charlestown, the capital, was 150 miles. And inasmuch as they had no other way of bringing their products to market in Charlestown except overland by wagon, the great cost of transportation made their profit very small. The people in that community were scattered about, living very far from one another. Almost every one lived in his own wilderness. In spiritual matters there was much misery, but it seemed that most of the inhabitants cared more for good land and physical freedom than for the one thing that is needful.

On the 25th of April Saxe-Gotha is again mentioned in the diary of the pastors and at somewhat great length: "The German Evangelical Lutheran people at Congrees in South Carolina . . . some months ago requested me to visit them and serve them with the Word and the Holy Communion. I sent them some books both for adults and for children, and at the same time wrote them that my circumstances did not permit such a long journey. Now again I receive a letter in which the former request is repeated, with the added statement that I am to help them to get a church and a preacher. They constitute a congregation of 280 souls and all of them could go to church if one were built in the midst of their surrounding plantations. The Reformed had obtained from the government 500 pounds Carolina money (somewhat more than 500 gulden) for the erection of a church, but there was no one willing to assist them [the Lutherans] if I did not do so. They live in great discord with the Reformed, at which I expressed my displeasure in my former letter. A few families from here, who, indeed, could have supported themselves among us, removed to that place; three grown boys who were afterwards enticed from their service here, and two indentured servants who had run away have found refuge in Congrees. The people there (as a preacher from Carolina [Zuebli] once wrote me are said to live filthlily among themselves and have very little respect for their Reformed preacher. I have no love for these people. Their stomach is their God; which one has to admit is the case with most of the Germans in these districts. In this very letter I find that they have built and continue to build grist mills and saw mills there. Why should they not be able to build a meeting house, if they were in earnest about it?"

Very little is said about the Orangeburg settlement, so far as I have noticed, and the statements made have to do with some money and books that had been sent "old Mr. Giessendanner." One of the pastors wrote a letter to young Giessendanner, "the present preacher in Orangeburg or (as they also write it) Oranienburg." He informed Giessendanner that the equivalent of nine gulden had been collected for him in Switzerland, which, according to the written statement of a prominent merchant in Zurich, was to be given to the son or grandson

of the elder Giessendanner, who had died. Bolzium (?) stated that certain books, which were being sent him, (*i. e.* Giessendanner) from Switzerland in chests for the Salzburger that had not yet arrived, would be forwarded to him as soon as possible. He requests young Giessendanner to write to him now and then, as the late Giessendanner had done, thinking that this might perhaps be of some advantage. This letter is mentioned in the entry for May 21, 1741. By May 29 a good opportunity had presented itself for sending the nine gulden to Orangeburg via Charlestown. The books and letters contained in the Salzburger's chests were to be sent Giessendanner as soon as he should acknowledge the receipt of the money.

Our pastors were in a position to obtain first hand information about Charlestown, for not only did they see the town on their way to Ebenezer, but they visited it again on at least two other occasions. On March 7, 1734, while the ship that had brought them from Europe still lay at anchor waiting for a pilot, they obtained permission to go to the town in one of the ship's boats with the captain. They wanted to have some official clothes made (probably clerical robes) but there was no tailor in the town who knew how to make them. They give the following description of the town: "This Charlestown not only makes a good appearance from far out at sea, but is also regularly, though not expensively, constructed and has no walls. The following are the observations we have made here:

(1) That everything, excepting some foodstuffs, is very expensive here.

(2) That paper money is found here, on which the value is printed in letters. Even though one give the people gold or silver coins, they give in return nothing but paper. This money is legal-tender in all Carolina.

(3) That all, who will only work, can earn their bread, although it is dear.

(4) That there are many more negroes than whites here, all of whom are kept at work, but are by no means Christianized. Only a very few, if any at all, are baptized. The rest live like cattle, so far as the sixth commandment [adultery]

and other matters are concerned. Whole shiploads of them are brought here from Africa for sale.

(5) That it is already extremely hot, although spring has just come. Even at this season the trees are in bloom and the gardens are filled with cabbage, turnips, radishes, lettuce, and other garden products.

(6) That here too we have found some Germans, who were delighted over our arrival and who will make the trip to our settlement in order to partake of the Holy Communion. The printer, Timotheus by name, is also a German.* He is the publisher of the local newspapers.

(7) That three weeks ago, right in front of the city, a richly laden ship was totally destroyed by fire as the result of a cabin-boy's oversight.

(8) That it is, to be sure, a great convenience to have many slaves to attend to the work, but such convenience is coupled with much danger, in that the blacks, of whom there are said to be 30,000 in Carolina alone, are not true to the Christians, but are very malicious (sneaking).

(9) That we have been received very affectionately by Mr. Oglethorpe, and dined with him at the home of the Governor, a very friendly and good man. Mr. Oglethorpe told us much that is praiseworthy about the heathen who are to be our neighbors”

Commissioner von Reck inserts in his diary the following description of Charlestown and the province Carolina: “Charlestown is a pretty city and seaport with a flourishing commerce. It is built on a level spot, has broad streets and good houses, some of which are built of brick, the most, however, of wood. White bread is very expensive here, because no white meal is to be had, except that which the prominent peo-

*This statement does not accord with what is known of Louis Timothee from other sources. It is possible that his acquaintance with the German language, which is indicated by the fact that he had printed for Benj. Franklin the first German newspaper in America, the *Philadelphische Zeitung*, which failed for lack of subscriptions, caused the Salzburger pastors to take him for a German. Or, on the other hand, may his connection with this German newspaper support the statement of the Salzburger pastors? In the “Gazette” for Dec. 4-11, 1749, there is an advertisement in the German characters and language of an almanac for the year 1750 that was printed in Philadelphia and for sale at Timothy's establishment on King Street.

ple make for their own use on their plantations—and that is very good,—or what is imported from the northern colonies, or even from England. Rice is excellent and cheap here. One sees more than five negroes to one white man, and furthermore almost 3,000 new ones are brought in annually, so that one estimates the number of negroes in this province at 30,000, who, along with their children, children's children and all their descendants, are for ever slaves. Because at the same time they are badly treated, they cherish a secret hatred of their masters and only seek a favorable opportunity to revolt, as they have recently done on the islands of St. Thomas and St. Jonas, which belong to the Danes and the Swedes."

