



# Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . .

Volume XVII: 1759–1760

SAMUEL URLSPERGER

*Edited by George Fenwick Jones With a new foreword by Ben Marsh*

*Detailed Reports on the  
Salzburger Emigrants  
Who Settled in America . . .  
Edited by Samuel Urlsperger*

Samuel Urspergers  
in seinem 82<sup>ten</sup> Jahre durch Gottes Gnade noch lebenden  
resignirten Senioris  
eines evangelischen Predigtamts in Augsburg

Amerikanisches  
Wörterwerk Gottes

oder  
zuverlässige Nachrichten

den Zustand der amerikanischen und von salzburgi-  
schen Emigranten erbauten Pflanzstadt

EbenEzer

und was dazu gehört in Georgien betreffend  
aus dorthier eingeschickten glaubwürdigen Diarien ge-  
nommen, und mit Briefen der dasigen Herren Prediger  
auch anderer noch weiter bestätigt.

Viertes Stück

herausgegeben

von

Johann August Ursperger  
der Haupt- und Pfarrkirche zu St. Anna Diakons.

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Augsburg MDCCLXVII.

Detailed Reports on the  
Salzburger Emigrants  
Who Settled in America . . .  
Edited by Samuel Urlsperger

VOLUME SEVENTEEN

1759

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1760

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1759 and 1760

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IN LOVING MEMORY  
OF  
MY MOTHER AND FATHER  
MAE ELLEN ARNSDORFF HINELY  
AND  
EDWARD JACKSON HINELY  
AND IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF  
MY GRANDFATHERS,  
JEREMIAH HENRY ARNSDORFF, JR.  
AND  
FREDERICK ASBURY HINELY,  
WHO, AS FARMERS OF EFFINGHAM COUNTY,  
CONTINUED TO TILL THE SOIL OF THEIR  
SALZBURGER ANCESTORS AS LONG AS  
THEY LIVED  
MAE ANNETTE HINELY GINGHER



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## *Foreword to the Reissue*

The *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America* offer an extraordinary window into the day-to-day lives of colonists establishing new settlements in North America. A unique mix of Protestant propaganda, social history, community study, spiritual biography, and environmental and economic reportage, the reports were originally edited by Lutheran theologian Samuel Urlsperger (1685–1772) in the imperial city of Augsburg, Bavaria, in the eighteenth century and published in Halle under the title *Ausführliche Nachricht von den saltzburgischen Emigranten, die sich in America niedergelassen haben* (1735–51). His reports were carefully crafted from a patchwork of rich colonial sources, by far the most important of which were the intimate observations of the German religious pastors who assumed responsibility for the community's evolution. It was in Rotterdam, Holland, in 1733 that Rev. Johann Martin Boltzius and Rev. Israel Christian Gronau first encountered numerous families of Protestant exiles from Salzburg, Austria. Thanks to the financial and political support of German Protestant networks (especially the Francke Foundation at Halle), the Georgia Trustees, and the English Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, the exiles became transatlantic settlers, relocating to a new township that they established upstream from Georgia's new capital, Savannah.

In the space of twenty years, Urlsperger amassed the reports from the pastors' travel diaries, letters, lists, grievances, and requests, while further information was parsed from settlers, colonial authorities, and correspondents. Gronau died in 1745, but he was succeeded by Hermann Lemke as an assistant pastor to Boltzius, the latter offering real continuity within the

Ebenezer settlement until his death in 1765, well beyond the lifespan of the *Detailed Reports*. The end products were by no means neutral publications, for comparison with surviving original documents in Halle indicate that multiple filters were in place to ensure the published messages were in step with what the editors wished to convey. The selection of events and the voices expressed by the pastors were with one eye on eventual publication, while Urlsperger happily omitted elements “he thought best unsaid”—meaning that readers of the *Detailed Reports* have to penetrate their overarching intent to demonstrate a story akin to wider tropes in the American creed: Cities on a Hill and Manifest Destiny.<sup>1</sup> News of these Pietists successfully overcoming the trials and tribulations of Atlantic colonialism was intended to shore up German Protestantism, to support Anglo-German diplomatic networks, and to bring patronage for the future support of European religious refugees.

In spite of these editorial dangers and the relentless sermonizing, the sheer volume of material and the extraordinary depth of insight into the personal lives of a host of Georgia settlers present real opportunity for historical reconstruction through the eyes of participants in colonial encounters, conflicts, and community building. Indeed, one of the ironies of a curated archive intended to show a singular power at work is that the *Detailed Reports* clearly reveal the multiplicity of peoples, interests, languages, and ambitions at play in the eighteenth-century Low Country. Pioneer settlers—themselves a heterodox bunch not just from Salzburg but from the Rhineland, England, Scotland, Ireland, French-Swiss cantons, the Piedmont, South Carolina, and the Caribbean—were sandwiched between European imperial powers, in the shadow of powerful Indigenous peoples and the growing presence of racial slavery and people of African origin in neighboring British colonies. Though at first resistant, by the early 1750s the leaders of the Ebenezer settlement had publicly reconciled themselves to what they described in the *Detailed Reports* as the need and the “opportunity” to invest in the purchase of enslaved Africans to labor on their estates.<sup>2</sup> As in other areas, this was a reflection of how several of the settlement’s idiosyncrasies faded as the township’s economy and society became integrated into wider regional patterns and markets.

There is no question that since the *Detailed Reports’* translation and publication, scholars of German-speaking peoples in the Atlantic world

have—to use a Salzburg occupation—mined extensively and innovatively among these sources for fresh insights into processes of diaspora, worship, exchange, and cultural creolization. At first, the *Detailed Reports* provided texture for groundbreaking works in the late twentieth century that traced Georgia's early social and cultural history, including George Fenwick Jones's own syntheses and Harold E. Davis's rich exploration of colonial life.<sup>3</sup> Later generations drilled into particular facets of the Salzbergers' experiences and their relationship to wider trends in the German Atlantic, including Renate Wilson's exploration of charitable and medical networks, A. G. Roeber's assessment of ideas of liberty and property among German Lutherans in British America, and other works comparing the development of Moravian immigrant streams, with whom relations were sometimes strained in Georgia.<sup>4</sup> More recently, scholars have used the volumes in pursuit of microhistories, genealogical and biographic snapshots, and contingent works that address how questions of gender, agriculture, slavery, and migration intersected in the disjointed world of the mid-eighteenth-century Low Country.<sup>5</sup> Far from the simple story of conquering the wilderness that they originally purported to chart, the *Detailed Reports* retain huge potential. Renewed attention to the commentary they offer will complicate and nuance ongoing research into how Georgia's earliest Europeans misunderstood, adapted, competed, influenced, and transformed not only their immediate locale but also the larger Atlantic world.

BEN MARSH

## Notes

1. George Fenwick Jones, ed., *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . . Edited by Samuel Urlsperger* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968), 1:xii

2. Jones, *Detailed Reports*, 16:99.

3. George Fenwick Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984); George Fenwick Jones, *The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733–1783* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992); Harold E. Davis, *The*

*Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733–1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976).

4. Renate Wilson, *Pious Traders in Medicine: A German Pharmaceutical Network in Eighteenth-Century North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); A. G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Hartmut Lehmann, Hermann Wellenreuther, and Renate Wilson, eds., *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

5. Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Two Troubled Souls: An Eighteenth-Century Couple's Spiritual Journey in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Paul M. Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013); Susanne Lachenicht, ed., *Europeans Engaging the Atlantic: Knowledge and Trade, 1500–1800* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2014); James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Ben Marsh, *Unravelling Dreams: Silk and the Atlantic World 1500–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

## Introduction

To understand the circumstances and activities of the Georgia Salzburgers and other German-speaking inhabitants of Ebenezer during the years 1759 and 1760, one must be familiar with their origin and previous condition. For this reason, the following six paragraphs are repeated here from previous volumes for the benefit of newcomers to the series. Readers who have read the earlier volumes or are otherwise acquainted with the history of the Georgia Salzburgers are advised to disregard them.

When the Lutherans were expelled from Salzburg in 1731, not all the exiles went to East Prussia and other Protestant lands in Europe: a small number, some two hundred, were taken to the colony of Georgia, then in its second year. Georgia, the last of Britain's thirteen North American colonies, was founded according to the grandiose schemes of a group of benevolent gentlemen in London, called the Trustees, who wished to provide a new home for impoverished Englishmen and persecuted foreign Protestants, to protect the more northerly colonies from the Spaniards in Florida, and to provide raw materials for English manufacture.

The first Salzburger transport, or traveling party, consisted of recent exiles who had been residing in and around Augsburg, a Swabian city just northwest of Salzburg. This group arrived in Georgia in 1734 and settled some twenty-five miles northwest of Savannah, where they founded a settlement which they named Ebenezer. By the time a second transport joined them a year later, they had realized that their land was infertile and inaccessible, the stream on which it was built, Ebenezer Creek, having proved unnavigable. When a third transport arrived in 1736, composed mostly of Upper Austrian and Carinthian exiles, the survivors at Ebenezer joined them at the Red Bluff on the Savannah River, bringing the name of the earlier settlement with them. The original site, which became the Trustees' cowpen or cattle ranch, was henceforth called Old Ebenezer.

A fourth and last transport, consisting of Salzburger exiles who had been sojourning in Augsburg and other Swabian cities, arrived in 1741. The Salzburgers were also joined by Swiss and Palatine settlers from Purysburg, a Swiss settlement a short way down the Savannah River on the Carolina side, as well as by Palatine servants donated by the Trustees. Finding insufficient fertile land on the Red Bluff, many Salzburgers moved their plantations to an area along Abercorn Creek, an almost blocked channel of the Savannah River, where the lowland was flooded and enriched each winter. This explains the terms "the town" and "the plantations." After some gristmills and sawmills were built on Abercorn Creek, it was usually called the Mill River (*Mühl-Fluss*).

Despite appalling sickness and mortality and the hardships incident to settlement in a wilderness, the Salzburgers were the most successful community in Georgia. This relative success was largely due to the skill, devotion, and diligence of their spiritual leader, Johann Martin Boltzius, the author of most of these reports. This young divine had been trained at the University of Halle in eastern Germany and had taught there at the Francke Foundation, a charitable institution that was to have great influence on the development of Ebenezer.

Although Boltzius was at heart a minister, his secular responsibilities in Georgia molded him into a skillful administrator, economist, and diplomat. Some of the early reports were written by Boltzius' admiring younger colleague, Christian Israel Gronau, who officiated whenever Boltzius was away, in Savannah or elsewhere, until his untimely death in 1745. After that, some reports were written by Gronau's successor, Hermann Heinrich Lemke. In 1752 Boltzius and Lemke were joined by Christian Rabenhorst, who wrote much of the journal for the years 1759 and 1760.

Boltzius' and his colleagues' journals were first edited contemporaneously by Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior of the Lutheran Ministry in Augsburg. Comparison of the original manuscripts surviving in Halle with Urlsperger's published edition shows that he took considerable liberty in deleting unpleasant reports and suppressing proper names, which he replaced with N. or N.N. There is reason to believe that Boltzius made an entry for every day, as he had been instructed to, and that Urlsperger made ma-

for deletions for both diplomatic and economic reasons. In some cases he simply consolidated the material for two or more days into one. Urlsperger's deletions are very illogical: he often deletes a name in one passage even though it appears in another one, or else the person in question can be easily recognized.

Beginning in April of 1751, for reasons unknown, Urlsperger abruptly changed the title of his edition to *Das Americanische Ackerwerck Gottes*, or *God's American Husbandry*. The symbolism is clear: in John 15:1 Christ says, "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman." In other words, God's American husbandry is His spreading of His word in North America through the Halle missionaries. Despite the change in the title of the original, the title of the *Detailed Reports* has been retained in this translation for the sake of uniformity since the content and style are almost unchanged.

In June of 1759 Samuel Urlsperger turned over the editing of the *Detailed Reports*, or the *Americanisches Ackerwerck* as they were now called, to his son and heir, Johann August Urlsperger. The son took even more liberties with the text than his father had taken, deleting large sections and rearranging others. Boltzcius resigned from writing the official journal in June of 1759 and passed the responsibility on to Rabenhorst, yet he continued to keep a journal for his own use. The younger Urlsperger, however, published Boltzcius' journals for June and July of that year even though the months had also been covered by Rabenhorst. For that reason, this edition distinguishes between June (Boltzcius) and June (Rabenhorst).

Johann August Urlsperger placed Rabenhorst's contribution before that of Boltzcius, but this edition puts Rabenhorst after Boltzcius because he continues almost to the end of the year, before ceding again to Boltzcius in December of 1759. Although Boltzcius had kept strict chronology for twenty-five years, the new editor consolidated his entries for December 1759 and January 1760 into a single undifferentiated entry.

By the summer of 1759 Ebenezer had reached its peak. No new large groups had joined since 1752, but there was a steady trickle of new settlers up from Savannah and down from the northern colonies. Whereas the Trustees had envisioned a colony of yeoman farmers, emphasis gradually shifted to silk cul-

ture and lumber processing, activities encouraged by James Habersham, a merchant and President of the Council, who became their chief champion.

Ebenezer's dependencies continued to grow. The planters along Abercorn Creek built and maintained Zion Church, larger than Jerusalem Church in Ebenezer; and even the more distant settlers southeast of Ebenezer at Goshen also maintained a church and school. In time the Swabian settlement at Bethany, five miles upstream from Ebenezer, had its own church but had to depend upon the visits of the Ebenezer pastors. The Salzburger orphanage, once the pride of the congregation, was found unnecessary and its building was converted into a silk filature.

In 1759 and 1760 Great Britain and Prussia were allies against France in the Seven Years War, and therefore the German readers of the *Detailed Reports* were avid to hear of the military events in the British colonies, and Boltzius and Rabenhorst obliged them by citing the latest military communiqués printed in the Charleston newspapers. Naturally, the inhabitants of Ebenezer were most concerned with the Cherokee War, an Indian uprising in the western parts of the Carolinas. Although the Cherokees scarcely reached Georgia, the rumors of war did, being spread, Boltzius surmised, by the friendly Creeks, who were free to pillage the homesteads abandoned by the terrified settlers. All men of Ebenezer and its dependencies had to draw lots for service in the mounted patrols sent out to keep track of the Indians.

Although Ebenezer remained a German-speaking community, its inhabitants gradually increased their contacts with the English and adopted many of their ways. Even the pastors became familiar with English devotional works and soon recommended works by authors such as Isaac Watts, Thomas Willcock, and Thomas Goodwin. While all their pastors learned English, most of their parishioners did not, yet they still had to serve jury duty in Savannah.

Despite his many secular duties, Boltzius remained primarily a man of God and worked diligently to keep his flock well instructed in Pietist dogma. In view of the high infant mortality, it is not surprising that he sought to convince his listeners that God is an all-loving God who does everything for our own good, even

if His purpose is beyond our human comprehension. He also had to free many parishioners from the *Anfechtungen*, the temptation to doubt that God, through the merits of Christ, can save even the worst sinner if he repents and crawls into the wounds of Jesus.

As in previous volumes, the titles of books are translated in the text to give some idea of their content, while the original titles are given in the footnotes. On the other hand, the titles of hymns are left intact in the text, and their meanings and authors, when known, are given in the appendix.

#### A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

I again wish to thank Alice Ferrell for reading the proofs of this volume and to thank Pastors Hartmut Beck and Raymond Davis for hymnodic and theological suggestions. Above all, I wish to thank Mae Annette Hinely Gingher for covering the publication costs of this volume as a tribute to her Salzburger forebears.



 *Detailed Reports*   
*of the Year 1759*

J A N U A R Y 1 7 5 9

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.  
Official Diary of January 1759

The 1st of January. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with my poor self, with my Christianity, ministry, and household, with my dear ones here and in our German fatherland, with my dear colleagues, with our entire community, with our dearest fathers, intercessors, and benefactors in all places in Christendom, etc., on this day, in this year, and as long as we journey on this pilgrimage, Amen!

Through divine guidance the New Year's sermon was begun with the edifying, instructive, and consoling verses: "Treasure above all treasure, Oh Jesus, dearest treasure, in whom I take delight; For thee I've kept a place, here in my faithful heart, Oh fairest of the fair, for through thine agonies, thou hast healed mine own."<sup>1</sup> After I had applied these verses, for examination of the heart and for meditation, to my dear listeners, adults, and children, and had wished for them the treasure and heart of Mary (the sister of Martha and Lazarus, Luke:13) and of Mary Magdalene, I expounded the New Year's Gospel of Christ, the treasure of treasures,

1) in the precious blood He shed at His circumcision, 2) in the precious name which He received at His circumcision. Then we encouraged each other anew with these precious words: "Be opened, shrine of my heart, thou shalt become a treasure house of treasures that are greater than earth or sky or sea; away with the gold of Araby, calamus, myrrh, and cassia, for I have found far better. My greatest treasure, Jesus Christ, is the blood which flowed in love, from thy body's precious wounds." I ended my sermon with: "How I rejoice my treasure is the A and O, beginning and end! To His praise, He will raise me into paradise. At

this I clap my hands. Amen, amen, come, thou crown of joys, tarry not, for thee do I pine.<sup>2</sup>

In the afternoon, my colleague, Mr. Lemke, preached on Peter 2:24, the reconciliation sacrifice of Christ as the basis of a forgiven, holy life. Mr. Rabenhorst preached in the little church at Bethany; and this our merciful God, whose mercy has no end but is renewed each morning, most abundantly bestowed on us, on this first day, which was quite pleasant after the storm, His holy Word. For this as well as for other spiritual and bodily benefits we humbly praised Him at evening prayer in the name of our Jesus, and at the same time prayed for a continuance of His goodness out of the rich plenitude of the grace of Christ.

Last night the temperature went down to 2 degrees and during the day it was only 4 degrees.<sup>3</sup> Some time ago, God visited N.N. with a serious illness, yet through proper use of effective medicines he recovered sooner than he and others could hope. During his illness he sent for a minister and demonstrated a new earnest resolve to genuine conversion, established a covenant with his family before the Lord that they would conduct their Christianity, marriage, and child-rearing according to the precepts of the divine word through God's grace, which they desire to seek through humble, earnest, and constant prayer. He heartily apologised to the minister for his disobedience and scandalous behavior, and he also desired that he tell his colleagues that he was heartily sorry for having insulted them. How tirelessly the Good Shepherd seeks after His lost sheep!

The 2nd of January. Last year our dear God rescued Mrs. N.N. from a serious illness and thus achieved His salutary purpose for her spiritual recovery. She is indeed quite eager for the reasonable pure milk of the dear Gospel, just like a newborn child, and she gains thereby and tastes more and more that the Lord is kind. Yesterday, before the repetition and prayer hour, another person told me (when I was visiting them both) that I had come at just the right time; for she needed consolation, encouragement, and help in prayer, as God was recalling to her the sins of her former life, and she added that it pained her and caused regret that she had often said the sacred Lord's prayer, that most perfect prayer, in distraction, without due reverence, and with outside thoughts. Such souls, who consider no sin to be trivial

but all to be great, and are thus in fear, understand from experience the thought in the work we read yesterday: "For through thine agonies thou hast healed mine own."

Since most of the field work is done and the wheat and rye are already planted, I am beginning, in Jesus' name and in reliance upon His gracious assistance with this new year; the preparation classes for the local children and others from Goshen and Savannah. Once again these classes will be based on the order of salvation as set forth in the useful and convenient handbook of the late Pastor Freylinghausen.<sup>4</sup> We are still eagerly awaiting the long-promised church and school books, as well as letters and news from our dear Fathers and friends in Europe.

Shortly before the New Year I sent our Governor a letter of congratulations along with a packet of letters and the official diary, which he will pack in the next crate to the honorable Society and Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen. At the same time I requested that he obtain permission from the Council for us to acquire a good piece of land for the sawmill of 700 or 800 or even 1000 acres, well-covered with long-leaf pine and as nearby as possible, before it is claimed by other people (or even strangers) to our great harm. May God direct the hearts of the Governor and his council to approve this and another request, which two requests are to be submitted today by our mill and store manager.

Today I held the first ministers' conference and prayer hour of the New Year with Mr. Rabenhorst, whereby the first Shepherd and Bishop of our souls graciously bestowed a great blessing for renewed zeal in our ministry and Christianity upon us. Mr. Lemke was prevented from being present. Oh, how blessed is simple brotherly awakening through dialogue and prayer as a means to practice *'anazopyrein* (i.e. mutual encouragement to goodness)!<sup>5</sup> May God often grant us this benefit in this year. Last night it was 10 degrees but today it was warmer.

The 3rd of January. Poor Heid, who recently broke his left shoulder blade in a fall from his horse, is recovering with great difficulty, and (as Mr. Mayer told him) it cannot be set properly, so that his arm will be permanently lame. Today I instructed and consoled him with the verse which our dear Saviour placed in the Bible also for his benefit: "Those whom I love, them do I punish and chasten: and so be now diligent, and do penance."<sup>6</sup>

As weak as he was, he got up from his bed, knelt down in prayer, and prayed humbly and confidently with me and another person.

After today's school hour I was also able to contribute something toward edifying and strengthening the faith of the honest Salzburger Leimberger and his wife on the plantations. Psalm 23 was a blessing for them at New Year's just as Psalm 1 had been many years ago when their house was consecrated, and the verse Psalm 50:15: "And call upon me in the day of trouble," etc. as their marriage motto had given them much edification, instruction, and consolation since their wedding. During prayer it occurred to me that twenty-five years ago this week I had been with this Leimberger and other Salzburgers of the first transport in the English harbor of Dover, and that we were preparing ourselves for the ocean voyage.

We praised God for all the goodness we had experienced since then, we begged His pardon for anything in which we had been remiss, and we remembered the special divine goodness through which He had kept us in a special state of grace, in preparation for eternal blessedness, for so many years in which He had allowed so many of our travelling companions to die. Overnight it was warmer, and during the day it went up to 5 degrees above with a warm wind and a bit of rain.<sup>7</sup>

The 4th of January. For a long time a certain person has been wanting to discuss the condition of her soul with me in private, which I was finally able to do.<sup>8</sup> God has shown her His mercy for a genuine conversion. She is, therefore, poor in spirit and a true lover of God, His word, and His prayer. She is one of those who, in the words of the apostle, seek to win their neighbors more through a holy life than through words. She wished to reveal to me many things which oppress her conscience, but I told her not to be overly hasty, but according to the example of David, Psalm 32, to confess first to our dear, merciful God; if she did not find peace thus, then there would be time enough to confess to a minister.

I also visited another person who had not been living very properly, to whom my visit and words of admonition were very dear. I awakened her to repentance with the words: "I am come to call sinners to repentance," etc. Matthew 9. Last night we had

1 degree below and, during the day, 5 degrees above.

The 5th of January. A certain industrious old Salzburger is a very exhausted man and is starting to become quite feeble. His wife, to whom God has given a thorough understanding of the truth, is of great help to him through her words, example, and prayers as he prepares for eternal blessedness. Even his little daughter is a source of edification and consolation to him. For, since she herself joyfully learns strengthening Bible verses and stanzas of hymns and prays often, much goodness remains with her and penetrates into her heart.

In his weakness the child recited several times during the past holidays the words: "Oh take Him in with joy today, prepare Him in thy heart a way, that He may come into thy mind, and thou his goodness mayest find. If thou so do, He'll in thee dwell, preserve thee from the pain of hell; if not, beware, for heaven's door, He'll close to thee for evermore."<sup>9</sup> And she repeats these meaningful word to others, on the way to church and elsewhere; and her face, like the face of an angel, is enlightened and kind. The dear child neither desires nor is able to fall asleep before her mother has recited at her crib the entire hymn: *O Ursprung des Lebens, o ewiges Licht*.

The teacher also has two well-behaved children who delight me by willingly reciting the verses they have learned whenever I visit them. They have become quite diligent in prayer and in memorizing Bible verses since I have got to know them and through God's blessing have helped them get over their shyness and awkwardness through kind words and simple gifts. When I knelt down to pray yesterday with Paul Fink and his wife, his tender little daughter also folded her hands, began unbidden to pray, and would not stop until her verses had been recited to her. This I hear of many little lambs, that they themselves beg their mothers to pray with them before meals and at bedtime. May God preserve and increase the work of grace which has begun, for which I called upon Him many times during the public service on New Year's day, also with these words: "Master, leave thy work not lying, help us pray and watch and triumph, till we stand before thy throne."<sup>10</sup>

The 6th of January. On this feast of Epiphany our listeners in all three churches had the opportunity to hear the word of the

Lord; at the same time, a confession service was held reverently for those who have registered for Holy Communion since last Sunday. I have learned from the mill and store manager that the Governor reacted favorably to my New Year's letter of congratulation, and that together with the gentlemen of the Council has allowed us to acquire for our sawmill 800 acres well covered with pine trees in two areas, which we may choose ourselves, at a very good price, namely 100 acres at 10 s. sterling.

With the expense of surveying and registering the deed, along with the quit rent which is paid annually to the Crown, and with the tax which is set arbitrarily each year by the assembly, it will be expensive this year, yet we must regard it as a favor as otherwise our indispensable and well-constructed sawmill would be useless for lack of wood. This year a high tax will be demanded, because (as I have heard and read in the newspapers) the assembly has promised the Governor at his request £ 200 sterling to improve the lighthouse at Tybee, and other large sums. Recently I have even heard that a double tax is to be assessed on the plantations belonging to absentee owners, as they are not burdened with jury duty, trail blazing, military drill, defending the land, etc.

The 7th of January. On this first Sunday after Epiphany, 122 of our people received Holy Communion, for which the divine goodness must be earnestly praised. A young person was supposed to remain away because of a certain impurity, but she tearfully confessed her transgression and promised to beg the dear Lord for a new heart and for improvement; therefore she was granted that for which she longed. N.N. was excluded from Holy Communion on account of his quarreling with his neighbor, but at my urging he became reconciled in such a way that I could tell from his tears and behavior that he was sincere.

Since the day before yesterday the weather has been wet and quite warm. On the 5th of this month it went down to 4 degrees below and during the day it was 2 degrees above. The night before last night it was 5 degrees above and during the day 10 degrees. Last night it was 6 degrees above and during the day 7 degrees. Yesterday it rained off and on more than during the two previous days.

The 8th of January. Jacob Gnann, a farm hand from Langenau who was with the 3rd Swabian transport, was married yesterday

for the first time to the poor widow Depp, whose young husband was killed by a rattlesnake seven months ago. She has four little children, the youngest of which is only nine months old. Up to now he has been our good and hard-working mill hand and has been duly faithful in his service, so that I hope that this honest woman will get an orderly and hard-working husband in him. Her plantation is in a good location, in the central part of Bethany, near the church. Her mother, Mrs. Arnsdorf, and her only brother still live here. Last night it was 4 degrees and during the day 3 degrees with some rain as cold as snow.

The 9th of January. The Austrian Johann Schmid's little son from his first marriage was unexpectedly so ill that it appears to me his end is near; at the same time his spirit is very weak, which comes from the epilepsy which he had a few years ago.<sup>11</sup> His name is Samuel, and I had him repeat the verse for me: "And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour both with the Lord, and also with men";<sup>12</sup> which I was able to apply to him with a few words, and then I prayed with him and his righteous parents. It appears that our dear God wishes to visit us with changeable, overcast, and rainy weather, with fever and other troubles: may He only let this chastisement be a visitation in grace!

All of our physical trials are quite insignificant compared with the wartime unrests which our poor countrymen in Sorau<sup>13</sup> had to endure last fall. For the English newspapers report that there were 250,000 Austrian, Prussian, and Imperial troops there. The town must now be in even worse condition than in 1706, when the Swedes took it, burning and pillaging. Oh that we might hear what the Lord God has spoken, that He has given peace to his people and to his saints, that they might no longer turn to foolishness. The sad news causes us to pray, and the glad news to praise God, even though all such reports in the local newspapers are quite brief and sometimes unreliable.

I have learned that some Germans, not in Ebenezer, have quite incorrect ideas and opinions regarding faith, as if scarcely anything were easier to believe. I was horrified at this grave error, so dangerous to their souls; and yesterday in my sermon I was moved to commend to my dear listeners, for their better instruction, the reverent reading of Dr. Luther's precious preface to the Epistle to the Romans, which I have lent to some at their request.

The day before yesterday we had much rain, and at night it went down to 6 degrees below and at noon it was only 3 degrees. In the evening we had a thunderstorm with lightning and rain into the night, but yesterday it cleared up, and at night it was 5 degrees below and midday 1 degree in bright sunshine. Last night it was 10 degrees below and during the day 1 degree above. Those old and weak men who had to go from here to Savannah to court four days ago surely had to suffer much on their journey in the constant rain, and for lack of shelter and a warm bed; and certainly their health suffered. The English legal system is such that the respected burghers and farmers sit on the grand and petit juries, hear the case, and deliver a verdict of guilty or not guilty.

Old Mrs. Paulitsch is serious and diligent in working on her salvation. The lovely little book: *Dogma of the Beginning of Christian Life*<sup>14</sup> is a rich blessing for her. Her mind is in the lovely hymn: *Eins ist noth / ach Herr / dis Eine*, etc. etc. which I read aloud to her and afterwards made into a prayer. At the home of another Christian woman I found a widow in the neighborhood who edified herself at work from the hymn which we recently sang in public: *Meine Seele / wilt du ruhn*, etc. The man of the house joined in. God, who is love, bestowed a splendid blessing upon me yesterday in my home prayer hour with the powerful gospel verse: "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."<sup>15</sup>

At the same time He gave me the opportunity and the joy of sharing some of this with my dear parishioners whom I visited or who met me by chance. With no less heartfelt inclination to humble and grateful awe of God's great love for us, His enemies, I recalled to myself and others the remarkable story from the life of Nicephorus of the rich merchant who would rather die himself and forfeit all his property than let even one of his two sons die at the order of the Emperor.

During this conversation about God's most great love, our dear Mrs. Rabenhorst reminded me of the beautiful hymn: *Das ist ein theures Wort, dass Jesus Christus kommen*, etc. as she quoted the moving words: (p.9). Afterwards I had the entire excellent hymn sung before and after the weekday sermon, to our great edification.

Once again the edifying image in the *Meditation* of the pious English preacher, Mr. Harvey,<sup>16</sup> occurs to me, in which at the top of one page one sees a mortally wounded war-hero, in full armour, lying and bleeding to death, and on the other page Christ on the cross bleeding and dying. Above the dying warrior are the words: *Pro Patria* (i.e. for the fatherland) but above our dying divine Intercessor: *Pro Inimicis* (i.e. for his enemies) to which a minister standing reverently under it is emphatically directing his pupil's attention.

The 14th of January. The wife of the baker Johann Rentz had an unhappy fall from a ladder, which had the result that she gave birth to a dead child and is, herself, in lamentable physical and emotional condition. The sorrow of the hardworking couple is especially great because this is the second time that they have lost a child through the same misfortune. I received a letter from Halifax from Mr. Graves'<sup>17</sup> daughter (whose husband, the surgeon Bornemann, died about a year ago in their so-called New Goettingen, and who afterwards married a young man named Johann Caspar Greiner).<sup>18</sup> In the letter she told me about her father's very serious illness and asked for some medicine. But since we have not received any crates of books and medicines, even we have a great shortage of medicines.

They are well established on good land up there; Mr. Graves is a judge and popular with the people, but it is very burdensome that they are a good day's journey on horseback from the church, school, and doctor. For the sake of good land and other material advantages, many people lack schools, churches, and other spiritual advantages. How few, after all, consider why they are actually in the world! One should really write *Dic Cur Hic*<sup>19</sup> in large letters on a place where one can read it together with the scriptural answer from 2 Kings 20:1: "Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live."

A father who received much pleasure and edification from the public singing of the sweet hymn: *Meine Seele, wilt du ruhn*, etc. placed a gift of money into my hand for his little daughter, so that through it, and my urging, she might be encouraged to learn this hymn. I learned from a young girl that she had derived great benefit from the hymn: *Ringe wohl, wenn Gottes Gnade dich nun ziehet und bekehrt*.

The 16th of January. Today the wife of the valuable Christoph

Rottenberger gave birth to a daughter.<sup>20</sup> She was miserably ill all during her pregnancy, but the Lord strengthened her before the delivery and proved thus that He tries none of His children beyond their strength, but sends His help in due time.

Today our dear God gave us many blessings in the ministers' conference; in a certain pastoral matter we took counsel from the late Dr. Hartmann's useful book, *Pastorale Evangelicum*.<sup>21</sup>

The 17th of January. The night before last it was 1 degree above; we heard some thunder and at noon it was 6 degrees above in heavy rain. Last night it was 1 degree below and today it went up to 8 degrees above. For the past week the Savannah River has been so high that we cannot use the bridge and the causeway to Bethany. Although the low land around the large and small rivers is much more fertile than the other fertile land, nevertheless it is a great inconvenience that it is flooded at high water and that in winter and spring the seed suffers, and in the fall the crops are damaged. But this does not happen every year, and the flooding makes the land extremely fertile. Old and new colonists are now settling on all the low land, partly for farmland and partly for the beautiful heavy and tall oak and cypress trees.

The 21st of January. After the wind died down yesterday, it went down to 13 degrees below. During the day, however, in bright sunshine and a strong west wind, it was 2 degrees.

The 23rd of January. Last night we had light rain and the temperature was 1 degree above, yesterday it was 3 degrees above during the day. The previous night, however, it was 8 degrees below and today it went up to 8 degrees above.

The 25th of January. When I recently came into a house, it was very edifying to find the mother educating her tender little child through the hymnal, from which the little girl was memorizing the instructive old hymn: *Herr, ich bekenne mit dem Mund*, etc. To my renewed awakening she reverently recited the 5th stanza "The true Shepherd is now coming before Thee carrying me, the sheep, on His back. The sheep, which had erred afar, was in danger, it was in Satan's snares. He brought it, through His own power, as Thou requested, to Thy flock, to the flock of the righteous."<sup>22</sup> Both parents bring the word of Christ to life in their home and are one in heart and soul, both at work and in the house as well as in their Christian practice. Physically, too, he is

blessed, and to him I would apply the words of Psalm 128: "Behold, that thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord."

Before yesterday's weekday sermon on the plantations, I, together with some others who were assembled in my study, invoked the blessing of our merciful God with the words, which were to be preached to our dear listeners from the 37th Psalm today, for the first time after my illness. Then, at the beginning of the prayer it occurred to me to explain the mind of the true believer through the image of the hart as expressed in Psalm 42: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before God?"

Later I commended this very intention<sup>23</sup> to all the listeners assembled in the church and asked them, while they sang the hymn *Du unbegreiflich—höchstes Gut*, which recalls several times the hart thirsting for grace, to remember with heartfelt sighs this man who was now hovering so close to death, that our almighty and merciful God in His grace would look after him for the sake of Christ.

After church I went to Hirsch's house and found him in such wretched condition that he could not respond to words of Christian consolation. I prayed with him and his sorrowing wife, who said, among other things, that she would joyfully accompany him to his grave (as much as she needed him), if she could only be certain that he would go to heaven. I admonished her to let this great sorrow and affliction serve to humble her before God and (as the Catechism says) to confess all her sins to Him; for this is the way to answer to prayer and to exaltation.

This morning Mrs. Hirsch let me know that her husband had died before daybreak and would be buried tomorrow.<sup>24</sup>

The 26th of January. Since yesterday the weather has been changeable and unpleasant. Two nights ago it was 3 degrees above and during the day 7 degrees, with rain and light thunder showers. The night before last it again went down to 6 degrees below and yesterday to 8 degrees with almost constant sleet. This morning before dawn a cold wind broke up the rain clouds and the sky cleared up. During the night it was 7 degrees below and during the day only 23 degrees with a very strong west wind.

Ships which recently arrived in Charleston brought the unex-

pected news that most of the merchant ships from Charleston to England, which had been escorted by two warships, had fallen into the hands of French privateers. This great loss will cause retail prices to go even higher. Up to now, prices have been so high because of the unhappy war that a poor man can hardly pay them. May God be gracious to us and show us His aid. It is to be feared that most of my letters and parts of my journal from last year, to our dear Fathers and friends in England and Germany, have been lost with them. For lack of news we have heard nothing from you for more than a year, and you will have experienced the same in regard to us, if my copies have been lost with the originals.

The 28th of January. The night before last the temperature was 11 degrees below and in the afternoon it was 8 degrees below; last night it was again 12 degrees below but during the day it went up to 3 degrees below. We are having heavy, cold winds. A Christian widow, genuinely devoted to God, His word, and prayer, is living in Mr. Lemke's house beside my parsonage, which suits not only her but also me very well.

The 29th of January. We now have nineteen older children, eleven boys and eight girls, preparing for Holy Communion. Eleven are from the community, and eight are from Goshen and Savannah, who are being instructed faithfully in Christian doctrine and duties, partly from the Catechism and partly from Freylinghausen's *Order of Salvation*.<sup>25</sup> In the first hour, mornings from 8:00 to 9:00, they get thorough instruction by Mr. Lemke from the Catechism; on the other hand during the two following hours they are with me and are instructed catechetically from the *Order of Salvation* (which, along with the proof and explanatory verses, they learn by heart as they do the six main sections of the Catechism with the questions).

Then I read with them some edifying chapters from the Bible, e.g. now from Sirach, with interspersed reminders and awakenings. They are diligent, orderly, and attentive, and they give me joy; and our dear God gives me great edification from teaching His holy word. Oh, what a precious treasure we have in the holy word of God! Hours like these, and when I can speak of them now and then with my dear people, belong to my most blessed

work. May my dear Saviour strengthen me for it!

Four children live too far from the town, on their parents' plantations, to come to these preparation classes; but my colleague, Mr. Rabenhorst, holds catechism classes three times a week in the plantation school, where they also have the opportunity to be prepared for Holy Communion. On Wednesdays these four children come to me privately before the weekday sermon; and those children who were born here and have been brought up in the word of truth, learn very quickly what is necessary for their preparation.

The 30th of January. A ship has arrived in Savannah from Tenerife, one of the Canary Islands, with all kinds of sweet and other wines at a reasonable price, also sweet almonds in the shell, dried blue plums similar to the ones in Germany, raisins, etc. Rum, which comes from the West Indies, is rare and expensive, as are wheat flour, Indian corn, beans, rice, tea, and brown sugar; coffee, on the other hand, is very cheap. Our grist mills are of genuine benefit to our people and others, because there they can grind their increase in wheat and rye to flour for their own use and to sell.

## FEBRUARY 1759

The 1st of February. Mr. Greve<sup>1</sup> from Goettingen, whose dangerous illness (which was reported to me by his daughter) I described in the last installment of the journal, died before the medicine he had requested could reach his plantation, New Goettingen in Halifax. His wife<sup>2</sup> preceded him into eternity two years ago last summer, as did his granddaughter who was fleeing from the Indians (and who received Christian burial in our place)<sup>3</sup> and his son-in-law, the surgeon Bornemann (who also practiced medicine and was a useful man); followed his mother-in-law and daughter into a premature death a little over a year later.<sup>4</sup>

Of this family, Mr. Bornemann's young wife<sup>5</sup> lives with their two children on their well-ordered plantation in New Goettingen, and is married to a young German named Johann Caspar Greiner, whose brother married the rich Halifax merchant Caspar Hirschmann's daughter, whose parents are right orderly,

home-loving folk.<sup>6</sup> So one after another goes to eternity! Oh Lord! teach us to remember that we must die so that we may become wise. Oh, that others might realize, in humility and gratitude towards God, the spiritual and material benefits which they enjoy in this place through God's goodness.

The 3rd of February. The frail old weaver from Ulm, Johann Scheraus, whose plantation is in Joseph's Town behind Goshen, sent me a letter through his son in which he asked that the same might have the banns read tomorrow for the first time for him and the daughter of Jakob Mohr of Goshen. I prayed with the two young people, enjoined them to goodness according to their condition, and gave them the first Psalm for constant meditation and study.

The 6th of February. Pastor Zubly has come from Charleston to Savannah with his numerous family; and in accordance with the call which he has accepted, he will serve as minister to the English Independents, Presbyterians, and the Reformed Germans in and around Savannah. He is a capable, hard-working man, whom God also blessed with good spiritual fortune in Carolina. He has at least sixteen Negroes, and a plantation near Savannah which he recently bought.<sup>7</sup> His present congregation in Savannah takes care of him well through pledges and has bought him a spacious, comfortable house in Savannah equipped with all that is necessary.

The most distinguished and richest people (Englishmen and Scotsmen) in this and in the neighboring colony dissent from the Anglican Church, and all those who follow Mr. Whitefield are of the same opinion: Likewise the children in the orphanage<sup>8</sup> are taught the doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents, according to Westminster Catechism. In the doctrine of election, *ex absoluto decreto*,<sup>9</sup> they are zealous; although the great theologian, Dr. Isaac Watts,<sup>10</sup> whom they respect very much, has contracted this teaching with cogent reasoning.

By the way, when I read today, the verse I Corinthians 3:9 "For we are labourers together with God, etc." I thought: we Ebenezer ministers are supposed to be God's co-workers, God's assistants in the spiritual husbandry of Ebenezer, Christ's servants and stewards of God's mysteries, yea, emissaries in place of Christ; are we capable of this? Such a ministry surely demands the whole

man and all his time. For the rest, since November the pious, experienced, and conscientious Christof Krämer, with his pious, home-loving wife, has been manager of the minister's plantation, which is a great benefit and real blessing to this important operation. Such people are very rare.