On May 24, 1734, Pastor Bolzius wrote a letter from Charlestown, whither he had come for two reasons: First, because the Salzburger "commissioner," Mr. von Reck and his servants wanted to partake of the Lord's Supper there once more along with some Lutheran inhabitants of the town; second, because the state of his own affairs and those of his congregation "made it necessary." "God has awakened various people here," he writes, "who have been kind to our Salzburgers and who have promised to do still more. To these we must render due thanks . . ."

In 1741 Pastor Gronau made a trip to Charlestown. While there he held services. "Morning and afternoon" (of a certain Sunday), he states, "a little crowd of Germans gathered themselves together."

In October, 1742, Bolzius accompanied to Charlestown Henry Melchoir Muehlenberg, the "patriarch" of the American Lutheran Church, who had been on a visit to Ebenezer. He intended to go to Pennsylvania with Muehlenberg, but found no opportunity of doing so at once. Realizing that if he waited in Charlestown his board bill would soon mount up, he abandoned the project and returned to Ebenezer. He kept a diary on this trip and from this diary I take certain passages: "Here (in Charlestown) we lodged with a French baker who married a German wife and has her sister living with them. We did not wish to lodge in a public inn with our people because of the expense and of the noise. In this house my dear colleague delivered ten months ago an address on the text . . . , which

was heard, our host related, by some English and French people in addition to the Germans. The former had come because they liked our hymns and melodies . . . The necessaries of life are very expensive here at present. A pound of fresh butter or English cheese costs more than one shilling sterling; 100 pounds of meal, fourteen shillings; a gallon of wine, five shillings; etc.; and the worst of it is that they have little regard for the sola bills, or the money of the Trustees. He who wants to buy something with it, suffers a great loss (in value?). Bills of exchange the merchants accept, of course, yet they do not honor them with cash but with their goods. It is a good thing that we brought some guineas along, for these we can use without any special loss."

Under date of October 21st we read: "There are at present some Germans from Purrysburg here, who have some very troublesome business with the local authorities. They go in and out of our quarters and attend both morning and evening the prayer-meetings we hold with our people, at which they are very attentive. This morning I was busy buying all sorts of things for our parishioners. These are to be sent back with our boat. Merchandise, especially when one buys it wholesale, is still rather cheap. Even when one figures in the cost of transportation, it is somewhat cheaper than in Savannah, and in this way we can render our people an agreeable service.

"Auction sales take place here almost daily. At these all sorts of merchandise is sold very cheap. Very many merchants go bankrupt, whereupon their creditors convert their stocks into money as well as they can. I accidentally got into the home of an English schoolmaster. He and his wife teach a hundred boys and girls. He told me *inter alia* what great advantages Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, where he had been a schoolmaster for about eight years, had over this section and this town, and how one very seldom heard of any one going into bankruptcy and of his goods being 'auctioned off after his death, as often happens here. For, he said, the people work harder, do not live in luxury as they do here in the matter of clothes and other things; hence they contract no debts. He would not have come here, had not certain schoolmasters offer-

ed their services at too low a figure and thus drawn the children away from him. There are several English and French schools here but no German ones. Conditions among the few Germans here are very lamentable. When they accumulate a little money, they openly imitate local society. Unless one sees for oneself the luxury and sensuality that are indulged in here, one cannot form an adequately coarse conception of it. The part of the city that was devastated by fire has been almost completely rebuilt, and building operations are still being carried on vigorously. On the water front of the town double piles are being driven, and a thick wall being built from one corner to the other, partly so that the tide can no longer wash away the banks and partly in order that an adequate number of cannon may be mounted on it."

On October 22d we are told that the Salzburgers were hastening home because in Charlestown the necessaries of life were very dear and everything cost a great deal of money. "For although we lodge in a private home and have made our calculations most carefully, it costs one pound of local paper money a day, *i. e.*, 2 sh. 10½ p. sterl., which would amount to a great deal in two or four weeks, especially since with good intentions and for the sake of the Kingdom of God, we have brought honest Kalcher along."

Theus, the painter, who had "previously given lodging" to Gronau, agreed to take Muehlenberg into his home, since the latter would be alone and had his own bed. Muehlenberg would be under very little expense there, we are told.

Bolzcius had to buy "a cheap horse" for the return trip to Ebenezer. A planter, who had formerly been rich but was then in prison there, had a few mares to sell. Bolzcius had his choice and bought "a young, very easy-going mare" for 3 pounds 10 shillings sterling. He had to buy a new saddle and bridle, which he secured for 17 sh. 2 p. sterling. He "longed to get out" of Charlestown, which he called a sinful town. He who has been in London," he continues, "may indeed have seen and heard something of abominations, but here they have almost reached their zenith. The Europeans indulge in abominably wanton conduct toward the negro girls; therefore, one sees very many mulatto children running around. I was told that

many prominent men do not marry, but carry on shameful intercourse with such heathen, and that this is regarded as but a slight disgrace, if any at all. At twilight and in the evening, not only is there much mixed promenading of the two sexes on the streets, but whites and negroes of both sexes behave most shamefully and make much noise even into the night. Although it is now nearly winter, and the heat of the sun is not excessive, the women, all of whom think themselves fine in their magnificent costumes, go about on the streets with black masks (veils) before their faces, which look very ugly and reveal their character quite plainly. These they wear also on Sunday in church. Some of the Germans are still upright and exercise moderation, but young girls openly imitate the world (society), and everywhere are blindness, prejudices, malice, indifference, Epicureanism, and atheism. As many as have chosen to come to us, have heard important truths from God's Word—from the Psalms of David and other Bible texts. Besides, we have talked with them privately about one thing and another. God pity this misery!"