The 7th of February. Amidst all sorts of depressing news, the comforting verse occurred to me: "God is my King from of old, who gives all the help there is on earth."<sup>11</sup> I likewise remembered what I had read in my home prayer hour from Bogatsky's lovely *Hausbuch*<sup>12</sup> as a commentary on today's reading in the *Treasure Chest*,<sup>13</sup> the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer, for strengthening our faith: "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever and ever, Amen." Our heavenly Father has indeed His kingdom and the prayerful members of his kingdom everywhere, and has the power to protect them. Sometimes He has things go adversely in His reign (for He leads His saints and His faithful wondrously) and it appears at times as though they must succumb, but then He hears their more intense and trustful prayers all the more magnificently, for which all honor and glory must be given Him.

In our dear Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen's thorough and edifying commentary on the Lord's Prayer,<sup>14</sup> there is a lovely paraphrase of this doxology. In these circumstances it once again occurs to me, what I recently read in the above-mentioned *Tägliches Hausbuch der Kinder Gottes* for May 30, and thus strengthened my faith in our almighty and faithful God, even in the present long and continuous wartime need and danger. It goes thus: "We should often meditate upon these words: 'But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, etc.' (Isaiah 40:31) and write them in our hearts through the Holy Spirit, just as they stand here in large gold letters over our orphanage and give witness that this house, too, is founded in abiding faith, which abiding faith the Lord will never let be put to shame and even now lets no one be put to shame who hopes and waits for God," according to The Lamentations of Jeremiah 3:25. Inside, in the corridor, there stands upon a little tablet the powerful statement of faith: "Our help is in the Name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."<sup>15</sup>

May Jesus, the initiator and perfecter of our faith, strengthen

all of his prayerful servants and children in their faith; then, even in the time of great danger, we shall surely see His glory, and from our own vivid experience be able to cry: "Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever, Amen." Yes, yes, it will happen thus. "For you, dear Father in heaven, are faithful and true, and we hope in you and rely upon your great goodness. Amen." This is the comforting conclusion of the aforementioned thorough and edifying commentary on the Lord's Prayer.

The 9th of February. From Savannah we have heard that the eldest son of the general surveyor, Henry Gouges, shot himself to death out of carelessness with his own shotgun. He assisted his father in his important and very profitable work. All sorts of sudden accidents are happening; very few, however, take them to heart for their own improvement. In the latest newspapers it was reported that a distinguished merchant traveling home from Cape Fear to Charleston fell off the ship and drowned in the ocean.

Recently I found in the Charleston newspapers a stern decree against the profanation of the Lord's Day. God bless Governor Lyttleton and his Council for this!

The 11th of February. Peter Arnsdorf had caught the dangerous side-stiches,<sup>16</sup> and at his request I visited him in his illness. From his and his wife's Christian speech and witness I derived much edification and consolation. In his attacks of fever, he has meditated much upon the verse: "Good and upright is the Lord: therefore He will teach sinners in the way"<sup>17</sup> and he even wrote this verse above the door of a pious neighbor, whom he imagined to be present, and earnestly recommended it to him.

Shortly before, our dear Saviour had blessed the well-known and powerful key verse: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden etc."<sup>18</sup> for my renewed edification as I was reading the sermon preached almost fifty years ago by the late Prof. Franke on bringing people to Christ. I recommended this verse to this pious couple, who love Christ and His word, together with the excellent hymn: *Zu dir, Herr Jesu, komme ich, nachdem du mich so süßiglich zu Dir hast heissen kommen* etc. While reading this sermon, the divine simplicity of this blessed Megalander and Theander<sup>19</sup> made a great and salutary impression on me, for he, al-

though he was preaching in the principal church of the royal capital city, to a great crowd of various and some even curious listeners, yet he used such familiar words as his introduction.

I was also newly awakened to my own ministry by his words on pp. 5 & 6 on the main purpose of the Evangelical ministry, and how much the Enemy of our blessedness opposes the same.<sup>20</sup> Recently our dear God gave me a beautiful blessing through the printed copy of a lecture which he gave to a private assembly in Nurnberg entitled *Advantages for Growth in Once-begun Christianity*,<sup>21</sup> which I plan to use with others. In today's sermon for Septuagesima Sunday I recommended to my dear listeners, at the opening sentences, Galatians 6:9-10 and during my sermon on the proper use of the present brief period of grace, I particularly emphasized the excellent vital duties of the late Ambrosius Wirth in his little book on Confession and Communion.<sup>22</sup>

The 14th of February. Once again Landfelder's three-year-old daughter welcomed me with a Bible verse, of which she has easily, willingly, and eagerly learned fifty. When the parents go to church, she gives into their wish that she stay home only when they have promised to bring her a lovely verse from church. When the mother comes home, her first question is: "Momma, what saying of our dear Saviour have you brought me?" Her mother must also, as well as she can, describe for her our dear Saviour, whom she longs to see. When she is in church, and a verse she knows occurs in the sermon or catechization, she says to her mother both during and after church: "Boltzius (Mr. Lemke or Mr. Rabenhorst) has just said my verse."

This time she also recited the stanza for me from Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen's edifying and reverent hymn: "Oh, how I rejoice that I know Thee, who art my salvation and life, who hast given me Thyself for me, who lovest me. Thus I recognize Thee."<sup>23</sup> She added, from another lovely hymn by the late Dr. Richter: "He will not forsake thy soul, He loves it far to much."<sup>24</sup> The first hymn is in the Wernigerode collection of new hymns,<sup>25</sup> and begins: *Jesu, Gottes Sohn von des Himmels-Throne etc.*, which Mr. Albinus sent us several years ago.<sup>26</sup> A few weeks ago, I also learned from a pious widow that this and another hymn from the same hymnal: *Jesu Blut komm über mich, etc.*, had been a source of blessing and edification to her.

Since the 9th of this month, the temperature has gone up to 14 degrees above, and overnight it has been as much as 8 degrees; we had a terrible storm wind that lasted all night and brought a severe frost again. How the temperature rises and falls will be most evident from an overview which I plan to include at the end of the month.<sup>27</sup>

The 15th of February. Every Wednesday before the weekday sermon, the older children who are preparing for Holy Communion come to me in a Salzburger's house beside the church and are edified by God's word and by prayer. This time, while studying God's word, we came upon the beautiful and clear instruction in reading Holy Scripture for one's own edification which is printed in the front of the Canstein Bible<sup>28</sup> and in the delightful little book: *The Dogma of the Beginning of Christian Life*.<sup>29</sup> I had the children memorize the disturbing words of St. Augustine: "As much as you will die to the world, so much will you see and recognize in Holy Scripture; as much, however, as you live according to the will of the flesh and the world, so much will you be blind and ignorant in Holy Scripture."

The 17th of February. At the first of this week, the murderer, who had been in jail for a long time and was condemned to death on Dec. 2 last year, was hanged. Many efforts were made to spare him the gallows; but, because he had murdered the sailor premeditatedly and on a public street, the governor would not pardon him.

The 19th of February. Yesterday, on Sexagesima Sunday, 125 of us were assembled at the table of the Lord, where our faithful Shepherd and Host gave much blessing and edification, for which we undeserving ones humbly praise His abundant goodness.

Yesterday Johann Georg Schneider's wife gave birth to a son, who today was received into Christ and his community through Holy Baptism.<sup>30</sup>

Recently a certain person remained in the church after the service and told me, with a simple and joyful heart, of the Lord's great mercy which had come to her through the sweet Gospel and the Holy Spirit, that now she is certain that her sins are forgiven and that she is in grace with God. When she reflects on these things, such a good feeling comes over her that she forgets

to eat and drink, and can only rejoice and praise God. For a long time, she had to taste her corruption and the bitterness of sin, and now the Gospel tastes all the better to her. She is a right faithful and precious soul.

The 21st of February. On the way to the Zion Church I met an old Negro who showed me two documents which proved that he was a freed Negro and could thus go about freely. He was baptized in Virginia, but beyond the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles Creed he has very little knowledge of the Christian religion. For five years he has been living with a Palatine woman near Augusta, but they are not married. He wants to move into our district and asked me to marry them when they have settled, but I was not able to promise this to him. I must first inquire what the law of the land is in this matter. His poor English, having always been a slave, and the unchristian lives of many so-called Christians are the main hindrances to the conversion of these poor heathens.

The 23rd of February. In my house, a person said that for some time she has experienced much fear and unrest on account of her sins; she has never felt like this before in her life. She asked another person whether she had ever been in such misery, to which the other person said yes; on this account she was having bad nights and sometimes could not pray. I had just read something from the 37th Psalm about the poor and the needy (v.14) as an example of good people who (often unbeknownst to themselves and, unbelievably, to the world) are living in divine order and in whom our triune God takes his gracious pleasure, and to whom He will fulfil all His promises, as Holy Scripture shows in many places.

Since I, too, must remember the members of Christ's church who are bodily poor and in need, as are most of our people, and those who must feel most keenly the bitter fruits of that most lamentable Fall of man in manifold misery and wretchedness; so have I sought to encourage my people to gratitude towards God and to cheerfulness and contentment; since in truth no one among us is so poor and needy as many thousands have become as a result of that most ruinous war which has broken out. May the Lord be an aid and consolation to all the wretched, and thus bring them to a true understanding and sense of their spiritual misery; thus our all-powerful, all-wise, and all good God will fulfil

all his promises at the right time, which He has made so abundantly to the poor and needy. In this context, the comments of the estimable Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen on the 4th, 6th, and 7th petitions have been most valuable and edifying to me, so that I have commended them to my listeners, and have promised to lend this commentary to those who do not already possess it.

The 25th of February. Yesterday it rained very hard into the night; and since the rivers had risen so high already from the recent heavy rains that they overflowed their banks and damaged the fields newly planted in German grains<sup>31</sup> on the low ground, and we had to shut down the mills, we must fear that the water will rise even higher and stay for a long time, since the warm weather is coming and the snow is melting in the mountains where it was very high this year. Last night a strong wind sprang up, which drove away the rain clouds, after which it was clear and pleasant during the day.

On this Sunday *Esto mihi* Mr. Rabenhorst is preaching in Savannah and celebrating Holy Communion for those of our denomination, for which purpose they fetched him with a boat on Friday. Up to now in this church year we have based our afternoon religion class on the catechism, but today Mr. Lemke began to use the Passion according to St. John as the basis for the instruction. May our dear God help us to spend this important and useful time of grace in peace, edification, and preparation for eternal blessedness, which we also wish for the whole community of true Christian believers, and especially for our dear Fathers, friends, and benefactors from our whole heart! I cannot help thinking in this context of the lovely hymn, which goes *Angenehme Fasten-Zeit etc.* Any one who reads it should pay close attention.

The 26th of February. Since the beginning of this year I have put off writing the letters I owe to our dear Fathers in Europe in the sure hope that letters and news from them would be on one of the ships arriving in Charlestown; but since they have not arrived, I considered it my duty to send a letter to Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen last week, and at the same time to write to my son who is studying in Halle<sup>32</sup> and to give some news of our circumstances. From these letters it will be gathered that since November, 1757, we have received no word from London, Halle, or

Augsburg, which is probably due to the unreliability of the mails.

Recently a little son of N.N. was baptized in the presence of Christian godparents. As the parents are, so are usually the godparents. For birds of a feather flock together. To further Christian attentiveness in a matter as important as Holy Baptism, it is good to remind our people from time to time of the memorable word of our blessed Luther in the preface to his little baptism book, which our older children learn by heart in their schools: "O fear, that people go so badly astray after baptism because at baptism they were treated so coldly and casually, and no one even prayed with them earnestly." This couple does not belong to the rich among us, but they are heartily content with God's guidance and with that which He gives them through the work of their hands, and they are heard more often thanking God with joy than lamenting in sadness. She especially lived formerly in great blindness, and according to the ways of the world, and now that God has opened her eyes here, and has transfigured this Son in her through the Gospel, she cannot thank God enough for all of this. She is extremely fond of edifying hymns; therefore, after the baptism, I sent to her through her husband the very edifying hymn from the Wernigerode collection: *Jesu Blut, komm über mich*, etc. It fits in very well with today's verse from the *Little Treasure Chest*,<sup>33</sup> John 19:34, "and forthwith there came out blood," etc.

The 28th of February. The water in the Savannah River is rising higher and higher, and has already risen so far above its banks that we have difficulty crossing the long high bridge from the plantations to town. The causeway and bridge to Bethany have been impassable for a week. The river twists and turns, and at many bends (when it is as high as it is now) flows very swiftly past its banks and the low-lying land, so that now the raftsmen with their lumber, barrel staves, boards, and shingles are in great danger of losing their rafts, as recently happened to some people from Halifax and Bethany. Timber of this sort gets a good price, and from Savannah it is shipped to the Sugar Islands in the West Indies.

Rum, a spirit made from sugar cane and syrup, is rare and expensive, but wine has been the more reasonable for some time. Indian corn and rice are, on the other hand, quite dear, which is due not only to crop failures in some places in South Carolina

and Georgia, but also to the fact that the planters grow more indigo than rice and corn, and then hold back the rice and corn until they can get a good price. They are not forced by need to sell, as indigo brings in a lot and is eagerly sought after by the ships bound for England. In Charleston the price of Indian corn has gone up to 3 sh 7 d Sterling a bushel, and the last South Carolina newspaper regarded it as a remarkable sign of divine providence that recently a large ship with 1,200 bushels of Indian corn had arrived from North Carolina.

In our place, our dear God has provided all of our hard workers with all the necessities of life, for which we humbly and heartily praise Him. We must also praise Him, thank Him, and worship Him for the precious peace in our land and in our community, which He has bestowed upon us, for the dear means of grace and good opportunity for edification, publicly and privately, for church and school, for the keeping of our mills and other buildings erected for the public good, and for all the spiritual and material favors which He, through His fatherly goodness and mercy, without our deserving or being worthy of them, has shown us throughout these winter months. For all these things we must thank and praise Him, serve and obey Him. That is surely true.

From Savannah we heard that the day before yesterday, on the 26th, at the general muster of all companies of militia belonging to Savannah, which is held twice a year, our governor, Henry Ellis, had his commission, which he had received two months before, as Governor in Chief published, on which occasion the entire town was illuminated and showed great pleasure. May God bless his person and his government!

### M A R C H 1 7 5 9

The 2nd of March. Yesterday a pious widow in my neighborhood was delivered by our merciful God from great danger and fright. She stepped on a snake which was lying in a footpath; it wound itself twice around her foot, but did not injure her.

The 3rd of March. A few times already I have seen in the Carolina newspapers that those who slander their neighbors and spread evil rumors about them have to confess their fault in the

newspapers, slap themselves, as it were, on the mouth, and make amends. The printer has already had to do this himself, as did recently a crude person, a young Scotsman who had not completed his studies but was pretending to be an ordained minister and had taken on a false name, who got into a quarrel in writing with the head pastor of the English churches in Charleston.

The 4th of March. At the long bridge the water has risen so high that days we have not been able to cross it on foot for the past few days; and even on horseback the crossing is difficult and dangerous, so that the children cannot come to school and to the preparation classes for Holy Communion. The mills are under very deep water, and even the grain sack chests are half full. May God turn away all harm from these useful buildings, and also from our people and livestock! In such extraordinary floods much livestock and swine drown in the low places on both banks, for in the winter they find food and a warm place to sleep there.

In a few places the river is almost still, and in some places it is even flowing backwards and flooding the low land,<sup>1</sup> and this has caused great hindrance and loss of time to some people from Halifax in floating their rafts to Savannah. Our sawmill has cut the boards for the new filature in Savannah: soon it will be finished. It appears that the spinning of the silk will not come to our place.<sup>2</sup>

The 6th of March. A few day ago we had a warm, mild rain continuously for forty-eight hours. Buds and leaves began to appear on some trees, and new grass began to show in the woods. Yesterday, however, a cold biting wind sprang up; and during the night the temperature went down to 13 degrees below, which is almost as cold as in the dead of winter. The cold has probably damaged the new shoots on the trees, the delicate leaves of the mulberry trees, and the buds of the tender plants. The high water receded suddenly and is now within its banks again.

Young Mrs. Mayer's delivery time is close at hand, and I found it necessary to visit her and her sick husband once again and to pray with them for God's help and grace. During the prayer I was consoled by the verse: "Commend thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass";<sup>3</sup> as He has done in this house so far, which I well remember and perhaps they do too. We have good cause to call out to ourselves constantly: "Bless the

Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.” (Psalms 103:2).<sup>4</sup>

Before this, I went into the house of a pious, hard-working Salzburger and applied to myself and to the sickly housewife, who was alone at home with her children, the dear words of the Lord Jesus from John 8:51: “Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death,” then I added the last part of the lovely hymn: *Herr Jesu Christ, wahr’s Mensch und Gott*, etc. “Verily, verily, I say unto you.”, etc.

The 8th of March. Yesterday, in the late afternoon Martin Lackner’s sensible and industrious wife gave birth to a still-born daughter under very difficult circumstances; and we must heartily thank God that her life was saved, even though she is not yet out of danger. In the very difficult circumstances of her delivery, which began the day before yesterday in the morning, we prayed, in my house, in the assembly on the plantations, and with a few of the devout faithful in their dwellings, whither I felt myself drawn by a special power of love and pity, most heartily in the name of Jesus Christ to our almighty and faithful God, of whom we sing: “Thou dost what thou determinest; and what is called impossible is the least of thy works,”<sup>5</sup> after Ephesians 3:20.

We also brought, so to speak, the five young children of this mother, whom they need so much, before His throne of grace and fatherly heart; and we implored Him to spare her for their sakes. God, for whom nothing is impossible, spared her when it seemed most impossible and a man had been sent on horseback, at the advice of the surgeon Meyer, to a surgeon in Savannah, who is also an obstetrician. By this noteworthy example, my faith in the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hears our prayers, has once again been noticeably strengthened.

My wife is often called to assist in difficult circumstances, which she cannot, in an emergency, refuse although she herself is very weak, particularly since our faithful God has deigned to bless her prayer, advice, and work, especially in the most troublesome and dangerous deliveries. This time it was very touching to me that a young woman called her to Mrs. Lackner, who was lying in misery, just as she was singing the right precious words: “Even if it last into the night and again till morning, still my heart should not doubt in God’s power or have any worry.”<sup>6</sup>

Later I recalled to her these lovely words, which she also remembered herself. Now for this all glory is due to our Lord. Yesterday, when we were assembled in the Zion Church remembering these very lamentable circumstances, we sang the prayer-hymn which is so dear to me: *Herr der du Gnad und Hülf verheisst*, etc. etc.

The 10th of March. From Savannah we have learned that once again a man drowned because he was drunk, but the drunkards do not learn their lesson from this often repeated divine judgment. Recently our merciful God averted a great misfortune from Hans Flerl's son and two other men, for which I heartily praise Him. During the great flood they were transporting thirty-one bushels of corn through the Mill Creek, when they were hurled against a bridge, of which there are many on the rivers, by the swift current and an error of the rowers, so that most of the corn was lost and they were barely able to save themselves, but they did lose some of their clothing.

The high water has now fallen enough for the grist mills to function again. Once again God has graciously averted all damage from the important and extensive mill works, for which I give Him due and heartfelt praise both in private and with others. Poor Heid, who fell from his horse a few months ago and broke his left arm and shoulder blade, has suffered another sorrowful accident. His wife left all their soiled laundry in a pile outdoors and went in to breakfast: when she returned, fire had run through the dry grass and burned everything, so that she and her constantly ill husband (who has long been suffering from a dangerous dysentery and has just made a weak beginning on a piece of land which was recently surveyed for him) now do not have a whole shirt to their names.

The 11th of March. On this Reminiscere Sunday, our colleague Mr. Rabenhorst preached in Goshen and celebrated Holy Communion. He often has quite a lot to take care of there.

The 13th of March. Mrs. N. complained to me that sometimes spiritual sloth begins to creep into her, and then she starts to wander into darkness and uncertainty in God's grace which she has received; she is frightened by this and prays against it, whereupon her previous enjoyment of God's love and zeal in Christianity return, at which she is very glad and full of God's praise. She rejoiced when I reminded her of the verse Hebrews 12:1, "Let us

lay aside every weight, and the sin that so easily doth beset us." etc. and that it is not she alone who must combat spiritual sloth. Her eldest son is among those preparing for Holy Communion, for whose soul she bears a right motherly concern. She also told me that his younger brother admonishes him to serious Christianity most movingly whenever the brothers are together.

I was very glad that we were able to hold the weekly conference and prayer hour today, in which we discussed various matters, on account of the approaching Communion and Confirmation of the previously uninstructed local and outside children. I can proceed in my official duties much more securely and joyfully when I have the opinions, counsel, and approval of my colleagues. After the conference I visited Mrs. Lackner to praise our dear God humbly with her and the others for all the mercy that has befallen her.

Although she had no need of the obstetrician from Savannah because our dear God wonderfully and unexpectedly helped her, nevertheless he did come and prescribed some medicine for her, charging neither for the medicine nor for the arduous journey, which is a new blessing for this family.

A negro woman on Mr. von N's<sup>7</sup> plantation has just given birth to a girl, which is now the fourth child which she has borne to the increase of the Negro family on this plantation since she and her husband were purchased with the money of the aforementioned noble benefactor.

The 15th of March. On this pleasant day of salvation, which by God's grace we are experiencing and which is also the birthday of our dearest Father, Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, I found myself inspired, first to lend, and then, if they acquired a genuine taste for it, to bestow upon some pious men and women the same Court Chaplain's thorough and edifying commentary on the Lord's prayer,<sup>8</sup> to which action not only my own esteem for the precious treasure to be found therein, which I gladly share with my dear, salvation-hungry people, induced and urged by me, but also the lovely judgment of a believing, prayerful woman which I heard once again yesterday when she thanked me most movingly for it as the best treasure in her house after Holy Scripture.

My purpose in this is not only to edify them but also to send to

our most esteemed Court Chaplain a thankful remembrance coupled with our diligent intercessions for him. May our almighty and merciful God richly reward him from His grace for this blessed work and place a rich and lasting blessing upon the use of this quite complete prayer book (as it indeed may rightly be called) not only in the present, but also in future time, indeed all the way into blessed eternity. May God bring all the petitions therein addressed to Him to rich fulfillment in him on this his gladsome birthday and in the remaining days of his life, to his health, joy, and the refreshment of his soul and body, for which we, too, invoke our merciful God in the name of Jesus Christ.

The 16th of March. Yesterday afternoon, when I went to Mr. Rabenhorst's house on account of some official duties, I found the widow Amalia Altherr<sup>9</sup> there, who moved here yesterday with all her things and will help Mrs. Rabenhorst as a companion in the house. She has ample property and can live well *de prosperiis*.<sup>10</sup> She will be well taken care of here. Here, too, God will look after her.

The 17th of March. The very old Christian widow Schweighofer is ill and she had me called to visit her in the house of her daughter in Bethany. She is in right motherly concern, not only for the salvation of her own soul, but also for her married children and grandchildren, but she is often assailed by a servile spirit and fearful nature; and I try to bring her out of it with instruction from the gospel and heartfelt prayer. When our dear God has freed me from my great hoarseness, I plan to visit her again.

During the last great flood, many cows, calves, horses, etc. on both sides of the river from Halifax to Augusta were drowned, and we found them by the hundreds lying on the fields after the waters receded. It is reported in the Charleston newspapers that along the Santee River in South Carolina many thousand head of cattle drowned in the same sudden flood, which makes meat rare and expensive, but also, unfortunately, will give new occasion for cattle-rustling as a quite usual thing. Although God spares us the destructive war, of which we have read so lamentably much in the newspapers from Europe, nevertheless He visits our land with manifold trials and chastisements, and it is much to be feared that they will come even harder because of the persistent impenitence.

With the end of this week, I have also concluded through divine goodness the work, which was a blessing to me, of preparing a few local and other children for confirmation and Holy Communion through the word of God and prayer. In the final two hours I taught them how to use the lovely Confession and Holy Communion booklet of the late Ambrosius Wirth,<sup>11</sup> which is well-known here and can be found in almost every house.

The 19th of March. On this beautiful God-given day of grace and salvation we celebrated our 26th Day of Remembrance and Thanksgiving; and we celebrated Holy Communion with 135 persons including the 20 older children, that is 9 boys and 11 girls who were publicly confirmed yesterday. A few of them were born and raised here, namely Johann Friedrich Lackner; Salomo Zant and his sister Maria Magdalena; Johann Steiner; Johann Paul Müller; Catharina Elisabetha Zettler; Judith Flerl; Hanna Brandner; and Hanna Friederica Kornberger.

The other children were born in Germany, and their parents and relatives live, some in Ebenezer and Bethany, some, however in Goshen or in and around Savannah, namely Johann Peter Freyermuth from the village of Weiher near Saarbrücken; Mattheus Weinkauf from Sontheim on the Brentz; Christina Remshart from Langenau; Anna Elisabetha Hammer from Dietzdorf in Saxony; Jacob Jäckle from Dietlingen in Durlach, Angelica Scheraus from Langenau; Johann Caspar Greiner from Fleinheim in Württemberg; Susanna Biltz from Bechingen on the Brentz; Johann Hausler from Kirben in Württemberg; Jacob Rudolph Stähle from Isingen in the Rosenfeld district; Johann Gottlieb Lange from Kaufbeuren.<sup>12</sup>

The parents of some of these children came up from Goshen and Savannah to attend the Confirmation of their children and whatever else was done after the morning sermon for their increased awakening and the edification of the entire community, which the Lord will surely not let pass without His blessing.

Because of a very heavy catarrh I could neither administer confirmation nor preach, but through the grace of God I tried to assist these dear children with prayer, intercession, and admonitions, for which reason they came to my room yesterday and today, before and after the sermon and catechisation, with great willingness and eagerness. As a blessed memento I gave each of

them an edifying little book, together with the words from Romans 2:4-6: "Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; Who will render to every man according to his deeds." I planned to base my remembrance and thanksgiving sermon on this.

The 27th of March. It was refreshing for me to learn yesterday, on the occasion of the verse in the *Treasure Chest* for yesterday: "Deliver us from evil" that seven households (and probably even more) had studied and were blessed by the thorough and edifying interpretation of this important intercession by Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, to which I also directed our Captain and Justice, Master Kiefer, since his wife expects to deliver soon, and this is usually very difficult.

On Sunday I sent her, through her little girl, the precious promise in Psalm 91:14-16 "Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him: I will set him on high, because he hath known my name. He shall call upon me, and I will answer him: I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him and honour him. With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation." I sent this with the request that she say a trusting Amen to each verse. Yesterday, when I went into her house for prayer and to give Christian encouragement, she told that she had done so with simplicity.

For the last few days it has been so warm that the mulberry trees are foliating profusely, and our people are seriously beginning work on their silk production.

My health has, praise God, improved to the extent that I preached the weekday sermon yesterday and today, and I baptized two English boys whose parents had come here from other colonies. One was already eleven years old, had already learned the principal truths of the Christian faith and could say them from memory.

The 29th of March. A four-year-old well brought up daughter on a plantation welcomed me nicely and recited for me, along with two other lovely instructive and comforting verses, these words from the *Treasure Chest*,<sup>13</sup> with graceful gestures: "Ever

quieter! ever quieter! Oh, let me be a quiet lamb. Quiet in suffering, quiet in joy, always into quietude. Few words and much power and a quiet and gentle nature, more in behavior than in word, let this be chosen as my jewel."<sup>14</sup> What an edifying impression these lovely words made on me, I can hardly say. I duly gave the child a little gift for them.

In another family, which also loves Christian stillness, these words gave me an occasion for useful conversation on the proper use of the tongue for speaking and for being silent through the spirit of love, strength, and discipline or wise moderation. Then we remembered the edifying example of the late minister Geiger from Memmingen, who, after his true conversion, demonstrated a most deferential reverence not only in church but outside on the way to church, and in general walked and talked more with God than with men. Once he was seen in church singing the lovely hymn: *Erleucht mich, Herr mein Licht* with tears in his eyes.

A pious maiden sent her youngest sister to me with a hymnal, she wanted me to find the stanza which she loves so much and cannot get out of her mind: "Come, oh my Saviour Jesus Christ! the house of my heart."<sup>15</sup> Her two younger sisters are also pious children who love Jesus and His word.

#### A P R I L 1 7 5 9

The 1st of April. The surgeon, Mr. Mayer, informed me that his dear wife had given birth to a healthy, well-formed daughter yesterday morning, who, God willing, will be baptized on his plantation tomorrow.<sup>1</sup>

On this Sunday, Judica, as I was preaching His holy word, our almighty and merciful God strengthened me quite noticeably in mind and body according to His precious promise: "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength."<sup>2</sup> Today's Gospel, and 2 Timothy 2:25-26 gave me the opportunity to preach a sermon on repentance and grace, and in doing so to treat both the miserable condition of all unconverted people, not only outside of but principally within the Church of God, and the great willingness of God and Christ to rescue them from this condition and to place them in a state of grace. Because the remembrance of my dear teacher and bene-

factor of thirty-one years, Prof. Dr. Francke, on this his birthday (which, I hope, he is spending in health and happiness through the everlasting goodness of God) was renewed in my heart, so also, as I meditated on the deep depravity of the human heart, I recalled his very impressive expression of the same in one of his letters to me: "If one did not know from God's word, and personal experience, how deeply depraved is the human heart, one could see this in many members of the Ebenezer community, who have been favored by God with so many spiritual advantages and His care (for he has called us, has led us into a wilderness, and speaks ever kindly to us in word and good deed) and, without regard for this, so many nevertheless remain in their unconverted and unblessed condition." We praised our dear God inside and outside the church for all the spiritual and material benefits He has granted to this his servant up to now, and humbly called upon Him that, especially in this very perilous and troubled time, He may be to him his sun, his shield, and his great reward.

The 3rd of April. On Sunday I did not see my dear friends, Captain Kieffer and his highly pregnant wife, once in church, which induced me, after I have finished my work this morning, to go to their plantation. I found them both poorly and found her, because of an old and new ailment, walking with a staff, which reminded me, for the strengthening of their faith, of the verse which she herself had found and read earlier from Ecclesiasticus 2:3 "Cling to God and wait for Him; at the end of it, thy life shall blossom anew (cf. Hebr. 11:27).<sup>3</sup>

I told the dear couple that these words of encouragement have influenced my entire life, because my esteemed friend, Heinrich Milde, an old disciple of Christ, called them out to me while offering me his staff, on a street in Halle a long time ago shortly before I had to go home for my health. His life and death are very edifying to me. Not long before the blessed death of his best friend and benefactor, the late Pastor Freylinghausen, he passed away while sitting on a chair in his house, almost without having been ill. Thus, so to speak, he went from one room in this earthly tabernacle into the other in his Father's house. (Ruth:1:16) Of him it was rightly said: "We have our treasure in earthen vessels."<sup>4</sup> Likewise, "We are made a spectacle of the

world, and to angels, and to men,"<sup>5</sup> (Galatians 6:14) but inwardly they are the dearest brides, the jewel, the crown, which pleases Jesus, etc.

Mrs. Kirschner told me that her ten year old daughter had said to her on Sunday that I had preached with tears in my eyes, and had cited this and that as explanation and for encouragement in some of the verses I had quoted. Her mother gave testimony for her that one could see the grace of the Holy Spirit which she had received in baptism working in her. She has four girls and a boy, who is not the youngest. All of them love God's word and love to pray.

As I was going home past another plantation, a little girl, whose mother had her by the hand, repeated for me the important and consoling verse: "Fear not, O lord; be glad and rejoice: for the Lord will do great things."<sup>6</sup> She can recite many other lovely verses, which she has recited to me in a childlike and friendly way whenever she ran into me or I went to her father's house. Today, however, this verse from Joel 2:21 made a special impression on me in view of our whole beloved German fatherland, since just this morning, before I left the house, I had finished writing to our dear fathers and to my only son who is studying in Saxony.

Oh! May the Lord strengthen our faith; then we shall see His splendor, through which He can also do great things. Indeed, His power and His great strength are so great, that nothing can be lacking. And therefore, in these perilous times, we should say: "The Lord is my helper, and I will not be afraid; what should man do to me?" He hath said: "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee."<sup>7</sup>

The 5th of April. Yesterday afternoon, after much waiting, sighing, and imploring, our gracious God vouchsafed to us the great joy of receiving most edifying and comforting letters from our three dearest Fathers, as well as from other friends. I, especially from my son, whose studies are being blessed, and various other people in and outside of the community received heartwarming news of almighty God's constant and marvelous help which he so richly and splendidly demonstrates to His church. The day before yesterday in our ever-blessed ministers' conference and prayer hour we beseeched God, our heavenly Father,

together, that He might yet, according to his ever gracious and good will gladden us soon with good news from our Fathers in Europe. And now, twenty-four hours after this prayer, it has happened; so last evening this comforting event was especially impressive to our most esteemed colleague, Mr. Rabenhorst, when, together with me in my room, he praised the Lord on his knees for His kindness and goodness which on this occasion, too, He has shown to us, remembering before God, how in his school and student years, in his troubled circumstances, he would pray on his knees for kind and consoling letters, and his prayers were answered to the noticeable relief of his distress.

Our dearest Court Preacher Ziegenhagen begins his very important, instructive, and comforting letter with the verse which is almost always in my mind, whose truth I have sweetly experienced in myself, in those nearest and dearest to me, and in the community countless times, to our comfort, to the strengthening of our faith, and to God's praise: "May the Lord be praised daily. God lays a burden upon us, but he helps us also."<sup>8</sup> Yea, indeed, may He now and evermore be sincerely praised for His might power, His mercy, and His faithfulness, that He has taken, even in this perilous time of war, so many a land in our beloved Germany, and most especially our dear Augsburg, and His dear servants and children living there into His special protection, and even now, when at times the peril and affliction were the greatest, heard their prayers and rescued them.

Now they can cry out to us, and we to them: "The Lord hath done great things for us, the Lord hath done great things for you, whereof we are glad."<sup>9</sup> It is so comforting that the dear verse from Psalm 68 says in the present tense: "He layeth a burden (and thus only one at a time, and not too much, upon us." "Indeed, the burden that should press upon us is measured, be it great or small. What cannot be borne can not attack us, even if it were a little grain."<sup>10</sup>

I say "He puts a burden upon us, but He helps us too," in such a way that we, when a burden has been placed anew upon us, seek renewed help and can assuredly expect it, for God in His wisdom and goodness is ever wont to combine the two according to His manifold promise, as we sing here in the lovely precious hymn: *Herr Jesu Christ, mein Fleisch und Blut*, etc.: "Thou leadest

me according to Thy counsel, which has determined nothing but what brings me blessing. Even if it go strangely at times, I still know that the outcome will succeed through Thee. After a hard time and rough path Thou shalt receive me with honor.”<sup>11</sup>

And how comfortingly it continues: “We have a God who helps and even rescues us from death!” and all this in the present tense, which ought sweetly to inspire us duly to joy and the Lord’s praise, but also to confident and childlike faith. Even though the times and conditions in Germany are very troublesome, yet almighty God, who can bring forth water in the parched desert, yes even from the arid rock, has enabled not only our dearest Father, Senior Urlsperger but also another, namely my most esteemed benefactor for the last thirty-one years, dear Prof. Dr. Francke, to come to our assistance in our trials in the community and in our houses most kindly with medications and other important alms; which I now have permission to withdraw by draft principally for the use of the vital minister’s plantation.

Because of the great trials which have come upon him through the deaths of people close to him, dear Senior Urlsperger feels these harbingers in the tabernacle of his own body, so that he is more in heaven than on earth, and hopes every day to learn that he has a temple built by God, a house not made with hands, which is eternal in heaven. In his fatherly letter he uses the following heart-rendering words: “Praise God! I am well satisfied with my heavenly father. He forgives my sins, heals my infirmities, and promises me eternal life. The Lord will continue his assistance on into the new Jerusalem above. Amen. I am not able to respond to the letters from Ebenezer; and since it could soon happen by God’s will that my heavenly Father calls me home, so I bid a heartfelt farewell to my most beloved brothers and sons, the three ministers in Ebenezer, and all others who know me, in Georgia and elsewhere; with the request that they take to heart Christ’s last words, John 12-17, so that truth, love, concord, self-denial, faithfulness, patience, gentleness, zeal for God and His word, etc. may prevail among them and through them, make all the land fruitful, and spread a pleasing scent throughout the whole world. May the Lord bless you and help you—and give you peace, peace, peace. Amen. On that great day it will be splendid,

when all the redeemed shall come together. Alleluia.”

In an extract from another noble,<sup>12</sup> esteemed benefactress, the closing is very lovely: “May God deem us worthy to be somewhat useful to all men, even in our old age, in every way, and to pray for the salvation of all men. Oh, my God, I pray through the blood of Christ, make us blessed in life; then through you, our salvation, our end will also be good.”

Oh Lord! Thou hast made thy name most splendid in the world. For when the weak came, Thou thought on them right soon. Thou hast shown me grace, and what return do I make to you? Oh, remain favorable towards me, and I shall ever more take up the chalice of salvation, and praise Thee, oh Lord my God, far and wide, here in life and there in eternity.

The 7th of April. For the last two weeks, a comet has been clearly visible on our horizon in the morning, about an hour before sunrise. It stands between the east and the south, but more towards the south, and its tail or rays bend somewhat to the south. During the day the temperature goes up to 14 degrees above, with the same dry winds as last month. The soil and seed need rain very badly. The Carolina newspapers report that a runaway Negro was caught, but that during the night he found an axe and killed his captor with his wife and one child. Then he went into another house and killed the owner and two children. They are looking for him but have not yet been able to find him.

The 9th of April. The old sick widow from Langenau, Anna Rau had me called to her son-in-law’s house, on Mr. Lemke’s plantation next to the minister’s plantation, with the request that I bring her Holy Communion since very soon she would exchange her temporal existence for eternity. Since she has been with us, God has shown her much compassion so that she might learn to know herself and her Saviour, and through conversations with her on things that she would understand, as well as through her very brief confession and the Holy Communion, God gave me and other<sup>13</sup> pious women who were present much edification and blessing.

The 11th of April. The above-mentioned sixty-year-old widow, Anna Rau, died yesterday morning accompanied by the prayers of her children and a heartfelt desire to be with her Saviour, and received Christian burial today. Now and then she would spin

flax and cotton for the people in the community, and supported herself simply and contentedly without being a burden to her children. The people liked her for her industry, contentedness, and love of God's word and prayer, and often gave her light work in exchange for food, drink, and a little money. When people gave her alms, as they did to other widows, she accepted them with great humility and gratitude. I have never seen or heard that she was disgruntled or discontented, although she did not lack of hardships.

The letters from our dear Fathers, which arrived on the 4th, had a very wholesome effect upon us ministers and were a right blessed means of cementing the bond of peace and brotherly love and colleaguial friendship through the grace-filled workings of the Holy Ghost; hence the conference and prayer hour which we held the next day was once again edifying and cheerful. My dear brother-in-law, Mr. Lemcke, complained to me that he was not very healthy and for some time had felt a decline in his emotional and physical powers. He is almost always weak, and gets his best help from Richter's medicine from Halle.<sup>14</sup> May the Lord strengthen him!

The 12th of April. Today Nicolaus Schubtrein's young wife gave birth to twin boys;<sup>15</sup> one received emergency baptism because of his great weakness, and it was afterwards confirmed while the other was being baptized, according to the edifying form of the Augsburg agenda. Because there had been a lot of trouble during the delivery, and it had been very difficult, but afterwards through God's mercy everything had turned our well, (for which outcome, after the departure of my wife, who had been called to assist, I prayed to our dear God on my knees), I cried out to the children's godparents, who were awaiting me at the church door, the valuable words which our worthy Court Preacher Ziegenhagen had cried out to us so movingly in several edifying paragraphs in his last fatherly letter: "Praised be the Lord every day: God places a burden upon us, but he helps us, too," etc.

As sorrowful as the honest young man was, when in tears he begged my wife to stand by them in their trouble with word and deed; so joyous was he in spirit and gesture after the Lord had helped and rescued his dear ones from death. The justly famous

*Essentia dulcis concent*<sup>16</sup> (of which, since we have not received any medicines from Halle for a long time, we have only a little in the house for emergencies for us and others) did the very weak mother great service through divine blessing.

Serious accidents have already happened a few times during childbirth in our community, whereby the two midwives (Lachner and Rieser) have had much work and loss of time, and thus have neglected their own households, and the people, who are, in general poor, cannot pay them. Therefore from our last Memorial and Thanksgiving Day a certain annual salary shall be paid them from our mill and trade fund. These two honest, diligent midwives surely deserve it, like those in Egypt, Exodus 1:17-21 (in whose families is also *res angusta domi & curta suppellex*).<sup>17</sup> May God make them houses, as he did for those in Egypt!