Pastor Muehlenberg wrote to the Salzburger pastors that Mr. Theus would not take anything for the entertainment he had given him. The former had wanted to insist on the latter's taking something, for Theus was a poor man and had no means except what he earned at his painting. Yet he would take nothing from his guest. "A German painter in Charlestown," probably Theus, is reported in 1743 as preparing for the Salzburger churches two copies of the Scripture verses: "Thou daughter of Zion, rejoice greatly, etc." Theus seems to have been a pious man, for there was a German congregation in Charlestown which met in "a painter's home," evidently his, "for mutual edification." At the request of the "lay reader", one of the Salzburger pastors had presented them with a copy of a collection of sermons on the Epistle lessons for the year. This is stated in the entry for January 14, 1748.

Another prominent Charlestonian, John Paul Grinke, "a German jeweler (?)", as he is called, requested of Bolzius a

certificate to the effect that he had received the Lord's Supper in Charlestown at the hands of Gronau. He wished to use this certificate as proof that he was a Protestant, and therefore entitled to naturalization papers.

NOTE.—I have no record of any references in the Salzburger Reports to the Moravian missionaries to the negroes, Bohler and Schulus, who settled at Purrysburg in February, 1739, though they had come to that settlement in October, 1738. The outlook for the negro school that they were to establish there was "far from encouraging" at that time. They "then made their way from one plantation to another until they reached Charlestown." They now wished to locate their school in Charlestown, but General Oglethorpe insisted that it be located in Purrysburg, and they acquiesced. "The German and Swiss settlers" at Purrysburg, writes Miss Adelaide L. Fries, from whose booke, "Moravians in Georgia," I have drawn this information regarding Bohler and Schulus, "were unaffectedly glad to have the Moravians in their midst, and begged for religious services and instruction for their children, so Bohler and Schulus agreed on a divison of labor, the latter to devote himself to the white residents and their little ones, while Zohler spent most of his time visiting adjoining plantations", and there working among the negroes. The explanation of this apparent failure of the Salzburger pastors to mention these Moravians is probably the fact that Bolzius was not friendly towards the latter, though Gronau was. Henry Melchior Muehlenberg accused the Moravians of "sheep-stealing".

Swiss Notes on South Carolina.*

"On Tuesday last [February 1st] arrived——(Charlestown) Capt. Dunbarr from Rotterdam with above 200 Switzers out of the Canton of TOCKENBURGH [Toggenburg],¹ who are come to settle a Township on Savanna River called New Windsor, which was reserved for them upon a Petition to the Honorable the Governor and Council, granted some time since to one of their Commissioners, Sebastian Zouberbuhler, who was sent here by them to look out for and pitch upon Land which he should think most convenient for planting of hemp and Flax, and which 't is hoped in time will be of no small Advantage to this Province."

So reads an item in the *Gazette* for January 29-February 5, 1737. This party of German-Swiss settlers had left their mountainous fatherland "in the beginning of August last" [1736] and had journeyed to Rotterdam, where they arrived "in September following" and "where they met with great hardships and a long detention from the Magistrates" of that city, the latter "pretending to oblige them to embark in a Dutch vessell when the said familys had already contracted for their passage to Carolina in an English Vessel, which occasioned a demurage of Six weeks and an expence of several hundreds of pounds".² This delay had entitled a "Great Loss and Detriment" to these "familys" as well as to Sebastian Zouberbuhler and "his Friends".³ The British "Minister at the Hague" had interceded for them with the result that they had "obtained leave to embark in the said English vessel." This they had

*Reprinted from The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine for July, 1920.

¹The Toggenburg is a portion of the present Canton of St. Gall. In the *Salzburger Nachrichten* (vol. 3, p. 1040), Halle, 1740, these settlers are called "Switzers from the Canton of Appenzell." Cf. the "Petition" of Sebastian Zouberbuhler quoted below.

²"The Humble Petition of Sebastian Zouberbuhler of the Canton of Appensel in Swiserland." (Transcripts in the Office of the Historical Commission, vol. 18, p. 176 ff.)

³See page 95.

done in November 1736 and had "sailed directly for Carolina."

In Sebastian Zouberbuhler's account of the migration of these Switzers, no mention is made of his having been sent to South Carolina by them for the purpose of selecting and securing a tract, or tracts, of land, as is stated in the Gazette.⁴ It was the Encouragements given to Colonel Purry for the settling a Township upon the River Savanna" that led him to come to the Province in the year 1734 "at his own cost and charge—in hopes of meeting with the same encouragements in proposing to People another Township." He further states that "during his stay in South Carolina he travell'd all over the Country to take a view of the Lands," on which His Majesty had "Ordered the Townships to be laid out, and after several conferences held with the Council at Charles Town he . . . concluded a Contract with them, signed the 17th July 1736, for settling a Township up the River Savanna on a Place formerly an Indian Village, then called Savanna Town (at present New Windsor) and for bringing over one hundred Protestant Familys in the space of one Year w'th a farther promise to bring over two hundred Familys more after the first hundred be well settled and able to subsist themselves."⁵—"In pursuance of the said Contract he writ to his friends at Appenzel to come away with as many familys as could be got ready, accordingly they set out with about fifty Familys consisting of one hundred and ninety two Persons (most able body'd young people and not above twenty children among them) . . . Upon their arrival in Charles Town, the party encountered another hindrance and delay, so that it was not until that April they began the journey to New Windsor. "After a great deal of Trouble," writse the Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbuhler from "Charlestown in South Carolina" April 9th, 1737, "to his Son Sebastian