The 14th of April. Our merciful God, through the merits and intercessions of Christ, allowed us a peaceful, healthy Passiontide full of edification and blessing, and gave us the grace to end it, in this evening's prayer-hour, with prayer, song, and brief repetition of yesterday's sermon for Good Friday on His anguish (mental anguish, pangs of conscience, mortal agony, and dread of hell, and the resultant cold sweat and cry of agony "in the days of his flesh" (Hebrews 5:7). We praised God for His mercy, won through Christ and freely given to us, and we humbled ourselves in the name of Jesus Christ, who brought all to perfection, for our many sins of commission and of omission. With good edification we sang the very instructive and comforting hymn: *Es ist vollbracht!* "Forget not, my heart. this word that Jesus speaks as He dies for you on the cross and merits bliss for you when He who doeth all things well says, 'It is done'."<sup>18</sup>

The 16th of April. My brother-in-law, Mr. Lemcke, got a growth on his cheek just before the Easter holidays, which prevented him from preaching yesterday and today. The Lord strengthened me and my colleague, Mr. Rabenhorst, so much the more, so that we could hold solemn public services with sermons and catechization, reading of the comforting Easter story, singing the edifying and comforting hymns, and prayer, on Sunday in both churches and today, the second day of Easter, only in the town church.

The 19th of April. From Savannah I received a letter telling

me that on the last ship laden with the important presents for the Indians of Georgia and South Carolina, not only the royal attorney general<sup>19</sup> but also his Chief Justice had arrived in Savannah. The latter has (according to the newspapers) a salary of 600 £ Sterling. May God grant that through him good arrangements may be made for the relief of our inhabitants.

The 20th of April. Today I offered the position of teacher to young Paulitsch (a humble, well-taught, and orderly member of our community) and gave him sufficient time to consider the offer. After the holy feast he accepted, provided I allow him six weeks time, or until the beginning of the next month, to set in order the work he has begun in the fields, his planned sericulture, and a few jobs in his trade. I can easily consent to this, as the children must now work with their parents in their fields and homes. This industrious young man has a Christian wife, who loves Jesus and His word and whose mother is the righteous widow Schweighoffer. Both consider this change a real favor, not only because the teacher's salary from the very praiseworthy Society will be a great help in their household, but also because they will have the most welcome opportunity to be near the church and school and have closer contact with their ministers. He is a skillful and industrious weaver and has a better chance to develop his trade in the school house than on his land in Bethany.

The 23rd of April. My poor health, the secure forwarding of my and other dear inhabitants' letters and the official reports in two heavy packages, as well as other important matters, some of which I plan to report to our dearest Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, have necessitated a trip to Savannah and so forth.

Up until now we have had a serious lack of rain, and therefore the fields and woods are very dry, while the nights, for the most part, are as cool as in early spring.

When I was at Mr. Whitefield's orphanage, Governor Ellis, who arrived at the same time, told me that Whitefield had reported to him, in a letter from London, that I had sent good reports to Europe about him and his administration, and also about his favorable attitude towards Ebenezer. He thanked me and assured me once again of his love and favor. I took this opportunity to tell him that very many pious people of all classes in Germany had

the welfare of their Georgia colony especially in their hearts and prayers. I also told him that our dear Father, Senior Urlsperger, whose picture he has, bade a moving farewell in his most recent letters to all who knew him, had heard of him, and loved him, until we should be joyfully reunited in heaven. He had, so to speak, solemnly pronounced over all of us the church's regular blessing: "The Lord bless you, and keep you," etc., indeed with the threefold repetition: "and give you peace, peace, peace." It appeared to make a good impression on the Governor. May God cause fruit to come of it! Under his wise and mild government the colony is increasing noticeably, land is becoming rare and dear as new inhabitants move here, and the people everywhere live in peace and concord. Should God grant us lasting peace, this seems to be turning into one of the best and most useful colonies.

In Savannah they are planning to build a church for the English and a meeting house, both of brick; and money is being collected by subscription for them. In the church, services will be held as before according to the liturgy of the established Church of England; in the meeting house, however, as among the Presbyterians and Independents. In the Carolina newspapers I have read that the learned and pious preacher in England, Mr. James Harvey, who for several years has been well-known and popular for his edifying writings, died this past Christmas in his forty-fifth year.

The 24th of April. The filature in Savannah, which burned to the ground last summer, has been nicely rebuilt of clapboard on frame on the same location. Silk from the entire colony, also from Purysburg and other places in Carolina, is brought for spinning to that building, which can hold a large amount of silk cocoons. The building in which the silk is weighed, stored, and sorted for spinning is now separate from the one in which the silk is spun, which was not the case before, so the entire operation burned together. The Governor told me that the crown will bear the building costs, which are very high here, and that the silk produced this year will fetch the same price, that is, 3 shillings 3 pence Sterling per pound of good, dry silk cocoons, whether they are smooth or wooly, single or double.

Oh, what a good thing this is, especially for our dear, mostly

poor and overworked people in Ebenezer, who, unlike other Germans here, do not have any way to earn money easily, but must support themselves by arduous field work and cattle raising, without Negroes, man servants, or maids. If the silk thrives, at this price it will be their best crop. It is also a good thing for the whites, that the annual tax must be paid only on Negroes, land, houses in town, merchants' inventories in the shops, and money lent out at interest. Institutions supported by charity and donations, i.e. the orphanage, our church properties, etc. etc. and the parsonages are entirely free of this burden.

The tax on each Negro is two shillings Sterling, the same for every hundred acres of land, whether cultivated or not. The tax on a house worth 100 £, on 100 £ lent out at interest, or on merchants' inventories valued at that amount, is 14 shillings, and it varies according to the assessed value of each. The parish tax in Savannah is only 3 pence Sterling on every 100 acres and each Negro. Other parishes are presently still exempt.

The 25th of April. All during this past trip, which I took for my health, our merciful God showed me so much kindness that I heartily desire never to forget it but to be grateful for the rest of my life. He strengthened my body, graciously freed me from a growth which was threatening my good eye, and, through demonstrations of His love and the society of sensible Christian people, consoled and refreshed me in my melancholy, to which many factors have contributed. He also gave me much blessing and edification from the prayer hours and sermon readings, as well as from the reading of some important passages from the writings of the learned and pious, and therefore famous, Dr. Isaac Watts.<sup>20</sup>

Yesterday morning, after God had brought me safe and sound back to Savannah, I experienced new proofs of God's fatherly care for me and my dear congregation, for I received from the praiseworthy Society *de promovenda Christi cognitione*<sup>21</sup> most welcome and important gifts of English books, cloth and accessories for my Sunday cassock, and a very kind letter from the secretary, Mr. Broughton, who assured me of the continuing favor and the pleasure of the Society towards my reports on the spiritual and material condition of our congregation. At the same time he reported that our dear God had awakened a longtime noble bene-

factress and a new benefactor in an English clergyman to send me a gift of three guineas. I responded immediately.

In addition, I had the great pleasure of receiving a long, fatherly letter full of instruction and comfort from our dearest Court Chaplain, in which he sheds necessary light on many things for me and made me especially happy through the most welcome news that on that very ship a crate of books and medicines which had been packed in Halle last summer was being sent here through his agency and that this crate has, in fact, arrived undamaged in Savannah.

From his letter I have also learned the truth of the verse "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it."<sup>22</sup> For he reports that God's wonderful providence has graciously watched over the crate of books and medicines which was sent from Halle three years ago. It appears to have been lost twice and found again, so we can still hope that it will arrive here from England. Another verse says "When the winter is snowed out, a beautiful summer begins. Therefore, after hardship there is joy (NB, if one can wait for it). Everything takes its time, God's love is eternal."<sup>23</sup>

April 30. Last night the heavy, cold wind abated and was followed by a gentle rain. We have had very few thunderstorms. A while ago some German children from the direction of Savannah and from this area were confirmed here, and I examined them here on what they had learned from us as well as what they were supposed to repeat and study at home. God be humbly and heartily praised for granting to me a blessed end of this month and of this third of the current year, To be sure, He has chastened me inwardly and outwardly, but He has also shown me so much goodness from near and far in Ebenezer, Savannah, and at Mr. Whitefield's orphanage. He has also bestowed upon me such an abundance of edification and comfort from many precious letters I have received and, with God's noticeable help, answered for the most part in Savannah that I wish to be grateful to the Lord throughout all my life as the source of all blessing and solace.

Today I expect a boat from Ebenezer with silk for reeling in the recently-built, handsome filature. After achieving the purpose of my journey, I plan to return in this boat to our dear, quiet, blessed Ebenezer, to my most worthy colleagues, to my

dear family, and to my dear people, who no doubt have prayed, in keeping with their steadfast love for me in my unworthiness, for me who always have need of their prayers but most especially on this trip.

### M A Y 1 7 5 9

The 1st of May. Governor Ellis has quite willingly accepted two large packages with letters and the official diary in the original and with copies, and today a smaller package with some English and German letters written here in Savannah in answer to the letters received last week from Europe, together with the last part of the diary. He will send them off in his two crates on two warships departing soon. May almighty God in His goodness and wisdom bring these three important packages, which contain much cause to praise His name and offer Christian prayer for us, as safely to London and Germany as He brought the much-needed heavy crate of books and medicines from Halle to London and from London to Savannah, and which will be taken to Ebenezer in our boat this evening.

The 2nd of May. Recently we received the news that a party of hostile Indians from Virginia, who had settled by force in the district of the Creek Indians, have been driven out of the area with the help of the Cherokees. The quarrel between the Creeks and the Spaniards in Mexico, in which several have been killed on both sides, has been settled; and thus our merciful God gives and keeps us in peace everywhere. Oh, that all may know this and let themselves be led to repentance by this undeserved goodness of the Most High, most especially those who are given to the vices of gluttony, pride, uncleanness, falsehood, and thievery, which are flourishing here and there!

The 4th of May. Out of love for the Germans, especially of those of our denomination who wish to go to the Lord's table soon, and for another important reason, I have remained in Savannah this week. Each evening I seek to awaken myself and my listeners, who assemble in large numbers and willingly, through prayer, hymns, and meditation on God's word, to true Christianity and serious work on their salvation in this short, uncertain, and precious time of grace. Every three months they are accus-

tomed to fetch one of us by boat and bring him back, bearing the costs themselves, which costs and work I can save them this time by staying in Savannah a week longer than I had planned. I recognize *a posteriori*, the hand and gracious guidance of God in this, to my joy and His praise. My dear Ebenezer congregation does not lose anything through my absence, as God has kept my most worthy colleagues in good health, as I have learned from the people who have just brought down their silk, which turned out very well.

My and Mr. Lemke's semi-annual salary begins with the first day of this month, and I have drawn it once again by bill of exchange with permission of the reverend Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It is a great and valuable benefit not only to us ministers but also to our poor and overworked congregation that the worthy members of this venerable Society have graciously taken it upon themselves to provide an uninterrupted salary for two ministers and the schoolteacher. Oh, how hard it would be for us if we had to derive our meager sustenance from the community, especially in this free country, since the people are not accustomed to contribute a due amount as necessity requires for the support of churches, schools, and ministers. May our faithful God reward the reverend Society for this goodness, here and in eternity. May he make us ministers and our people worthy, in our praise of Him and our intercessions for these and all our benefactors, known and unknown to us!

As much as my time and strength permit in the present hot weather, I am visiting those people who will soon be at Holy Communion, as well as those of the Reformed church whom I know to be grateful for pastoral visits and Christian conversation.

The Germans in Savannah who are not drunkards or idlers can support themselves very well and soon accumulate enough money to buy a house lot for 20 or even 50 pounds and build a house on it. In fact some, who were themselves servants and maids or poor day-laborers and artisans a few years ago, have made enough money to buy one or several slaves. For the past few years Savannah has been growing rapidly, because a special law forbids Negroes to learn or work at a trade. Skillful and industrious artisans, workers, and day-laborers have opportunity enough to earn money, for wages here are quite high and ordi-

nary foodstuffs are still to be had a low prices.

People who live here also have an advantage over others in that they can buy all sorts of necessities and luxuries cheaply on the ships which call here from the northern colonies, from Carolina and the West-Indian sugar islands, and at the auctions which are often held on board they can sell the products of their trade and agriculture at very good prices. Carpenters, cabinet makers, mason, smiths, shoemakers, tailors, wheelwrights, cooper, bakers, butchers, haberdashers, sawyers, bricklayers, and artisans in the forest who produce barrel-staves and roof and garden shingles and also day-laborers in town earn enough and are paid better and more correctly than in previous years. Some of them are, as I have been told, idlers and drunkards with their good earnings, and some others, who are becoming rich, are becoming at the same time arrogant and do their part at becoming like the rest of the evil world; but even here the Lord has His own.

The 6th of May. Our dear God has so strengthened me in spirit and body that all last week I was able to be edified for a blessed eternity through prayer, song, and contemplation of the divine word with the Germans of both confessions who assembled eagerly and frequently in the evenings after work. The basis for our meditations, following God's loving guidance, was the edifying passage 2 Corinthians 6:1-3, "We then, as workers together with him, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain, etc.," and I diligently impressed upon them many times the very important message contained therein.

Of an Evangelical minister's sermon it should indeed be said: *non multa sed multum*.<sup>1</sup> It does not bother me that I always write (or preach) the same things to you and it makes you all the more certain. In this matter it is a great and welcome advantage to an experienced, sensible, competent, and faithful minister if in certain circumstances his hands are, so to speak, not too greatly tied, but he is able to formulate his message according to the condition and the capacity of his congregation. Diligent repetition of the divine truths either through questions and answers or in his own words (as the situation permits in each case) serves to further the knowledge of the truth of godliness.

Yesterday, two hours before evening, I preached a sermon on preparation, not only for the proper reception of Holy Commu-

nion, but also for a good death; and this morning I preached to a large assembly on the Gospel for Jubilate Sunday, and before that on Psalms 94:19. After the sermon I heard confessions and then administered Holy Communion in good order to those men and women who had registered with me yesterday. Among the communicants was a young married woman who has a Reformed father and a Lutheran mother, and also a Lutheran husband; at the request of her mother and husband she was admitted to communion for the first time.

The 7th of May. At present there are still some Jews in Savannah. Since these few families support themselves easily and well, and in all respects are considered the same as the English and other inhabitants, it is to be supposed that gradually more will arrive. They support themselves as merchants in town; two brothers are Indian traders and have children by Indian women; one family has a tavern, one is in business with a German butcher and slaughters at the marketplace in Savannah, etc.

One single family, which has been in this country for over 26 years, holds rigidly to the Jewish divine service, holidays, and superstitions.<sup>2</sup> A few days ago, as I was passing his house, the head of the family handed me an English language-periodical printed in Pennsylvania called the *American Magazine*, with the request that I read the sermon which a distinguished rabbi had preached. I asked him if it was true that the Jews (as the sermon claimed) kneel for prayer; his brief answer was, they bow, and that meant the same as kneeling etc. etc. He made so much of this sermon, as if nothing like it had ever appeared before, although I found nothing special in it.

The Jews here enjoy all the rights of the land, and perform all civil duties like other inhabitants. They are also accepted into the Freemasons. Their daughters exhibit a most annoying ostentation in their dress; unfortunately! Negro women are also permitted a vexing finery and splendor in dress; and, as in Charleston, they will probably begin to appear gradually in hoop skirts. They are quick at imitating worldly and sinful things, and for them they have skill, industry, and energy. But for learning and accepting the Christian religion they have neither time nor inclination.

By the ship which recently arrived, the worthy Mr. Broughton sent me, among other useful books, a report, published by the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,<sup>3</sup> of two missionary journeys, one to New Jersey in North America and the other to the coast of New Guinea. It saddened me to learn that a missionary of this praiseworthy society, Mr. Thomas Thomson, had, to be sure, accomplished very little towards saving the souls of the Indians and Negroes (for which several reasons were given), but his industry and effort were praised, which made a salutary impression of me. At the end of this report, he showed very clearly that, although this mission did not succeed as he and the Society had hoped, hope of accomplishing more through new attempts should not be abandoned, as he demonstrated through examples from older and more recent history.

May God in the richness of His mercy show ways and means of bringing the poor Negroes and Indians, of which there are very many in this colony, to a true knowledge of Himself and His Son, the Saviour of all men! On the side of the Indians and Negroes, the greatest hindrance (besides their natural disinclination to goodness, as, unfortunately! is also the case with the whites) is the deficiency and the inability in understanding their languages and expressing spiritual matters, or that those who are brought here from Africa learn European languages, especially English which is commonly used everywhere, only very imperfectly.<sup>4</sup> Before they have learnt it somewhat better, their minds are preoccupied and ruined by contact with black and white people. They also believe that their slavery would be made all the more difficult by the acceptance of the Christian religion.

The 9th of May. Late last evening our dear God brought me safely back to my own dear people; and this morning, through divine guidance, my first meditation in my home prayer hour was on the verse: "Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come."<sup>5</sup> This most necessary and important verse made an even greater impression on me when, from the open book and medicine crate, I read in the letter from the dear Köthen Deacon Manitius<sup>6</sup> that he had arrived in Halle and admonished my son, who is studying there, with the most moving tears of love and joy, to all goodness and promised, if the Lord will and we live, to write at greater length to me later.

Soon thereafter, however, as I learned from another letter, he departed this restless misery-filled world and now in his soul en-

joys the fruits of his work, as missionary among the Jews and minister in Nienburg and Köthen, in the house of his Father. He was a precious instrument of Christ in teaching, in his way of life, and in prayer, and a true friend of the Lord's work everywhere and also in Ebenezer. May the Lord fill his place with another righteous man from the crowd of those in seminary.

The wife of our captain and judge, Mrs. Kieffer, gave birth to a son a few days ago.<sup>7</sup> She is now the mother of seven children born in Ebenezer, and almost all of her births were very difficult, so also this one, which moved me to come to her assistance with the powerful word of God's promises, and with prayer, shortly before my departure. Now that God has graciously delivered her, I made it my first official act, with her and her pious husband to praise our merciful God, who so readily hears our prayer and helps us, on our knees.

In Bethany, Johann Georg Bunze's wife gave birth to a son, who died a few days after his baptism. Conrad Eckhart's wife also gave birth to a little boy.<sup>8</sup> She was Jacob Huber's widow, who bore him three children in Goshen. This Eckart, a widower from Pennsylvania, married her as a poor widow out of pity for her three very young orphans, and now, quite unexpectedly, God has given him a son of his own. God is pleased with mercy and does not let it go unrewarded.

In the afternoon, I and my worthy colleagues had the pleasure of unpacking the lovely supply of Richter's medicines and to accept them for us and our houses.<sup>9</sup> We could not sufficiently marvel, rejoice, and praise God for the great blessing which had been preserved over the long journey and then bestowed upon us. Some members of our community also rejoiced, for they received from this very crate medications that I had had prescribed for them from the orphanage, which has been so blessed and protected. God also gave us a great blessing in books for church, school, and general edification, such as sermons and tracts, for which not only our people but other Germans had been waiting for a long time, and as soon as the crate was opened they bought up at low prices the large and small Freylinghausen hymnals, the catechisms and ABC books, as well as the Order of Salvation and the well-ordered index of Bible verses to Tolner's verse book so fast that some will have to wait for the arrival of the

next crate.<sup>10</sup> God be praised!

In today's weekday sermon, the first after my return, I reminded myself and my dear listeners of God's mercy and faithfulness, which I and they experienced so richly during our separation, for which we praised Him, by singing the hymn: *Mein Herz sey Gottes Lobethal*, etc., and *Der Herr ist noch und immer nicht von seinem Volk geschieden*, and in prayer.

I have begun to familiarize my people with the most necessary and important things in the most recent fatherly letters of our dear father, Senior Urlsperger for their benefit, on which the Lord has placed a special blessing, affection, and edification. Going into details would take too long. We have much cause not only to be most heartily content with God's guidance, yea, to thank Him on our knees for the great advantages we have enjoyed over many thousands in our dear homeland, but also to praise our dear God daily, in public and in private, for the continuing quite special love and continuous intercession of this our Samuel, as well as our other Fathers and friends, and for countless other benefactors. This is once again not only my earnest resolve, but that of other decent souls, to which end I shall visit my dear people in their homes as often as possible and they show a great longing for it.

In Savannah, too, it was not without profit that I visited some in their homes; and it seems to me that our merciful God has never before attended my ministry among the Germans in Savannah with so much blessing as this time, when He led me into this blessed work against my inclination and plans. The former N.N. is also showing improvement.

The 12th of May. The two brothers Johann Georg and Johann Schneider live on their late father's plantation beside each other. At their repeated request I visited them, spoke about God's word with them, and prayed. They were very glad at my visit and I hope it will not be without benefit.

Once again right edifying written and printed news of the great works of the Lord have come to us and strengthened our faith. We consider this a great benefit and have been thereby awakened to heartfelt praise of our so gracious and loving God and to continuing confident intercession for His church, servants, and children as well as for the dear institutions of the

Halle Orphanage, which have been so splendidly cared for and blessed thus far, from which we have once again received quite considerable gifts of costly medicines and all sorts of useful books, tracts, and edifying news of the world and the church.

The 13th of May. On this Cantate Sunday we held Holy Communion with 96 persons. We usually have it every six weeks, but this time we had to postpone it for two weeks on account of the silk, which was worked with great industry in all the families in town and on the plantation. Our dear God has placed his blessing on this silk culture, but there are a few who have received little or nothing although they have not been lacking in industry and the greatest possible care. Among them is once again the good Mrs. Kalcher, with whom we have great compassion as things have gone badly for her three years in a row.

The weather and the quick changes from heat to cold in our climate seem to be harmful to the silk worms. It is always uncertain with silk culture; and, as much of the work has to be done in spring at planting time, some people have to labor beyond their capacity or else neglect a good bit of their field work, and the loss is very great if the silk turns out badly. As long as three shillings and some additional pence are paid for a pound of cocoons (single and double, as they are doing this year) the people exert a lot of energy and industry, which would soon slacken if the silk went for its actual value, which (as they told me in Savannah, ought to be about 14 pence per pound. Lately the weather has been very dry and cool at night; yesterday and today, however, we have had very penetrating and incessant rain. The rye will probably recover; as for the wheat, they say that it is already starting to rust.

The recently mentioned Eckart's two youngest step-children have been eating improper things, from which first the boy, and the day before yesterday the youngest girl, died in great pain.<sup>11</sup> I believed that this plague of harmful eating among our children had ceased, but we hear from time to time (although not so much as in previous years) that some children are still doing it, and it is very difficult to break them of it. The abnormal appetite for unnatural things, which some adults have also had, is caused by a sickness which is not properly understood, and so no one knows what to do about it.

This trouble, and many others which we feel in the community, ought to bring us to trusting and incessant prayer according to the divine word in clear verses and examples (among others, the examples of so many confident and answered prayers in our time) as we are most emphatically and lovingly encouraged to do in the recently received writings and reports. In this country and in this place, we have richly felt the valued favor of intercession by the children and servants of God to our right wondrous protection and the application of so much spiritual and material kindness which should arouse us first to praise the almighty and benevolent Giver of all good and perfect gifts, and then also to gratitude towards our most worthy Fathers and brothers, in trusting and fervent intercession for them in Europe. May the Lord strengthen us in our resolve!

A devout woman from N. told me she could not accept the fact that her husband, whose heart had been mightily moved by God's word, was, to be sure, praying diligently but did not have or show the strength to overcome and give up his customary sins and frequent precipitateness, and that it therefore appeared that God was not answering his prayer. I told her I feared that he was not genuinely serious in all respects about his Christianity and that he was not being vigilant after prayer. I plan, however, to enquire after the reason myself.

Last evening, Peter Arnsdorf's oldest daughter, age six, returned, through temporal death, to her Saviour whom she heartily loved, accompanied by the heartfelt prayers of herself and her parents. She ate dirt and sand; she would gladly have left off from it, if she had had the strength to break her unnatural appetite, which caused her pious parents no little pain, as this child gave welcome hope that she would lead the same God-fearing life as her parents. Love of God's word, of memorizing Bible verses, and of prayer, was very great in her, and she also influenced her little brother in this direction. The last prayer she earnestly offered up to God was: "Christ's blood and righteousness that is my ornament and garment of honor, with that I shall stand before God when I enter into heaven,"<sup>12</sup> and she died after repeating several times the words: "To enter into heaven, deceased."<sup>13</sup>

The 19th of May. After the long-lasting dry weather, it has now

been raining continuously for the past few days and nights, with occasional thunder and lightning, which is unusual for this time of year. In the Halle newspapers we received recently, I was astonished to read that not only in the lands of the so-called unbelievers but also in the Christian areas of Europe there were so many earthquakes, fires, violent hailstorms, strokes of lightning, floods, thefts, and horrid murders in the summer of 1756. Our holy and just God has chastized and punished His church with a manifold staff, when one considers that in the same year various powers armed for an extensive war, which soon broke out in flames which are still raging most violently.

Oh, how much humble thanks we owe to our merciful God, that He has shielded us up to now from such difficult trials and plagues, and instead has let us enjoy undisturbed so many spiritual and material benefits! Oh, how much does the intercession of our dear Fathers and friends in Europe, which is always grounded in Jesus' powerful intercession with God for us, accomplish for us and our colony! Often, indeed just last evening, I reminded my dear people of this, to awaken them to Christian gratitude towards God and our loving intercessors.

The 20th of May. Among the important material treated on this Rogation Sunday on the true nature and great usefulness of prayer, I referred my dear listeners especially to the precious tract, *Dogma of the Beginning of Christian Life*<sup>14</sup> and particularly to its brief and thorough instruction on proper and pleasing prayer to God. To those who do not possess this tract I distributed Brehm's splendid *Grace and the Treasure of Salvation*<sup>15</sup> in the home prayer hour.

The 21st of May. Through His kindly words of invitation in the gospel, Jesus the Good Shepard has once more powerfully awakened N.N. so that he has come to himself, detests his offensive nature and all that is related to it and has promised to our dear Saviour and to me, His unworthy servant, with hand and mouth, to avoid sin and all occasions to sin, and to follow, with watching and prayer, the instruction he has received for the conversion of his mind and life and thus, by this direction, to become a Christian ruler and teacher in his family.

One evening I spoke with him again with good admonitions and warnings, and I took leave of him with heartfelt prayer and

in good hope that in the future I would hear of him no evil, but only good reports. Since God has worked in him a great respect for my ministry and has turned various things in my sermons into spears and goads to his heart and conscience, I reminded him last week and again today, in two short letters, of the grace of God which has taken possession of him, and of the good intentions he had made.

I also sent him some important tracts to read reverently. Such are the Danish bishop Hersleb's important sermon on the Gospel for the 12th Sunday after Trinity concerning the wretched state of a man who has got into the habit of sin; also, Senior Urlsperger's very convincing, thorough, and movingly structured penitential sermon on the great difference between the children of God and the children of the devil; also the collection of penitential reflections on this difference which is included with it.<sup>16</sup>

As I have just received the 82nd Continuation of the East Indian Reports,<sup>17</sup> I read in a letter from the missionary Huttermann a quite remarkable example of a man who had been given to drink, but through the power of Christ had freed himself from it and become a useful instrument. Today, I shall have a solid citizen in our community bring him<sup>18</sup> this letter contained in the above-mentioned Continuation. We try in diverse ways to rescue souls from perdition.

The 22nd of May. N.N., who was not at all good and led a disorderly life has, like the Prodigal Son, come to himself and begun to walk the straight and narrow and to fear no scorn which he must occasionally endure, according to the rule: "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution."<sup>19</sup> Without the cross there is no Christian. Another person was here and lamented her spiritual ignorance but showed a great desire to come to an understanding of the truth, to which end she borrowed from me Brehm's lovely extract from the late Porst's *Divine Guidance of Souls*, and from the precious tract *Dogma of the Beginning of Christian Life*,<sup>20</sup> which I had earnestly recommended to the congregation in my Sunday sermon. She also entreated me to pray diligently for her. We have received several copies of the above-mentioned book for distribution.

Our boat, which takes the silk to Savannah twice a week, has

brought back news of a twofold misfortune. The first is that in the night of the 18th of this month the jail burned down, whereby no prisoner was injured. The other sad news is that in the evening or at night an English sea captain fell into the river and drowned as he was going aboard his ship docked at Savannah. These unfortunate accidents occurred at the same time.

The 24th of May. Among other agreeable books and tracts that we received a few weeks ago after long and eager waiting was the index to Bible verses which is used in the schools of the orphanage in Halle. In the school and in homes with children it is not only very useful and convenient for teaching the children each week the Bible verses they must recite on Sunday, but it is also a very good means of repeating them diligently in school and at home, as the end of the preface movingly urges the parents to do. On this past Rogation Sunday, the first eight verses of the first section were recited by the children in church, and on this Ascension Day we continue in the same manner with the festive verses. Whenever the catechism, or other verses from the *Order of Salvation*<sup>21</sup> are repeated, the children recite the verses from this index on Sunday morning before the sermon instead of the epistle for the Sunday.

Pastor Zubli was away for three weeks among the English in and above Halifax, preaching, baptising children, and performing marriages, whence he has just returned in good health and spent a night here. I would wish that among these people, who have come in large numbers from the northern colonies and are scattered here and there because good land is found only in certain places, regional schools and churches might be established, as I have heard one is in the Wallis area,<sup>22</sup> to the great furthering of Christ's kingdom.

This Mr. Zubli brought the unpleasant news that the Cherokee Indians, among whom the Carolina government had a small fort built by Mr. von Brahm,<sup>23</sup> attacked and massacred nearly 60 families at the border of South and North Carolina. Also the wheat in and above Halifax, and also in Carolina, has begun to rust since the recent constant rain; and much of it has been destroyed. Rye, however, is thriving this year, as almost every year.

We also have cause to praise God that among most of our people (also in the surroundings) the silk is thriving, from which

they earn more than from any other product. Four thousand pounds have been sent from here to Savannah for reeling. Now this work is also over. Rice and indigo are bringing a very high price, and Indian corn is becoming very dear, that is three shillings Sterling a bushel, which used to cost just half so much. But no one is in want, for our dear God has always given us food and clothing, along with peace, health, and rich edification of our souls.

I had asked a man to come and see me so that I could talk with him about the condition of his soul. As he did not come, however, after a few days I wanted to ride to his plantation but was unable to cross the damaged bridge on horseback. This forced me to return by the other side of the Salzburger plantations and visit a certain Christian couple and their household. Here my visit was just what they were looking for, and through Christian conversation and prayer it gave great joy both to the young mother standing under the house cross and to an old widow longing for a blessed death. Our dear God had just given me two shillings together with the hint and inclination to give them as consolation to this feeble old widow.

Our blessed conversation was on the verse: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." Likewise, "There shall not a hoof be left behind."<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the interpretation of the seventh petition: "At last, when our hour comes, grant us a blessed and grace-filled departure from this vale of tears to Thee in heaven, Amen." About another pious widow in the neighborhood I heard most edifying testimony, of the recently deceased widow, Anna Rauh, also of a little child who will not go to sleep until the mother has prayed with her and sung her to sleep with a beautiful hymn.

A man borrowed Brehm's *Treasure of Grace and Salvation*,<sup>25</sup> and he asked at same time whether he should accept the invitation to be a godparent. I know well he previous way of life and confirmed him in his opinion of the importance of a godparent a one who takes it upon himself to assure, with the parents, that the baptized child be raised and educated in the knowledge of God and Christ, and in his service. To this end I admonished him to heartfelt prayer, that he might become that which by his own feeling and testimony he as yet was not, that is a true

Christian and a Christian godparent.

The 28th of May. A German couple from Purysburg, for whom the banns of marriage had been published three times on the previous Sundays, was married by me in the town church today,<sup>26</sup> whereby I impressed on them and their friends those truths from God's word, by the practice of which Christians must be distinguished from heathens and other unbelievers. The young man is from Ulm, his name is Johann Lohrmann, has been in South Carolina for seven years and works for a gentleman as overseer of his Negro slaves. He expressed his regret that he had not heard an evangelical Lutheran sermon for a long time, but is remaining in his circumstances.

The 29th of May. I was told that Mrs. Krämer on the minister's plantation was sick, which moved me to go and visit her. Once again I was received very kindly by her and her husband, the pious manager of this important plantation, and God blessed our spiritual conversation and prayer to our mutual edification. Colleague Rabenhorst has given his godson, the three-year-old son of the late shoemaker Geiger, into the hands of this pious and sensible woman to be educated. The child gave me great joy with his friendliness, good manners, and reverent recitation of the precious words: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Matthew 11:28-30. It was also pleasing to our faithful Saviour to bestow upon me renewed and visible blessing to the strengthening of my faith and sweet trust in Him through these dear words.

The 31st of May. Since principally the condition of my eyes, as well as a few other circumstances, do not permit me to continue the official reports in the previous manner, Colleague Rabenhorst has been kind enough to take over the continuation of the same, at my repeated urgent request and entreaty, to which I wish him divine assistance and blessing. As long as our dear God grants me life and health, I shall carry on the correspondence, which has been such a blessing to me, with our dearest Fathers, for I know from many years' experience that they have great patience with my own great inadequacy. May our almighty and merciful God repay them from His grace in this world and the next for this great favor as well as for all the others which they have so richly heaped upon me, my house (also upon my son who is

studying in Halle), and our community for all these many years. The same repayment of grace I wish from the bottom of my heart, at the close of this journal, to my other known and unknown benefactors of all stations of life, inside and outside of our dear German fatherland. May the Lord grant unto them, that they find mercy before the Lord on that day; for they have often and richly refreshed me through their gifts of love and their intercessions, and have greatly unburdened my life and my ministry! After a brief time we shall all, who have persevered in faith to the end, be together in our Father's house;

There with joy we shall behold our Saviour,  
 Who hath opened up heaven with his blood and pain,  
 The Patriarchs, and all the Prophets,  
 The martyrs and Apostles with him in great numbers.<sup>27</sup>

I . N . J . A .  
 SPECIAL JOURNAL  
 OF PASTOR BOLTZIUS

PART ONE . FOR  
 JUNE AND JULY 1759

JUNE 1759

Since my colleague, Mr. Rabenhorst, took over the keeping of the journal at the beginning of summer, I nevertheless want to write down, for my own recollection, that which has occurred in the wise and wonderful governance of our benevolent and almighty God in and outside of Ebenezer and which has become known to me, as material for the praise of God, humble prayer, and Christian intercession, in this private journal, into which something of the divine guidance of my own soul may flow. Oh God, speak to my deeds, help me to discern the best, turn Oh Lord for the best, the beginning, middle, and end. Pour over me Thy blessings, let my heart be Thy dwelling, Thy word be my food, until I go to heaven.<sup>1</sup> Amen.

Friday, June 1. This day was one of special suffering for me. Yet

in the morning hour, meditating on the words: "Even if my body and soul should languish," etc.<sup>2</sup> my merciful God wished to prepare me for it; just as in the evening hour, which, beyond my strength yet out of a special inner impulse, I held in the church before and with the few who live in town. He consoled and bore me up with thoughts within: "I shall draw them all unto me";<sup>3</sup> likewise: "In the multitude of my thoughts within me thy comforts delight my soul."<sup>4</sup> Of the cause of this suffering and misery I can and want to report nothing, since I believe: I must endure, the right hand of the Most High can and will change everything. His dear promises and the prayers of so many servants and children of God, who ground themselves on the merits and intercession of Christ, are the bases of my hope and consolation.

Saturday, June 2. Our dear God has once again afflicted my colleague and brother-in-law [Lemke] with the gout. In the beginning he had severe pains, but after he had rested well and followed the instructions of Mr. [Johann Ludwig] Mayer the pains went away.<sup>5</sup> He cannot, however, go out yet, and in the coming holy days he will not be able to do any work in church. We humbly presented his, my, and the congregation's concerns to our merciful God. From the prayers and conversations He sent me new consolation.

Pentecost, June 3rd and 4th. Our loving God recently sent us from dear Halle, among other things, two consoling and edifying verses in large letters as a worthy gift, through the distribution of which I gave great pleasure to the older children, and which we regard and respect as if the Lord had dedicated them especially to us and wanted from His heart to bestow upon us the good contained therein. On several occasions I have been zealous to proclaim to the dear listeners and fellow intercessors the grace which I have received from them and to urge them to faith in the Saviour of the world. They are: Psalms 68: 19-20 and Luke 11:13.

These precious verses are nailed to their doors and walls by our listeners, who love God and his Word and are, as it were, testimonies of grace from the King of Majesty, Jesus Christ, of His gifts received for men, even the rebellious (Psalm 68: 19-20); likewise of the dearest promises of the Son of God from the Heavenly Father for all who pray to Him (Luke 11:13) that He

will send them the Holy Ghost.

Tuesday, June 5. Because I did not see the righteous and long-suffering yet patient Riedelsperger in church during the holidays, I traveled to his plantation this morning. He has had hepatic dysentery for 5 years and is rather emaciated. His pious and humble wife is also weak and sometimes has epileptic fits. Their eldest son of 13 years is anemic again, the three other children (all fine boys) are still very small; and therefore the dear man has, along with his sick body, many persons in his house but few workers.

This morning in my home prayer hour God gave me for them the consoling words from Psalm 146: 5-6, which I applied to them to their noticeable consolation, with the preceding and succeeding verses, at which the most moving tears of love and melancholy flowed. Afterwards we presented their and others' distress to the Father in prayer.

The smallpox has broken out in Augusta again, and so the Governor of South Carolina has had sentries posted along the land and water routes to Charleston. It is a wonder that this does not happen here, as it did a year ago in Bethany to the great distress of the poor people. Our governor must just lack the necessary soldiers. The few he has been able to get must stand guard at the Altamaha River, where a hodge-podge from Virginia has been squatting for several years to the annoyance of our and the Spanish governor.<sup>6</sup>

I have read in the Charleston newspapers, and have also heard reports, that not the Chickasaws but the Cherokee Indians have killed many people at the borders of North and South Carolina, for which people now want to take revenge. Before the war more than 300 families lived on the good land on the Broad River between Carolina and Virginia, but all have been either killed or driven away by warlike Indians.

In the Charleston newspaper of 23 May the news is confirmed which our governor told me a few weeks ago, that an Indian trader named John Brown<sup>7</sup> who had been empowered by the Charleston governor, together with four white soldiers and a party of Chikasaws had attacked the small, dangerous Shawnee tribe about 200 miles from Fort Loudon (which de Brahm built), and killed or driven them away.<sup>8</sup> The Chicasaws lost two men,

and five or six were wounded, about 200 enemy horses were captured, and a woman was taken prisoner, whom they burned.

From Savannah I learn that the privateer sent out from there 6 weeks ago has brought in a Dutch sloop<sup>9</sup> loaded with French sugar and coffee. Now the same captain has sent a large ship with the same cargo to Savannah, which a Spanish captain wanted to take to France. The entire cargo of both ships will soon be sold in Savannah at public auction. Negroes have also been brought to Savannah to be sold, of whom they say that they were brought here from Guadeloupe, a former French island recently taken by the English.

Thursday, June 7. Because Mrs. T., for considerable reasons, cannot get to church to have herself and her infant blessed in front of the community, I traveled to visit her and her husband this morning in the upper part of Bethany and sought to edify them with God's word in prayer. To him particularly I movingly recalled his offences and misdeeds and admonished him to a true conversion. He approved everything, and he and she promised me once more much good, and both were grateful for my visit in this heat.

In this month we have had very hot days. On my trip to Jacob Tussing's plantation I met many Englishmen (the Irish are also called thus<sup>10</sup>) from Mount Pleasant and environs, who appear with their legal matters before the court in Ebenezer on the first Thursday of the month.<sup>11</sup> There is often business in court for these people, but very seldom for our own. What a good thing it is for our people that they can have justice administered here without expense and loss of time. Few people in this country have it so very convenient.

At 4:00 p.m. we had a brief thunderstorm with little rain. Up to now we have had few and very light thunderstorms. Who thanks God for this?

Praised be my faithful Saviour who has just sent a new blessing for my soul in two verses: namely Ecclesiastes 7:2: "the day of death (of the believer) is better than the day of one's birth" and Psalms 31:6: "Into thine hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."

Friday, June 8. A few months ago I carefully recommended to my son in Halle the blessed book *Timotheus as a Model*,<sup>12</sup> which

was so popular during my own student years, and at the same time I wished to have it in my own library; and behold, my wish was unexpectedly granted, as this book was among the sermons and tracts in the crate of books from Halle. God be heartily praised for the blessing He has bestowed on me through reading this very important little book! Such little works are of great value. Oh that this book might find many readers among students of theology and preachers, and particularly with good intentions and fidelity, the value to the Christian church would be very great.

If this edition of 1728 is the most recent, it would be a sad indication that it is being sought and read by very few. I especially recall my six academic years with sadness and humility, for various reasons which are well known to my teachers, but also with pleasure and gratitude toward Him who had mercy on me, for having brought me to Halle at a time when the students edified each other with much blessing. I hope it is still being done!

The 9th. With Master Kieffer<sup>13</sup> and his wife I praised our merciful God for the help which He showed her during the previous days in a dangerous, painful illness. Richter's *Essentia Dulcis*, through God's blessing, had a great, almost increasingly visible effect, in that nature was strengthened to a most necessary and useful excretion.<sup>14</sup> Mr. de Brahm, who sent to Halle for this medicine for himself, can not praise this medicine enough on account of its safe use, effectiveness, and low price. I heard the same thing recently from Pastor Zubly.

Yesterday Georg Bechtle's wife gave birth to a daughter in Bethany, who was baptized today.<sup>15</sup> He is a fine, quiet, diligent, and patient man, but weak of body; yet he is able to support his wife and four children.

Sunday, June 10. We have advised Mr. Lemke to rest a bit longer and to recover completely before he takes up his work of catechizing in church and school; and therefore we two (Mr. Rabenhorst and I) took the divine services on this Trinity Sunday.

Since Holy Communion is to be celebrated in two weeks, this afternoon those older children from the last three confirmation classes who plan to take Communion were at my house after the catechism class. I went over the order of salvation with them, ad-

monished them to make a preparation pleasing to God, and prayed with them. I noted their names so that I can present their important intention to God and can visit them within these two weeks. During the last week one has had enough to do with the adults, who register publicly one week in advance each time they go to Holy Communion.

Last evening on the street a widow said to me that the words of Jesus, our future Judge, saying we shall have to give an accounting of every useless word we have spoken, lay heavily on her conscience and pursued her everywhere. If God's mercy in Christ were not so great, she would have to perish in her sin.<sup>16</sup> I told her that she should repeat this verse to those who gossiped in her house and tell them what she thought of it, and not be so bashful; otherwise the sins of the gossipers who sometimes go to her house on business would be put on her account.

Monday, June 11. My dear wife has gone to Savannah with her young cousin, Hanna Elisabeth Wertsch, on account of her health.<sup>17</sup> May the Lord pity her and lead her, and guide her with his eyes.

Mrs. Kieffer and her six-week old child have been visited by our dear God with bodily weakness, which is the reason that she was blessed in her house this morning and received private Communion.<sup>18</sup> I found a small congregation in her house consisting of her children, servants, and pious neighbors, with whom I first sang the edifying hymn: *Gelobet sey mein gott*, etc.; and then I spoke on my text of yesterday, Ezechiel 11: 19-20, etc., a word of awakening and consolation, prayed with them, blessed mother and child, and gave the mother Holy Communion. We concluded this blessed and reverent action with the last stanzas of the instructive and comforting hymn: *Wie lang schlagt ihr nicht, ihr* etc. and stanza 5: "I crawl, Oh Saviour, to thy feet," etc., stanza 6: "There is still room in thy wounds," etc. etc.<sup>19</sup>

In the afternoon I visited the confined Angelica Oechsner at the repeated request of her and her husband. He is still quite ignorant,<sup>20</sup> but he rejoices, even with tears, at the grace his wife has received and is diligent and reverent at her spiritual exercises. From this woman one can learn the meaning of illumination by the Holy Ghost and the new creation, which alone and nothing else are of value in Jesus Christ. She was right edifying to

me, as she is also to others of her sex, although she does not realize this because of her poverty of spirit. God's children are dear to her, and the friendship and contempt of the world are to her as nothing.

Tuesday, June 12. It is surprising that the nights are so cool now. During the day it is hot and the land is parched for lack of rain.

This morning I visited some of the children from the last three confirmation classes who intend to go to the next Holy Communion.

I told the widow Z. a few things which displease me in her oldest son and are a bad sign of his disorderly mind, which she sadly confirmed. After he came home, she told him my opinion of his wretched and dangerous condition, which had such good effect that he came to my house from his plantation a few hours later. He gave me a right good opportunity to speak movingly to him and with him to beg God that he have a change of heart.

In the afternoon from two to four I held the weekly conference and prayer hour with my colleague Mr. Rabenhorst. Our colleague, Mr. Lemke, has almost recovered, but he must rest for a few more days. Mr. Rabenhorst has been teaching catechism class for him. The teacher is moving from his plantation in Bethany into the schoolhouse in town. I hope we have a good man in him.

Wednesday, June 13. As I was passing the house of a widow towards evening, she called me in, poured out to me her heart's anxiety about her sins, begged me for Christian comfort from the Word of God and for help in prayer. She found some reassurance in recalling what she had heard in the Sunday repetition hour, that is, that a poor repentant sinner finds in Christ and the heavenly Father more love, friendship, forgiveness, and joy at his return, than he could previously imagine or than could be shown him by another. I commented on this, using the example of the Prodigal Son, Luke 15. I also recently helped this widow with the comforting story in Numbers 21 of the Israelites who were bitten by serpents and the sign of salvation erected for them.

Thursday, June 14. Landfelder's only daughter, who is three years old, gives me much joy by learning and reciting her verses,

and so I gave her joy as well by giving her the well-ordered register of verses. Her mother joyfully recounted to me something of the spiritual blessing she had received during the holidays.

Today I had the opportunity of hearing the old, righteous wife of Carl Flerl praise God's goodness, which has watched materially and spiritually over her and many other Salzburger since their emigration, as an example of which she praised the fact that, although a week ago hail stones the size of nuts fell on her plantation and made holes in the leaves of the Indian corn, they did not do any further great damage because this hail storm was soon driven away by a strong wind. We know, praise God, nothing of the severe chastizements from God's hand through hail, lightning, cloudbursts, fire, earthquakes, etc., and by the hand of our enemies through plunder, forced contributions, recruiting, and fire and sword, of which we read so much in the Halle newspapers of 1756, 57, and 58. May God protect our dear German fatherland together with the dear Salzburger in Prussia and Lithuania and make us grateful for His most excellent goodness!

Friday, June 15. Our worthy Pastor Muhlenburg and his faithful colleague Mr. Handschuh in Pennsylvania have honored me with two very edifying and pleasing letters which arrived today and were en route for over two months.<sup>21</sup> They are both in good health. They have much work in their widely separated communities, yet they experience the support and the blessing of the Lord in rich measure. In the last crate of books from Halle was also the first continuation of the reports from Pennsylvania, which brought much edification to those of us who read them. In keeping with my custom, I would most gladly have answered these dear letters this afternoon, but my poor spirit was so weak and depressed on account of a certain trial, that I had to break off in the midst of my writing. The Lord, who is gracious but also just, is awakening me through internal and external suffering to an awareness of many old sins as the causes of His fatherly chastizements, from which I nonetheless profit through divine mercy. It makes one poor in spirit and protects one from self-justification and complacency.

Saturday, June 16. With noticeable assistance from the Lord I answered our worthy Pastor Muhlenberg's important and edifying letter this morning, and today I also completed the letter to

the worthy Pastor Handschuh, which I began yesterday. Herr Muhlenberg desires from me the Passion sermons of the dear court preacher Ziegenhagen, which treat the great and grave spiritual suffering of the Lord Jesus, and which I shall send him. Today I reread the first one with great edification, for which I praise the divine goodness. I do not have the second any longer but I borrowed it from Mr. Rabenhorst, and more than these two do not appear to have been printed. I am also sending these dear brothers the important and comforting sermon preached by court chaplain Ziegenhagen on Good Friday on Hebrews 10: 19-22, on the most valuable and exuberantly great happiness which our Lord Jesus Christ gained for us through His death. I like to share such edifying sermons with others, and finally I lose sight of them, as happened with the second Passion sermon.

Monday, June 18. Mrs. Flerl likes to talk with me about the condition of her soul and to hear with eager soul a word of admonition and of consolation in order to become ever more certain of her state of grace. She likes to say: "Thou leadest most blessedly thine own, Oh Lord, yes blessedly yet often wondrously."<sup>22</sup> Sometimes her soul rejoices exuberantly from the Gospel in the living knowledge of Christ, her Saviour whom she treasures above all else. She has a foretaste of eternal life. Soon, however, she finds herself in such darkness and barrenness that if God's word were not her delights she must needs perish in her misery.<sup>23</sup> The value, however, is, as I clearly see, great, for she is becoming ever smaller in her own eyes and seeks her entire salvation in Christ alone. The treasure of her soul became clear to me once more during a recent conversation. During my last journey, all the light of divine comfort disappeared for her, and after her supplication to God she lay down in bed in her misery. In the night she dreamed that one of her ministers showed her the hymn in our hymnal: *Sey fröhlich im Herrn, du heilige Seele*, etc. etc. This hymn had been unknown to her before; and, when she found it in her hymnal, the Lord gave her new strength from it and a new foretaste of eternal life. It was told to me that Mrs. Schweiger was in very dangerous condition on account of an injury to her hand, which moved me to go to her without delay and to awaken her from God's word to proper seriousness for attaining salvation before the end comes. She assured me that her

heart was comforted in all suffering and danger, and she did not doubt that the Lord had had, and would have, mercy on her soul and also make her body whole again.

Tuesday, June 19. On account of his course ignorance, laziness in spiritual exercises, and quarreling in his house, N.N. has been refused Communion, which has had a more salutary effect upon him than I had supposed. I visited him this morning and could talk much good with him: he shows a desire for prayer and the word of God, which, however, he cannot read. His wife is too sluggish and irresponsible to help him, so that I must attribute the greater guilt to her, although up to now she has blamed everything on her husband. At the husband's request, I plan to visit them more often and to refuse Communion to the rude and mendacious woman until she shows genuine improvement. She has a devout married daughter, who works on this mother in humility through prayer, word, and deed; but she is only scorned.

Wednesday, June 20. Before the weekday sermon at the plantations, I had some older children, who plan to receive Communion in the near future, at my house. They were examined from the order of salvation and encouraged to proper preparation and serious Christianity by some verses of Holy Scripture. God granted us much edification both in this children's assembly and in the following hour in church, during which I shared with the dear eager listeners something from our esteemed Pastor Muhlenberg's letter which I had received the previous week. He has sent the members of our community, which he has loved most heartily since he visited us 17 years ago, such selected Bible verses as are appropriate to our different qualities, but which, on account of the shortness of the time, will not be opened, examined, and applied until the next assembly. Tomorrow God willing, the same will occur in the town church.

This dear old servant of Christ stands in high esteem here, and therefore the important contents of his letter find their way all the more readily into the souls of our listeners. I gladly use the writings and examples of the servants of God for the benefit of myself and others. The pious Mrs. Krämer expressed through her husband a great desire for me to visit her at the Minister's Plantation in her dangerous illness, which I did immediately. Our loving God rewarded my effort with much soul-edification

which He, in the richness of His Grace, bestowed upon me, the patient, and another Christian person. She is a true believer and bears her cross patiently.

Thursday, June 21. After the new teacher, Johann Martin Paulitsch, had finished moving into the schoolhouse, I visited him this afternoon, as well as his very pregnant wife, two well-behaved little children, and his pious old mother-in-law, Mrs. Schweighofer. I applied to them in a simple way the verse: "Commit thy ways unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass," together with the hymn based on it: "Commit thou thy ways, and whatever ails thy heart" etc.<sup>24</sup> and bent my knees with them in heartfelt praise of God and invocation of His holy name for help and blessing. Today some men unexpectedly began to use the wood from the useless threshing floor of the former orphanage to repair this schoolhouse. May God reward them for this love!

Friday, June 22. After a long wait, our merciful God has refreshed our parched earth with a right soaking rain and made our land fruitful. Oh, my Saviour, let me never be unmindful of the grace which flowed into my soul like a gentle, fruitful rain when I read the two profound Passion sermons of our dear Father, Mr. Ziegenhagen. Thousands and thousands of thanks to you, Oh dearest Jesus, for them. Once, in Halle, dear Dr. Francke advised me to read reverently the Epistle to the Hebrews when I was planning to receive Holy Communion. Now it is my resolve, each time before Communion, to read these Passion sermons, for it says: "Do this in remembrance of me." The late Abbot Breithaupt also recommended singing and reading Passion hymns.

Later yesterday afternoon, when I arrived at Captain Kieffer's plantation and entered the house, I found his ten-year-old daughter sitting at the cradle of her tender little brother and singing, in heartfelt tears, from her hymnal the hymn: *Meine Seele senket sich hin in Gottes Herz und Hände*. At first she would tell neither me nor her mother why she was crying, but later she told her oldest sister that the beautiful song had touched her so deeply.

In passing, a pious mother told me something of the blessing which our dear Saviour had bestowed upon her in the morning

sermon last Trinity Sunday with the words: "and these shall go away into everlasting punishment but the righteous into life eternal."<sup>25</sup> Her three-year-old pious only daughter had been dangerously ill; and, as she was speaking with her about being saved and going to our dear Saviour through a good death, she said to her mother, very agitatedly: but Mama, the dear Saviour will also say: "I know thee not." She had previously heard these words from her mother when she had misbehaved slightly. The mother concluded from the child's words and gestures that already in this tender and very wise child, doubts about her salvation were beginning to arise.

A few days ago, God demonstrated to me once again convincingly and beneficially, from the above-mentioned Passion sermons of the esteemed Court Chaplain, how base and serious are the sins of the soul. As I had to travel to Savannah, on this trip of five English miles my mind turned to the important material, how Christ was slapped in the face, which tommorow, God willing, will be treated in the sermon preparatory to Holy Communion, and that it is also true that: "What I have earned Christ must atone, what He has earned, I shall enjoy."<sup>26</sup> At the house of the ill Mrs. Krämer I found the assiduous Mrs. Amalia Altherr, who showed joyful interest in all the goodness which the Lord showed us in our simple spiritual conversation. A while ago, I had lent Mrs. Krämer the late Dr. Christian Friedrich Richter's lovely little booklet on the nobility of the origin and nobility of the soul,<sup>27</sup> in which are not only many other edifying reflections, hymns and letters, but especially the very beautiful last hours of his pious brother, who died quite young in Halle.

The dear patient could not praise highly enough not only the good which the Lord had done through the medications developed by the late Dr. Richter for her poor body, but also what He had given her from this little book for her soul, and she showed me especially his very important essay, written out of his own experience, on the blessed *Way of the Cross*,<sup>28</sup> which I read aloud again to her, repeating the most important passages, to my own especial awakening. I plan to read it more often; it is worth it, too.

Oh what a great thing is a living experience in Christianity! and Oh how blessed is a soul to which the Lord Jesus has re-

vealed himself and which recognizes the Lord through His revelation. I told the patient and the other aforementioned woman friend (for her husband, as overseer of the plantation was with the Negroes in the field) that our wonderful God had used this late Mr. Richter, and his two deceased brothers, from afar as tools without their knowledge, so that I had gone to that blessed Halle and there had been prepared for the service of my Lord and His community, since otherwise I should not have been sent there.

The wondrous ways and paths are these. My mother's brother, Johann Müller, was hired as a servant by the father of the late Mr. Richter, already in the previous century, and sent to the famous *Gymnasium* in Breslau,<sup>29</sup> where, as a capable, pious, and diligent young man, he had the liberty and opportunity to apply himself to his studies. They then took him, as a poor human being devoid of all means, to the newly established Friedrichs University in Halle. From there he was sent in 1703 as a tutor to Russia where, some time later, he was confessor to the Wolfenbüttel Princess, who was married to the son of Peter the Great, until her death. He then came with a large family to Berlin, attracted the favorable attention of the late provost Forst, and finally became pastor in Lippeln in the Neumark. Here the late Governor von Burgsdorf had property. Because von Burgsdorf was a deeply pious lord and genuine friend of all righteous and dear servants of Christ, my uncle became acquainted and befriended with him and recommended me to him as a poor son who had been destined by his pious oldest sister to university study.

Von Burgsdorf was soon willing to give me an allowance of 100 Reichsthaler for my study and wisely let me know through his pious house tutor from Lübben that he would greatly prefer that I attend the University of Halle. To be sure, the teachers in Forst, and later in Huben, had greatly prejudiced me against Halle and the doctrines taught there; and my eldest sister even became melancholy for a time over the misplaced concern that I would learn false doctrine there and become a false minister. Our merciful God had, however, begun His work of grace in my soul at the *Gymnasium* in Berlin so that I could distinguish light from darkness fairly well. As I wanted to please my great benefactor and thus show my gratitude, I moved, in God's name, with one

quarter of the allowance (for it had been wisely planned over four years) to dear Halle, where the Lord prepared me for His service. Oh my soul, never forget the good which the Lord did for you in those six years and afterwards!

Saturday, June 23. In the Charleston newspapers there is much sad news of many murders committed by some bands of desperate young Cherokee Indians against white people and Catabaw Indians, who have gone over from the French to the English. Also two laden ships ran into misfortune and sank as they were leaving Charleston harbor, and five other ships were wrecked off South Carolina and near St. Augustine, from which hardly any people were rescued. Among them was a ship with a thousand bushels of corn bound for Charleston. Afterwards another sloop with 2,300 bushels of Indian corn arrived in Charleston from North Carolina, which, on account of the severe shortage, sold for 4 sh 3 d sterling a bushel. In Georgia it costs 3 sh.

To blame for this rise in price is not only last year's poor harvest in some places, but especially the high price of indigo, of which the planters plant more than grain and rice. Because they receive cash for indigo (3 sh 8 d a pound) they hold back their grain and rice until prices go up. Now they have found a plant in South Carolina from which they can make crimson dye the same way they produce indigo, which is a very easy and profitable method.

They are also planting a lot of hemp in South Carolina, with good results. A large bounty has been placed on it. One no longer plants benne seeds, which produce a very useful oil. They are beginning to encourage the people in South Carolina to produce silk, by holding up to them the good progress in Georgia, where last year 1,052 lbs. of silk cocoons, this year however 10,000 lbs were delivered to Savannah.<sup>30</sup> The extraordinarily high price accounts for this.

Sunday, June 24. In the last few days we had a lot of rain, but today it was quite pleasant, dry, and cool, and thus so much the more comfortable for the dear people who had a long way to church. A few old members of our community live near Goshen, like our well-ordered service, and usually do not mind the long way to our sermons; but they always come in for Holy Communion, even women with babes in arm. May God reward them for

such exemplary love for the means of grace! Today 153 persons went to the Lord's table.

In preaching the divine word, on Psalm 81: 11-13 and Luke's Gospel, 14: 16ff, I recommended to my listeners that they read again in Arnd's *Book of True Christianity*<sup>31</sup> from Book one, Chapter 18, how highly wrathful God becomes when one prefers the temporal to the eternal, and why and how our hearts should not be attached to created things. Because the meditation on the holy Lord's Prayer was to begin in the afternoon, I reminded the listeners of Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen's interpretation of the same and showed how they should reread the passage we had meditated on throughout the week, and pray over it. For one day it will be said: the longer, the better.

In the repetition hour I read, together with a few edifying memoirs, the lovely passage from the Book of Sirach 24:38-39,<sup>32</sup> which the dear Court Chaplain quite wisely applies to most perfect and profound prayer as a most important part of the divine Word. I also read, to our great awakening, the beautiful testimony of our blessed Luther on the excellence of the Lord's Prayer together with his lament over the misuse of the same; and these two testimonies are right readable and remarkable. At the close of the catechization on the childlike and respectful address to God in the Lord's Prayer, we sang the second and third stanzas of the hymn: *Mein Salomo* etc., in which the fatherly heart of God is most lovingly and sweetly depicted, and which we also recognized in the morning from the dear words: "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it",<sup>33</sup> and also from the Gospel.

Monday, June 25. In the morning prayer hour the words in the *Treasure Chest* on the dear verse Jeremiah 3:12, "Return, thou backsliding Israel," made a deep impression on me: which mother will not take in her erring but returning child? Then I thought once again of the Prodigal Son, who found his dear father to be much kinder, friendlier, and more inclined to forgiveness and help than he had imagined or anyone could have told him. Yesterday in the sermon, at the words: "Open thy mouth wide," I added: "If you beg for a droplet, streams shall flow. A sea of water of grace shall overflow thy emptied heart."<sup>34</sup> How greatly are indeed the poor folk in God's church to be pitied (according to yesterday's sermon on Psalm 81: 11-13 and Luke 14 on the

great Sabbath feast), to whom God has already shown and will show a true abundance of His goodness, but at the same time must lament: "My people would not hearken to my voice; and Israel would have none of me."<sup>35</sup> Since they thus despise this great favor of God, there is nothing left but divine severity, disfavor, and wrath; of which the words in the verse and gospel dreadfully relate. Oh Lord, have yet more patience with us!

Wednesday, June 27. This morning I visited the Englishman Samuel Graves and his family in Bethany and found more good and joy than I had thought. He gets on well with his young wife, Margaretha Huber, and has in her a sickly but honest woman, who is a diligent and a good stepmother to his two unrequited children. Here it is also true: "Although we are poor, yet we shall have much good, if we fear God, avoid sin, and do good."<sup>36</sup> Therefore, do not worry, my son. To me occurred also the beautiful words: "Blessed is everyone that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways. For thou shall eat the labor, etc."<sup>37</sup>

Next door lives the righteous Hangleiter with his devout wife, with whom I had an edifying and blessed conversation on poverty of spirit, of faith, and of justification of the poor sinner before God through grace alone through faith in Him who justifies the godless. They are fine people whom God has blessed. The man has been won and he has become a believer through his wife.

Thursday, June 28. After I learned of the condition of our dear German fatherland from the Halle newspapers from 1756 to August 1758 (for they go only so far), my heart was greatly saddened at the indirect and direct judgments of God. Here it is indeed also true: "Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom and like unto Gomorrah," etc.<sup>38</sup> May He be praised for the wondrous signs of His mercy, which He has shown to His people amidst all His great and wondrous judgments, may He hear their prayer and grant us soon a desirable peace!

Friday, June 29. Last week a ship built in Georgia arrived in Savannah with merchant's goods, but there were no letters for us.

Some of our inhabitants are accustomed to make voluntary contributions to the salary of the teacher on the plantations, as otherwise the tuition would be too high for the parents of the

few children. A poor widow wanted to contribute four shillings from some money she had received, but it was returned to her. She is a widow indeed, in the sense of 1 Timothy 5. In the plantation school I learned that David Eischberger's little son (a quiet and obedient child) had become overheated and immediately afterwards had drunk water, and yesterday had had a violent epileptic fit. I went to him immediately and found him in good health again, for which I praised God with him and his parents and encouraged him with the verse which I find very comforting and which I gave to the children on Ascension Day: "Thou art in the highest," etc. "Praised be the Lord every day!" "God lays a burden upon us," etc., likewise "We have a God who helps etc."<sup>39</sup> His parents told me that his little sister, in the misery of her dearly beloved brother, had begged God on her knees amid many tears for the forgiveness of her and her little brother's sins and had prayed that he be made well again. After he had become better, she had joined together with him to pray diligently through God's grace, to set aside naughty ways and to become pious children.

Saturday, June 30. About two months ago young Mrs. Schubdrein gave birth, in great danger to her life, to two boys; and from that time on she has been sickly and is now mortally ill. She lives with her honest husband on her own mother's plantation and with her twins enjoys especially the care of a loving mother, for which she is grateful. In her present condition I led her to realize how difficult it had been for her mother at her birth, and to bring her up, since she had been widowed very early. Together with other verses appropriate to her condition I helped her with the remarkable verse 1 Timothy 2, v. 15: "Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith, etc." As mothers are God's instruments for the increase of Christ's kingdom, so should they also be in raising their children in His knowledge and service, as they are also diligently taught at their first churching and blessing. The Lord in his grace will then richly reward their faithfulness, when He will say: "Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren etc. ye have done it unto me."<sup>40</sup> Her mother is an honest woman who has borne her cross well, and is a widow indeed. The late Pastor Sommer's good counsel for those who lament

that they suffer innocently<sup>41</sup> (which this her pious and virtuous daughter brought home as a children's present several years ago) stood her in good stead in her cross and is still of good use to her each day, which greatly impressed me anew. Praise God! who in His great and fatherly goodness and mercy has brought us, again in good health, in good peace, through moderate trials and in the joy of unspeakable spiritual and bodily favors throught this first summer month. Praise God! Another step on the way to eternity has been completed.

### JULY 1759 (BOLTZIUS)

Sunday, July 1. On this first day, on which the weather was beautiful and comfortable, my soul said: "Why art thou cast down, Oh my soul, and why art thou disquieted in me? hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him," etc.<sup>1</sup> I am also comforted by the lovely promise: "He that hath mercy on them will lead them."<sup>2</sup> My motto should be: "Let nothing bring you joy before your God delights you. Should I find no comfort, I shall find refreshment in belonging to my Jesus."<sup>3</sup> My body was also rather weak but through the prayers of my dear listeners I felt the strength and support of the Lord while preaching the divine word both in the morning and in the afternoon hour. Our dear God granted me a blessing from the beautiful words: "Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God," etc. "Casting all your care upon Him, for He careth for you."<sup>4</sup> For later reading, listeners were referred to Arnd's Book II, chapter 1.

Monday, July 2. I was told that the old widow Schneider, the late Sanftleben's sister, was sick, so I visited her this morning and tried, through Christian comfort and prayer, to prepare her for a good death. In the sermons, which she attended regularly, she learned many beautiful verses and salutary truths, although she was otherwise quite ignorant. I visited two more families and I received rich edification and comfort for my soul from the dear words in Isaiah 12: "with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation," likewise: "he that hath mercy on them will lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them."<sup>5</sup> A widow attested in tears that through the grace of God nothing was as important to her as her salvation and that of her children.

Her oldest son causes her much suffering.

Today the people from the plantations came to town and received payment in cash for their silk. We shall get almost £ 700 sterling for our silk. Mr. Ottolenge sent me a kind letter from Savannah and Mr. Whitefield wrote one from London, both of which I received today.

Tuesday, July 3. The shoemaker W. has been having some serious scruples about some verses of Holy Scripture, about which I set him right today by reminding him that he should first profit from the easy and clear verses of Holy Scripture and then gradually he will learn to understand the difficult ones better. In all learning, in fact, one should begin with the easy material. Here I heard again that his neighbor Hammer from Saxony continues to curse our ministry. Since he considers himself wise, he has become foolish. To him the gospel is a stench of death unto death. He also curses pious folk and piety. May God have mercy on his blind and wicked soul!

Captain Kieffer has become lame in his hip from the cold; and he has tried all sorts of remedies here and from Savannah, but without improvement. He longs for the medication prescribed by Halle. His deceased sister's daughter is working for him, and he has told me various things about her.

I held the conference and prayer hour with colleague Rabenhorst but without Mr. Lemke. Mrs. N.N. let me know that God has once again assured her of the forgiveness of her sins and her salvation. Her heart is leaping for joy.

Wednesday, July 4. Mr. Ottolenghe has written me a very kind and totally Christian letter. I answered also very kindly and thanked him for his continuous favor towards me and the community and also told him how great a benefit our community had had from the large premium which the Lords of Trade and the Society of Arts and Sciences gave us for our silk, for which I wished them in return the grace and blessings of the Most High.

Friday, July 6. I visited some families in Bethany, which gave them much joy and edification. The children recited their verses for me. The men of the community wished to repair the school-house and to build other necessary things. May God reward them for their love.

Saturday, July 7. Praised be God, who has made me most

keenly aware of His gracious assistance in the accomplishment of my ministerial tasks. "Cover up what I have done: direct what I am going to do."<sup>6</sup> In meditating on our dearly bought salvation through Christ, the following verses have become important and edifying to me: I Corinthians 6: 19-20 "Ye are not your own." Romans 14: 7-9 "For none of us liveth," etc. God, let me never lose the saving impression from them. Let me be thy lamb forever etc.

Sunday, July 8. On this day of the Lord we have once more received spiritual and physical good. Hallelujah.

Wednesday, July 11. After the cool dry period, the rainy weather has come back again, with some faint thunder. A new phase of the moon generally brings a change of weather. This summer we are having a lot of rain. From South Carolina they write that soaking rain has come just in time, and that the grain and rice (and doubtless the indigo, too,) look very good. Oh, may God not have cause to apply the just lament in Jeremiah 5: 23-25 to the people of our time! In the weekday sermon on the plantations I had the opportunity to impress upon myself and my listeners the great misery in which our dear German fatherland, even in this summer, finds itself, and also the great favors which have come our way up to now, together with the wise and salutary intentions of the Lord for us.

We should be lead by all this to repentance, be heartily thankful for His spiritual and material favors, be content in our moderate trials, and make use of the time of grace and peace still being granted us according to God's counsel and come to where we pray for the whole church and our Christian friends and intercessors in it. How dear a devout and loving prayer is to our dear God can be seen from His ordinances, from the wise composition of the Our Father, the model of all prayers pleasing to God, from the example of Christ and of all the living holy ones in the Old and New Testaments. How much, after all, do we owe to the intercession of the Lord Jesus and His servants and children; and we should be disobedient and ungrateful if, in this hour of distress for the Protestant Church, we did not pray diligently also for England, where we have enjoyed, and still enjoy, so much good. Failure to offer devout prayer is also a sign of lack of faith, which must be demonstrated actively through love, and a sign

that one is not a true living member of the church.

Saturday, July 14. I visited the lying-in woman with these words: "We have a God who helpeth," etc.<sup>7</sup> and applied simply to her and her husband, and to other devout persons who were present, a few points from the hymn: *Mein Vater, zeuge mich* etc., which had been sent her by a Christian friend. She is a dear soul and poor in spirit.

Sunday, July 15. As of this fifth Sunday after Trinity it has been 17 years since the Spanish mounted a mighty attack on Frederica and many people fled from there and from Savannah to our town. As at that time, so up to now the Lord of Hosts has mightily protected us, for which we rightly let our humble Hallelujah ascend. Since that time our merciful and almighty God has chastened me and my house in manifold wise, but nevertheless He has also given aid. Hallelujah!

The premature deaths of my two dear children, Samuel Leberecht and Christiana Elisabeth, came back to me today, and the wound they left began, as it were, to bleed anew. But they are in good hands. My soul is being powerfully drawn to them and I am praying for a genuine evangelical preparation for a blessed death.

Monday, July 16. Yesterday afternoon, the wife of our town schoolmaster Paulitsch gave birth to a healthy daughter who was baptized after the repetition hour. What our dear God does for lying-in women and for their babies also belongs to the great works of God, which He has worked among us up to now, of which we are now frequently bidden to make salutary use, as we are living in a singular time of great trials and great deliverances. But sadly it is also true: *quotidiana vilescunt*<sup>8</sup> Psalm 92: 6-7. Oh God, keep us free from such sin.

Through God's wonderful guidance my attention has been drawn to the biography of the zealous Regensburg minister, the late J.P. Krafft, whom I have always regarded very highly. Through divine goodness this has done me much good and reminded me of the ways which God has traveled with me from childhood on but especially in Guben, Berlin, and Halle, to my humbling and to His praise. Oh, how often have I thought of my son and the good which he is experiencing, both in soul and body, in that dear Halle! I was greatly impressed by the late

Krafft's annotation: "What was most impressive and pleasing to me about these men (i.e. Breithaupt, Anton, Francke, and Michaelis)<sup>9</sup> was that they all earnestly feared God and, given their so manifold and varied gifts, lived in the greatest unity of spirit." Especially useful to me were the *Collegia ascetica biblica*<sup>10</sup> and the frequent unions in prayer, no less also teaching the children in the orphanage.

Tuesday, July 17. Through the most recent blessing from the sale of silk, our generous God has placed us in the position of being able to purchase several necessities in food and clothing, for which my salary alone would have been insufficient.<sup>11</sup> And since even after paying all outstanding bills something was left over for future necessities, this great new blessing humbled my wife and me on account of our great unworthiness and awakened us to heartfelt praise of God, who now and through our entire lives has shown us the abundant richness of His goodness, patience, and forbearance. Of the poverty and tribulation which, according to his autobiography, the late J.P. Krafft had to endure in his school and student years, to the detriment of his health, I also had experience in those years. However, at the same time, just like him, I experienced the wondrous and loving care of our heavenly father, who disposed everything for the best for my soul, gradually restored my ruined health, and in my approaching old age has provided me with every necessity. Oh, what privileges our son in Halle enjoys!

Wednesday, July 18. Because it is time and I have felt some attacks of poor health, I went yesterday to be bled. May the Lord bless this! I had a pleasant conference with Mr. Lemke! May God let the fruit of it be lasting. Mr. Rabenhorst was not at home. The following words have once more become very precious and comforting to me: "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us."<sup>12</sup> Oh how firm a foundation of our faith and salvation is in these dear words!

As I am getting old, and my visiting our dear people is much desired, as well as being necessary and useful, I have wanted, for several years, a tame palfrey or ambler, which I was able to buy today for £ 6 17 sh sterling from a man who lives in Purrysburg,

belongs to our community, and will not cheat me. Buying horses in this country is usually a dangerous business, as many horse-thieves come here from other colonies. God has given me enough money to pay for this horse and at the same time enough grain, and he has also shown me other signs of His providence, for which we praise him.

Thursday, July 19. What I went over last Sunday with the people in town only, about the great and wonderful works of the Lord which He has done in the last seventeen years to rescue us from the hand of our enemies, and about countless other things spiritual and physical which He has done, to the praise of His great name, I elaborated on with several more in yesterday's and today's weekday sermon. For we ought to praise and proclaim God's work splendidly, especially those which we have witnessed personally. How greatly God was angered by those who did not duly recognize and honor His great name from His works of yore and of their own time is known from Holy Writ in general, but especially from the story of the Israelites and the gentiles (Romans 1:18-22), and Scripture calls such poor souls brutish men and fools. (Psalms 92:5-7). May God in His grace forbid that one might ever say of our community what Scripture says of the Israelites to their eternal shame, as in Judges 2:10, Psalms 106:13 & 21. Oh my soul, forget thou not the good that God hath done for thee!

Friday, July 20. The sick widow Kalcher recalled the precious words of the Lord: "Return, thou backsliding Israel, only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the Lord," etc.<sup>13</sup> likewise what precedes it Jeremiah 3:1, "yet return again to me"; that our most merciful God has blessed these verses for her, to awaken her faith as she, on account of her sins, was lying like the most wretched worm before God. The premature death of her pious husband, together with his life in faith and love, is ever fresh in her memory and draws her heavenwards.

The wife of the teacher Paulitsch had a healthy and blessed childbed, and together with her household we praised the Lord for all the mercy he has shown to her and to her house. Since Paulitsch accepted the position of teacher, divine providence has manifested itself in many a loving way to him and his house.

Saturday, July 21. I consider it to be one of the greatest benefits which my Lord grants to me, that He soon visits me with inward and outward chastenings whenever, in bodily well-being or economic prosperity, I have strayed from the narrow path, become thoughtless, and sinned through self-love, complacency, and useless speaking; as happened to me last evening and quite often, for which I humbly praise Him. I bow before His throne of grace, crawl to his wounds as to the free and open fount which cleanses us of sin and impurity, and resolve, through the power and aid of the Holy Ghost, to apply myself to renewed Christian prudence and watchfulness. Oh, our heart is so very deceptive, a fool is he who trusts in it.

Today Mr. de Brahm gave us one pound sterling and 12 large window panes for the repair of the schoolhouse. He is drawing up a fine and accurate plan of the town of Ebenezer and the land around which belongs to it.<sup>14</sup> He is sending his little daughter to the school and has promised to pay one pound a year tuition, which is quite a lot.

Sunday, July 22. On Friday, my colleague, Mr. Rabenhorst, was taken by boat to Savannah to preach to the Germans there and to celebrate Holy Communion. Celebrating Holy Communion is a difficult matter for us ministers in Ebenezer, and even more so in Savannah because one can let oneself subject oneself to foreign sins and their punishment.<sup>15</sup> May the Lord have mercy on us. In the First Collection of the *Closterberg Pastoral Collections*<sup>16</sup> there is an important extract from the Reval Synodic Conferences on refusing Holy Communion to the unconverted. How this can be done in a way pleasing to God, I plan to make of use to myself and my colleagues in our next conference.

Young Schweighofer is dangerously ill with a chest fever, which I did not learn of until late last evening. This afternoon I went to his distant plantation, whence I returned weakened and very tired shortly before evening. I hope that my work on his soul with prayer and the word of God will not be in vain.

Monday, July 23. I was compelled, partly by my bodily weakness which I have been feeling for several days, and partly by certain business, to take our mill superintendent's boat to Savannah. The heat was so great that both rowers became ill and lost their strength. I was kindly received both by Pastor Zubli and by our

colleague Mr. Rabenhorst, and I also enjoyed great courtesy from our governor on this evening. He offered several times to show us every possible favor and this time, based on the contents of a letter I recently sent him, I have hopes that the grant for the schoolhouse and garden [at Bethany] will be given to us. At least he wants to give us his part, and by his example thus to encourage the other gentlemen to do likewise. For reasons which I have already mentioned I was not able to mention incorporating the glebe land into the Minister's Plantation, which would well secure the former.

Tuesday, July 24. The governor told me that he had learned from Mr. Ottolenghe that our people were cultivating the large type of silk cocoons or balls, from which there was more loss of silk than from the smaller type; if they wanted to go on earning the premium, they would have to get Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian seeds and raise small, firm balls of silk from them. They would also have to make an effort to produce white silk and send it to Savannah. Once again I pointed out to him the harmful consequences to our community especially and to the silk industry in general, of having all the silk brought to Savannah to be spun, which he realizes very well, and also he has express instructions to do everything to further this important and valuable industry, but it is always postponed; and afterwards, when the damage is done, the silk of the poor people must be at fault.<sup>17</sup>

Wednesday, July 25. A few months ago, a certain man promised with hand and mouth to our dear God and to me, His unworthy servant, to watch and pray that he not fall once again into his sinful ways, to the harm of his soul, his body, and his whole family. For a while he left off from this and that harmful way, but afterwards he sinned grossly in another way, and then fell back into his old vexatious footsteps and behaved so coarsely that he even came drunk into one of Mr. Rabenhorst's meetings and caused a disturbance.

With great pity and mercy I pointed out his sin<sup>18</sup> to him, promised however in the presence of his wife that following the example and will of God I would continue to show him all possible goodness, patience, and forbearance and for the rest leave him to his Saviour who would one day also be his Judge. I did not want to despair of him, as God's mercy and power are infinite;

but I would have to wait and see what would become of him. He was very ashamed, accused himself, and renewed his resolve to give himself over sincerely to God.

His children are learning nothing; I had given his oldest son something to learn from the catechism and the order of salvation, but he did badly in the examination and promised to improve. I had sent this man the Continuation of the *East Indian Reports*,<sup>19</sup> and referred him especially to the example of a converted heathen named Johannes, from which he should have learned that through God's grace it is possible to leave off from habitual drunkenness and become an orderly Christian. He had made notes of a few important points in the Reports, especially the example of an English soldier, John Care, who never again let himself be lured into a tavern to get drunk, but said to his congenial friend, who used to see him drunk: it is true that you used to see me drunk, but I have greatly repented and hope, through the grace of God, that you will never see me thus again. On the evening this man came to me himself and once again promised much good.

I tested some children orally on the order of salvation, and encouraged them to renewed effort. They were confirmed here. A few months ago, a German doctor named Meissner from Brandenburg came to Savannah, began to practice, and for a few weeks led an orderly life; but this behavior was nothing other than a pose. For in the last two weeks he has carried on so badly in drinking and other godless and most vexing behavior, that there is not his equal in Savannah. At the same time he let it be known that he has quite evil religious ideas. At first he was taken for a Herrnhuter. Before my arrival in Savannah he departed, drunk out of his mind, on a Spanish ship for St. Augustine and then to Havana, where he hopes to make money. He has been almost everywhere in America, and most recently spent 11 months on an English privateer, but he gained nothing, just tore up his clothing and suffered great dangers.

In this country, even in the capital, Savannah, such abominations go quite unpunished. This time I have had more sadness than joy, but even this trip will serve for much good in regard to the future. Once again, Mr. Ottolenghe sought my friendship with word and deed, even though it can be of little use to him;

he also revealed to me that a certain person is hindering our friendship rather than furthering it, and I am astounded at the methods which this person uses on me and Mr. Ottolenghe to prejudice us against each other. I hope that through divine goodness it will come to a well-rounded and useful friendship between us, which would especially benefit our dear people. At his request I told him frankly what I and others find offensive in him, which he did not take badly. He is a very intelligent and useful man.

Friday, July 27. The commissary<sup>20</sup> of our colony has gone to Charleston with a large package of letters addressed to Mr. Broughton, to be forwarded to London. He will see to it that the ship's captain does not drop them in the mail in the first port he comes to (as these people are wont to do), but takes them all the way to London, for which he will compensate him. I did the same in Savannah with the package of copies addressed to the esteemed court chaplain Mr. Ziegenhagen, which will perhaps go on the same ship with a load of spun silk. Our governor will not send off a crate of letters until the end of the year.

Sunday, July 29. Last night we had violent thunder, lightning, rain, and hail, but, praise God, it did no damage in our place. How must a person who lives a disorderly life and has a guilty conscience feel in such weather. Late last evening Deininger's little son died; he lived only two weeks in this vale of tears. After the funeral, which was held after catechism class, Mrs. H. came up to me and spoke with me about the condition of her soul. She is a faithful and righteous soul who has arrived at a thorough experience in the ways of Christianity through diligent use of the means of grace and through watching, prayer, and struggle. She endures many Christian trials and temptations, through which she is led to true humility of heart. At times she still feels a servile fear of God, especially in such storms, which causes her much pain. God answers her prayer through His word and in her heart most noticeably, which strengthens her faith.