⁴He first proposed in 1735 to bring over 100 Protestant Swiss families and asked for Provisions, Cattle, Tools and free Warrants, Plots and Grants. After having "spent some time in viewing several Places in consequence of this Petition and having been taken ill, he found it impossible for him to transpirt to Carolina the said 100 Familys in the time he at first Proposed." (Transcripts, vol. XVIII, p. 267 ff.)

⁵He does state that "they are chiefly qualified for cultivating hamp and Flax, and the Lands of the said Township" are "very fitt for that purpose."

Zouberbuhler at London,"⁶ "The Government of South Caro- Resolved on the 2d of April to assist the People with three Pettiagos for Transporting them and their Baggage hence to New Windsor. But that in case they wanted more The People should provide them at their own Charges. Whereupon the People who absolutely refused to be at the Charge of a Suffi- cient Number of Pettiagoes and Boats, came to me and told me that as I had promised them that they should be carried to the Place free of all Charges, so they desired that I might provide them with a sufficient Number of Pettiagoes and Boats. Thus I found myself obliged to hire One Pettiagoe, over and above those provided by the Government, for which I am to pay One Pistole per diem; as also Two Trading Boats to carry them and their baggage from Purrysburgh up the River to New Windsor, for the Pettiagoes cannot go higher than Purrysburgh. All which Expences fall upon my Account. And therefore you must see to find Ways nad Means for discharging the said Expences." The journey from Charles Town to Purrysburg lasted "four full Weeks," while the remaining distance from the latter point to New Windsor required "Seventeen days more."⁷ On the evening of the seventh of May, some of the party⁸ arrived at Ebenezer, Ga., where they spent the night with the Salzburgers, while almost a month later, June 4th, another boatload touched at this place.⁹

The emigration of these settlers of New Windsor is men- tioned at some length in the "21stes Neujahrsblatt der Zuercher Huelfsgellschaft," 1821.

⁶This is a "translation of Part of a letter . . . written in High German by the Rev'd Mr. Bartholomew Zouberbühler, etc." Transcripts, vol. 18, pp. 232-33.

⁷"Translation of Part of a Letter written by the same hand, at Charlestown ye 4 December 1737." *Ibid.*

⁸"Yesterday evening (i.e. May 7th) a large boatful of Switzers from the Canton of Appenzel arrived at our settlement and spent the night here." *Salzburger Nachrichten*. Part 1, p. 1044.

⁹"Yesterday evening i.e. June 4th) during our prayer-meeting, there arrived here from Purrysburg a boatful of Switzers, who likewise are journeying to their place near Savanna Town." *Ibid.*, p. 1060.

"Enticed by these descriptions,¹⁰ the number of emigrants soon increased. The town of Savannah (Savanna Town?) was populated chiefly by Switzers, and later (sic!) Newbern, North Carolina, was likewise settled by our fellow-countrymen. It was observed that at that time several hundred families passed through the pass near Wallenburg into the Canton of Basel alone. One of the largest crowds, consisting of inhabitants of eastern Switzerland, set out under the leadership of Governor Tobler,¹¹ who had been dismissed from his position during the disturbances that took place in Appenzell at that time, and of a St. Gall preacher by the name of Zouberbuhler. According to reports of the latter, they had landed happily in Charlestown after a voyage of seven weeks. During the journey they had lost only two children out of two hundred and fifty persons. They had found enough fertile land and had been accorded a friendly reception everywhere. They had every reason to be sure of their future prosperity, provided that they should be industrious and orderly. He added that, in view of these facts, his son would return to St. Gall shortly and would bring fifty to sixty families more. The ordinances of the government prevented this; nevertheless Tobler and Zouberbuhler kept in touch with their fatherland for yet a long while, and the former, who was not unlearned in surveying and astronomy, dedicated to the states of Glarus, Appenzell and the three confederacies an almanac¹² for the year 1754, which contained a description

¹⁰"An exceedingly favorable description of those districts and of the advantages of the settlements there (i.e. "South Carolina and Georgia"), with an appended map, by a native of Basel who was living there." "A considerable edition" of this work, which "appeared" in 1711, "had been quickly sold." 2) A publication prepared by Col. John Pierre Purry, which is mentioned as follows: "When toward the end of the year 1733, Purry made a journey to Switzerland, he brought with him several letters by different emigrants, who all testified as to their great satisfaction with their new fatherland. He himself, too, published some reports about Carolina. These, along with the afore-mentioned letters, were translated into German, under the title . . . , printed, and scattered everywhere."

¹¹"There is a man among them (i.e. the settlers of New Windsor, who spent the night of May 7th at Ebenezer), whom they call Governor. He is said by them to be very clever and of high repute. To some of the Salzburger he spoke in very high terms of the district, to which they are journeying and which he himself has already seen. . . ." (*Salzburger Nachrichten*, Part 1, p. 1044.)

¹²Bibliographies of Tobler's almanacs prepared by Miss Webber and Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., have appeared in previous numbers of this magazine.

of South Carolina and on whose title page he designated himself Justice of the Peace of Granville County. Meanwhile, not all of his former fellow-travelers (i.e. emigrants) had been in like measure satisfied with their lot. Several returned to Europe in a wretched state, and one of these, Wernhard Trachsler of Elgg published a short account of his journey, in which he complained bitterly of hardships of the journey, the unfriendliness of the climate and of the inhabitants, poor food and dwellings, diseases, wild people and wild animals, and dissuaded everyone from journeying thither. There also appeared with this report a lament of those who had remained behind in Carolina, which contained among other stanzas the following one: [Note. A prose translation is given.]

"I journeyed from a free land, in which I lived honestly and honorably. I did not know of Carolina, where I am now a slave. I have no freedom at all. Great God, grant me Thy grace!"

Hans Wernhard Trachsler's "short account of his journey," which has been mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, bore the following title: "Brief Description of a Journey to the Province of Carolina, situated in the West Indies, together with a Report of the Character, Nature, and Features of this Land by a Citizen who Recently Returned to his own Country." It was published in 1738 at Zurich and was "printed in Burckli's Printery." A translation which follows is complete save for a few words that are unintelligible in the written copy from which it was made.

"Hans Wernhard Trachsler of Elgg, district of Zurich, formerly soldier in Imperial and Royal French service, had the desire to see Carolina and undertook to do it. Accordingly on the ninth of September, 1736, he took leave of his wife and children at Elgg and with eighty five gulden¹³ cash journeyed to Holland alone. From Basel to Rotterdam it costs a person over twelve years of age eight gulden; from four to twelve years four gulden, boat passage alone, without food and drink, besides baggage six gulden per hundred weight. In Rotterdam he met many persons who also intended to travel thither, from

¹³"Till 1876 a gulden of 1s 8d was the unit in the South German States."

various places, especially Switzers from Appenzell, Pundten? (Graubuenden?) and Rheintal; among whom were Mr. Zuebli¹⁴ of St. Gall, Pastor Zuberbuehler of Troguen, Governor Tobler of Herisau, and others. These men and all the rest present, making a company of 250 persons, entered into an agreement with the captain of a vessel before the voyage to the aforementioned province of Carolina. He undertook to carry them and made them pay him for freight, care, and food, for a grown person five louis'd'ors; for a person from three to twelve years old, two and a half louis'd'ors; and for children under three, nothing. During this time there was apportioned to them, in messes of five persons, every twenty-four hours on Sundays and Tuesdays, dried beef; on Saturdays, pork; on Fridays, codfish; on other days, boiled rice, peas, and barley together with a quart of water and beer and a piece of zwieback per head. Children under three, as they paid no passage, were counted to their parents. But this supply of food was not suf-

¹⁴In a letter of the Salzburger pastors, Bolzius and Gronau, dated July 29, 1737, mention is made of Mr. Zueblin, who had "recently brought" them "the letters and the gift," and who had been sick in Purrysburg "almost as long as he" had been "in the land." From the diary of these pastors we learn that Mr. Zueblin of Purrysburg had two brothers who had desired to be taken in at Ebenezer. The date of this item is Dec. 19, 1737. The entry for Feb. 25, 1736, contains the information that two brothers named "Ziebely" had been supplied with provisions "from the store-house in Savannah" at the request of the pastors, when "some time ago" they had been "in very great want of" these and had been "forsaken by everybody." Their parents in St. Gall were said to be "wealthy people," and they wished to "pay back everything with joy in due time." "Both brothers fear God," we are told, "and make use of our (the Salzburger pastors') ministry, as often as we come to Purrysburg." From the entry of November 8, 1742, we learn that Mr. David Zuebli had a son in Switzerland, who was studying theology. . . . "The father should have liked to have had him become the German preacher in Purrysburg; but because the number of the German people is becoming continually smaller and he himself no longer has a great desire to remain there, therefore he desires that the German people in Savannah might call him to be their preacher." We are further informed (February 8, 1743) that "Mr. Zuebli from Purrysburg" had written to one of the pastors "that he wished to keep the most of his negroes only a few days longer and to release himself from this burden (or charge) and to change his manner of life according to God's apparent direction." Again (February 8, 1743) we are told that "Mr. Zuebli" had "bought, on his arrival in the land, a plantation of two hundred acres on the Savannah River, but" that he had "long ago been forced by the frequent flooding, which now for two years had continued longer than formerly, to abandon it and" had "rented another in the interior that" was "very remote (isolated)." [These items are taken from the *Salzburger Nachrichten*.]

ficient for them, they being people not accustomed to voyages, so that every one had to try at times to buy something from the ship-steward out of his own pocket. Moreover, they had to lie on the hard floor without any beds, and the sea caused them many sick days and fever. After twelve weeks and three days they finally arrived in Carolina, and they disembarked in the chief city, Charlestown, situated in South Carolina, and were lodged in two shacks. There they caused a petition to be presented to the English Council and the Governor that they, like those who had arrived before them, might receive the provision and support for the first year, as was promised to the aforementioned Pastor Zuberbuehler's son in Carolina and even in London; but they were refused and silenced, inasmuch as His Royal Majesty of England has issued an order not to advance or give anything more to anybody.¹⁵ Hereupon they found themselves in the most extreme poverty; they had to eat themselves, as it were; home and hope they had none; work they did not find. They scattered here and there. Some remained in Charlestown; others went to Purrysburg and Orangeburg, Congaree, Savannah (Savanna Town, i. e. New Windsor?) and other places, where they were assigned to woodland and raw fields; others, and especially the women who had lost their husbands on the voyage, begged.¹⁶ Trachsler, for his part, found some credit and began to butcher, and rented in Charlestown a shed or shanty made of boards for 20 Batzen of our money per week.