Monday, July 30. The rain and thunderstorms continue, which has caused the water in the Savannah river to rise very high. It seems that, after a long respite, God desires to visit us with fever, whereby the chest is afflicted with pain and coughing. The little children get epilepsy in this weather, as happened yesterday to

the teacher Paulitsch's second tender little daughter. This and other chastisement comes also to my house, and to our community, from the hand of our loving and merciful God, who has reconciled us to himself through Christ. May He give us the calm, childlike mind of His children of the old and new time, so that in all trials we can say in truth: "Behold the handmaid (servant) of the Lord, be it done unto me according to thy will."<sup>21</sup> See, here am I, he doeth with me as he pleaseth. Thy will be done. What God doeth is well done, if this cup will not pass from me, etc. etc. In these times of trial I am greatly edified by the words of Hosea 6, 1: "Come, and let us return unto the Lord: for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up."

An old German tailor from Goshen wanted some good advice from me as to how he could get back his son, who had let himself be recruited by the Rangers.<sup>22</sup> I cannot however, become involved in such matters. The captain is here recruiting again.

Tuesday, July 31. As my wife's violent pains in the chest and joints were going out of control, I prayed first alone, then with our daughter, and then with the maid in our house, and the Father of mercy heard me for the sake of Christ, so that I was able to overcome the lack of faith I was feeling in my heart, my suspicion and distrust of Him, my secret impatience and doubt, and thereafter could lie on my bed in childlike and trusting prayer until the Lord granted to the patient marked relief and some night's rest. This morning I read aloud for her and myself the verse for the day in the *Treasure Chest*<sup>23</sup> with the accompanying memorable remarks, which strengthened our faith and was wonderfully appropriate to our circumstances. This morning, when I went to the ailing S., at the written request of his father-in-law, he showed me in the *Treasure Chest* the verse Jeremiah 29:11-14, which God had presented to him this morning and which gave me the opportunity to say many useful things about God's paths, which He walks with men for their salvation as he did with the people of the Bible, and to refer him to the hymn: *Womit soll ich dich wohl loben* etc. In this illness, God is showing him the mercy which He showed to the Prodigal Son.

REPORTS OF PASTOR RABENHORST  
FOR JUNE 1759

The 1st of June. Today a man from Goshen with his wife was at my house. I had asked them to come to me so that I might speak with them regarding the condition of their souls and to discover whether they had humbled themselves before God on account of their grave sins against the sixth commandment and had let this incident lead to their salvation.<sup>1</sup> They are two miserable people who probably have many a misdeed, even back in Germany, on their consciences. They are very crafty and never feel a genuine desire to confess their sins. If anything of their actions comes to light, the husband tries to put the blame onto the wife and vice versa. If he does her any harm, she brings up some matter; when they are at peace again she is able to cover it up.

I have admonished them to pray that God send them his Holy Spirit so that it may send upon them His punishment, about which I preached last Wednesday in Goshen, and lead them to recognition of their sins and to true repentance for the same, and make them into people converted to God. They would probably have liked to go to Holy Communion on Pentecost, from which I, however, dissuaded them; this time I prayed with them and dismissed them. They were quite moved and promised much good. May God grant that they mean it seriously.

The 2nd of June. I meditated on my Pentecost sermon, traveled to Goshen in the afternoon and preached the preparatory sermon on the text: "From the law comes recognition of sin."<sup>2</sup> Afterwards I heard confessions.

The 3rd of June. Since it was the first day of Pentecost, I explained to the large assembly of hearers that no man can be truly converted without the Holy Spirit. I administered Holy Communion. In the afternoon I repeated the morning sermon through questions and answers and hastened home so that on the following day I might assist my eldest colleague<sup>3</sup> who had to use all of his energy ministering to the community in Ebenezer alone today, since Mr. Lemke cannot get out on account of an injury to his foot.

The 4th of June. On this day we concluded the celebration of the Feast of Pentecost, in which our merciful God showed to us

and our hearers an abundance of grace and favors for body and soul. Oh that His merciful goodness might lead all to repentance! In the afternoon the child of the shoemaker Deppe, who was bitten by a snake a year ago and died from it, was buried; and this event was also made useful to the hearers. May God's name be praised for everything. May the Lord be gracious to His people and deliver His inheritance in our dear German fatherland from all the distress with which in these days many are surely surrounded.

The 5th of June. In the conference which we teachers hold weekly on Tuesday and in which we discuss matters concerning our duties and the community and pray to God about them, Mr. Boltzius told us that he had called on the Riedelspergers and had found him once again suffering from an illness which he has had for five years and that he [Boltzius] is quite concerned that he [Riedelsperger] could die of it and leave a widow with a flock of unreared and in part unhealthy children. He read them the 146th Psalm for their encouragement and consolation and commended their needs and distress to God, all of which made a salutary impression on their spirits.

A few days ago we had especially cool nights which, however, alternated with considerable heat.

The 6th of June. Today I rode out to the plantation which has been laid out here for the third minister, as I have to do at least once each week to discuss the most necessary matters with the overseer. The grain and indigo are doing quite well. Things grow especially well on the new land on the fertile island,<sup>4</sup> where the soil is almost pure loam and is flooded once or even twice a year. From the large pond, in which the water for the saw mill is dammed up and let out by means of some gates and which can be planted with rice in summer, I have had great losses and damage, because the starlings and rice birds either scratched the planted rice out of the ground and ate it or pulled up the tender shoots with the little grains and thus ruined over 20 acres in spite of all our protection and shooting. To be sure, I have had the land replanted but, aside from the fact that the previous work was lost and thus hindered other necessary work, the rice could not possibly ripen since it was planted so late in the season. I have already experienced many a trial in the place, yet I have

succeeded. God will indeed help, since all help on earth comes from Him.

The 8th of June. This morning Bechtle's wife gave birth to a daughter who was baptized this afternoon.<sup>5</sup> She is the 17th child born this year 1759 to parents who belong to our community. Many are born and baptized during the year, but very many infants soon die, which is part of God's hidden plan for our community. God spares the older children and the adults and waits for their repentance.

The 10th of June. On this remarkable day, on which we celebrated the Feast of the Holy Trinity, and with which we enter the last half of the church year, our hearers were once again led by us onto the pure and health-giving meadow of the word of God. They were reminded of the previous half of the church year, and of God's goodness and benevolence; but their own ingratitude was also held up to them. Mr. Lemke must still remain at home and cannot perform any of his duties except that of praying for us and the parishioners. God has strengthened us both, and the unrepentant among us will one day have no excuse on account of this day, but the repentant and believing ones will have cause to praise God.

The 12th of June. We held our conference again today, in which we discussed together the condition of our hearers and also prayed to God about it. Since Mr. Lemke can not go out yet, one of us will teach school mornings in his place. The teacher requested that he be allowed to close the school today and tomorrow so that he might have time to move his things into the schoolhouse in town and thus be able to conduct school all the more properly in the future.

The 13th of June. On account of the indisposition of our dear colleague, there could be neither school nor a sermon in Bethany today. The weekday sermons are still preached on Wednesdays. That is to say, the first minister preaches on the plantations, the second one every two weeks in Bethany, and the third one every two weeks in Goshen and also in Bethany. Thus the people in Bethany and on the plantations have a weekday sermon each week; the people in Goshen, however, every two weeks, and also in Goshen the examinations of the heart are based on the late Mr. Wirth's communion booklet according to

the Ten Commandments.<sup>6</sup> Every Thursday the eldest of us three preaches the weekday sermon in the church in town; then both here and on the plantations the edifying letters of our dear fathers, especially the farewell letter of our dearest Senior, are made useful to the community.

The 17th. On this 17th of June, the first Sunday after Trinity, all three of us were able to serve the community again. My two colleagues preached in town and I on the plantations. Praise be to God who has strengthened Mr. Lemke again and who bestows upon us peace and health to carry on God's Ebenezer husbandry.<sup>7</sup> A few days ago Mr. Boltzius received pleasant letters from his colleagues in Pennsylvania, out of which he gave me the letter from dear Pastor Muhlenberg to read after the repetition hour.<sup>8</sup> In the letter he complains that the Church in those places can still be compared with that in the Old Testament. They seek to have the best fruits and find no grapes to eat. Micah 7: 1-7. He sent to the chosen people in Ebenezer the 46th Psalm and the 84th and 91st Psalms for meditation,<sup>9</sup> and hopes that the Lord of Hosts will let us see the peace of Jerusalem.

To those among us who, although they belong to Christ's Church yet do not belong to the communion of saints, he gave necessary lessons from God's Word, which will be made known to our hearers. Our merciful Lord visits our community in manifold ways; from near and far people look after our salvation. We could justly eat of the best fruits of this vineyard, from old and young grapes, but sadly it appears most distressful with many, if one seeks more than just fair words. May the Lord help, and cause His word to be heard.

The 18th of June. Hans Maurer recently invited me to visit him, which I did today. Since I can once again go out in the forenoon now that Mr. Lemke is teaching catechism in the school, I shall first visit those of my hearers who have requested it of me. It is beginning to rain, which is all the more necessary to our parched ground because the Indian corn is beginning to sprout ears, so we have great need of the late rain.

The 19th and 21st of June. Although it kept threatening to rain during these last three days, the clouds passed over our place on the right or on the left and it rained only in places on our plantations. But today, on the 21st, our merciful God looked

upon our thirsting earth and revived it. The drought has already lasted very long. Now, however, the weather is quite fruitful. God will ever nourish us etc. My overseer's wife suddenly became very ill and yesterday she was near death. In her distress she was not yet able to hold fast to Jesus Christ so innocently and confidently, yet she hungered and sighed for His grace and then took from the saying in the *Little Treasure Chest*,<sup>10</sup> page 128, and whatever else is on this page, rich consolation, which she will remember with praise of God. The weakness of faith which she felt will serve to strengthen her so that through God's grace she may arrive at steadfastness of heart. May God bless our encouragement and prayers to this end.

The 22nd of June. For a few months a saddler stayed in our town and served our people cheaply and well in his trade. He was very quiet and orderly, went to church, and pretended to be settling down in our community. Since he now had good credit, he made debts in the shops and with other people and last night he left town with another dissolute person. Thus there are deceivers everywhere in the world. May the Lord convert and reform them.

The 24th of June. On this 2nd Sunday after Trinity there was a total of 153 communicants, who had been prepared in three places by their three ministers. In the morning the first minister presented a threefold witness to them: from Psalm 81, verses 11-13, and comparing them with the gospel text's testimonies to the goodness of God, to the disobedience of men, and to the resulting divine punishment. In the afternoon a beginning was made with the catechetical treatment of the third principal section of the Catechism, and especially the initial address in the Lord's Prayer. Our hearers were most especially urged to make use, in their preparations for the sermons in the churches, of the excellent treatment of this best prayer, of which the dear court chaplain Ziegenhagen has sent us a goodly number. The first minister also showed, in the repetition hour, how the hearers should prepare themselves from this lovely booklet; that is, that they combine the reading of a small portion with meditation on the prayer. May God make all our hearers obedient to the Gospel!

The 25th-27th of June. We now have the most favorable weather in that we have rain and sunshine each day. The rain has

not, however, hindered the weekday sermons. Once again there are Indians in the woods. A few days ago, a man of our community encountered two of them in the woods. They jumped at him, seized his horse by the bridle, and made signs to him to dismount, which he did out of fear and terror; and then one of the Indians mounted the horse and rode off with horse and saddle. He brought it back the next day, as he had found the horses he had lost; otherwise he would have taken not only this one but other horses as well. These people do great harm to those who live in the country, although they are allies. Many a good horse or cow is shot for the sake of the bells, if they cannot get at the bells any other way. And there is nothing we can do about it at this time.

The 30th of June. This month, week, and day were concluded in the evening with repeated testimonies, which had been given often throughout the week, of the goodness and mercy of God, although unfortunately quite a few in our community remain ungrateful and thereby incur spiritual and corporal punishment. His goodness has no end!

### JULY 1759 (RABENHORST)

The 1st of July. On this first day of this month the dear goodness of God is still spread out over us. Many proofs of the same are being felt in the entire province. Many, however, come especially to our congregation, which was today once again admonished by us three to make use of this period of peace and grace to attain the grace of God through faithful use of the means of grace. How heartily do we desire of the Lord that this our community may become, be, and remain a fragrance pleasing both to God and to others who have worked towards it with love, prayers, and other good works.

The 2nd of July. This morning I rode out to visit some people. Some were startled, others were pleased. At the first place I could not accomplish my purpose and therefore left saddened; what I missed there, however, was made up to me in the house of a blessed married couple. The wife spoke from her heart; and thus I found more good than I had expected, that is, a righteous beginning of a genuine conversion and poverty of spirit. Her hus-

band was not at home; she said that last night he had wept and prayed almost half the night and that in general he walked in a holy fear of God. How sweet do these fruits taste and how deep is the joy when the children walk in grace and truth!

The 3rd of July. Yesterday and today the people received payment for their silk, which also belongs to the signs of God's fatherly love and mercy. In our place more than four thousand pounds of silk cocoons were produced, and a pound of the best fetches 3 shillings 3 pence, which amounts to a sum of about 700 pounds sterling. A few families earn 10, 20, 30 pounds sterling. On the minister's plantation, through God's blessing and with the help of some purchased mulberry leaves, 101 lbs of silk were produced, from which our benevolent God granted me also a share. For all spiritual and temporal benefits make us, Oh Father, willing and worthy to praise Thee, to serve and obey Thee. Amen!

In Goshen they would have eaten good grapes by now because they laid out the vineyard some years ago with much difficulty from cold, rain, and heat. Most recently, however, it has generally produced only leaves which promise a good harvest but produce nothing.

Yesterday I learned from a married woman how God has awakened her to recognize her darkness and blindness with heartfelt repentance, and has also granted her the grace to pray for grace and salvation with her own words from the heart and also to work on the conversion of her husband through her blessed example. Oh God, in Thy name preserve her whom Thou givest to our Saviour through our poor service. Strengthen, establish, and perfect her! By means of a prayer in the late Arndt's *Little Garden of Paradise*<sup>1</sup> she was truly awakened and her heart so broken that she soon recognized (with regret and pain) the blindness of her heart before God, and she still intends from her heart with God's help to recognize this better.

The 7th of July. At the end of this week, which the Lord our God has allowed us to complete in peace and calm, and for which praise and honor were given to Him, I note:

1. That this week some people have been occupied with repairing the schoolhouse in town and building a chamber for the present teacher. The community now has, therefore, a dwelling for a

permanent teacher, which heretofore has been lacking. They took the necessary lumber from a former barn which used to belong to the orphanage, so that the construction expenses did not run too high.

2. We have been able to perform our regular tasks well, and we have been able to observe with heartfelt joy the increase of Christianity in some blessed women.

3. Our merciful and gracious God has sent from heaven rain and fruitful weather, after which, however, it turned so cool that we can scarcely believe it.

4. I got an inflammation in my throat, which became so serious that on

The 8th of July, Sunday, I had to preach with great difficulty. The time was too short to make any changes, and I had to attempt to preach, as otherwise the people would not have been able to hear the word of God.

The 9th of July. My eldest colleague has come down with almost the same sickness as I, so that preaching yesterday morning was very difficult for him. Once again he has erysipelas on his head. Such weaknesses can also come from the sudden changes of weather, in which one cannot sufficiently protect one's poor body. May the Saviour grant that even from seed sown in weakness fruit may come forth and remain.<sup>2</sup>

The 11th of July. Our gracious God has again strengthened all of us ministers, so that each of us can perform his service, as we did today.

The 12th of July. Today an infant was baptized after the weekly Thursday sermon. In the afternoon the people from Savannah, who had come here on Monday, returned to serve as jurors in court. Only a very few members of our community understand the English language, and therefore they are useless for such tasks, yet they must attend and bear the hardships, loss of time and work, and expenses just like the others, who are able to serve the community. It is not unjust that our people also have to pitch in and serve and do their part, but they are useless nevertheless and cannot become useful because they have no opportunity to learn the English language; rather they are in the way and the English get annoyed, and the ignorant among them take the occasion to make fun of our people, which we simply have to en-

ture. The young women who had gone down a few months ago to spin silk have come back. Mrs. Kalcher's two daughters earned two pounds sterling as bounty in addition to their daily wages because they worked at spinning for three years. Each one earned, therefore, six pounds sterling.

The 14th of July. This week, too, has been concluded with the preaching of God's word and in tolerable health and beneficial peace, for which the Lord our God was publicly praised.

The 15th of July. The community was divided today and thus all three of us had our tasks in the community: In the Zion church all were admonished to follow the edifying example of the people who pushed their way through the crowd to hear the words of the Lord Jesus, and all empty excuses were tested by God's word, refuted, and rejected as unjustified. In the afternoon, the third petition [of the Lord's prayer] was discussed with the young people, from which I perceived some fruits today, the 16th. May our faithful Saviour bless everything and grant us the joy that we may boast: It came to pass that the people of Ebenezer pressed to Jesus, to hear the word of God, as the dear disciples had already heard; that they may be to all words of eternal life, by which their hearts may be truly enkindled!

The 17th of July. Yesterday I received carpenters for the Minister's Plantation; they are to work on the indigo vats, therefore I rode out and did not come home until today. It is a problem in this country that nothing lasting can be made of wood, and thus there is no end to the repairs. The French are supposed to have masonry indigo vats, but in this country one can get neither good stones nor lime. Much indigo is produced annually in this colony and in Carolina, but it is not nearly as famous as the French and it is impossible to find out how the French produce it.

I shall describe the whole process. Perhaps one of our dear benefactors will take the opportunity to suggest some improvements in this important aspect of our economy. The ground in which the seed is sown is partly sandy and loose, partly loamy and very tight. We prefer to use recently cleared land, because for the first two years it is not as full of grass as old land is. Planting time is in March and April. In July the plants are 3 to 4 feet high and, when they are in full bloom, we cut early in the morning and late

in the evening from 3 to 4 inches above the ground. It is believed that it is better when the plants have dew on them than when they are wilted from the sun, because then they give less color.

The cut foliage is immediately put into large oblong vats (made from two-inch thick cypress boards or from fir wood<sup>3</sup> of the same size, 14 to 20 feet long and 18 inches to two feet wide) and 15 inches of water is pumped into the boxes so that the foliage lies 2 to 3 inches below the water or the water stands 2 to 3 inches above the foliage. If it is well water, and therefore cold, we let it stand from 12 to 16 hours at the longest, but if it is flowing water which has been warmed by the sun, it stays 8, 9, to 10 hours at most on the foliage and then let into another vat which is not so wide, but higher.

The people are of various opinions as to when the water should be let out. Some chew on the plant; and, when it has no more taste, they let the water out. Others watch to see when the water stops rising and is beginning to fall, then they let it run off, while others calculate according to the time. It may have fermented too much or too little, which is shown by the color, which is black and useless if it has fermented too much. If it has fermented too little, however, the color is light blue, therefore the earlier the water is let out after about 6 hours the lighter and finer the color, but there is less of the dye.

When the water has run clear into the second vat from the first, it is stirred around and scooped up and processed with various kinds of ladles; then after 30 to 50 minutes of work the color granules become thick and settle on a tin plate. As soon as these granules begin to show, enough lime-water is poured from a nearby box into the vat where the color has run in to make the dye settle to the bottom, which happens in a few minutes after they have stopped stirring and scooping.

Next, one ladle after the other is scooped from the dye after the passage of one or two hours, and the dye itself is put in tubs or barrels. After most of the water has run off and the thick particles of dye have settled to the bottom, they are poured into coarse canvas sacks, whereupon the remaining water is drained off entirely. Hereupon the sacks are tied shut and laid under a board and pressed somewhat until the dye is so thick that one could smear it.

After this one pours the Mod<sup>4</sup> out of the sacks onto canvas and presses it so hard that it can be cut into pieces like a cake and can be dried in the air (not in the sun but in the shade). When the little pieces have become so dry that they can be moved from one place to another by hand, even if they are so soft that one can press them like wax with the fingernail, they are put together in a barrel or a sack and covered up so that no air reaches them. Then a white mildew appears, and then the particles are again laid on boards and dried completely hard in the shade. I have noticed that the more plentifully the mildew appears, so that the particles appear to have been heavily covered with hoar frost, the more beautiful the indigo is.

Such a large 4 by 14 foot vat, in which the plants lie about a foot high and wide, gives six, seven, or eight pounds English measure of saleable dye. The lime water is as follows. The lime is burned from oyster shells and has nowhere near as much solidity and strength as the usual lime in Germany. The usual amount of water that I have observed so far is about thirty parts water to one part lime, and that has done rather well. In comparison to the dye water, the lime water could amount to one part lime water to ten to 12 parts dye water.

Each vat is different, and therefore there are as many sorts of this indigo as the number of times as one makes it, regardless of care and attention. This may perhaps result from ignorance of the rules of fermentation.

The 18th of July. Although I did not feel quite well enough to preach today, I nevertheless rode out to Bethany for the weekday sermon, whereby our merciful God bestowed much edification on me together with the dear people who came to hear me. In addition, He strengthened my body so noticeably that by evening most of my pains had vanished. Thou, Oh Lord, art the Physician and Thou healest me in all my ills.

The 20th of July. Yesterday I had already learned that the people of our denomination in Savannah would send a boat up here to fetch one of us, so I spoke with Mr. Boltzius, who wished to undertake the journey there on account of his health and other business. He decided, however, to remain here and to preach here next Sunday, but to travel next week, and so I departed today in God's name and arrived in good health at night. On the

following morning, which was Saturday, I paid my respects to the Governor,<sup>5</sup> who received me very kindly and invited me to dinner, which I declined. It had been reported to him that our people had produced very bad silk, and he desired that our community concentrate on raising such silkworms as would produce small but firm cocoons.<sup>6</sup>

I gave some brief answers and left it to Mr. Boltzius to discuss the matter more fully with him, which took place on Monday evening. For, during the period of the Lord Trustees, Mr. Boltzius sent both kinds, the smaller and firmer as well as the larger and looser cocoons, to England and asked which type were better and which they should raise here, to which the response was given that both kinds should be cultivated, which was done. The small cocoons give more and coarser silk, the larger, however, give less and finer silk, and both kinds were produced.

Now that they are trying to restrict the spinning of the silk to Savannah, and not to spread it over the entire land (to the detriment of the silk industry), everything is being done, here and in England, to thwart such suggestions and also whatever else is said and written to further the endeavor.

In Savannah I preached on Saturday and held a service of repentance based on Romans 5: 18. On Sunday I preached in the morning and afternoon and held Holy Communion with 36 persons. On Monday I remained in my room and discussed the most necessary things with several people.

The 23rd of July. Today the heat was so excessive that Mr. Boltzius arrived in Savannah weak and exhausted at 2:00 this afternoon. Both of his rowers had also got sick. He went to Mr. Ot-tolenghe's house, where he received many assurances of truly sincere affection and friendship. He would have liked to ride out to the orphanage today, but he could not get a horse, so we spent a pleasant evening together in our lodging. He gave a package of letters to Mr. Graham, the merchant, who promised to forward it to London in good condition.

The 24th of July. Today I left Savannah with Mrs. Altherr, who is again living in my house in Ebenezer.<sup>7</sup> We had such a dense fog on the water that we could scarcely see anything. The fog is supposed to be due to a violent thunderstorm up river yesterday. We arrived safe and well at the Minister's Plantation at 12:00.

May the Lord bless His word in all places where it is preached!

The 25th of July. When I rode to Goshen today and stopped at my plantation, I learned that young Eischberger's daughter died of epilepsy yesterday.<sup>8</sup> She is supposed to have told her parents, with whom she could already walk quite well holding their hands, that this time she would surely die, which happened as she said. Mr. Lemke, who preached the weekday sermon, buried her.

The 26th of July. Yesterday afternoon there was a violent thunderstorm in the area around Goshen, and today I learned from Mr. Lemke's overseer on von Münch's plantation that one of their best Negroes was struck by lightning and killed immediately. This report made a great impression on my Negroes on the preacher's plantation and I admonished them to learn to know and to fear the God who has the power to kill and send to hell, but also to save us. Our dear colleague also came back from Savannah today.

The 27th of July. Today I meditated on the sermon which I shall preach next Sunday God willing, in Goshen, whither I shall travel on the 28th. Tomorrow we have the beautiful gospel which begins remarkably about the time when the people had nothing to eat. God will also give me grace for the encouragement and strengthening of my faith to preach on the saying: God's well has water in plenty.<sup>9</sup>

Today I received in advance a sign of fatherly providence when a man from Goshen bought from me for his house a considerable number of boards for almost £ 3 sterling. This year I have seen little to nourish myself and my family and now my dear Father in heaven has let me come with them so close to the harvest that soon I shall be able to eat from the new crop. I have had to buy much grain, my supplier has advanced me this, and when payment has been demanded, the money has previously come in. Praise and honor and thanks to God for everything.

The 29th of July. When today I presented God to the congregation in Goshen as the inexhaustible source of all spiritual and physical goods, my soul wished that all the members of the same might thus learn to recognize and experience Him. My two dear colleagues have edified the congregation assembled in the town church with God's word; and in the afternoon Deininger's 14

day old child was buried.

The 31st. On this last day of the second month of summer our dear God gave me a good opportunity to give a woman from Bethany many necessary teachings and admonitions which were aimed at the foundation and growth of a righteous Christianity, and finally that which had been planted was watered with prayer. May God add success!

In the afternoon we three laborers in this vineyard were together. We read to each other on the subject: how unconverted people are to be kept from Holy Communion in a Christian way, to which we also compared the late Dr. Spener.<sup>10</sup> May the Lord send us His light and wisdom, that also in this matter we may do that which is pleasing to Him. In this part of the world it looks bad for the Church of God, especially as those in authority care little for the well-being of Christ's kingdom. May God look to this and help! God has let us close this month in peace and health. He has granted us spiritual and bodily gifts, especially rain from heaven and more fruitful weather than we have had for many a year. The great heat has thus been greatly moderated.

We praised and magnified the Lord for all that He has done for us, we thanked Him for His saving goodness and prayed that He be of help in the need of our German fatherland, that He protect His church and keep His Protestant flock in grace against the assaults of the world and the devil. May the Lord have mercy on us!

## AUGUST 1759

The 1st. Today we continued our work with God's help. The first of us preached in the Zion Church and the third did the same in Bethany. After the sermon I rode to the house of Balthasar Rieser, on whom the Holy Ghost is working mightily. He had much to complain of and to question, to which I responded as best I could with God's help, from the word of God and from my own experience and sealed all that we had said with prayer to God.

The 2nd and 3rd. Hans Pfluger's infant daughter was baptized today. His wife's name is Barbara, a daughter of the old widow Rau, who died a few weeks ago.

The 5th. Our dear congregation, which was assembled in the two churches today, was once again taught by us three from the Word of God and as we, praise God, can also hope, edified to some extent as well. In the morning the first minister spoke about the justified, using as his text Psalm 1, verse 6, thoroughly describing false self-justification<sup>1</sup> as well as the justification which is valid before God and is ascribed to faith. The listeners were urgently warned of the first and admonished and urged to attain true justification through patience and faith. I also noticed today that the Lord strengthened this his servant during the sermon so that he appeared to become even stronger and livelier in body and soul.

In the afternoon I preached on the sixth petition of the Lord's Prayer. It came up in regular order; but it was very appropriate to the situation of the congregation, which will go to work tomorrow on the public road, where there will be no lack of temptation and distraction, thoughtlessness and sin; since there are many words and thus many sins where many people are gathered together. May the Lord watch over his sheep and tame their hearts with His word!

The 8th. While I was in Bethany today, before church I spoke a word of admonition to Johann Michel's wife, about how she should conduct herself in her present physical illness. That is to say, she ought to learn to recognize sin as the cause of all bodily ills and seek forgiveness of the same from God for the sake of Christ. Then her soul would recover and she would be secure whether she were to live or to die. In church there was only one man present, the pitiful saddler H., since the other men were working on the public road.

In this man every hope of conversion and every preparation for it appears to be lost. Whenever I see him, my heart is moved to sigh for him. On the other hand, it was deeply delighted at the sight of pious and blessed women. There is a considerable number from this sex who are devoted to the Lord. Their increase is quite remarkable. One sees His joy in them. They attend to God's word as if they had only one ear and one eye. And what one hears from them, and what one hears about them from others who are able to judge, is enough to make one rejoice and be amazed at the glory of the Lord and to encourage one in work

which is not in vain in the Lord.

One need not ride very far in this Bethany before one can speak with the housewives, coming straight to the point, about righteousness. With these dear people our joy is all the more appreciable because we can work with them for a long time in vain and then suddenly it happens that this my son and these daughters were lost and are found. Hallelujah! Those of the old parishioners who are devoted to the Lord continue to walk in the fear of the Lord and cause us no little joy. But with the newcomers it is, as it appears to me, more fervent; they are experiencing first love.

The 9th. Today my eldest dear colleague was especially compelled to treat a subject which was particularly appropriate to his age and standing and also to the concern which we usually lament to the Lord in private rather than speaking of it in public. God's providence had sent him news of the establishment by a Greek bishop of an institution for instructing young women in religion and housekeeping, which gave him [Boltzius] an opportunity to give a serious and emphatic witness before the community to the corruption to be found in many families in regard to Christianity, marriage, housekeeping, neglect of one's rightful vocation, the upbringing of children, and especially of the girls, all of which are sources of countless sins, disorder, and physical ills among the people. May God grant that these admonitions bear fruit, and that especially the mothers, who often show harmful love for their children and particularly for their daughters, may turn to God and pray for wisdom to accomplish their daily work of bringing up their children in a manner pleasing to God.

The 11th. Since the work on the public road ended around noon today, each of the ministers here conducted confession services with preparatory sermons for our listeners in all three places this afternoon. In Bethany I rode first to a couple, of which the wife fears the Lord but the husband is unconverted and a hindrance to his wife in her good works. Our faithful Saviour gave me grace to speak emphatically yet cautiously, as was necessary, according to his condition. He had resolved to remain away from Holy Communion this time, of which we approve.

Another woman,<sup>2</sup> a true Lydia in this place, to whom the dear Saviour has granted a rich measure of fervent love for Himself

and also a lively realization of her sinfulness together with a true faith in Jesus Christ, complained likewise to me that her husband was not on the road to life and also would not endure it when she was compelled to remind him of many evil things. In general she is saddened by the fact that many husbands are disobedient to the word of God. Perhaps God will win them over by way of the women's way of life.

The 12th. On this day of the Lord the congregation was richly edified by the word of our dear God, and 99 persons were fed by Holy Communion into the community of Jesus Christ. And since God had given Johann Michel's wife a healthy daughter, I baptized the infant in Bethany in the afternoon.

The 15th. The widow of the carpenter Hirsch from Augsburg was married today to a single German man who came from Carolina and had been overseer of the Negroes on a plantation for a few weeks. His name is Johann Christoph Heinz. What he is, remains to be seen. God grant that it go well. In their area there is much disorder in marrying, and therefore there are many unhappy marriages. May God have mercy on His church, which suffers very much from this.

Two families in Goshen have decided to move to Savannah. One family has got into such difficulties through bad housekeeping that they must turn their back on land and everything, and thus deprive themselves of the good opportunity of hearing the word of God often and of sending their children to school. They are in all respects very obstinate people who will not accept anything good. The other family is not much better, yet I have tried to talk the husband out of this plan, which will be much to his spiritual and material disadvantage. I have warned him, but he says that his way is right and therefore we must commend him to God and be still. If they could have the good opportunity for their souls and also the bare necessities of life in Savannah, just as they do in Goshen, one could be satisfied; but, although they believe they will be better off physically, they will still be worse off in both respects. An empty house lot in Savannah costs £ 15 to 20 and more in sterling, and that is the only place to earn a living. Food is also very dear, and anyone who is not a jack-of-all-trades earns very little.

The 16th. Today I visited Johann Flerl's wife and was quite edi-

fied by her. She is definitely an honest soul who clings to Jesus Christ in true love; and, as she has given her heart to Him, His ways and guidance are pleasing to her, so much the more as she bears in her own heart the hidden treasure of childlike confidence in God's fatherly heart in Christ, and in the assurance of His fatherly love for her,

The 19th. This Sunday was spent preaching and hearing the word of God in both churches. Before and after the sermons the account of the destruction of Jerusalem was read to our listeners. During afternoon service we had a violent thunder storm with heavy rain. Oh Lord, give growth and water to all plants.

The 22nd. I had learned that the Negroes in Savannah were not supposed to be very expensive; therefore, after talking the matter over with Mr. Boltzius, I set out to ride there today and to see whether I could buy a good Negro with the money which our dear God has entrusted to me for the third minister's plantation through dear Senior Urlsperger. Accompanied by my overseer I arrived in Savannah on the 23rd and at first felt no inclination because the Negroes had been well picked over and those who were left seemed to be in very poor condition.

Finally I decided to try in God's name, in the hope that God would grant me success, otherwise the liveliest and healthiest could get sick and die. Therefore I went there and was shown a well-grown boy, who had looked worse yesterday than today. Since they believed there was nothing wrong with him which care and strengthening would not cure, I bought him for £ 35 sterling. If he were not so very thin, I could not have got him for under £ 40. He is about 17 years old and therefore good for work, but he is also tractable and can probably be trained to do all sorts of jobs. May God, who has guided me fortunately in similar circumstances several times, also cause this boy to work his way into our household.

In Savannah I was offered another boy for the reason, as they said, that the Negroes are treated by us better than elsewhere. We do this gladly, of course, and make slavery as bearable as possible for them. Through this mild treatment we hope that their hearts will be opened to receive a good word spoken to them at the right time; and, had we the means and the hope that it would bear fruit, we would do even more material good for them.

My eldest colleague has made it his good custom for some time to have the introductory sentences to the Sunday liturgy repeated during the week by the children in the evening prayer services and thus to reinforce the Sunday sermon and add that which cannot be said on Sunday on account of the shortness of time. Our parishioners have much greater material and spiritual advantages than do others; but they also have a correspondingly greater responsibility, and those who go astray in their unrepentant condition will one day not have the slightest excuse. On the remotest plantations in Carolina the Indians are supposed to have committed murders, while God lets us begin and end week after week in tranquility. What saving goodness and mercy!

The 26th. On this Sunday, we ministers spoke, both in the town church and in Bethany, on the order of salvation in accordance with the gospel. Mr. Boltzius treated the words of Psalm 32, verse 5: "I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin. Selah" and Mr. Lemke spoke of the value of Holy Baptism. In Bethany I showed my listeners the harm which comes from self-justification.<sup>3</sup>

The 27th. The saddler is making all his preparations for his departure for London,<sup>4</sup> to that end he is auctioning off all his goods today. This evil man, who will not be ashamed of his godlessness and therefore has not been to Holy Communion for more than a year, has a well-ordered plantation, over 30 head of cattle, and a trade which is not going badly, yet he is quite fed up with living here and will doubtless end in complete perdition. We have worked on him and tried to work on him. He has, however, been a mocker and blasphemer from the beginning. May God have mercy on him, his wife and children. We hope that his absence will be of use to many in Bethany for the salvation of their souls, and to us for a more joyful performance of our duties among these people.

The 28th. Today in our weekday conference nothing pleasant came up, but rather something saddening about Peter Hammer, who is becoming noticeably worse in his unrepentant condition. He has already gone so far that he attacks and mocks not only the persons of the ministers but also their ministry, and even the Halle Bible which we are accustomed to use. To be sure, he does

the greatest harm to himself, but he also gives scandal to some others. Whenever we visit him and his family, he behaves contemptuously and rudely towards us, and recently he has even behaved thus towards Mr. Boltzius in his own home. God is striking him on his eye, so that he sees very little, and on his family with various illnesses, but he does not see it. He gave us material for intercession.

The 29th. Today we once again preached the accustomed weekday sermons in tolerable health in the burning heat.

The 30th. Today our gracious God rescued me from a great danger, for which His name be praised. I was walking with my wife in the woods a bit towards evening and as we were going home and had to cross a narrow stream on a piece of wood my wife saw a snake swimming towards me, which would surely have bitten me if she had not seen it and shouted, so that I could jump to shore and get away.

The 31st. On this the birthday of our dearest Senior Urlsperger our listeners who were assembled in the town church were admonished to thank our merciful God for the many good things which He has given to our dearest Father throughout his whole life, and through him to his church and also to their congregation throughout so many years. On this occasion it was edifyingly presented how much and how heartily people are praying for Ebenezer, as a stimulus to do the same. Finally much good was requested for him [Urlsperger]. May the Lord give this to him and to all who belong to him. Amen!

Grace, life, health and peace are ours to enjoy secure as this month comes to a close. For this may the name of the Lord be praised!

#### SEPTEMBER 1759

The 1st. Our dear colleague Mr. Lemke has got sick again, so that he cannot do any work in tomorrow's services; and therefore the community must gather together. Dear Mrs. Boltzius comes close to death so often and so suddenly that Mr. Boltzius must be prepared for her passing every day, for which she heartily longs according to the good will of her Saviour. In this distress they sometimes feel that they are perishing, and then the

Helper awakes and gives light to both sufferers. The heat is almost unbearable now. May God help us through all of this.

The 2nd. In today's great heat our dear God blessed, I hope, the preaching and hearing of His word. Our dear parishioners refreshed us with their attentive and reverent listening in spite of their bodily discomfort, and this made the preaching of the word sweet and light. May God be good to them and gracious according to His word.

The 3rd. Today I visited three persons from the third Swabian transport, who live about four miles from Ebenezer. The one, who is a daughter of the recently deceased widow Rau and is married to a local Salzburger,<sup>1</sup> was sick; and therefore I admonished her to let this bodily pain serve as a way to true repentance, which she as yet lacks. I visited her sister [Barbara], who is married to Johannes Pfluger of Langenau, on their plantation and found both of them pleased at my visit.

In his homeland, Johann Pfluger was quite crippled and therefore in his external appearance he was one of the weakest and unsightliest colonists on the third Swabian transport. At the beginning of the voyage, a man in Langenau told him that he would probably die at sea. Near Rotterdam he fell into the Meuse and would have drowned if our merciful God had not rescued him. Since he came to this country he has been staying with the Salzburger Krause. And in this time he has turned to God in his heart, as he cannot rejoice enough at all the favor God has shown him in past and present time.

A few years ago he married the aforementioned daughter of Mrs. Rau, who has a damaged eye. A few weeks ago God blessed this marriage with a daughter, all of which Pfluger sees as proofs of divine goodness and mercy. He supports himself quite well and has the basic necessities of life. His cheerful contented countenance pleased me meetly and caused me to praise God together with them.

The 4th. In our conference today the news in the papers of the great distress in our dear German fatherland moved us to heartfelt prayers for our dear fellow Lutherans. Oh, may our dear God have mercy on them and send peace to His people and His holy ones, that in these great troubles they may not succumb to foolishness on account of the weakness of the flesh! Yet aid is nigh,

etc., etc. Oh Lord grant faith to all and strengthen them.

The 7th. Today I meditated on my Sunday sermon, and the confession service which I shall conduct tomorrow in Goshen, God willing. The wife of my dear eldest colleague is still lying ill and in great pain. Mr. Lemke, however, is, praise God, fairly well again. Lord, let us remain thy servants and diligently do thy work alone!

The 8th. Today around noon I rode to Goshen. The heat was as bad as it has been all week, if not worse, but as bad as on the hottest summer days. It is also rather dry again, so that the late planted grain is suffering. We can, however, be quite satisfied; for, although the dry weather harmed the grain somewhat, it is still very good for making hay, at which the people are now busy. From a man in Goshen, who had sinned against me and my ministry, I received a letter before the confession service, in which he asked me for forgiveness, which, I assured him from my heart, had already been given. May God make me able to assure him of the same by my actions.

The 9th. Last evening and today the heat broke, so that I, and, I hope, my dear colleagues, will be able to do today's work with less hardship. For this, too, may God be praised. Oh, that from all the everlasting seeds of the living word of God which have been sown on this day, here and in the whole Christian church, good fruit may remain in eternity. Amen!

The 10th. Last week I had already learned that old Eischerger, a true Lazarus in Ebenezer, was sick and longed very much for me to visit him, but I had to put it off until today. Together with his little family they all showed their joy at my visit, which made me all the more joyful to speak some edifying words with them. Through the blessing which our dear God had placed upon the cure of our dear, and for Ebenezer almost indispensable, Mr. [Ludwig] Meyer, his illness was almost completely over. I was able to be edified by the edifying and penetrating sayings of this old man. He showed much contentment with the arduous ways of God and appeared to discern God living in His love for us sinners. Although they have only one grown daughter to work with them, these old people have a fine blessing of crops on their plantation, for which, together with the spiritual gifts which the Lord has given them, I praised God with them.

The 21st. A few days ago I visited the widow Greiner, who is now staying in Mr. Lemke's house. She is a person from the third Swabian transport, in whom I and others perceive that with all her heart she is concerned about the one thing necessary.<sup>2</sup> Wherever she goes or stands, deep sighs for things spiritual and eternal proceed from her innermost being. About fourteen days ago she took in the son of the late Hirschmann of Halifax, who has come here for school and preparation for Holy Communion. I admonished him likewise to make good use of this present time, which has been given him for his own salvation and that of his friends in Halifax.