¹⁵The Minutes of Council for February 4, 1737-8 contain the reply of the Council to a message from the House, in which reply we find the following words: " . . . the late Lieu't Governor by the advice of His Majesty's Council, with proper prudence and Caution near a Year Agoe Caused an Advertizement to be Published and Continued in the *Weekly Gazette* giving Notice of the Expiration of that Law (i. e. the Appropriation Law) and of the Insufficiency of the Fund to provide for the poor Protestants then Arrived" . . .

¹⁶On February 3, 1737-8 a message was sent by the House to the Council in which we find the following reference to the plight of some newly arrived immigrants: " . . . Especially as we have Such frequent Complaints that for want of some Provision being made for these people (Irish Protestants) and the Other Poor Protestants lately arrived in this Province, this Town is filled with people begging from Door to Door in So much that Unless they are Some way forthwith provided for they will become a perfect Nuisance to the Present Inhabitants of the Town." Relief and action were urged. The Council replied on the following day (cf. note on preceding page) and recommended that the "poor Protestants" "Enter into Service without more loss of time."

Some time afterwards, when Spain made some moves looking to an invasion of the country and on this account the fortresses were occupied, he received from the said Council in Charlestown the favor to be placed in the fortress of Port Royal, which lies in the direction of Georgia, as sergeant with fifty men from the best people under the command of a lieutenant from Prussia. Here they had enough to eat, but after four months were paid off and discharged. Then he went to Orangeburg and tried to support himself again with butchering and soap-boiling, which he had learned years before in France. He also entered into an agreement with a captain, to whom he offered to teach soap-boiling, for four years for half of the profits. But he was unable from the very beginning to come to any accounting with the gentleman. Therefore he applied to the magistrate and there had himself released from the contract. As he now had some money on hand, he again hired passage with it on a ship and sailed back to Holland, taking with him the wife of a smith in Troguen. Only a few days ago he returned to his children in Elgg.

All persons who get to Rotterdam will be transported to this province. Such as are provided with money can engage passage themselves on ships, which sail at intervals. But such as are over not in a condition to do this will be taken charge of and sent over by Messrs. Hoppen,¹⁷ prominent merchants there, (a few unintelligible words) in the manner described above, except that those who live only by grace fare even somewhat worse in the treatment over the sea and in this province. To those who pay the ship-passage out of their own money, immediately a portion of land, thirty acres¹⁸ to the head, is apportioned, but without house, barn, victuals nor implements for the cultivation of this land: but they are simply assigned to the apportioned piece of land thus bare of all things. It is true that in

¹⁷In a pamphlet entitled "Umstaendliche Nachricht vor diejenigen, welche auf eine sichere Weise nach S. C. America, ziehen wollen," Speyer, 1741, there is a copy of a contract drawn up between some emigrants to South Carolina and the firm of "Archibald Isaac Zachariah Hope, Merchants in Rotterdam." The date of this contract is April 5, 1741.

¹⁸This should be fifty instead of thirty acres.

the beginning the provision in victuals and other things was advanced to the Europeans who arrived in this land, for the first year; but in the year 1736 His Majesty of England issued a manifest that no advance should any more be given to any stranger. But the others, who are taken charge of by the aforementioned Messrs. Hoppen in Rotterdam, are sold to the farmers settled there for four years. They serve for food and clothing, but must do such work as is too severe for them in this hot country and uses the most of them up. This South Carolina is a very hot country. Already in March the heat is as great as in the middle of the summer in Switzerland. In December there is sometimes wet and cold weather, but not enough to freeze at this time. But especially in the approaching spring, often so sharp a wind blows that one needs the best clothing if one wishes to work outdoors. Around the towns and along the two rivers the land is very fertile, so that anything can be planted in the gardens; but there are no grape-vines. Every acre around there is worth 200 gulden.

But the land which is distant from the rivers and which is distributed to the new-comers, is hot beyond all measure, and if one wishes to plant anything at all on it, especially in the beginning when it must be cleared, it requires strong hand-work. This land is full of wild men who live in the woods stark naked, but who do no harm to other people. They do nothing but shoot wild animals, bears, wolves, and deer and bring their skins and pelts to the towns to sell them and exchange them for victuals. Besides there are very many negroes who have been sold thither as slaves. These people are worth a high price, because they are much more able to do the work and much cheaper to keep in food and drink than the Europeans. As to divine service, there are neither ministers nor churches anywhere except in the chief city Charlestown, where there is a French Church.¹⁹ Neither does one find Bibles or other books for sale. In Orangeburg, a goldsmith, Gietzendanner of Liech-

¹⁹I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., for the information that at this time there were six churches in Charlestown alone.

tenstaeg,²⁰ has lately set up as a pastor and preached every Sunday in an open place near to his own cottage. Children as old as nine years were brought to him for the administration of baptism, and people came a distance of forty English miles (one of which makes half an hour) to his preaching. On account of the vehement heat and the bad food and drink, everybody who comes to this country must endure severe diseases, especially fevers, from which the most die. One sees no money consisting of silver and gold, but only paper, on which the English coat of arms and the value are printed. There are notes of four, two and one louisd'ors, an English pound containing ten batzen of our money, and so on down to a half crown, which is equal to ten kreutzer. If anyone is fortunate enough to obtain a loan, he must pay ten per cent interest per year to Englishmen for it, and fifteen per cent to the Jews, who have also invaded this country. In the government as in all other matters there is not the least order. Everybody can trade, work and undertake whatever he wishes to. But crimes, especially theft, are severely punished. Everything produced by handiwork brings a high price; clothing and agricultural implements can scarcely be had. Tools necessary for work and cultivating the ground are worth very much: a saw is sold for nine English pounds, a shovel or a hoe for thirty batzen, an axe for twenty batzen, a hand-mill for nine pennies, and so forth. This country, like other countries, is subject to blessed as well as unfruitful years; but all provisions are always dear. A hundred weight of rice is worth four to five Carolina pounds, a loaf of bread half a pound, a pound of lean beef a batzen (altogther the cattle in this country is small, and the largest ox will weigh not more than four and a half hundred weight; it is not stalled, but roams wild in the woods), a pound of tallow ten kreutzer, one pound of sea-fish, ten kreutzer, and so forth. On account of the great heat, there is no fruit, figs, and the like.