Dear Mr. Boltzius has been sick with fever since Sunday, so he turned the weekday sermons over to Mr. Lemke. May the Lord strengthen him and keep him with his own, who are also sick. Especially dear Mrs. Boltzius is, according to her husband's account, a true martyr who longs for release from all sin and bodily ill according to the will of her Saviour.

Yesterday I learned that Lucas Ziegler, whose father died in Halifax and whose mother is married to a man in Goshen, has engaged himself for three years to our competent smith Faul, to learn the smith's trade. This pleased me so much the more, as he also belongs to the third Swabian transport. These are the listeners whom I first got to know, whom I especially love as my first ones, and at whose spiritual and physical well-being I should like to rejoice.<sup>3</sup> Oh that the few who are left may be right useful to God!

The 23rd. On account of Mr. Boltzius' continuing weakness, we two, who are in charge of this congregation, accomplished yesterday's and today's work alone. One hundred and twenty-seven went to Holy Communion. May God grant that all become worthy to be guests at the wedding feast of the Lamb in eternity.

The 24th. Yesterday I did not see the pious and devout Mrs. H. in church, so today I set out to visit her and her husband, who looked very weak yesterday, and especially since she had invited me to visit them for some time. I found her busy at housework and eager for the Spirit in goodness. With great joy she reminded me of a line in a hymn from the Wernigerode Hymnal<sup>4</sup> which had once been sung after the weekday sermon in Bethany and which, as soon as I began to sing it, had penetrated into her

heart, which at the time was deeply saddened. Through her example many women in Bethany have been awakened to come near to the Lord and as one who through Christ has attained the spiritual priesthood with the word and experience of the power of the same, she can give knowledge and instruction to many among these women.

### OCTOBER 1759

The 1st. Today, Monday evening, I arrived in Savannah in rather good health. I was fetched on the previous Friday and spent the night on the plantation of Mr. [Archibald] Bulloch, whose wife entertained me very nicely and gave me some medicine for my chest since, as soon as I came into her house and wanted to drink a cup of tea, I coughed up blood. Early next morning I continued to Savannah, and in the forenoon I was still coughing up blood, so I was concerned lest I harm myself by much preaching. Particularly as the old Court House in Savannah is not very good to preach in.<sup>1</sup> Therefore I preached the weekday sermon and held the confessional service by candlelight in a private house, to which other people in Savannah and Pastor Zubly agreed.

On Sunday our dear God strengthened me, so that with good strength and, I hope, with His blessing, I could preach God's word and give Holy Communion to twenty-one persons. In the evening by candlelight I repeated the sermon I had preached earlier, since Mr. Zubly preached in English in the same place at 3 o'clock. On Monday morning I was called to two sick women who make use of our ministry. The one was the wife of the carpenter Lange from Blaubeuren,<sup>2</sup> with whom I spoke of sin, faith in Christ, and the cross of the faithful; the other, the sick wife of a man named Kurz from Cannstadt, showed more goodness than I had supposed.<sup>3</sup> She answered my question whether she had experienced in her heart the power of the word of God which, she had heard and read, by saying that God had granted her recognition of her wickedness and was also consoling her heart, an answer which pleased me greatly, according to which I explained to her the order of salvation and much else, and in conclusion we prayed.

The 3rd. Today, Wednesday, I preached in Bethany and experienced the strengthening power of my Lord both in spirit and in body. In the afternoon I rode to my plantation so that I could come a bit closer to Joseph's Town, where I had promised to baptize an infant on the 4th. And so it happened.

The 6th. Our faithful God stood by the aforementioned Mrs. Hangleiter and presented her with a daughter who was baptized by me today. May the Lord Jesus add daily to the number of those who will be blessed.

The 7th. Today, Sunday, I had very much work for my weak chest. I had to take the whole service in the Zion church alone, and before that to baptize Gabriel Maurer's weak child. Before the last hymn, according to local custom, I had to bless a woman coming to church for the first time after giving birth. After the afternoon service I had to ride out to visit Zimmerebner, who had expressed a great desire for a word from one of his ministers. I had a pleasant talk with him about Christ the Rock and Cornerstone of our salvation. His concern was this, that he still had no real joy in dying, although he was willing to live and die for the Lord.

I led him, however, to the foundation of salvation, that is to Christ; and, since I know that Zimmerebner recognizes Him thus in faith, I showed him that his salvation rests firmly on Him and through the gospel I awakened him to an ever greater sureness thereof, and to a sureness that he will find living hope of eternal life and thus also joy in dying. And, if a sensual joy should not follow, he should not be anxious, as not this but faith is important. Lord Jesus, grant the spirit of wisdom to your saving recognition!

The 8th. This morning a man from Bethany came and told me that our dear God had taken to himself Johann Michel's youngest daughter, who was being buried this morning. I gave a brief homily to those present on Matthew 18:3: "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

From an awakened woman I learned that the Christianity of another woman in Bethany has come to the right foundation. Because she herself had used these words, I asked her whether this person had come to Jesus Christ as the only foundation, for

there is no other? She answered, yes, Sir, but one must become aware of one's sins in a spirit of repentance and lay a foundation therein, at which response I rejoiced and said yes, if she has recognized the basis of sin through the Holy Ghost, she would go on to the right foundation of faith. May God grant His aid, so that the Kingdom of God, which is based not on words but on power, may grow and spread right quickly!

The 11th. Yesterday afternoon, after praise and thanks had been given to our heavenly Father for the abundance of rice on the Third Minister's Plantation, and after I had spent the night there and taken care of this and that today, I stopped on my way home at the house of the dear miller, Zimmerebner. With joy he related to me what God had done for his soul, and together we awakened each other to praise of God for the good which we had received from Him in body and soul. On the Minister's Plantation the harvest looks better than ever. Most of the rice on the new land looks very good and plentiful, the grain has also done well, but the indigo and beans have suffered greatly on account of the drought.

The 13th. Because of the continuing bodily weakness of my eldest colleague, Mr. Lemke and I have divided tomorrow's work so that he will preach in the morning and I in the afternoon, for which may our merciful God make us able in body and soul.

The 15th. Today I rode to visit Gabriel Maurer's wife, who has been lying sick for some time. I showed her how our dear God was seeking through her sickness to bring her to much needed repentance and admonished her to make good use of the time and the opportunity.

The 19th. I had heard that dear Salzburger Zimmerebner had begun to recover, so I rode to his house to praise the Lord with him and magnify His name, at which the dear man was very much pleased. With Hans Flerl's wife, who truly knows and loves Christ and is sorrowful because she does not love Him as intensely as she would like, I spoke words of encouragement for us both, and in prayer I took to our dear Saviour what is oppressing both of us.

The 27th. On the previous days, bodily weakness has prevented me from visiting our parishioners in their houses, but they are now occupied with the harvest anyhow. Together with

Mr. Lemke I have preached the regular Sunday and weekday sermons. Today, however, I rode to Bethany and visited the house of U.B.<sup>4</sup>

Here I learned something about a fruit of my New Year's sermon. The words: "Help that we leave off from sin and begin to be pious"<sup>5</sup> had made a blessed impression on the man of the house so that he and his wife, on their knees, promised their heavenly Father to begin a new life, to which I further admonished and encouraged them, and sought to request with them in prayer the necessary grace. After this I rode to the shoemaker, of whom and whose wife I am confident that they are both pious and God-fearing and walk in the commandments of the Lord blameless.<sup>6</sup> I refreshed myself with them in the Lord.

The 28th. My dear colleague, Mr. Lemke, asked me in love to preach the morning sermon, which was agreeable to me. Even in this I saw the hand of our wise God. For in the morning Mr. Lemke had such a fever that he could not go to the church until the afternoon, and therefore I preached in the morning and he could, meanwhile, wait out his fever and preach the catechizing sermon in the afternoon. Mr. Boltzius cannot regain his strength. May God our King, the Source of all help, bless and strengthen us all.

The 29th. My overseer's time is now soon at an end and he will move to his own land near the town. Today, therefore, I set the time of his departure. He has been a diligent and faithful man in my service and in that of the minister's plantation. Our dear God also blessed his work in this year's fruitful weather, so that a very good store of grain and rice was harvested. In spring and fall the weather was unusually dry, therefore it happened that neither the first nor the second cutting of indigo turned out. Beans and sweet potatoes have also suffered very much. But in no crop was the work completely lost.

The sawmill is so dilapidated that it is not possible for me to repair it; and, as it can work very seldom because of lack of water, this has impelled me to ask some of the members of the community to donate one day voluntarily, which they heartily agreed to do. I may call this the very first favor which the community has done for me since I have been here. But this time it was more necessary than ever before. May God be praised for their willing-

ness and remember this labor of love most kindly for them. We could think that we would never see the day when this mill would need repair, since heavy uprights and beams up to 14 or 15 inches thick are being used, but it does not take long before everything rots and is lying in ruin again.

The 31st. Among the favors which our loving God has shown us in the past month belongs also this, that we have lived in peace and tranquility with the Indians and the rumor that we would go to war with them has vanished again. For the harvest we have had right favorable weather and most of the inhabitants are finished with it. At this time we have great need of letters from our dear European Fathers and friends. May the Lord our God have mercy on our dear German fatherland and protect his little Protestant flock in His grace. Amen!

#### NOVEMBER 1759

From this whole month I must report to my dear Fathers only the most noteworthy things which especially concern me, since during this time I did not get out very much except for the necessary official services I have done for the congregation on Sunday and Wednesdays.

On the 3rd of the month my overseer resigned from his duties on the Minister's and my plantation, and on the 7th his departure took place, which, as well as all his service, was commended to the Lord who rules all things. May the Lord be praised, who has been of help in many things through the whole year. Today the new overseer arrived, Jacob Ihle of Goshen, to fetch the carts and horses and to move in tomorrow, God willing. It is a difficult thing in this country to get and keep even a few white servants, and especially faithful white servants. It is hard to find a maid servant and even harder to find a man servant and especially a man to whom one can entrust duties such as those of overseer and house manager. This has impelled me to abandon my own good house in Ebenezer and to move to the Minister's Plantation as the property assigned to me.

On the 9th of this month I began to move, so that I can be there in person and see for myself how everything is going. It is

not only useful but also necessary for me to make this change in my household arrangements, a change which I would as soon have been spared. For my ministry it is somewhat easier, as I am now five miles closer to Goshen and Savannah and must travel only two short miles to the Zion church. May the Lord, who has provided for me all my life, give his blessing, that I may be a burden to no one, but preach the Gospel free and unimpeded, which is the purpose of this change.

The Lord has once again strengthened my eldest colleague so that in this month he was able to continue his public work.

Old Eischperger, who has become sicker again, had me called. I rode to his place immediately and referred him to that which I would desire to be referred to in the same circumstances, namely Jesus, who has redeemed us from sin and all its fruits, and how we must enjoy Him in our conscience through a right faith.

On the 25th. Just at the hour in which I was trying to awaken my listeners by showing them how uncertain it is that we will live through the new church year and enjoy this time of grace and therefore must work for our salvation with fear and trembling, [Maria] the wife of Gabriel Maurer, a daughter of the late widow Rau, died. She was buried on the 26th. The listeners were reminded of the word which had been preached yesterday. On the day before her death she received Holy Communion, with all, God grant, its fruits, from Mr. Boltzius.

On this November 26th letters from our dear friends from Ravenspurg<sup>1</sup> were handed to me and at first glance from a few words at the tops of the letters I recognized that the Lord has preserved our dear father in Christ, the dear Senior in Augsburg, and his and our dear friend and intercessor, Mr. Laminit, in life and in love toward me. May the name of our God, who loves us and often fills us with joy, be heartily praised for this.

Our dear surgeon Meyer, who is often needed also in the practice of medicine, was recently called in a very cold night to a respected planter, who is married to the widow of the late President Dr. Graham and has become deathly ill. Since then he has been constantly ill and suffers from terrible head pains, so that even his face has become considerably thinner. In this weakness he had a great longing for one of us ministers, so I went to him, spoke some words of encouragement in his suffering, and prayed

with him. May our dear God strengthen him. He is very useful to the whole community.

Our governor has had the good idea of ordering a day of thanks in the whole land to thank our merciful God for the blessing with which He has blessed the arms of our most gracious King. On this day, the first and second ministers in the town, and the third minister in Goshen, will awaken the listeners to repentance and to thanks to our heavenly Father. May the Lord prepare us all to give thanks and sacrifice of praise for the sake of Christ. Amen.

DECEMBER 1759-JANUARY 1760

I. N. J. A.<sup>1</sup>  
 PASTOR BOLTZIUS' SPECIAL  
 OFFICIAL DIARY  
 PART TWO

One thing and Another from the End of 1759  
 and the Beginning of the Year 1760

Since my dear colleague Mr. Rabenhorst has forwarded the last part of his official diary to Europe, I have found it wise to repeat one thing and another from my little book and to enter it here for the information of our praiseworthy Fathers.

1. That our wonderful, kind, and almighty God has known how to preserve on land and water (indeed, in the water) our very necessary church and school books, as well as the very safe medicines that had been sent from Halle already in July 1756, and to let them finally come safely to our hands at the end of the past church year. To be sure, I have reported that in my humble letters along with various circumstances of the divine providence that has ruled over them, first to our dearest Court Chaplain (who has had much trouble and expense with them) and soon thereafter also to our other worthy Fathers in Halle and Augsburg. However, I consider it necessary to mention this remarkable example of divine providence again here.

I was most impressed by the fact that on the following Sunday

(since we had unpacked the said important crate, which had been saved several times, on Saturday with great joy) we read, in regular order, in the prophet Isaiah 65:8 the dear words that have often been fulfilled in Ebenezer: "Destroy it not; for a blessing is in it." It was also very edifying for me and other<sup>2</sup> good souls that our dear Court Chaplain's letter to me began with the very same comforting words from Thren 3:25.<sup>3</sup> about which, after an introduction from Matthew 9:18 ff.,<sup>4</sup> I had wished to hold my sermon at the conclusion of the old church year, and, Praise God, did hold with blessing. It is also something unusual that, although many books were rather damaged in sea water and many had to be rebound in London, still, all the medicine (powder and drops) as well as the late Prof. Francke's Postills in four volumes, which I had ordered for the Appenzell governor in South Carolina,<sup>5</sup> remained entirely undamaged.

We had, to be sure, hoped that we would be rejoiced with letters and reports from our dear Halle and Augsburg, but in the packet we have received there was nothing but an old letter from my son, Gotthilf Israel.<sup>6</sup> In our daily prayers we wish good fortune to the Halle and Augsburg Jerusalems: may the Lord let them, and all whom they love, prosper.<sup>7</sup>

2. The two useful and at the same time righteous men, Master Kiefer and the locksmith Krämer, became sick at the end of the year with a dangerous fever, and at just that time they received the medicines ordered for them from Halle, which the Lord blessed for their recovery. During this sickness He has again wrought much good in their souls through His word and prayer; and these men and their wives praised God for this well-intended and blessed chastisement. This Krämer managed the minister's plantation for a year with much blessing.

3. This F. is advancing remarkably in her Christianity, is sure of her state of grace, and is experiencing in her degree what stands in verse 9 of Spener's song *Es sey Herr deine Gütigkeit*, "Now soar, my spirit, to read the name thyself, where I have long been inscribed even before I was born."<sup>8</sup> Her love for God's word, to her Saviour, and to His servants and children is pure and ardent, she walks in true poverty of spirit, is also patient under many external and internal sufferings, and she prays zealously and is a blessing for other women. She has again had a remarkable dream,

which concerns my ministry to her and other dear parishioners, that my ministry would not be without blessing for her.

Through the special providence of God I am occupied with daily contemplations of death, for which I am given a right desired opportunity not only by the frail tabernacle of my body but also by Pastor Gützen's salutary *Contemplations of Death and of Eternity for all the Days of the Year*,<sup>9</sup> which our dear Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen sent to my dear wife a year ago as a right worthy gift and a golden jewel.

4. Toward the end of the year Treutlen's three year old daughter, Gabriel Maurer's tender newborn babe, and soon thereafter his sick mother, and also George Rieser all died. With this man's death it went very rapidly. Mrs. Maurer had prepared herself in a right Christian way for her departure from this pilgrimage.

5. The righteous Salzburger Christian Riedelsperger has been sick for more than five years with a kind of dysentery and has doctored himself into poverty, but nothing has helped him. It seems that he has completely ruined himself and made the ailment incurable with the many kinds of home remedies recommended to him by all sorts of people. For several months he has been very weak in spirit and body. He has a weak wife and four unreared children, and at the same time many debts because he has not been able to practice his profession and earn anything. His only Negro, whom he baptized six years ago as a boy, is not as useful to him as he could be if he were supervised. I have relieved him of a part of his debts in order to lighten his very weak but God-trusting spirits. He is a righteous, industrious, and useful man.

6. The seventy-year-old widow Schweighofer<sup>10</sup> (mother-in-law of the above-mentioned Riedelsperger) became sick with a dangerous fever so that she and we all thought that she would now leave the world and go to her Father as a true member of Christ, for which she had a sincere longing. Yet the Lord raised her up again so that she can visit the house of God and serve the little children of her daughter (the wife of the town schoolmaster) like a Naomi.

7. After the harvest at the end of November some grown children, especially from Ebenezer and Bethany but also some from Goshen and Abercorn and one girl from Halifax, have assem-

bled to be prepared through Christian instruction for Holy Communion. They amount to the number of twenty-four. The children from Goshen and Abercorn are nearest to Mr. Rabenhorst on the minister's plantation and come to him. In this lesson I again lay as a basis Freylinghausen's lovely and clearly and simply composed *Order of Salvation*,<sup>11</sup> and I also lead them at the same time to Arnd's *Book of True Christianity* and to the *Little Garden of Paradise*.<sup>12</sup> My lesson is held after Mr. Lemke's catechetical school-hour, and thus they enjoy a double blessing of instruction. He has a thorough and clear method of catechizing. My instruction also consists of questions and answers in order to keep the children attentive. Some of them are retarded in reading, and I try to help them partly after the instruction hour and partly in the evening if the prayer hour is canceled.

In this church year the regular gospel texts are laid as the basis of edification during the Sunday morning and holy day sermons and the epistolary lessons are used in the afternoons; and these are further inculcated and applied in the repetition-, evening-, and prayer hours. Since Mr. Rabenhorst has moved out to the minister's plantation, Mr. Lemke holds the Wednesday sermon in Bethany; and the Lord has strengthened me to hold the weekday sermon in the Jerusalem and Zion Churches. In these I formerly repeated the Sunday sermon; but for some time I have been basing my sermon on the remarkable 37th Psalm that Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen sent us and afterwards on the important verse 1 Peter 4:17-18 and also on the chief contents of his letter. However, in this year I am laying as their basis the beautiful *Meditation*<sup>13</sup> in verses that our worthy Court Chaplain composed and had printed. It concerns the saving birth of Christ, first according to its humility and afterwards according to its exaltation, and I find these very sweet contemplations.

9. Our Jerusalem or Town Church has become very dilapidated underneath and too small because the congregation has increased through the addition of young people. Because we have nothing in our hands from European benefactors for the repair and enlargement of this dear house of God, the construction costs are to be taken partly from the church treasury, but the dear parishioners, among whom are orphans and widows, have made a contribution to it through a voluntary subscription.

There is, to be sure, some money here in my hands that has flowed here from German benefactions through our dear Father, Senior Urlsperger, but I am first awaiting further instructions. Because wood decays all too quickly, we should build at least the lowest part of bricks. However, we are lacking money: one can accomplish things most easily and quickly with wood. Praise be to God for what we have here.

10. Because the Cherokees belonging to Carolina have robbed, burned, and murdered people in both North and South Carolina, the governor of South Carolina and about three thousand men marched to their land in the last two months of the year to demand the murderers and to compel the nation to peace; and this expedition was very difficult and costly for the inhabitants. For every second man from sixteen to sixty years has had to march or to furnish another man in his place. Two murderers were surrendered to the Governor and a number of Indians were given as hostages until the others were surrendered. Smallpox has been raging among the Indians, and it has been brought back to Carolina and Charleston. The English are as afraid of it as of the pest and take every measure to prevent its spread. These Indians have nothing against our colony, and therefore we enjoy peace with them and the Creeks as long as God will it.

11. A prominent man in our colony told me that the Cherokee Indians have suggested our governor as a mediator between them and the Carolinians but that the governor of South Carolina will not agree but insists upon satisfaction because they had killed some white people and torn up his written address to them and thrown it into the face of the agent. The occasion of these widespread hostilities was (as is said) as follows: General F. had called a large number of Cherokee Indians to help against the French. However, because he did not use them afterwards, these poor volunteers were sent back to their country without provisions and gifts. En route many died of starvation and in order that there be no more such sad fates they shot and ate some cattle on the frontier and took some horses for their journey and killed some white people for those of their brothers who had died of hunger through the fault of the white people.

The Indians have this principle: their innocently killed broth-

ers can not rest if their blood is not avenged on their murderers or unless as many of the opposite party are killed as the Indians they killed. They are very exact in this matter of revenge, even if many years should pass without an opportunity. Now that the white people have given an occasion for the Indians' offenses, we must worry that through their expedition the Carolinians have poured oil on the fire and have made the evil even greater, in which our wise and cautious governor does not wish to get involved. May the Lord graciously avert damage and misfortune, for which the inhabitants of this land appear ripe because of their great and heavy sins. How long has our merciful Lord spared us and waited for our repentance and, indeed, sought to awaken us through His word and the reports of His judgments in the distance? Yet, how has it helped?

12. Word has come to Savannah concerning our previous governor Johann Reinolds<sup>14</sup> that the King has given him a warship of sixty guns to command and has made him commodore or commandant of a squadron of seven warships, with which he is cruising on the French coast. He is highly regarded in this country, and the highest judge, Mr. Grover, is a great friend of his.

13. The Prince of Wales has sent every missionary in America Dr. John Leland's treatise against the Deists in two octavo volumes, which has also been added to our church library.<sup>15</sup> With regard to religion, things look right lamentable among all sorts of people, still there are some who have a true fear of God and pray diligently. However, there is a lack of such ministers who can decorate the dogma of their Lord with a righteous behavior appropriate to His teaching and example.

14. Our dear God has granted our inhabitants a good harvest of rice, corn, beans, potatoes, and rye, but the wheat turned out better. Much indigo is made in Georgia and Carolina, but it has not been purchased as much by the ship captains as in past years. Rice is sold expensively, namely in the amount of nine shillings per hundredweight, but at our place we have sold it at 10 shillings. The Indian corn costs two shillings a bushel, and the beans also, and a hundredweight of wheat flour brings 18 sh. Sterling.

15. Last fall there was a severe and dangerous cough in Carolina and Georgia, from which, God be praised, we were some-

what spared. Also, in the winter in Savannah the grown children have contracted measles, which we have not felt here. God has visited some among us with fever and side-stitches, but they have soon become well again. Therefore we can still say, "The Lord hath chastened us, but he hath not given us over unto death,"<sup>16</sup> "Praised be the Lord daily. God lays a burden on us, but he helps us, too."<sup>17</sup>

## FEBRUARY 1760

At the end of last month I readied my letters to the praiseworthy Society, to our venerable Fathers in England and Germany, and also to some other worthy friends; and at the beginning of this month I sent both the originals and the copies to our Governor, who has promised to forward them to London in his crate with the next convoyed ship.<sup>1</sup> I rightfully pay close attention to such occasions because in this way our mostly heavy packets come to the hands of Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen without charge.

In the crates of books that have been mentioned several times there were also enclosed some little tractates by our reverend Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, among others a little book translated out of the English called *Precious Drops from the Rock Christ*,<sup>2</sup> whose evangelical content is sweeter than milk and honey. There were only six copies, of which I reserved three for myself in order to profit from them with those souls who have been made competent in the gospel. I have already been splendidly successful with some of them through the gracious aid of the Holy Spirit. Such little writings are a blessed means of edification because we can easily put them directly into the hands of the people and because they can easily be read and reread by them along with their many other occupations.

I lent a family in Bethany the late Professor Francke's *Instruction concerning the Possibility of true Conversion to God*,<sup>3</sup> which the woman returned to me yesterday with humble thanks. In it she had marked some passages that she found especially remarkable. I just wished that this thorough and comforting often-reprinted little book could be devoutly read by all those who imagine true conversion to be impossible or difficult or even vexing, which be-

lief derives from the deceit of the devil in us and from the world. Believing in these devils more than in God in His word was the sin of our first parents.

A young person from the third Swabian transport was thrown against a tree by his horse, and he was badly damaged in his face and neck.<sup>4</sup> Yet divine goodness and forbearance so ruled over him that he did not lose his young life or even a limb in this very severe and dangerous accident. I arranged my message from God's word according to his spiritual and physical condition and prayed together with his master and mistress with and for him. He is learning his trade from the blacksmith Faul and is a well-meaning and honest youth, who loves God's word and good opportunity for edification. I am planning to lend him the previously mentioned thorough and right comprehensively arranged *Instruction Concerning the Possibility of True Conversion*. The lady of the house is an upright lover of the Lord Jesus, and the husband is complaisant.

A.'s wife is advancing noticeably in good and is applying all possible diligence to her children's souls in hearing and contemplating God's word and with industrious practice of prayer. She has a fine gift of being edifying for her neighbors.

On the 16th of February I received the Charleston newspaper in which the governor there has announced to the Assembly and also to all the inhabitants what sad reports have come to him unexpectedly from the nation of the Cherokees, since he thought he had made a lasting peace with them. Soon after his return with his army, which consists of English soldiers and the local militia, they tried to capture Fort Prince George with cunning and to free with force their compatriots who are in it as extradited murderers and hostages. However, since they did not succeed in this because of the caution of the commanding officer, they murdered an English merchant in the neighborhood, who traded with them, and all his housemates and servants and took possession of all his goods. Yet they did not stop at that, they killed or drove away many other white people in the outlying plantations and thus swiftly and unexpectedly made many people miserable all at once.

It is to be feared that they have overrun Fort Loudoun<sup>5</sup> with its garrison of two hundred men. In Georgia, about forty miles

above Augusta, they have already begun to kill or drive away white people. Therefore almost everyone up there is thinking of flight or building forts. They are now entering battle on horseback, which has never been heard of or seen before. In Carolina the people are awaiting many soldiers from General Amherst to fight against these hostile Indians, and the Assembly is making all preparations for preventing the wickedness and cruelty of these savages and to make the inhabitants safe.

Our Governor has hastily sent up the Rangers, as many as have been recruited, for the defense of the frontier of this colony; and as many arrangements as possible are being made by the Assembly for the repair of the forts. A tax of two shillings six pence has been laid on every Negro and every hundred acres of land, etc.; and we hope it will go no further and that the poor people will not be burdened with higher taxes or even with a military campaign and expedition as in Carolina. Our worn-out people would not be able to stand this. God does not try us beyond our means, and He hears the prayers of the miserable in their plight.<sup>6</sup>

We do not know what it means that so many Creek Indians, who have always been our friends up until now, have come down from their villages with their wives and children and have camped now and then in our forests. Our Governor has promised 5 £ Sterling to both the Creek and the Chickasaw Indians for each and every Cherokee Indian if they deliver the cranium along with the hair that they pull from the defeated enemy.<sup>7</sup> God is still chastising the Carolinians with another rod, namely, with smallpox, which has broken out in Charleston and other places. Most people try to prevent its harm with inoculations or with a powder prepared with mercury. No one thinks of repentance and conversion as the only always-proven means *curing & praeservando*,<sup>8</sup> although Holy Scripture speaks a great deal about it in verses and examples. Smallpox has brought the Carolinian soldiers back to Carolina and Charleston from their expedition, and this is a distressing sign.

For various reasons an Indian war is considered to be a very dangerous war. They do not fight for land and material advantages but from revenge and bloodthirstiness. They treat their enemies most mercilessly and cruelly, especially the prisoners, and put the entire country into danger so that no one can travel

safely or dwell on his plantation at any distance from a town or fortress, for they lurk like hunters behind trees, unnoticed shoot people like game, and they also come so stealthily at night to do harm that there is no escape.

It is said that the French have their commissioners among all the Indians belonging to Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia and have left nothing undone in inciting them against the English. To this the last South Carolina expedition has contributed much against the now so very incited Cherokee Indians. Nevertheless, in Charleston the people have highly praised the Governor's actions; and upon his return he has received and accepted the most obliging congratulations from the local society.

In Augusta and surrounding areas the planters and traders no longer feel safe even though there is a garrison of English soldiers there, rather they are fleeing by water in large boats to Savannah with their families. In these sad circumstances I remembered, to the great comfort of my heart, the dear verse Psalms 68:2-4, as I spelled Mr. Lemke in the catechistical school hour with great pleasure. Along with other select Bible verses it has been sent to me printed in big letters on quarto sheets in large numbers. I was especially aroused to give every pupil and every child preparing for Holy Communion such a verse to take home for their parents and housemates.

With the words of the prayer "As smoke is driven away, so drive them away" I compared the remarkable words in Isaiah 7:4 "Take heed and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint-hearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands." When, on the same day, I came into a living room, I found that they had fastened to the door not only the previously mentioned verse "May God arise so that His enemies"<sup>9</sup> but also another one in the same format, letters, and content, namely, Isaiah 8:9-10, "Be angry, ye peoples, and take flight," etc.<sup>10</sup>

Oh, may the Lord strengthen all his children among us in their faith, and through faith prayer. Then it will be a pleasure for the Lord, our merciful, almighty, and all-wisest God of the covenant, to plant us further in this land loyally and from all His heart and with all His soul. The intercession of so many believing servants and children of God in Europe comes incomparably to our help. God be praised that our dear Fathers are still alive and

concerned for our salvation! A pious woman who is seeking God seriously and joyfully came to me with her three children and showed me the song *Nimm von uns Herr, du treuer Gott, die schwere Strafe*, etc. She wished that it could be sung diligently along with *Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich*, etc. in these perilous times. She had shown it to several people for this purpose.

The distressing news from the warlike and bloodthirsty actions of the Cherokee Indians against the inhabitants of our and the neighboring colony are continuing and are becoming more and more frightful, so people are thinking of building fortresses or fleeing. It appears very unusual and no good sign that the Creek Indians, who are still supposed to be our best friends, have moved down in great numbers from their land into our forests at the time that they are accustomed to go on their hunt. They also let us hear threatening words.

In the two weekday sermons in town and on the plantations I showed my listeners from God's word, especially from the prophet Jeremiah, how they should behave in a Christian way in these perilous and distressing times and how they should apply the sad reports about the divine judgments that have broken out over our land and the neighboring colony according to the will of God that is revealed in His word. They should neither ignore the divine judgments nor trust in security,<sup>11</sup> nor should they trust in man and in human arms or be daunted or pusillanimous because of a lack of human measures for the defense of the country. Rather they should apply them to a true, thorough, and heart-felt conversion to God, in which way we shall become His allies, friends, and children and be able to pray and be heard. In addition we can take our little babbling children and experience with certainty what is promised in Psalms 8:3, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger,"<sup>12</sup> of which nature the Indians surely are.

Meanwhile I remembered the lovely story of the power of children's prayers for averting the danger of war in Luther's *Table Talk*, Part I, Chapter 17 "Of Prayer," p. 17 (Salfeld Edition). Because remarkable examples are accustomed to make a good impression on good spirits and incite them to imitation, I presented very simply to my dear listeners what my son reported in

his letter that arrived here three months ago about the edifying conduct of the church and children of God in our dear Halle and in the institutions there. I shall quote his words here simply:

Dr. Francke is continuing the so-called singing hour twice each week without interruption. On Sundays a prayer meeting has now been established here at the Orphanage from eight to nine o'clock in the evening in order to humbly implore God for His gracious help in these very confused times. I consider myself obliged in many ways to appear before God in this prayer meeting without fail in order to pray to Him in this hour sanctified by Him for all of Christendom as well as for my dear Ebenezer in particular. How glorious it is when so many people unite in various places even afar before the countenance of our God and present to Him the just concerns of His Zion. Ebenezer has diligent intercessors here, and I know that Ebenezer is thinking of us before the Lord. In these perilous times this is the best military armament in which the children of God, as if in closed ranks, can go against their enemies under the command of the best, the wisest, and surely victorious General.

We have strong enemies from within. About that St. Paul says very nicely in Ephesians 6:10-17 how one should meet them if one wishes to win a sure victory. If this order were obeyed by all men so that these enemies were first subdued, then it would not be necessary to deal with the others, for God can help. One can rightly say here "It is because of your own sinful guilt that you are so flogged." May God make me and all others into such brave warriors of Jesus Christ!.

I also recommend these weapons to my dear Ebenezer as the last and safest, for God will surely help and make all doubt of disbelief to naught. He wishes to treat us in such a way that matters will go as are salutary.<sup>13</sup> This whole song is full of pith and strength. How comforting is the eighth verse "God's hand are without end, His might hath no limit. If it is difficult and seems dangerous, nothing is too much for your God."<sup>14</sup> I send<sup>15</sup> this hymn to you, dearest parents, and to all members of the congregation who can apply it to themselves and have learned to recognize the fatherly heart of God. Dr. Francke

had this song sung in the singing hour on the last day of the church year, just when the danger seemed greatest. God, who hath helped so far, will continue to help: His name is a fortress firm (even in the perils of war), the just man runs to it and is surely protected.

When, during a visit to a woman in childbed, the conversation turned to the present dangers of war, during which people flee past our place to safety in Savannah, a pious old widow told us, to the strengthening of my faith and I hope of the other house-mates present, what she had read to her comfort in the story of Gideon, who appeared to his enemies as a roasted barley bread but still defeated a large army with few people through the power and assistance of the Lord.<sup>16</sup> Similarly she cited from Judith, Chapter 5, what a remarkable thing is written about the righteous and merciful conduct toward the Israelites. To be sure, He punished their sins, yet He mightily protected and blessed them when they had submitted to His command through the renewal of the covenant.<sup>17</sup>

Returning home, I opened the Bible to that chapter and found in it right strong and comforting expressions, which, however seemed so unbelievable and absurd to the general Holofernes as they now do to unbelieving so-called Christians. For example, in verses 14 and 15 God fought for them and won. No one could harm this nation, unless it deviated from the commands of the Lord its God. However, as often as they regretted that they had deviated from the commands of their God, the Lord of heaven again gave them victory against their enemies (v. 19); and all went well with them as long as they did not sin against their God. For their God hates injustice, and so forth to v. 23.

Distressing news has come down here from Savannah Town or New Windsor (six English miles below Augusta in Carolina) that the Appenzeller governor Tobler's oldest son and two Negroes were shot by Indians on or near their plantation. As a result, fear in Savannah has so increased that the prominent people there wish to seek safety in Charleston.<sup>18</sup> Also, an embargo has been laid on the ships at Savannah and Charleston. The inhabitants from Bethany to Mount Pleasant form a special company of militia and have now had to draw lots to see who must take the field

against the Indians in case of emergency. God's providence has arranged things so graciously for them that the lot fell to only four men from Bethany (indeed, to those who had already been rangers or soldiers) and moreover only to Englishmen and Irishmen.<sup>19</sup> Today, the 23rd, the men in Savannah assembled and drew lots. Every third man in each company must let himself be used against the Indians, the remaining must defend their homes. Night patrols are now being organized.

The shoemaker [Martin] Rheinländer has taken on a poor English child to raise, who is seven years old and not yet baptized. She is to be baptized tomorrow in Bethany, where the shoemaker lives, by colleague Lemke, who is to preach there. His wife (the widow Kalcher's daughter)<sup>20</sup> taught this little girls some Bible verses, prayers, and the baptismal covenant, as the children in our schools pray it. She can already speak German.

On this Invocavit Sunday after the afternoon service the children who like to pray and love God's word have come again to my study, from which they have been prevented all winter long partly because of the short days and the uncomfortable weather and partly because of my indisposition. I distributed to them those little verses which the worthy and blessed friend of children, the late Pastor Sommer, printed in his so-called *Centifolios* for the edification of children and which I had requested in my letters to Prof. Dr. Francke.<sup>21</sup>

Every child read his little verse aloud, then I learned to my joy that most of them treated of the great and splendid value of prayer (even in time of need); and this agreed very beautifully with what I told my dear listeners this morning for their encouragement about the name of Invocavit Sunday and the words of the 91st Psalm "He shall call upon me, and I will answer him." It was the same with the dear verses and charming examples that stand under the date of today, the 24th, in Bogatzky's *Little Treasure Chest*.<sup>22</sup> Prayer, tears, and devout contemplation of divine promises of grace should be our weapons against our enemies even in the perilous times.

Today, to my great astonishment, I received a letter from Augusta from an officer of the Rangers, to whom I had sent an edifying little book some weeks ago for him and his people. In it I was asked to call upon our dear God for His blessing on our

King's weapons. He added: "This region of the world is full of barbaric and cruel murderers, but through the help of God we do not doubt that we will eradicate them root and branch. Many Indians wish to help us."

From Mr. Ottolenghe in Savannah I received an edifying letter in which he greatly lamented the spreading sins of ingratitude, lack of love, cunning, hypocrisy, injustice, falsehood, lies, etc.; and he lamented that we are ready for divine judgments like the inhabitants before the flood.

Mrs. Birk, the late Kalcher's oldest daughter, has safely borne a little son on this Invocait Sunday.<sup>23</sup> Her pious mother, who prays trustingly and diligently, is still alive and is her true nurse. The pious widows among us give great comfort to understanding people because their prayers are especially pleasing to the Lord in this dangerous time. "He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer."<sup>24</sup> (Isaiah 66:2). A pious housewife told me that a short time ago a great number of Indians came into her yard and surrounded her husband, who was working. He was not afraid, rather he kept working and spoke comfortingly to her. She had comforted herself with the words she had read recently in Proverbs 10:24 "The fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him: but the desire of the righteous shall be granted."

At the muster today, the 25th of February, the men of Ebenezer were selected by lot to move out against the Indians who are lurking around here, just as the men in the upper part of Bethany had been chosen last week and as those of Savannah, Goshen, and other surrounding places had been chosen two days ago.

This rather bearable arrangement has been made: twenty men, namely ten from the company in Bethany and ten from the Ebenezer company will patrol our entire district for fourteen days in a row under a senior officer and some subalterns and thus serve as reconnaissance soldiers. After two weeks it is the turn of twenty others, who have also been chosen already, unless our dear God gives us peace (as we hope). No one is excepted from this reconnoitering and patrolling, not even the judges. Indeed, in Savannah the lot for patrolling in the first fourteen days is said to have fallen on the pastor.

Because the blind and wicked H.<sup>25</sup> hinders me more than helps me in my conversations with his sick and salvation-hungry wife and well-behaved children and considers praying on one's knees and with one's own words without a book to be hypocrisy, I traveled to them today, since this man was at the muster, and this redounded to my and their edification.

I had some business with Master Kieffer, at which opportunity he showed me the law for establishing the militia, especially the article in which each and every inhabitant is ordered at a penalty of 5 £ Sterling to march out against the enemy in case of a rebellion or invasion and take the field and that no one except the governor, his counselors, the Assembly or members of Parliament, the pilots, and owners of public ferries, consequently, not even the ministers. By virtue of this law we ministers were in the lottery, but through God's guidance it did not fall on me and Mr. Lemke. It did, however, fall on Mr. Rabenhorst, but afterwards they took someone else in his place. Likewise they overlooked the judges and took other men by lot in their place. Still, if anyone can not or will not go along, he can send another in his place, which does not cost very much since each one who marches receives six pence daily from the public for food. Everyone is free to march on foot or on horseback.

During the conversation Kieffer's youngest little four-year-old daughter was standing in front of us and finally asked her father in a loving way whether she could recite a little verse for me. When I was glad to hear it, she said devoutly and clearly with folded hands "God is no bear or lion that just yearns for blood. His heart is accustomed to pure loyalty and gentleness. God has a fatherly love. Our sorrow sorrows Him, etc."<sup>26</sup> I recommended to her this little verse, "Out of the mouthes of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength,"<sup>27</sup> which her mother was to teach her.

I also sent her by her sister in school a lovely colored verse of comfort, Psalms 64:10, printed on a quarto sheet, which I am planning to distribute shortly in order to awaken and strengthen faith in these perilous times. Our dear listeners, especially those who have to march out, are diligently admonished to arm and protect themselves like Christ and all His believing members and followers according to the content of the recent gospel Matthew

4:1 ff. Then they can appropriate to their own use the promise of John 1:5. Another little girl of the same age recited to me before the prayer with her parents the comforting verse Joel 2:21, "Fear not, O land, etc."