²⁰In the *Gazette* for March 5-12 and 19-26, 1737, appeared the following advertisement:

"Jno. Ulrich Giessendaner Silversmith gives Notice, that he makes & mends all sorts of small work, designs and engraves Seals, Coats of Arms &c. in Gold, Silver, Copper or Pewter. He lives on the Green by the Church in the House of Mrs. Hammerton. He likewise sells a Balsamus Aromaticus good for the head and tooth-ache and other Infirmities, also an excellent and comfortable Balsam of Mace."

The drink consists of bad water or in a mixture of brandy, sugar, lemon and water, which is called punch there and is dear. A quart is sold for twenty kreutzer. But it is quite unhealthful and unadapted to the nature of Europeans. Wine from Spain is also brought into the country, but on account of the high price only the rich can afford it. Only in and around the towns are houses to be found, but in the country only shacks or shanties made of boards and covered with brush, in which the people stay. All these are able to plant on the land given them, and that too with the most laborious work, consists of Indian corn, of which they make cakes, bake them at the fire and so nourish themselves. But the poor get nothing all the year round for their sustenance but potatoes, which they dig out of the ground themselves. With these alone they have to keep themselves alive, and they see neither bread, meat, nor anything else.

This province of South Carolina, here described, is four hundred miles distant from Pennsylvania. But there, according to reports, life is much more miserable and toilsome. This deponent, Hans Wernhard Trachsler, met some of the people who disembarked there, who were in extreme poverty and could not sufficiently lament their misery, so that one even broke out into this lamentation: 'It is better to die upon the ocean than to come into West India and perish there, for not a few die from misery and sorrow upon the almost endless open sea and find a grave in the wild waves of the desolate ocean. Therefore one cannot sufficiently thank God when he gets back healthy into his dear fatherland and into his old home, especially as it is very difficult to get free and away again; for it must be known that if one wishes to leave the country again, he must first give notice at the state chancellory in Carolina and have his name called out for three weeks and three days in order that if anybody has any claims against him, he may report and make everything right before his departure. But the principal thing is that they are not willing to let people out, because the more populous the country is, the safer they feel; among other things also on account of the pests, like snakes and crocodiles, of which there is a multitude. Finally, one of the chief hindrances to getting away is the overwhelming costs which are demanded of

those who return. For instance, the deponent and Anna Maria Hugendobler, with three children, had to give 162 gulden for passage as far as London, Gabriel Schaeffer, however, had to pay 125 gulden for himself alone, because they had to give him more serviceable food; although the journey is also long and one reckons from Carolina to Rotterdam alone 2200 hours on the water, in which there is many a bitterly sad moment, to which the person mentioned at the outset will testify from his own experience to the end of his days.”

Some Saxe-Gothan Settlers.

The following list of German and German Swiss settlers at Saxe-Gotha, or Congaree, is only a partial one. In some instances the origin of the settler is given. There were two distinct elements, the German-Swiss (Reformed) and the German (Lutheran).

DATE OF GRANT	NAME	ORIGIN
June 3, 1742.	Jno. Theyler.....	(Switzer)
“ “ “	Jac. Theiler.....	(Switzer)
“ “ “	Jac. Remensperger (Riemensperger).....	(Switzer)
“ “ “	Ulrich Shillig.....	
“ “ “	Jno. Liver (Lever).....	
“ “ “	Chas. Kansler (or Kanster).....	
“ “ “	Hans Buss.....	
“ “ “	Henry Weiber.....	
“ “ “	Abram Giger (Geiger).....	
“ “ “	Herman Gyger (Geiger).....	
“ “ “	Hans Jac. Gyger (Geiger).....	
“ “ “	Jno. Landriker (?).....	
“ “ “	Henry Boume.....	
“ “ “	Casper Frey (Fry).....	(Switzer)
“ “ “	Julius Credy.....	
“ “ “	John Gallasper.....	
“ “ “	Martin Fridig (Friday).....	
“ “ “	Gasper Hanstear.....	
Sept. 7, 1742.	John Frasher.....	
March 2, 1743.	Jac. Spenler.....	
June 8, 1743.	Jacob Young (Jung).....	
April 14, 1744.	Jno. Wessinger.....	
Oct. 5, 1744.	Philip Pool.....	
Nov. 29, 1744.	John Mathys (Mathias?) (near Saxe-Gotha).	
Nov. 30, 1744.	Rudolph Buchter.....	
Dec. 8, 1744.	Hanna Maria Stolea.....	
Dec. 8, 1744.	Jno. Shillig... ..	
Dec. 8, 1744.	Michael Long.....	(Berne)

- Jan. 18, 1745. Andrew Buck.....
- Jan. 18, 1745. Melchior Sower (Sauer).....
- Jan. 31, 1745. Ulrick Bachman (Additional Grant).....
- Mar. 14, 1745. J. J. Fridig (opposite SaxeGotha. Additional grant.)
- Mar. 16, 1745. Jacob Drafts.....
- Mar. 18, 1745. Mich'l Craft (Croft).....(Wuerttemberg)
- Mar. 19, 1745. John Rester.....(Wuerttemberg)
- Apr. 22, 1745. Jno. Christian Hauser.....
- June 6, 1747. Godfrey Traylor (Dreher?).....
- Aug. 14, 1747. Solomon Ade (Addy).....(from Georgia)
- Nov. 6, 1747. Christian Kotiler (via Philadelphia).....
- Nov. 6, 1747. Lawrence Wetzel.....
- Nov. 6, 1745. Jac. Stackley (opposite Saxe-Gotha).....
- Nov. 6, 1747. Antony Cottler (Kotiler?).....
- Nov. 6, 1747. Jno. Blewer (via Havana).....
- Nov. 10, 1747. Jno. Abraham Schwerdafeger....(Prussia)
- Nov. 12, 1747. Hans Eric Scheffer (German Protestant)...
- Nov. 18, 1747. Jno. Teller.....(Switzer ?)
- Nov. 20, 1747. Henry Ton (had arrived about 1737).....
- Jan. 13, 1748. Conrad Scheis.....
- Jan. 13, 1748. David Amstutz (Berne. Had previous grant in Orangeburg)
- Jan. 22, 1748. Casper Fry (had arrived in 1737).....
- Jan. 28, 1748. Catherine Croft (Kraft).....
- Jan. 28, 1748. Abraham Eichler.....
- Mar. 4, 1748. Geo. Ackerman.....
- Mar. 9, 1748. Jacob Weaver. Arrived some time before....
- Mar. 9, 1748. Jno. Geger (near Saxe-Gotha. Arrived some years before).
- Apr. 30, 1748. Henry Fiesler.....
- “ “ “ Conrad Scheis.....
- “ “ “ John Friday.....
- “ “ “ Anna Baumgart.....
- May 19, 1748. Mich'l Reais (From Georgia).....
- July 19, 1748. Barbary Appeal (?)
- “ “ “ Martin Hassemager.....
- “ “ “ Christian Kohla (Kotiler?) (Near Saxe-Gotha)
- “ “ “ Magdalen Appeal.....

- July 19, 1748. Jacob Burchland.....
- “ “ “ Barbary Husar.....
- “ “ “ Henry Metz (Near Saxe-Gotha)
- Dec. 20, 1748. Conrade Myer (Meyer)..... (Switzer)
- “ “ “ Jacob Warle.....
- “ “ “ Mary Magdalen Millner.....
- Jan. 6, 1749. Christian Bendeker (Congrees or Waterees.
Captured en route.
- Jan. 12, 1749. Valentine Door.....
- Jan. 19, 1749. Geo. Hind.....
- “ “ “ Maria Reyn.....
- “ “ “ Jno. Bokman.....
- “ “ “ Henry Crody.....
- “ “ “ Jno. Hendrich Hillman.....
- Jan. 24, 1749. Margaret Swart (From Pennsylvania).....
- Feb. 2, 1749. Gilbert Guilder.....
- “ “ “ John Gable.....
- Feb. 3, 1749. Mary Ann Seaman (?).....
- “ “ “ Jno. Walder.....
- Aug. 2, 1749. Hans Bother (or Bothen).....
- “ “ “ John Struck.....
- “ “ “ John Struck, Jr.....
- “ “ “ Christian Rottlesperger (Rodelsperger).....
- Sept. 6, 1749. Baletis Affray.....

Oct. 17, 1749.	Joh. Kuller
“ “ “	Mich'l Calfiel
“ “ “	Geo. Ludovick Finch
“ “ “	Geo. Hipp
“ “ “	Hans Mich'l Swagert
“ “ “	Joh. Rich
“ “ “	Joh. Circus
“ “ “	Joh. Jac Leitzzeit
“ “ “	Chris'r Saltzer
“ “ “	Joh. Freyer
“ “ “	Fred'k Mack
“ “ “	Andreas Emmesk
“ “ “	Andreas Cranmer
“ “ “	Jno. Geo. Watchter
“ “ “	Jno. Geo. Buckheart
“ “ “	Andreas Schwachlerback
“ “ “	Conrad Beck
“ “ “	Jno. Titerly
“ “ “	Conrad Burkmeier
“ “ “	Joh. Curner
“ “ “	Verner Ulmer
“ “ “	Jno. Geo. Lapp
“ “ “	Mich'l Looser
“ “ “	Geo. Gottlieb
“ “ “	Jno. Adam Epting
“ “ “	Nich. Prester
“ “ “	Nich. Dirr
“ “ “	Chris'r Ramenstein
“ “ “	Marg't Burkmayer
“ “ “	Jos. Vorsner
“ “ “	Chris'r Henry Hoppold
“ “ “	Andreas Rift
“ “ “	Clemens Fromm
“ “ “	Evea Knoll

Arived 1749.
Palatines.

Nov. 24, 1749.	Jno. David Mercle	(German. Arrived "lately")
" " "	Jos. Meyer	" " "
" " "	Joh. Herman	" " "
" " "	Jac. Hoffner	" " "
" " "	Peter Herr	" " "
" " "	Peter Hummel	" " "
" " "	Conrad Shirer	" " "
" " "	Michael Bucks	" " "
" " "	Jacob Bollmann	" " "
Dec. 17, 1749.	Frederick Schmebile..	(Above Saxe-Gotha)
Dec. 15, 1749.	Abraham Pflining	" " "
" " "	Hans Geo. Franz	" " (Switzer)
" " "	Hans Jacob Hogheim	" " (German)
" " "	Phil. Jac. Schuller	" " "
" " "	Anna Maria Ruffin	(Ruff) " "

German and German-Swiss element in South
olin 3 1924 028 790 760

DATE DUE

~~INTERLIBRARY LOAN~~

Interlibrary
Loan

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