With the children in the preparation hour for Holy Communion I completed the *Order of Salvation*, and I also instilled in them again the chief teachings through repetition. Then I began to contemplate the very well arranged *Conspectus* of the chief articles of the Christian faith with the attached verses of proof.<sup>28</sup> May our merciful God bless this for Christ's sake. While contemplating the characteristics of God, I was again blessed by the hymn *O meine Seele, erhebe dich, mit Andacht zu betrachten*. I had read this with the children and prayed the important first prayer in Arnd's *Garden of Paradise* concerning the true recognition of God.<sup>29</sup>

At the conclusion of the preparation hour we pray from it such prayers as suit the contemplated matter or the present time. Colleague Rabenhorst laid the catechism as his basis with his children, who are mostly from Goshen and Abercorn. At the same time he made use of the *Explanation* of the late Inspector Hofmann of Halle, which he highly praises.<sup>30</sup> I do not remember ever having seen this *Explanation*. It came to our hands in the last crate among other lovely books, as did Mr. von Bogatzky's *Christian House School*, which is right complete, thorough, and edifying explanation of the catechism.<sup>31</sup>

At the end of this month I still have a few points to note. 1) that many Englishmen have fled here with their families by land and water from their plantations above Halifax and would like to remain here if there were any dwellings. They are very much afraid of the Indians, who are roaming in the forest both in Carolina and Georgia. 2) that on 28 February ten men from Ebenezer and the same number from Bethany marched out together under a captain and a sergeant to patrol the forest of our district. Before they marched out, they attended the preaching of the divine word and prayer in the town church, in which the regular weekday sermon was held.

3) that our dear God has again visited our righteous miller Zimmerebner with a burning fever, because of which he called me to him. I found him very weak in body but strong and comforted in faith. He is a man greatly loved in and outside of our

community, and his death would be mourned by everyone, especially by his dear godchildren, of which there is a rather large number. For the people often ask him to be sponsor because he prays diligently and is an exemplary Christian.

4) I traveled to the widow Zittrauer, whose second son has already lain for a long time with a dangerous fever and cough. Sometimes he would like to die, but sometimes he wishes to remain with his mother because she would have no one to help her in her housework when the older brother is in the forest. He is a fine, well-behaved, and promising boy. 5) Wicked people have made false paper money, indeed, whole pounds and 10 shilling notes, through which I have suffered some loss despite all precautions taken. The notes are engraved so accurately and the signatures under them so well copied that we must marvel at the skill of the deceiver (who has not yet been caught). I close this section of the diary with my hourly sigh:

“What I have lived, graciously cover over; what I still shall live, mayest Thou effect and rule.”<sup>32</sup>

### M A R C H 1 7 6 0

Young Schweighofer's wife (Johann Flerl's daughter) bore a little son, who was baptized by Pastor Rabenhorst on the Minister's plantation. Two boys from Goshen have been sent to Ebenezer by their parents for the period of their preparation and have enjoyed their instruction in the church and school and in my house to the noticeable improvement of the other children.<sup>1</sup> They are now to be confirmed with the other boys and girls at our Remembrance and Thanksgiving Day ceremony. May the Lord grant His grace and blessing to this. May He also preserve for us the noble peace during this month and let us experience the beautiful and edifying things that are said about the first Christians in Acts 9:31.

On Reminiscere Sunday it was announced to the congregation that next Saturday, the 8th of March, our Remembrance and Thanksgiving ceremony (which will now be our 27th) will be celebrated in both churches. In the afternoon some children will be publicly examined and confirmed, and on the following Oculi Sunday they will be admitted to Holy Communion with the con-

gregation for the first time.

Among other remarkable Bible verses printed in large letters, we recently received the one from Halle that is taken from Psalms 64:9-10 and is especially suited to our time, in which the Lord has done such great things for the protection of His church and is now strengthening our faith mightily. From word to word it reads thus: "All men who see it will say, God hath done that, and will see that it is his work. The righteous will rejoice in the Lord and trust in him, and all pious hearts will glory in it."<sup>2</sup> After the morning sermon I distributed this very comforting and edifying verse to those who came to pray in my house, and I shall continue in this at every given opportunity. After the catechization I again distributed little verses in my study with profit.

Our most worthy Lords von N.N. have kindly ordered in their letter which arrived here in the month of November that £ 9.12.11 Sterling be distributed, and this has been gradually done. Thus our loyal God is still continuing to show us spiritual and material benefactions from near and far and to awaken us through His goodness (to which belong His patience and forbearance) to repentance and to the praise of His great name and also to hearty intercession for our most worthy benefactors. The wood for repairing and enlarging Jerusalem Church is now prepared and has been brought up in two wagons; and I leave it up to divine providence as to when and how the actual construction will take place. During the time of war He protected both churches for us, and now He has again granted peace. We might well remember this experience for the strengthening of our faith in this future and necessary construction in this dangerous and distressing time.

I now praise the Lord my God with all my heart both privately and publicly for His right remarkable assistance that He has so splendidly granted me in the last four months for holding the preparation lessons. At the beginning I was rather weak from fever and discharges from my head, but the Lord has always been my vital power and has done for me, unworthy man, exceeding abundantly above all that I have been able to ask or to understand.<sup>3</sup> He has also let me work not in vain with the children, and this has redounded to especial joy and refreshment.

On the fourth of March we colleagues had an intimate and

pleasant conference, which was concluded (as is always done) with a sincere prayer on bended knee. I informed these dear fellow ministers what the children of both sexes are like and said they appear to be ready to be confirmed. Two boys of our congregation who live near the minister's plantation have gone to Pastor Rabenhorst for their preparation, but he cannot recommend them for confirmation.

God is visiting the shoemaker W. and his wife<sup>4</sup> with lasting physical weakness, but this is redounding to the salvation of their souls. They are righteous people, they pray diligently for themselves and others, they sincerely love God's word and the holy sacraments, and they are leading an exemplary life. Whenever I come to them, I receive much edification from and with them. He knows that the Lord has often heard his prayer right noticeably, and about this he told me a right remarkable case. I have made a treasure chest from the lovely childlike verses and little rhymes that I received from Pastor Sommer for the little children to select from; and when W. was in my study it came to pass that I drew outspare some for his wife and only child that dealt with the true nature and great usefulness of prayer, and this impressed and awakened both him and me.

During preparation for Holy Communion the orphaned boy, F.L.,<sup>5</sup> did not behave very properly toward his pious master, who was also his godfather, and did not show himself to be very diligent in reading and learning the *Order of Salvation* as I had wished and hoped; and therefore I excluded him from the number of those to be confirmed. However, because he humbled himself and regretted and apologized for his disobedience and lazy behavior and also promised improvement with hand and mouth, he will be admitted to confirmation and Holy Communion along with his sister, who is more than two years younger than he. May the Lord grant His blessings to him and the other dear children who have given me great joy through their love for the divine word, attentiveness, and diligence.

The late Caspar Hirschmann's son from Halifax traveled back home two weeks ago during the disquiet caused by the Indians with the promise to return down here in a few days to continue his instruction and to come to confirmation. However, he did not come, and I do not know the reason why. On this Remem-

brance and Thanksgiving ceremony, which we have again experienced through the grace of God (it was Saturday, the 8th of March) eleven grown children were confirmed publicly before the congregation after they had attested their faith and solemnly renewed their baptismal covenant.

Johann Reiter,<sup>6</sup> fourteen years old, was born in Ebenezer. His father died here, his mother married the Salzburger Bacher and lives on their plantation in Goshen.

Christian Israel Leimberger, fourteen years old, the only son of a still living Salzburger.

J. Friedrich Lackner, sixteen years old, was born in Ebenezer. His father and mother died on their plantation in Goshen.

Maria Margaretha Lackner, his sister, fourteen years old, born here.

Jacob Lange from Langenau, fifteen years old, an orphan without father or mother.

Johann Wachter, sixteen years old, born in Savannah. His father, a Swiss, died in Savannah. His mother lives with her second husband in Goshen.

Johann Adam Freyeremuth, fifteen years old, born in Weyer in Nassau.

Elisabeth Reiter, fourteen years old, Dorothea Reiter, daughters of a Salzburger still living here.

Christina Mackh, sixteen years old, from Langenau. Her father lives here in Bethany but the mother is dead.

Elisabetha Gress, fifteen years old, from Langenau. Her father and mother live here in Bethany.

Our diary has previously reported how the confirmation of our children is conducted. During this ceremony those who have been confirmed here in former times, which amount to a large number, are also awakened again and encouraged to fulfil their vows. Because the entire congregation will be together tomorrow, Oculi Sunday, in the town church to hold Holy Communion, our remembrance and Thanksgiving service is being held today both in the town church and in the plantation church, but the children have been confirmed in the town or Jerusalem Church.

I am planning to do tomorrow the just mentioned encouragement and admonition for those formerly confirmed, God will-

ing, using Isaiah 5:3-4 and Hebrews 6:7-8, when, after the sermon and before holding Holy Communion (as is always done), I try to speak to the hearts of the children who are to take Holy Communion with the congregation for the first time. For their future memory I will give each and every one of them a letter from the golden *A.B.C.*, which is printed on the *Order of Salvation*.<sup>7</sup> This time it is the last eleven letters from M. to Z. The remaining children of our congregation who, for good reasons could not be admitted to confirmation, have hope for it in a few months if they catch up in their study and receive a good mark from their parents and superiors.

Just as, a few days ago, I had begun to distribute to the pious parishioners who are thirsting for God's word the verses from Psalms 64:10-11 that are printed on quarto pages, I have continued this in this Remembrance and Thanksgiving service in my house prayer hour to the great joy and edification of the dear people, who had assembled in a large number. At the same time I applied the content of these verses briefly to our times, with necessary admonition to guard ourselves against very common sins so that, when we are protected against our enemies and remain at peace, we do not attribute God's work to men or to other intermediary causes.

The reports that are coming in from Augusta and Carolina sound better than previously, and it appears that God will spare us from an Indian war if the Indians are not exasperated again by too severe a demand for satisfaction and driven to take arms. Because of the smallpox that is raging in Charleston there is little communication between Charleston and Savannah. The boats and other vessels that come here from there must keep quarantine for ten days at sea by the lighthouse; and the letters and packets that are to be brought from there to Savannah must first be *gebehet*<sup>8</sup> and smoked at the lighthouse.

On this Oculi Sunday we had 173 communicants in addition to the eleven children confirmed yesterday, a number of dear people the likes of which we have never had at one time at the Lord's table in Ebenezer. This day has been a day full of blessings, of which I would gladly tell the chief details if I did not have to avoid lengthiness and spare my weak eye. Perhaps colleague

Rabenhorst will do it in the official diary.<sup>9</sup> Shortly before the end of Holy Communion a bench with the people sitting on it broke through the rotten floor, but, thank God, no one was injured. I hope this new accident will motivate the congregation and its vestrymen, the sooner the better, to repair and enlarge the church, for which most of the lumber is already lying by the church.

Yesterday in the late afternoon there was noisy shooting because the court had come to town, and it was as if the Indians were doing damage in Bethany. The men, who hurried here at once with their muskets, brought back the news that everything was calm, an ill-bred man had just made a false alarm. If anyone among us trusts in the Lord according to Proverbs 3:5, fears Him according to v. 6, and honors Him according to v. 9, he can surely take comfort in the promise, even in this dangerous time, which is given to the faithful in the said 3rd chapter, vv. 21-26, and which comforted me last night.

Among other things the present tribulations are useful in driving honest souls among us into earnest prayer and to the word of God, of which I could give pleasant details if allowed by my weak eye, which I must spare from reading and writing. It is also becoming apparent what is concealed in the human heart. It appears that, if I abuse my eye a bit with reading and writing, the flows rise to my head and I get a kind of catarrh that also troubles my eyes.

A person who loves Jesus asked me with tears of love where the song is to be found, and how it begins, in which the verse stands: "Oh that I have recognized Thee so late," etc.<sup>10</sup> When I looked it up and showed it to her, she was very happy. After the children are confirmed and I can no longer hold a preparation hour, I am gaining more time to visit the souls who are thirsting for edification and prayer, for which I am often being asked. Our former schoolmaster Johann Adam Treutlen, who has been storekeeper for a merchant in Savannah for the past year, has had a lovely and comfortable house built, which he had consecrated today, the 11th of March, with God's word and prayer. He had invited many neighbors, and our merciful God showed me and them much edification from His word, song, and prayer.

The men who have had to patrol in our district on the order

of the authorities have come back home again safely, without having seen any of the hostile Indians. We have prayed for them publicly and privately, and now we will praise the Lord for them and with them. Now another twenty men must march from Ebenezer and Bethany under a commissioned officer.

Now that the writing of the official diary has fallen to me again, I will now begin in the name of the Lord to note briefly from day to day the most important points that have become known to me from the realm of nature, from civil life, and from the realm of the grace of God in our place and elsewhere, because since November of last year I have reported only this and that. May God also strengthen me in this work that has been so pleasant for me, and He will do so.

I. N. J. A.<sup>11</sup>

Pastor Boltzius' Regular Diary

from the 13th of March 1760 to the End of the Same Year

Thursday, the 13th of March. It is reported in the newspapers from New York and Pennsylvania that the winter there and in the neighboring northern colonies has been so severe and hard that several ships have been damaged and ruined by ice. Also in our climate there has been a more severe and lasting cold this winter than ever before, but it has not done the least damage to the winter crops. They stand as beautiful everywhere as anyone could wish. For several weeks we have had the most pleasant and fruitful spring weather, because of which the mulberry leaves have sprouted earlier than usual, and the young silk worms are producing seeds, against the wishes of the people, who still fear a hard freeze. As a result, for the last eight days everybody has been busy making silk, from which the poor worn-out people earn their largest income so long as so good a price is given for it, namely 3 shillings 3 pence for a pound of cocoons.

Because of the tight measurement of our salaries in this expensive land, my wife and her sister, Mrs. Lemke, have had to take up this business.<sup>12</sup> However, if sometime our rich God of Blessing grants a moderate increase, it would be less necessary, especially since the health of my wife, who is very weak even without it, has again been gravely affected by this work, which is attended with

much difficulty and uncertainty in this climate both day and night because of the inconstant weather and the many creeping and flying insects.

The men who drew lots for patrolling for two weeks in the forests are having a hard time because they are being kept from their farming and silk work. Such patrolling is to be continued for three whole months by order of the authorities. May the Lord look upon this! Only the men of our district are burdened by this.

Recently the people in Bethany have allotted only 20 men and have remained very much spared, but in the future they will have to allot 40 men, when most of them will probably have to march on the patrol, unless meanwhile the authorities give some relief at the representation and request made by the community.

A few days ago our dear God especially blessed in my heart the two verses: Psalms 119:9, "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his ways?," and Genesis 17:1, "I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect." These were from the late Dr. Lange's address to the youth in the orphanage in Potsdam, which is found in his *Light of David and Solomon*.<sup>13</sup> I made use of these today in the weekday service of the departing patrol and other assembled men, women, boys, and girls, during which the Lord strengthened me noticeably. This afternoon in the Jerusalem Church I baptized three English children, one of two years, the second of one year, and the third of four months. They are fleeing from Halifax because of the Indians.

Johann Schneider reported that his old step-mother Elisabeth Schneider, the sister of the carpenter Georg Sanftleben, died this morning and is to be buried tomorrow in Christian fashion in the plantation cemetery. She loved God's word, church, ministry, and Holy Communion and made diligent use of these means of grace and divine order; and she also gladly accepted private warnings and admonitions. Some weaknesses were also connected with her age, yet these surely did not hurt her in her salvation, since she always desired to be found in Jesus for the sake of His merit and intercession. She was sick for only four days, but she had been ailing for a long time like old and frail people. She was some sixty years old.

Friday, the 14th of March. In the Charleston newspapers of the

middle of last month it is reported that smallpox is raging there and that two or three thousand people have wished to be inoculated with the pox because people consider this method a safe means to survive this infectious and dangerous disease all the more easily and with less danger. One argued greatly against inoculating such a great multitude in one week because the air might become infected all at once because of many patients and because many might find death instead of recovery through lack of cautious care and diet. The doctors in this country get rich if only they show skill and diligence.

In an English calendar printed in Charleston some right remarkable recipes have been printed, through which means deep rooted sicknesses resulting from spoiled blood (also cancer) can be cured, for which the government in Charleston has ordered the inventor 3,000 £ of their money, or about 429 £ Sterling as a reward. Similarly in the calendar are found some proven means against the dangerous and formerly fatal bite of the very harmful rattlesnake and against poisoning, or if the Negroes give poison to their masters or mistresses (as is often done), from which they die a long and miserable death. The inventors of this cure are two Negroes, Caesar and Samson, who have received their freedom and an annual reward from the said government. When something useful is invented in the medical or economic market, it is announced to the public as soon as it has been found proven.

In the said calendar there is also Dr. John Tennent's report in the Virginia newspapers about seneca snakeroot with instructions how to cure true side-stitches with it. The instructions are very detailed and cautiously arranged. This very useful root, whose characteristics and manifold sure and valuable use was first discovered by the said Dr. Tennent, has already been for sale in Charleston.

This afternoon the old widow Schneider was buried in the Zion Church cemetery, and I edified myself and the pallbearers from the dear words of Isaiah 43:24-25: "Thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities," etc. From them we can recognize, as in a double mirror, the magnitude and abomination of our sins and the magnitude and ardent love of Christ. In the afternoon Martin Lackner's third well-behaved and promising little son of ten

and a half years was buried in the town cemetery, to our edification. In the funeral sermon we contemplated the dear words of Psalms 36:8-10: "How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God,"<sup>14</sup> These treated of the glorious witnesses of the dear and marvellous goodness of God, which the righteous can enjoy already in the house of God on earth but fully and eternally only in the house of the Father in heaven.

The child died after a short but violent and painful hot fever and epileptic fits yesterday evening one hour after my prayer with and for him and with the sorrowing parents. He was a friendly, humble child, in whom the Holy Ghost had begun and has now completed its work of mercy. Already at the beginning he declared to his mother that he would gladly die and go to his Saviour, yet he also revealed that he was not yet sure that he would be saved. However, he folded his weak hands and raised them up to Him; and that is the way it must have been in his heart even though he could not say it with his mouth because of the violence of his sickness.

Sunday, the 15th of March. Today was certainly a blessed day for me. As often as our merciful God lets me experience such days again I will spend them with prayer, intercession, and thanks with my family and with those listeners to whom my office brings me. It is the birthday of our most worthy Father, our dear Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen. May our loyal Saviour hear our poor prayer for him, which is based on His merits and intercession, and may He hear his prayer for us so that we can enjoy, to His everlasting praise, the mercy that he will request for us on this day of grace and salvation in our future pilgrimage and especially in the house of the Father. For Him I took the following (p. 43) from my treasure chest,<sup>15</sup> which I composed for our dear children and parishioners with childlike spirits. It is Jesus who extends help, that is why He is called the Power. "Forsake me not, O Lord: O my God, be not far from me, Make haste to help me, O Lord my salvation." Psalms 38:21-22.

In the evening prayer hour it happened to my great pleasure that we sang together the last part of the instructive and edifying hymn that we began a few days ago: *Lobe, lobe, meine Seele, Den der heisst Herr Zebaoth*, etc. I applied especially the last verse with sincere and ardent wishes for this our dear Father, benefactor, and

intercessor: "Now fare forth, Lord, Lord, and bless Thy servant's house. Pour out Thy abundance and rein streams of love."<sup>16</sup> Let resound in his heart the words: "I will be with thee," etc.

At the immediately preceding verse I again remembered freshly and vividly the many, very many, indeed innumerable many spiritual and physical benefactions that the Lord of Hosts has shown to me unworthy person in my whole life of now more than fifty-six years and especially more than twenty-six years through this His dear and most blessed instrument and through my other two most worthy Fathers in Halle and Augsburg.<sup>17</sup> May He graciously reward you<sup>18</sup> richly both here and there and let you serve me daily to a forceful awakening to be grateful to God and man for it.

Laetare Sunday, the 16th of March. Yesterday I received from both Pastor Zubly in Savannah and from his father-in-law Johann Tobler two pleasant letters, which were, however, rather old. The first enclosed in his letter two verses that pleased me greatly, namely Proverbs 22:3 and Lamentations 3:20. Mr. Tobler reports receiving the books ordered from Halle and attests a great delight in the late Prof. Francke's books of sermons and also in the postills of the late Pastor Rieger, from which he is accustomed to read to the Germans of his district on Sundays. He also wished to have Mr. Francke's penitence sermons, for which I had already written on his behalf.<sup>19</sup>

Monday, the 17th of March. Master Kiefer, the captain of our local militia, has been asked by our inhabitants to ask the Governor and the authorities of the militia to reduce the burdensome patrolling for the poor people of our place (to which Bethany also belongs) because they would otherwise miss the planting season and their silk work with great harm to their household economies. The people in other districts are spared this burden; why not ours, too? It appears, however, that he has not accomplished much with his presentation and intercession, as future times will tell.

In the last weekday sermon, at the words "I am the almighty all-satisfying God,"<sup>20</sup> I comforted them by saying that, if they go about their tasks, keep to God's words, and walk before His countenance as partakers of His covenant and favor in true fear of the Lord, this almighty and all-satisfying God will have enough

means and ways to care for them and to protect them from all harm. They are obedient to the official ordinances in faith, and thus they are doing a good work in faith, which the Lord will not leave in His time or in blessed eternity and will therefore have everything abundantly that they have had to neglect here. God tries us in many ways so that the innermost part of the heart is revealed.

Two days ago Mr. Ottolenghe sent me word that our Governor will travel to London in ten days, and Master Kieffer brings the report that he is selling his household goods secretly, from which people conclude that he will not come back as governor. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the Charleston newspaper from the end of February of this year reports that the King in London has nominated Mr. Wright,<sup>21</sup> the agent for South Carolina affairs, as governor. May God let this change redound to the good of the country!

In the said newspaper are all sorts of distressing reports from England and Germany as well as from our neighboring South Carolina, where smallpox is spreading so much, especially in the capital, that almost no family is spared from this infectious disease. More than 250 people have had themselves inoculated in almost a week, but it is said that the artificial as well as the natural pox are of a serious nature, yet most convalescents and many others are recovering.

At Fort Prince George toward the Cherokee Indians a large number of the garrison has also died of the pox. These Indians have wished to capture this fort with cunning and kill the garrison, just as they mortally wounded the commandant and two other officers. This motivated the garrison to remove the Indian hostages, to the number of about twenty, for better safe-keeping, but they defended themselves and were massacred by the garrison. Afterwards, in the room in which they were confined were found buried many tomahawks and knives and also a bottle of poison, presumably for murdering the garrison and poisoning the well.

Tuesday, the 18th of March. Thomas Wilcock's precious little book, called *Precious Honey Drops from the Rock Christ*, which was sent to us in a German translation in the last chests by our most worthy Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen as a very pleasant gift, has

so far been of great spiritual benefit to those parishioners to whom I have lent it for reading. For this communication I have been thanked a great deal, as again yesterday by Mr. [Ludwig] Mayer, and this pleased me no little bit. The Lord is also visiting him with many physical weaknesses and, to all appearances, blessed them for the good of his soul. As surgeon and doctor he is a very valuable man; and, because he achieved good experience from reading good medical books and from many years of practice in and around Ebenezer, he is fortunate in his cures and is loved in and outside of Ebenezer.

Since I am planning to distribute this golden honey-sweet booklet of the pure gospel to various people in and outside of the congregation for them to read, I sincerely wish that it might be as blessed in them, also on unconverted and worldly people, through divine mercy, as it was on a formerly wicked general, to his true conversion, with the help of his pious wife, of which the late Prof. Francke tells edifying details in Part I of his *Collegii Past*<sup>22</sup>. This is related by the late Dr. Spener in Stephan Praetorius' beautiful book called *Spiritual Treasure Chamber*,<sup>23</sup> which overflows with the gospel.

Wednesday, the 19th of March. In our ministers conference we have begun to read the very important text *Waker of Ministers or the Purification of the Children of Levi*,<sup>24</sup> which has been translated from English into German, and to confirm in prayer what we have read. May God abundantly bless it, as it has already been blessed in many ministers, in such a way that we may show ourselves in our Christianity and in our ministry through the grace and power of the Holy Ghost so that our holy Saviour, who will soon be our Judge, can speak to each and every one of us thus: "Well done, thou good and loyal servant: thou has been faithful over a few things, etc., ... enter thou into the joy of thy lord."<sup>25</sup>

Before evening I went to Krämer's plantation to give comfort, and during our conversation about their and our tribulations in these distressing times the important verse came to my mind emphatically: "I must suffer it. The hand of the Most High can change everything."<sup>26</sup> Mr. Thilo and his daughter had some business here too, and we prayed together with bended knee concerning these comforting words.

The miller Zimmerebner has, God be praised!, recovered from

his dangerous sickness, and this has greatly blessed his pardoned soul. His childlike trust in God was markedly strengthened by the words of Psalms 69:7.

Thursday, the 20th of March. Although, to be sure, I assume that we will receive letters and reports from our worthy Fathers and friends in Europe with the first of the ships expected in Charleston, I still have not wished to await their arrival but to seize the present opportunity to send off with our Governor, who is traveling himself to London in a few days, the official diary consisting of five folios along with letters to our worthy Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen so that our most worthy Fathers, who are so concerned with our welfare, will not lack news of spiritual and physical circumstances as material for the praise of God and for intercession. Today I sent to Savannah both the original and the copies in two separate moderate packets.

During today's weekday sermon the wife of the baker Rentz brought a little son to the world safely, after having been unfortunate twice in the past few years to her heartfelt sorrow. The *essentia dulcis* is a great blessing for our inhabitants in cases of difficult birth. Pastor Zubly in Savannah can also not praise it enough.

Friday, the 21st of March. A few days ago with the new moon there was such a great cold both day and night that we could hardly expect anything but that the mulberry leaves would freeze and that these and other budded trees would be damaged, yet our kind God, who hears the prayers of the poor and miserable, wondrously averted the apparent damage by means of an early fog, for which we sincerely praise Him. Now, as previously, we are having the most pleasant and fruitful spring weather.

This morning I received from Pastor Zubly in Savannah a letter he had written with much distress and in which he asked me to do my best through written representations to his father-in-law Johann Tobler in New Windsor to persuade him to bring his family to Savannah from the danger there, especially since he and his Negroes will be able to plant little or nothing through fear of an Indian attack. He also writes that a sickness is raging among them, from which six people died in one day, among whom two were his blood relations. The young Mr. Tobler was (as recently reported) shot by the Indians, and his scalp was

pulled from his head. The danger is great on all sides; and, if the Lord has resolved to punish or chastise us, He can find us anywhere. Believers are always in the hand of their Father and in the wounds and under the protective wings of their Saviour. For them His name is a firm fortress, to which they, as righteous men, run and are protected.

Here I must add what came to my sight unexpectedly this morning, to the considerable strengthening of my faith and to my comfort at this dangerous time, while I was preparing for my public sermon from the Passion story of the bonds and blood of Christ from my very highly respected Superintendent Lindhamer's beautiful commentary.<sup>27</sup> The dear words, which are based on Christ's blood and God's infallible promises, read thus:

The creation of the world occurred through the powerful word of God (Genesis 1:1,3,6 ff. Psalms 33:6,9). The establishment of a community cost God His own blood, and therefore it is truly dearly bought (at a costly price) 1 Corinthians 6:20. Now, if men feel an especial pleasure in that which has become sour for them and on which they have expended much trouble and expense and treasure it greatly and pay great attention to it, how should our God not dignify His so dearly bought community with a special love, respect, and care? Surely, since the whole earth is His, so is the church His peculiar treasure (Exodus 19:5). The world is a wilderness, the church of God a paradise. Now, if He waters the desert, how much more will He cultivate (and protect) His garden, which has cost Him such expense? Therefore He also keeps (to use human terms) special books of remembrance for His people (Exodus 32:32, Psalms 139:16, Daniel 12:1, Malachi 3:16, Philippians 4:3, Revelations 3:5) and walks among the golden candlesticks. (Revelations 1:12-13, 20, cf. 2:1 ff.)

Saturday, the 22nd of March. On the way to the Austrian Schmidt's plantation, I encouraged Mrs. H. to a serious pursuit of her salvation and wished to put in her heart the verse "Strive to enter in at the strait gate,"<sup>28</sup> but she anticipated me in this and told me that I had given her this a short time ago during a visit. She movingly apologized for everything with which she had insulted me many years ago, and I attested my great readiness to

forgive everything, with the conclusion: How willing the heavenly Father will be to forgive and forget everything if we come before His throne of Grace as repentant sinners in the name of His Son. In Schmidt's house I had much edification.

Judica Sunday, the 23rd of March. It has rained almost continuously both day and night since Thursday and, because it let up some this morning and because much water may have collected in some places, many people, especially of the female sex, were kept from the divine service scheduled for the town church. The last exceptionally high water caused great damage to the causeway to the bridge from Bethany to Ebenezer, and it is very dangerous to pass over it on horseback or on foot. Because of the high water it is not possible to repair it. May God avert all harm from all travelers, especially at night! There is very much traveling on horseback here and on the highway to Augusta, as well as to South Carolina.

Monday, the 24th of March. This morning I learned from a woman coming from the mill that the water, which was swollen by the heavy rains, had made a hole in the mill dike, on the repair of which only a few men were working. When I came out there myself in the afternoon, I found the danger much greater than I had been told; and this brought me and the pious manager's pious wife, Mrs. Flerl, to our knees and to a humble prayer of intercession and thanksgiving. We have much reason to praise our all-kind and almighty God humbly for the gift and former preservation of this important mill work and at the same time to invoke Him sincerely for His further blessing for its preservation and continuation and also for the merciful forgiveness of our sins that have been committed at the mill by some local people and strangers. The men of the neighboring plantations were hurriedly called to help and came, and they are working with great industry on the repairs and are not dallying for a minute.

Tuesday, the 25th of March. I had planned to visit the widow Zittrauer's little son, who has been sick until now, but I met him on the street doing his mother's business, and this pleased me and awakened me to the praise of God. He was sick for a long time, and our dear Saviour has done exceeding abundantly for him, above all that we ask or think.<sup>29</sup> He loves his mother dearly and willingly lets himself be used according to his weak powers

for all sorts of business in and outside of the house, especially with her two little children as if he were a nurse. Therefore the recovery of this boy is a great blessing and alleviation for the mother in her widowhood.

In his dangerous sickness he bequeathed to his mother by testament, as it were, the private property he had inherited from his late father so that she might have a plantation of her own when his older brother reached legal age (i.e. when he was twenty-one years old) and could manage his father's inheritance himself.

In today's conference with Pastor Rabenhorst we considered how we should arrange public divine service during Passion Week and on the two holy Easter Days. Because of the badly damaged bridge causeway and the silk work now being done, some sermons should be given in the little church in Bethany, which we hope can be done easily if the Lord graciously continues to strengthen my health. We have not continued in the reading the lovely little tractate called *Waker of the Ministers* because our dear colleague Lemke was not present at the conference and prayer hour because of some business at a certain plantation.

The above-mentioned booklet well bears its name with the deed: *Waker of the Ministers*. If any minister is not awakened by it to an earnestness in Christianity and to a right performance of his office, he must surely lie deep in spiritual sleep and death. Lord Jesus, wake us up to fulfil our daily work before the night of Thy judgment and of death break in!

Mrs. Rentz, who is lying in, told me with joy that God had granted her much blessing, edification, and comfort from the song *Liebes Herz bedenke doch*, etc., which her pious sister-in-law had dedicated to her. That gave me an opportunity for an edifying conversation and prayer with her.

Before evening I received the joyful report that God had blessed the industry of the men in stopping up the dangerous break in the mill dam, for which they had to work late into the night by moonlight. For this we humbly praise His mighty and gracious help. A new proof that God hears prayers. Hallelujah.

Wednesday, the 26th of March. A pious mother who is accustomed to inculcating into her little children, with great diligence and joy and almost with her mother's milk, beautiful little verses and prayers asked me where a certain little prayer was to be

found that we had recently taught our school children, of which she knew only the beginning. I remembered having read it in the well-arranged so-called Augsburg schoolbook, which I shall send her in the next few days.<sup>30</sup> Our school children are to pray it again since it especially suits their situation.

Jesus, let me spend my youth in true virtue. Let me seek my joy in godliness alone. Jesus, let me learn diligently and depart entirely from sloth. Let me be obedient to Thee and gladly go to church meetings. Let me come zealously to Thee and pray with all my heart. Let me grow, oh my Treasure, in good more and more. Finally lead me out of suffering to the joys of Thy heaven. Amen.

I am always right edifyingly impressed that, when I visit their parents, even the tender little children not only recite the little verses they have learned but also ask me for new verses and also fall on their weak knees with us in prayer and raise their little folded hands to God in heaven. That happened to me yesterday in a house where I did not find the parents at home but only the oldest boy and his youngest sickly little sister. This pleasant experience strengthened me in faith and my trust in God that He will not give us as a prize into the teeth of our enemy. According to Psalms 8:3.<sup>31</sup>

Thursday, the 27th of March. In His fatherly providence God has let a little book come to us in the last crate of books from Halle that I cherish because of its great spiritual value. It is called *Briefly Composed Passion Story for the Martyr Week of Jesus Christ*,<sup>32</sup> divided according to the days and hours of that week. It has as its author Inspector Sarganeck, whom I greatly respect. It was printed in Halle and reprinted in Augsburg at the initiative of Senior Urlsperger, who had sent it to me already some years ago for distribution in the congregation. Now I am so abundantly supplied with it that every family can receive a copy. They were distributed today after the weekday sermon, in which many people were present, some from the plantations and from Bethany. The others will receive them on some other occasion.

I first made useful to the people the short yet right moving foreword and address and instructed them to use well this pre-

cious little book as previously, and especially in the coming Martyr and Easter week, which has been called from ancient times the great and quiet week. The beautiful little word “come,” which is repeated several times, leads us to Jeremiah 50:5 “Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten.” These dear words encouraged me to enter with my awakened listeners again into the covenant with God, and no one should (or would, as I hope) remain behind.

After the prayer about this “come,” we sang two verses from the song *O grosse Freude*, etc, in which is found in v. 4 “Come ye distressed,” and in v. 5 “Come here, ye poor,” etc.<sup>33</sup> After a prayer of blessing and the distribution, a newly reawakened woman again called to me the beautiful words from the fourth verse: “Open up your hearts to blessed joy.”<sup>34</sup>

Whenever I think of the late Mr. Sarganeck when reading this little book or at other times, I also remember that I reported the death of my late colleague Gronau (who had received the name Israel from his godfather Mr. Israel Clauder) to our dear Senior Urlsperger with these words: “Israel draws up to his rest.”<sup>35</sup> To that he answered me that the late Mr. Sarganeck’s wife had reported the departure of her dear husband with these very words. This has impressed me all my life long. I also made this edifying circumstance useful to my dear listeners by quoting this my dear author, and I showed them what an edifying appellation a Christian’s death in God’s word has.<sup>36</sup>

During these days I could not read, without tears in my heart and eyes, in Dr. Walch’s *Religious Struggles*<sup>37</sup> the reports of the persecutions and exile of the innocent and dear Teschen<sup>38</sup> church and schoolmasters, all of whom, God be praised, I met in Halle, among whom was Mr. Sarganeck. I was much impressed by Dr. Walch’s conclusion and wish: “The other four are still in their office, blessed by the grace of God. May He continue to treat them according to His great mercy!”

Friday, the 28th of March. I praise my God for the blessing which He has graciously granted me poor man in my solitude from reading the important little book *Waker of Ministers*.<sup>39</sup> Not only ministers and those who wish to become such, but also parishioners, find in it the most important, necessary, and salutary teachings. Gradually it will be read also in our weekly confer-

ence, and from it I hope for a new blessing for me and my dear colleagues. It is also written here: *lectio lecta placet, decies repetita placebit.*<sup>40</sup>

Saturday, the 29th of March. The men who have had to patrol because of the hostile Indians have returned home again safe and sound, and this caused joy and praise of God in their families and other Christian people. They saw neither hostile nor any other Indians, who still wish to be friends of the English; and this motivated the officers to send no more people into the forest until further orders from Savannah. A pious woman said that during the absence of her husband she and her little children were completely comforted by contemplating the first verse of the 91st Psalm and the 5th verse of the song *Gott wills machen*, etc.

Palm Sunday, the 30th of March. Poor Ch. T.<sup>41</sup> is still going around in his delirium and senseless condition and doing all sorts of foolish things both day and night. Because everyone treats him with love and puts no obstacle in his path during his foolish behavior, he does no one any harm and is courteous and grateful for the gifts, yet he still has his silly spells. His wife and their two children have moved to Savannah from their plantation in Goshen because she is afraid of him.

Public divine service was held in all three churches in the morning and afternoon, and the sermons and catechization were held concerning the Passion story. We try to make it as convenient as possible for the parishioners and their children especially at this time of the necessary silk work. For several months our merciful God has again begun to strengthen me right noticeably in my physical strength and health. May His holy name be praised! He has granted us a great blessing from the contemplation of the holy, dear, innocent, and all-powerful blood of our dearest Saviour.

Monday, the 31st of March. Yesterday after the noon church service I received the report that our merciful God had finally heard the prayer and petition of the Salzburger Riedelsperger and released him through a blessed death from his very burdensome sickbed and at the same time from all evil. His dead body will be brought in from his plantation and be given a Christian burial this afternoon in the plantation cemetery. He was a righteous man who prayed diligently, a true lover of the divine word

and holy sacraments, an industrious worker, helpful neighbor, a Christian housefather, and a patient bearer of the cross. He has dragged himself around for five years with a very severe and incurable hepatic dysentery and was finally miserably consumed and very weak also in spiritual strength. He is leaving a Christian widow, who sincerely loves Jesus and is also weak of body, and four un-reared children who are, to be sure, poor because of the long-lasting sickness and the many vainly spent medical expenses for their husband and father, yet they have a rich Father in heaven, who will care for them. Psalms 40:18.

#### A P R I L 1 7 6 0

Tuesday, the 1st of April. May God be heartily and humbly praised for His abundant and entirely unmerited gracious and beneficial goodness that He now has again shown us for a whole month. He has allowed no plague to approach our tabernacles, even though we have had to hear many distressing reports of the misfortunes of war and of sickness in the vicinity. May He let us enjoy in this month, too, His fatherly favor and providence, and the trusting intercession of his dear children and servants for our protection and blessing. May He lead us all through the wealth of His goodness, patience, and forbearance to repentance so that we will all come into a condition to be grateful to Him for all His spiritual and material benefactions with heart, mouth, and behavior and to pray sincerely, diligently, and constantly for our fellow Christians, especially for our dear intercessors both near and far in these distressing times. Today in particular we have sent our prayers and thanks in the name of Jesus Christ to God our heavenly Father for our dearest Father and benefactor, our most reverend Prof. Dr. Francke, who today is entering the sixty-fifth year of his illustrious life.

We are having a very pleasant and fruitful spring, and the silk work now in progress seems to be turning out well. At our place we are sighing and praying for divine prosperity in it. We read and hear no more that the Indians are continuing to do damage. The Creek Indians, who wish to be the allies and friends of the English, have caused many inhabitants of our colony, at and

above Halifax, to flee and abandon their homes by dreadful (although mostly unfounded) reports of the dangerous attacks and intentions of the Cherokee Indians, and afterwards they have stolen and burned everything while calling themselves Cherokees. Perhaps the Lord has struck them with a *terror panicus* or has frightened them away from their warlike intentions with their own superstitions; or He will still do it to restore the inhabitants' safety. He did, indeed, scatter the peoples (also according to Luke 1:51 in the imagination of their hearts) that delight in war (Psalms 68:31). The Indians pay close attention to dreams and to the cries, sitting, and flying of birds, especially of the night owls that are very plentiful here. In Carolina regular soldiers against the Indians are expected any day from General Amherst. How much they will help remains to be seen.

Wednesday, the 2nd of April. Yesterday I yearned greatly for our weekday ministers conference and prayer hour especially in the Martyr Week and shortly before the so very important holy Eastertide, during which we are living in peace and health, but my dear colleagues were held back from it, the reason for which I do not know. Meanwhile our dear Saviour granted me a blessing in my house from prayer and from the song *Es ist vollbracht*, etc. and afterwards in prayer and edifying conversations with Christoph Krämer and his wife, whom I visited shortly before evening on their newly established plantation. My words of encouragement are always right welcome to them as christian people thirsting for edification.

Some fine Christian people live in the neighborhood on their plantations on both sides of the town, whom I can often visit on foot for my own edification and also for my own very necessary physical exercise. Among them are the previously mentioned Krämer, Landfelder, Lackner, Kieffer, Arnsdorf, Glaner, Rottenberger, Schmidt, Gabner,<sup>1</sup> and Weitmann. We cannot always have a horse, and therefore it is a blessing for me that I can carry out my ministerial visits for one or two miles. Time is short!

Thursday, the 3rd of April. According to the Charleston newspapers Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina announced on the 11th of last month to the assembled estates that he had received from the King the (rich) government of the island of Jamaica and would soon travel to London on a frigate departing from

Charleston. His elected Lieutenant Governor is a member of the Council by the name of Bull;<sup>2</sup> the new governor is expected shortly from New England. Our governor will not depart so swiftly as I have been told but is awaiting the arrival of his Lieutenant Governor James Wright, who has been appointed by the King. For this reason my two letter packets, which I recently sent to my very serviceable correspondent in Savannah, Mr. Thomas Rasberry, can not be sent with the Governor but must be sent to our worthy Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen in some other way, as has presumably already been done. I regret that they generally cause him much expense.

The miller Zimmerebner has again become dangerously sick with a hot fever and chest pains; in his great danger God has blessed some powdered medicine. Shortly before his sickness he had read the dear little tractate *Precious Honey-Drops from the Rock Christ* to his rich edification and with much blessing. Before the prayer I had a pleasant conversation with him about the words "Lord, he whom thou lovest is sick,"<sup>3</sup> Likewise, "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God," etc.<sup>4</sup>

"This sickness is not unto death but for the glory of God," etc.<sup>5</sup> He stands in true poverty of spirit and Christian resignation, and therefore he is sincerely content with the providence of our heavenly Father.

Friday the 4th of April. Yesterday on the so-called Maunday Thursday a sermon was held in all three churches (as is customary every year) partly concerning Holy Communion and partly from a Passion text; and today was devoutly celebrated as a whole holiday with the reading of a Passion story compiled from all four gospels and with singing, prayer, and the preaching about the death and burial of Christ.

Saturday, the 5th of April. Pastor Zubly in Savannah reports to me in his letter of the 1st of this month, among other things, that in the fortress of his father-in-law, Mr. Johann Tobler, thirty-three whites and three Negroes and in the surrounding area more than fifty people have died, which can be attributed to the crowded multitude who had fled there. His father-in-law himself lost three Negroes. Mr. Zubly is very afraid that he has not yet heard all the distressing reports from New Windsor and Savannah Town. He would like very much to have this honest old man

in greater safety with him in Savannah.

These and similar distressing reports serve us in our place especially to a recognition (to a humble and grateful recognition) of the wealth of the goodness, patience, and forbearance of God toward us and to a sincere and continuing intercession for our suffering neighbors. Oh, if only all among us would let ourselves be led by the Lord's gracious and beneficial goodness, which has ruled over us so excellently until now, to repentance and true perception of the very short and uncertain period of grace to which we are awakened at every opportunity.

Easter Sunday and Monday, the 6th and 7th of April. Hearty praise be to God who has again let us spend this grace- and joy-filled feast day in peace, health and good order and with blessings. Those who came to me on both holy days for prayer after the morning sermon received the dear and comforting verse Hebrews 13:20-21, "The God of peace," etc., which was printed on a quarto page with large letters and sent to us from Halle.

For several days as great a heat has occurred as is hardly accustomed to occur in the middle of summer. I am afraid this sudden and very great heat will be a great blow to the silk worms, of which many are already large and are about to spin their silk, if our dear God does not avert it according to His great goodness. Christian hearts, who surely need a material blessing from this work in this unproductive time, beg Him for this humbly, to be sure, yet at the same time they say with truth, uprightness, and childlike resignation: "The Lord's will be done!"

Tuesday, the 8th of April. Our dear Saviour has given me much edification and joy in this holy Easter celebration and also good strength and joy, for which I praise Him sincerely and invoke Him to bless into blessed eternity the seeds of his dear Gospel, which have been sown by poor me and my colleagues in the souls of our dear parishioners.

Wednesday, the 9th of April. Because of the holiday we have just had and because of the silk work we are doing, the usual Wednesday and Thursday sermons were not held. Because the schoolmaster and the school children also have their work with the silk manufacture, the schools are being canceled in all three places for about two weeks. We ministers will have to see to it that we do not give those spying on us any opportunity to slander us

as if we were keeping the people from their work by holding church and school and were hindering the wishes for silk manufacture.

Thursday, the 10th of April. A young man who caught up with me in the woods near town on my exercise walk said proudly that the Lord had granted him a beautiful blessing on the first day of Easter, as usual, from Bogatzky's *Golden Treasure Chest*.<sup>6</sup> When I entered another young man's house in the morning, he and his salvation-hungry wife were on their knees praying for themselves, their family, their fellow Christians, and especially for their ministers. We greatly respect the public church prayers from the Augsburg agenda and from a London German agenda and use them devoutly<sup>7</sup> on Sundays and holy days. However, it has also been very useful that we also pray in the daily prayer hours, during our house visits, at marriages, baptisms, burials, and on other occasions with our dear parishioners on our knees with our own words straight from the heart, and this has been of blessed consequence for many and has been easily introduced into our small congregation.

Friday, the 11th of April. From the Charleston papers from the 1st to the 22nd I have seen the following: first, that the smallpox is still raging and taking away many people. In one week between two and three thousand people have let themselves be inoculated with the pox, and many are said to have come through it more easily and safely in this way. All persons who come from Charleston must remain for ten days in quarantine up<sup>8</sup> at the mouth of the Savannah River. Second, the Cherokee Indians wished to attack Fort Ninety-six (called 96 because it is that many English miles from Fort Prince George in the direction of Charleston) but were driven back. Meanwhile they have killed some people behind Congarees and Edisto, pulled their scalps from their heads, and destroyed their dwellings with fire. Now it is even being said that they have overrun Fort Ninety-six and killed everyone.

News has also come that the regular troops of General Amherst have reached Carolina. They are said to be more than twelve hundred men. In Charleston they are also busy recruiting five hundred rangers with good earnest-money and wages. Thirdly, foodstuffs are still rather cheap in this distressing time

but may become expensive because the plantations up in Carolina and Georgia are being abandoned for greater safety and the people have retreated to the fortresses they have established in various places. They are so bitter against the Indians that, when they kill one, they likewise pull the scalp from the skull, cut the body into pieces, and give the human flesh to their dogs. Fourthly, an entire ship full of English and German people has come to Georgia from Pennsylvania who wish to settle here. Very many wish to come here because they lack subsistence and safety there.

Saturday, the 12th of April. My domestic circumstances required a journey to Savannah, where I was lovingly received by my old friends. I plan to hold Holy Communion tomorrow, Sunday, for the people of our confession at their request. May the Lord graciously bless the words of the preparation that will be announced in today's evening meeting!

Reports have come from Augusta that the Creek Indians have killed some Cherokees and have thus begun a war against them, for which everyone is very happy. So far our Governor's efforts have been aimed at involving the two nations in a war, which had previously been waged for many years. However, the former governor in Carolina, Mr. Glen, made peace in order to advance trade between them and the English. Our Governor showed me a speech recently made by the chiefs of Creek Indians to the English agents among them in which they promise the English as their allies all assistance against their enemies. However, they also request that they be dealt with honestly and that their land up the Ogeechee River be left to them for hunting, that no rum or brandy be brought to them, and that their warriors be supplied with powder and lead.

Quasimodo Sunday, the 13th of April. This morning I held the preparation sermon and the confessional service, and a half hour later a sermon on 1 John 5:4 for a numerous assembly; and after the sermon I held Holy Communion in right good order for thirty-four persons. In the afternoon I repeated and further inculcated my sermon for a gathering in a citizen's house, where we have often held our evening prayer hours. All in all, the Lord strengthened me noticeably.

Monday, the 14th of April. On Sunday some Creek Indians ar-

rived here and brought as a present to our Governor their disgusting tokens of victory, namely three scalps pulled from the skulls of the Cherokee Indians they had killed. Today they were led from their camp outside of town, with great solemnity and the firing of canons by the citizens and town soldiers with muskets and side arms, to the governor in the chancery house, where they delivered the said miserable presents and in return received great presents of all sorts of goods as a reward and as further encouragement to take the field against the hostile Indians. Word also arrived today that the enemy has come as far as the area of Fort Augusta and have killed a white man and two Negroes.

Tuesday, the 15th of April. Pastor Zubly showed me much love and wished to take me as a guest into his new, well-built, and spacious house. Pastor Zouberbuhler also showed me much love on occasion, which comes from an upright heart.

Wednesday, the 16th to Monday the 21st of April. Because I have a good opportunity in Mr. Whitefield's orphanage (called Bethesda, 12 english miles from Savannah) to be among Christian friends and to do my soul and body good through God's word, prayer, Christian conversation, exercise, and rest, I traveled today with Pastor Zubly through the German village Acton,<sup>9</sup> where he held a sermon, to this house, which has often been a blessing for me. To be sure, in it they are very much occupied with making silk, but this does not detract from what I have said.

I am lodged in the orphanage library and have an opportunity to refer to many beautiful books, as much as the purpose of my journey and the condition of my eyes permit. A Christian and, at the same time, frugal economy is practiced here by the Christian supervisors of the house and by the children. The orphan children, both boys and girls, are not more than sixteen, and therefore there are also few supervisors. In Savannah and in the orphanage people hope and say that Mr. Whitefield will soon arrive here with the daily-expected ship's captain Ball. I remained here over Sunday and attended the divine service in the orphanage chapel. Prayer hours are held in the morning and evening every day and therefore also on Sunday. From ten to eleven in the morning and from three to five in the afternoon divine services are devoutly held. The schoolmaster reads edifying sermons

mostly from the sermon books of the Presbyterians or Independents, in which confession the children are being nurtured.

Tuesday, the 22nd of April. About this time last year in Savannah I received letters from our dear European Fathers and from the praiseworthy Society; and I waited for them this time, too, because the ship's captain Raines, who brought us the letters and Halle book and medicine chests last year, has arrived in Charleston and has brought many goods destined for Savannah in his ship the *Henriette*.<sup>10</sup> It appears, however, that this time I will surely have to travel home without any letters. May God let us receive only good news from our most worthy Fathers, friends, and benefactors! *Sat cito, si sat bene*.<sup>11</sup>

Wednesday, the 23rd of April. During this and the previous month we have had constantly warm days, cool nights, and strong winds, by which the soil is very much dried out. Yesterday and today it has thundered and rained a bit. This weather has been convenient for silk making, and therefore it is expected that it will be better this year than formerly and that a large quantity will be brought to Savannah for sale. As long as I have been in Savannah no boat has come down from Ebenezer and therefore I do not know how things are going there. This I know, God will make things go as is salutary.<sup>12</sup> I wish greatly to return home and be with my ministerial duties.

I have daily contact with the highly talented and useful Mr. Ottolenghe and enjoy much good both in our conversation and at his table. May God reward him for this! The entire management of the silk manufacture has been entrusted to him by the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, who are the authority for this province. For this purpose he is having extensive buildings constructed that are costing several hundred pounds. Cabinet makers, carpenters, and masons are still working on them. Without doubt this seems to show that the authorities are firmly resolved to bring the silk manufacture to perfection; and for many more years all the cocoons produced in the country will be brought to Savannah for spinning.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile our silk house will decay or become otherwise unusable, but we cannot complain of this as long as the great value of silk continues.

The German people of our confession have had a local German silversmith make a silver communion chalice that amounts

to 7 £ Sterling. Through the praiseworthy Society and other worthy benefactors in Germany God has granted our congregation three imposing well-made communion chalices, two of which are heavily gilded. I now remember this benefaction again and even more.

Thursday, the 24th of April. The lieutenant of the rangers has now brought news from Augusta that not only the Creek but also the Uchee and Chickasaw Indians have begun a war against the Cherokees and have killed some of them, whose scalps they will bring down in a few days as tokens of victory and for which they will receive great rewards. The hostile Cherokees now see themselves compelled to withdraw into the mountains; and those who remain behind are showing themselves to be peaceful and are beginning to trade again with the English. Praise be to God who so far has not given us into the teeth of our enemies to be robbed or killed, but rather has always watched over us with His providence for our protection and blessing. Oh, if only all would recognize it and realize in themselves the salutary purpose of the wealth of His goodness, patience, and forbearance and thus make themselves capable for the praise of His great and glorious name!

Even though the former weather appeared favorable, I still hear that the silk in Ebenezer and Purysburg (presumably also in other places) has turned out very poorly. In this tribulation may God grant faith and patience to the poor people at our place who, as weak and worn-out people, always hope for the best earnings from their silk, and may He make good this loss elsewhere with His generous and all-powerful hand! They always show great industry and care in the silk culture and can give no other reason if their efforts are in vain, unless it be the Lord's will. I have often heard that silk making in this climate is a very uncertain thing because of the inconstant weather and the harmful fogs and dew and that one must accept the good success as well as the bad from the hand of the Lord, so that Christian spirits will see their successful silk as a right special gift of God.

Friday, the 25th of April. We hear from Charleston that in a short time several hundred people, both white and black, have died there of smallpox in a few weeks. Last winter in both colonies many children and adults had a dangerous cough and

measles, which, God be praised!, passed safely, and few children died of it. Our good God graciously spared our Ebenezer from these diseases, and He has graciously spared all Georgia up to now from smallpox. He is surely showing a great wealth of goodness, patience, and forbearance to the inhabitants of this land and will lead them through it, as well as through His many spiritual and material blessings that we are receiving from His generous hand in these very sorrowful and distressful times.

However, because assurance<sup>14</sup> and wickedness seem to be gaining the upper hand everywhere and great vices are left unpunished and, as it were, even privileged with sad examples of prominent people, then we may well worry that the judgments now threatening in distant places will not always remain at a distance but will come near enough to us. May the Lord have mercy on His little flock and hear all their cries for mercy, improvement, and salvation.

In Savannah they are continuing industriously to build large houses, and the value of the fertile and well-situated land is rising ever higher. A few days ago some pieces of land of twenty or thirty acres that formerly belonged to the Indians and lie near the city were publicly auctioned by the Governor for thirty to fifty pounds Sterling, and it is said that that was cheap. Mr. Otolenghe has bought fifty acres lying along the Savannah River for sixty pounds Sterling, and a well situated house lot (the eighth part of an acre) in Savannah is not to be bought for less than fifty pounds Sterling.

By virtue of the so-called family rights that have been introduced into Carolina and Georgia every householder receives as many fifty-acre tracts as he has people in his family; and therefore a man who has a wife, four children, and twenty Negroes has a right to 1300 acres of land, which he can seek out where he wishes.<sup>15</sup> If a family increases, its land also increases.

More and more people are moving from other colonies into our colony and bringing many Negroes and taking up land. Good land can still be found and assigned to rich and prominent people, but none can be found for our poor people, and every family has received no more than fifty acres. Yet we are satisfied by the promise that the meek shall inherit the earth.<sup>16</sup> "What are these worldly goods but a hand full of sand and trouble of spirit.

There, there are the noble gifts, where my shepherd Jesus will refresh me without end..."<sup>17</sup>

Mr. Whitefield's orphanage has 1900 acres of land, which is called according to its different districts Ephrata, Bethlehem, and Huntingdon.<sup>18</sup> As I have now heard, a few Negroes have died there and the income from the Negroes' work is not as great as it well might be. I hope that Mr. Whitefield will arrange everything more advantageously.

Saturday, the 26th of April. A public market is held every day from sunrise until nine o'clock, for which purpose long buildings are now being erected in the middle of the city so that merchants and buyers can remain dry and in the shade. In order that this frontier colony might become properly populated our clever Governor is seeing to it that the taxes not become too high, as is happening in other colonies during this time of war. This year there will be a tax of two shillings six pence for every Negro, and the same amount for a hundred acres of land; and a tolerable tax is paid on houses and on money drawing interest, likewise for merchandize. Next to the market is the decorously constructed brick grave marker of the old Indian king, whose picture stands before Part One of the Ebenezer reports.<sup>19</sup> In the middle of it a wild cherry tree has been planted.

Jubilate Sunday, the 27th of April. As much as I desired last week to return home and to my ministerial duties, it was not possible. Therefore I have had to postpone my return journey till after this Sunday, and that also served to enable me to attend, at the request of Pastor Zubly and the German people of our confession, the consecration of the newly built church in their village of Acton (six miles from Savannah) and to hold the first sermon in it during the afternoon. Among other things this should be proof that the Lutherans, as well as the Reformed (who are the largest party here), have a right to use this church. The rights and share of the two parties are to be written down still better tomorrow in my and Pastor Zubly's presence. Mr. Ottolenghe has gone to much trouble to collect by subscription in Savannah a large amount of money to build this church. It consists of hewn logs and boards and is right spacious and arranged comfortably, but it is not yet entirely completed. Pastor Zubly holds a sermon here every Wednesday, and on Sunday mornings

every two weeks he preaches in this church, in which the Germans from the neighboring plantations gather.

In Savannah there are also many Germans of both confessions who hold their divine services in the court house or town hall and, when Pastor Zubly does not preach, in a private house. We Ebenezer ministers serve them with our office as often as they request it or as often as we have business in town. Mr. Friedrichs, who is known to Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, has also collected money in Charleston for a German church and let himself be made minister of it. It is regrettable that the Englishmen have a poor schoolmaster and the Germans in and around Savannah have none at all. The French from Canada are still very zealous in their popish service and let no child stray from them.<sup>20</sup>

Tuesday, the 29th of April. Word has come that the smallpox, which has taken away some seven hundred white and black people in Charleston alone, is also found in our colony, especially in Augusta. When I took my leave, the Governor said that he wished, through a proclamation which he wished to send up and which was based on a law passed by the Assembly, to make such an arrangement in our place that our inhabitants would not be infected by passersby. We are in the hand of the Lord, may He do with us as He pleases. His mercy is indeed as great as He himself. May he be praised for all mercy and loyalty that He has shown me in and outside of Savannah on my journey, which has ended safely and fortunately! May he reward all my friends here and down there, especially Mr. Ottolenghe and his honest wife for all the benefactions they have shown me, and may He hear my poor prayer for them.

#### MAY 1760

Thursday, the 1st of May. May God and the Father of our Lord Jesus be sincerely and humbly praised for all the spiritual and physical blessings that He has shown so abundantly, in general and specifically, to our whole community, to my dear colleagues, and to me and my family and that He is continuing to show so graciously. May He make us sincerely grateful and lead us through His goodness to repentance so that His judgments, which have threatened us unrepentant sinners and which have

partially broken out, will not strike us as merited punishments but rather be moderate and salutary chastisements even if they come upon us according to His holy counsel.

When on this first day of the month I reminded my listeners in the weekday sermon of the divine blessings of the previous month, I also had an opportunity to say something about the blessing and the salutary purpose of the cross that Christians bear. May the Lord bless this on all, and therefore also on those who have lost a large part of their livelihood through the poor silk production. Foremost among them is the pious Mrs. Kalcher, who had many leaves and worms and good prospects and who showed all conceivable industry both day and night yet still got no silk. In her case and in that of many others a disease came, as it were, among the worms, which were already grown and ready to spin silk, and caused them to turn yellow and die.

I called on her this afternoon to strengthen her in faith and hope from God's word and through help in prayer, to wit, from the 126th Psalm and from the words: "Blessed are all they that put their trust in him."<sup>1</sup>

I also visited Mrs. Treutlen,<sup>2</sup> who was in childbed and is earnestly concerned about her grace in Christ and the certainty of her salvation, as I could see from her conversation, confession, and diligent use of the means of salvation, and from her behavior; and therefore she was pleased with my encouragement and prayer. The content of our conversation was that Christ is our All and that there is nothing damnable in those who are in Him through faith.

Friday, the 2nd of May. God has set a hard tribulation on the honest Johann Georg Schneider. Not only did his silk turn out badly, but his barn with corn, beans, plow, harness, and other things was burned though an accident. Soon thereafter his wife came to childbed, but through divine goodness her health and the fruit of her womb suffered no damage from the great shock. However, I found both of these married people content with God's ways and their poverty, they trust divine promises and they know from much experience that He will neither leave nor forsake His own.<sup>3</sup> Before the prayer I made useful for them the two verses "Fear not, my son. We are poor but we will have much good if we fear the Lord, avoid sin, and do good," Tobit 4:22.<sup>4</sup>

Also, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed."<sup>5</sup> On the way I called on colleague Rabenhorst and praised with him and his wife our merciful and almighty Father in heaven for all His mercy and loyalty that He has shown to me and them since my absence from Ebenezer.

Saturday, the 3rd of May. One reads often in Savannah and at times at our place in the posted notices, also in the Charleston papers, that the Negroes are running away from their masters and that anyone who captures them and delivers them is to receive a certain reward determined by the Negro Act, sometimes even more according to the circumstances. I have also been told elsewhere that the Negroes are meaner than dogs and become even worse from kindnesses and good maintenance. However, at our place I have found exactly the contrary, that none of them wish to run away from masters or families where they are kept in a human, to say nothing of a Christian, way. However, if anyone keeps them in a barbaric way, as many do, it is no wonder if they run away or become desperate.

In Savannah I saw some Negroes who, to all appearances, are not being kept too roughly or slavishly; and I was quite impressed by their modest and proper behavior in gestures, words, and deeds. Hard and eternal slavery makes them insidious and disinclined to all good. Even at Mr. Whitefield's orphanage I found a couple of understanding, skillful, honest, and serviceable Negro maids, who surpass many white maids. I believe that eternal slavery is a chief obstacle to their conversion to the Christian religion. Many understand and speak English as well as born Englishmen, but people keep them not for the sake of Christianity but for the sake of their own bellies, which have no ears.

In this month the nights have become as cold as it usually is at the end of February and the beginning of March. The recent rain did not penetrate far, and everything in the gardens and fields is perishing because of the long-lasting drought and the dried out wind. To be sure, the rye makes a good appearance, but it stands very thin; and the grains cannot develop fully because of the lack of moisture. In March it was sometimes as hot as in the middle of summer; and, because there were some cold nights and heavy fog, they are being blamed for the failure in silk, even though some among us have received a fine blessing.

Here one could say, "God is the Master in His house, He distributes as he wishes."<sup>6</sup>

In the last weekday sermon (which was the first since my safe return) we sang "Why then should I grieve? I still have Christ, who will take Him from me?"<sup>7</sup> May He grant us all in our trials this Christian and God-pleasing attitude! Our miraculous God is now visiting our children and young people with the grave and dangerous cough that is almost everywhere in Savannah, Goshen, and Abercorn. It is right pitiful to watch and hear when the children (even the smallest) have to cough themselves almost to death so that blood flows from their mouths and noses.

Cantate Sunday, the 4th of May. After the morning divine service the still wicked N.N.<sup>8</sup> called on me and said that his wife, who has long lain sick, has come very near death and wishes to be provided before her death with Holy Communion, as viaticum on her way. However, it must be right away, for he does not know whether he will find her alive when he returns. Because I was too weak after holding the noonday sermon and had no horse at hand to ride to his plantation and because I had announced to the congregation that I would hold the repetition hour at five o'clock, I could not ride out there myself, but I asked Colleague Lemke to do so, and he was willing to ride out to her after the noon service and give her Holy Communion if her health warranted it. To be sure, she is rather ignorant, yet otherwise honest;<sup>9</sup> she is desirous of the good, yet she is a very plagued woman for whom death will be a very welcomed messenger. The children are also sick and miserable from their father's rough treatment, and there is no blessing in his house.

Monday, the 5th of May. Last year Christoph Krämer made himself especially deserving on the minister's plantation with his industry and wise arrangements and accomplished much good for this institution with God's blessing. After he established his own plantation in December our loyal God has graciously and right noticeably rewarded him for his loyalty, for through his own industry and the assistance of some men of the community he soon acquired a new and comfortable house and a locksmith shop and other necessary buildings. He has also cleared a new field through the industry of his Christian wife and busy step-daughter, but especially through the blessing of the All-highest,

and he has got over a hundred pounds of silk cocoons for sale. Last year she was also blessed with such a beautiful quantity of silk on the minister's plantation to the advantage of that institution, but this year not much came of it there.

Master Kieffer is also a man who has served the community well and who does more for the good of the community than for himself. He has lost much time for three successive years as judge, as captain of a company of militia, and as a member of the parliament in Savannah for our place without the least recompense (for those are offices without salary or perquisites), and as a reward he has had much distress and loss in his economy.<sup>10</sup> In the parliament in Savannah or (as it is called in the American colonies) in the General Assembly of the estates the business proceeds excessively slowly. What could be done in four weeks stretches out to more than four months, and this is very difficult for a common man like this Master Kieffer, especially since subsistence is very expensive in Savannah. Therefore I have considered it my duty to give him, instead of a payment, the twelve Reichsthaler that he owes to the institutions of the Halle Orphanage for a crate of medicine. In doing this I trust that God will enable me to deduct this debt from the income from our mills.

Through a voluntary advance from a friend this spring he was enabled to buy a good pair of Negroes, and now his industrious and knowledgeable wife (a fruitful mother of many well-behaved children) has been so blessed by God that she has produced a great quantity of silk, which I also look upon as a gracious recompense of the Lord, and I praised His name with them. This is her first successfully produced silk.

Tuesday, the 6th of May. The righteous Mrs. Krämer is often afflicted with dangerous fluxes. Because I did not see her in church on Sunday, I visited her yesterday and learned that our dear Saviour had granted her much edification and comfort in her solitude from His word and from the comforting hymn *Hoffnung macht doch nicht zu schanden*, etc. During the conversation we came upon the comforting 126th Psalm and upon the hymn based upon it *Wann endlich, eh es Zion meint*, etc. In them the somewhat hard to understand words of v. 4 "Turn our captivity, O Lord, as thou hast dried the streams in the south"<sup>11</sup> are right

beautifully and easily explained in strophe 7:

O Lord. O Lord, how long  
 Will we be oppressed in Babel!  
 Redeem us from her bonds;  
 That is so easy for Thee  
 As when Thou dried a shallow brook  
 In southern lands.

The governor has now sent a proclamation up here to be posted publicly, the content of which is that all vessels and passengers who come to our colony by water or land from contagious places such as Carolina must either keep quarantine for ten days at a distance from healthy places or show a sworn certificate signed by a judge that they have come from healthy uninfected places. This public proclamation is based on a recently passed law called the Pest Act. The General Assembly has passed another useful law by virtue of which the common judges can adjust and settle all cases and trials up to the amount of 8 £ Sterling so that no lawyer can meddle with it. In the regular courts before the higher judges and his assistants no complainant or accused may speak for himself but everything must go through lawyers, of whom there are four in Savannah. May God preserve us from such lawsuits!

I found Mrs. H.<sup>12</sup> lying in her last throes such that she could neither see nor hear. I prayed for and over her and gave her the Lord's blessing according to God's ordinance in my capacity of minister. Her husband asked me despondently what she had done to have to suffer so much in life and death: she was not to blame that Adam and Eve had fallen. I then answered him from God's word and the dogma of Christ that, as it appeared, he deserved it. He will not acknowledge that he was too severe with his wife and children and was therefore partly to blame for her sickness, but I have often heard it from his wife's mouth and from his well-behaved and industrious children. He wishes to be his own and his children's doctor. Twice I recommended to him the 26th chapter of Leviticus, but he did not seem to pay much attention.

Later on I entered the shoemaker W.'s house,<sup>13</sup> where a certain person came to me and movingly begged my forgiveness for

having insulted and distressed me some time ago. Already on Sunday, when she wished to receive Holy Communion with her neighbor H., she had asked for forgiveness through Mr. Lemke and he had given her instruction and comfort as I would have done.

Wednesday, the 7th of May. A German mason from South Carolina, who had been a Schwarzburger<sup>14</sup> and a Dutch soldier for twelve years, told me on the street that his pregnant wife had been seduced by a Spaniard and had come with him to Bethany. He is making use of the local authorities to take her from this scandalous life and to bring the adulterer to justice. In this and the neighboring colony (indeed in all America) such sins are neither noticed nor punished, rather the plaintiff is referred to the episcopal court in London, which means almost nothing.

Before evening yesterday P. H.<sup>15</sup> announced that his wife had died about noon and was to be buried today, as was done. The text of the funeral sermon was from Job 14:1-2, "Man that is born of a woman is ..." She was 43 years old, bore five little girls in Saxony and one here. Two of them died already there, and four are still alive. The oldest well-behaved daughter had to marry, at her father's command, a Reformed minister in Purysburg,<sup>16</sup> and her three unrealed and likewise well-behaved sisters are still with their father and have anemia, their mother's sickness, from which the mother was made unfit for all work for a long time. She was, to be sure, very weak in recognition,<sup>17</sup> yet honest in her heart. She regretted her sins sincerely and hungered and thirsted for the grace of God in Christ, in which she also participated in her patient suffering and blessed death. She was very fond of God's word and the holy sacraments and also of a good opportunity for edification in the church and through the encouragement of the ministers, but she was often kept from them by her husband and by her great sickness.

Thursday, the 8th of May. The very old and entirely debilitated widow Schweighofer has again become sick with side stitches.<sup>18</sup> She is a constant, yet patient, bearer of the cross; and her heart yearns for rest in her true homeland. She found a foretaste of this perfect and eternal rest in her Saviour when she came to Him at His invitation and His powerful show of mercy as a troubled and burdened person. At the beginning of this sickness she

had a severe temptation<sup>19</sup> because of her spiritual adoption<sup>20</sup> and state of grace, but I referred her to her Prince and Saviour, according to Acts 5:31, whom the Father exalted with His right hand or through His glory for His sake to His right hand so that He could and should give to everyone, even to the greatest sinner (as St. Peter's listeners then were, Acts 5:27-31),<sup>21</sup> repentance and the forgiveness of sins. I also led her to the dear words of Hebrews 4:16, "Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need."

Friday, the 9th of May. When I asked her, the widow Riedelsperger told me that she had not yet recovered from the death of her dear husband, with whom she had suffered a great deal both day and night during his long-lasting sickness, and that her four children were sick, the oldest with anemia and the rest with fever and the dangerous cough, and that her silk had failed and that she was therefore not in a position to pay all her debts.

Mrs. Kalcher, Mrs. Zittrauer, and Mrs. Straub, and therefore all our widows who had devoted themselves to making silk, saw their work and their hopes ruined this time, which was a great tribulation for these dear God-fearing widows. God has a thousand ways to save from hardship. He is the stranger's tabernacle, he accepts orphans; He fulfills the widow's requests and becomes Himself their comfort and husband. As the all-sufficing God, He will know the means and ways to refresh and rejoice again these and other dear people of our community who are bearing all sorts of severe tribulations, as He has so often done during our pilgrimage.

Saturday, the 10th of May. Last Tuesday God granted our fields and forests a fruitful rain, but since then it is again very hot in the day, yet cool at night. The continuing very hot and dry weather is ripening the oats prematurely. It is already white for the harvest.

It is also a sad fate for our colony that the paper currency printed here from twopence to a pound Sterling is not accepted in Carolina, thus greatly hindering trade with the Carolinians and other colonists. In addition, wicked people are counterfeiting various local currency notes such as 20 shilling, 10 shilling, 3 shilling, 6 and 2 shilling, and 6 pence; and they are copying the

undersigned names so accurately that it is very difficult to distinguish between the false from the true money. Poor people suffer the most from this. We have often read in the American newspapers that in the American colonies the public is often warned against false money, whose characteristics are then given.

Rogate Sunday, the 11th of May. Today there was a very great heat and almost no breeze.

Mrs. Krämer had me called to her yesterday evening to speak some comforting words to her from the gospel in her very advanced physical weakness and to pray to the Lord with her dear husband and some daughters for the sake of her health and life, and this was done. She could not speak because of heat and fear at heart, but only sigh and groan. Therefore it is comforting that it is written: "Thou hast heard the desire of the humble,"<sup>22</sup> likewise, "Lord, my desire is before thee; and my groaning is not hid from thee."<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the beautiful words "I am the Lord that healeth thee,"<sup>24</sup> I made useful to her the words from today's gospel, "He Himself, the Father, loves you,"<sup>25</sup> with which our dear friend, intercessor, and benefactor Councilman Walbaum passed away some years ago into the house of the Father and the place prepared for him. After the prayer she gave me her hand and held mine firmly; and thereupon I left with her the sweet words, "Hold firmly, very firmly, on to Jesus' strong loyalty," likewise, "A departure into God's chamber, which Jesus has opened for you; complain and tell Him of your sorrow."<sup>26</sup> I read to Mrs. Schweighofer, *Welt ade, ich bin dein Müde; ich will nach dem Himmel zu, etc.*<sup>27</sup>

Monday, the 12th of May. Because I know that our dear Fathers and Friends in Europe, because of the love they bear for us, would like to have news of our circumstances especially in this dangerous time, I packed today my official diary together with a letter to the Reverend Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen and sent it to a merchant in Savannah to be forwarded via Charleston to London. May God take it into His protection and lay His blessing on the reading of the diary so that we may continue to enjoy the intercession and love of our dear Fathers and friends!

In the Charleston newspapers of last month I read the following: 1) The new Lieutenant Governor Bull (a worthy son and

successor of the late Lieutenant Governor Bull, who had served Carolina well) has published a very moving and edifyingly arranged ordinance that a solemn day of fasting, repentance, and prayer will be held in the entire land for the divine averting of the dangerous Indian war and the pestilential small-pox (as it is called) and also of other well-merited punishments. 2) That in Charleston foodstuffs, especially flesh and fowl, are excessively expensive because such things are not brought to market because of the raging pox, of which, since the beginnings, more than six thousand people have lain sick.

3) That the evil of the pox has mostly passed and would disappear entirely if everyone would refrain from inoculation, 4) That the advance of the troops from the North, which have already been in the South Carolina territory for some weeks, is proceeding very slowly against the Indians because there is a shortage of wagons for provisions and baggage, 5) That the Cherokee Indians are still continuing to kill white people and to attempt all sorts of evil against the forts in South and North Carolina but have accomplished little. They have captured and led away a white family, killed the oldest son, burned the father alive, and made slaves of the pregnant woman and her children. They do not yet know that their brothers, who were held as hostages in Fort Prince George, have been killed.

6) That they are beginning to make peace overtures but that one cannot trust this peace but presumes that they lack provisions as well as powder, lead, and flintlocks. As soon as they are supplied with them again and they have planted and partially harvested their fields they will renew the war with more violence and with the help of the French from Mississippi. It is said that 500 Creek Indians have come to Charleston and have offered themselves to the government to fight against the Cherokees if they are furnished with rifles, powder, and lead. But one does not trust them either.

Various parties of Indians, rangers, and volunteers have set out against the hostile Indians but have accomplished little so far. The newspapers also complain that very many English merchant vessels have been captured by French privateers in the West Indies and taken to Martinique. It is reported from the northern colonies that they are arming for a new military expedition next spring and summer.

Tuesday, the 13th of May. The very sick Mrs. Krämer has improved somewhat, and this morning I made useful to her the beautiful song of faith *Auf, hinauf zu deiner Freude*, etc. I showed her from the words "Therefore thou art His" that true believers are the property of the triune God and especially of their Saviour Jesus Christ, which is an ineffably comforting truth. Therefore, one can say, "whether we live or die, we are of the Lord."<sup>28</sup> We also came across the important hymn *Ich bin ja, Herr in deiner Macht*, etc., which concludes with "As long as I live I am Thine; in death I can be no stranger."<sup>29</sup>

The honest Arnsdorf was sick with fever and severe coughing, yet I found him back at work. We edified ourselves with a pleasant conversation in which I led him and his very honest wife to our dear Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen's little book *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer*,<sup>30</sup> which had been recommended to the congregation on Rogate Sunday, and especially its appendix, which is very important and convincing; and afterwards I thanked our dear Lord with them for His blessings and prayed to Him. His tender little three and a half year old daughter recited for me with somewhat broken words the following verse from the hymn *Gott wills machen*, etc., vv. 5-6, "Just believe firmly that the best has been ordained for thee,"<sup>31</sup> which beautiful song was dedicated some time ago to our congregation in a letter from my son in Halle.

This Peter Arnsdorf suffered great harm to his health on the two weeks of patrolling against the Indians in heavy rain; and the same complaint was made by an otherwise industrious worker and orderly man named Paul Finck, who has had the so-called anemia<sup>32</sup> and has been unfit for field work since that same time. If that miserable and useless patrolling had been continued, it would have caused us great damage in health, agriculture, and silk making. Praise to God, who averted it!

Martin Dasher has seven still unreaired children, all of whom have the very violent coughing that is raging around here, and who are coughing themselves until they are weak and almost dead. With this rod very many are being chastised, even the smallest children lying on their mother's breast. We know no other means against it but believing prayer.

Wednesday, the 14th of May. Yesterday afternoon we three colleagues had a useful and pleasant conference in my house, at

which I was in good spirits. I communicated several points to them concerning my business on my last journey. Because of her offensive behavior, Mrs. N.N. has long been excluded from Holy Communion. However, now that she has humbled herself and has asked each of us for admission to Holy Communion and has promised improvement, she is to be admitted next time to the Lord's Table with the congregation if we first work on her, also privately, for her proper preparation with God's word and prayer. For this reason I plan to summon her to me or else to go myself to her. May God have mercy on her soul! If she were not accepted again in the foregoing way and treated like the other parishioners, she would move away from Ebenezer, with great harm to her soul and to that of her only little well-behaved son, to some other place, where, as a still young and also credulous person, she would get into shame and disgrace or into an unfortunate marriage because of her voluptuous temperament.

Thursday, the 15th of May. As is customary in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, we celebrated today the memory of the blessed Ascension of Christ. Between the afternoon divine service and the repetition hour the vestrymen assembled in my house in order to agree upon some matters concerning the repairs and extension of the Jerusalem Church which are to be begun next. This meeting, which was very pleasant for me, was begun and ended with prayer. These vestrymen have collected a voluntary contribution in the congregation and received about 30 £ Sterling; and for this blessing, which is a fruit of our ministry, I rightfully rejoice and praise God, who has given such industry to our parishioners, even to the poorest. To be sure, this sum is not entirely adequate for paying the building costs, but there is no doubt that our all-sufficient God who has granted this will also grant the remainder in due time. For he is still always "able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things," etc. 2 Corinthians 9:8.

Friday, the 16th of May. The old tapestry weaver Paulitsch's honest wife, who lost a living and well-formed child at birth during my absence, sent a request for me to come in order for her to hear a word of instruction and comfort from God's word and to pray with her to God, who is a secret God and leads His own in wondrous ways. In the neighborhood live the industrious and

well inclined Rahn and Deininger with their families, in whose intercourse, conversation, and prayer our loyal Saviour, who has partly lovingly begun and partly splendidly completed His work of grace in these souls, granted me much edification, to His praise and to the strengthening of my faith. On the way back from Bethany I received the unexpected and distressing news that the pious widow Kalcher's second daughter, who was married to the shoemaker Reinländer<sup>33</sup> and had traveled to Savannah to spin silk, suddenly died yesterday evening of military disease.<sup>34</sup> In addition to her, four other grown girls have traveled down there for this work to earn some money, which we do not like to see because of the spiritual and physical danger but cannot and may not prevent.

Now Georg Gruber (a former ranger and sailor on an English privateer, but now a tame inhabitant of Bethany) comes to me and asks me to baptize his little son, which his young wife, the youngest daughter of the deceased Schwartzwälder, bore last night. How wondrously the things in this world criss-cross. "Great is our Lord, and of great power: his understanding is infinite." Psalms 147:5.

Saturday, the 17th of May. Our beneficial God has again let us live our joyful time in peace so that we can make a beginning in the harvesting of our crops, namely, of barley and rye. The severe continuing heat and drought have, to be sure, sped up the ripening, yet most of the grains are complete, and therefore the harvest is good and blessed. Until now we have had many cool nights and very heavy fresh dew, which have somewhat supplanted the lack of rain for the crops. When, as now, the nights become warmer, the heavy dew decreases, and one can soon see it in the crops.

Last night there was lightning, thunder, and a little rain, but today it was again very hot as in the previous days. May God have mercy on our fields, which are dried out by wind and weather!

Mr. Thilo is sickly; and he and his daughter are in all sorts of difficulty through lack of a knowledgeable housekeeper, especially since servants are not to be had and, if one is served by Moorish slaves, one almost becomes a slave oneself. For his own and his child's edification he asked me for the rhymes with Bible verses set under them which were published by Pastor Sommer<sup>35</sup>

because our dear God had splendidly blessed them in him at the last confirmation of our children, when each of them had to recite publicly the little verse he had received by lot and the Bible verse standing under it. Number 6 was especially comforting for him:

To even the most difficult things  
 God can give a good end.  
 Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him;  
 and he shall bring it to pass, etc. Psalms 37:5.

At that time eleven children were blessed, and for certain reasons the twelfth did not come to Confirmation and Holy Communion this time. Therefore, just before Holy Communion, such verses were recited by eleven children; and these were briefly impressed upon them as comforting rules of life along with a letter from our *Golden A. B. C. Book*. For lack of the twelfth child, the twelfth verse was applied and made useful to all the communicants at that time (a number of 173 persons, the eleven children included). It read:

The Saviour calls us all the time  
 To His dear feast of love.  
 Eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink  
 abundantly. Song of Songs 5:1.

Exaudi Sunday, the 18th of May. Several circumstances concerning the church and school in Bethany have required me to hold the morning and afternoon divine services there, for which the weather was very pleasant and for which our loving God let me feel His assistance and blessing. The children of both sexes give me much pleasure through their devotion and good behavior, also through their answers in the repetition of the sermon; and this moved me to give to each and every child, to all thirty of them, a little verse from my little treasure chests<sup>36</sup> collected from Pastor Sommer's little rhymes and verses, which they learned by heart between the morning and afternoon divine services (a period of two hours) and recited in the afternoon in place of a piece from Freylinghausen's *Order of Salvation*<sup>37</sup> for the edification of the whole congregation, which had assembled in a large number. I repeated these each time with a short remark and a

dedication. The children, both large and small, desire such verses and gladly learn them.

Monday, the 19th of May. The locksmith Krämer's wife applies her time very well on her continuing sickbed in solitude and quiet while contemplating the word of God from the late Count Henckel's *Little Treasure Chest*<sup>38</sup> and praying. From them, and in other ways, she gives me a fine opportunity for useful conversation to our mutual edification as often as I have time and strength to visit her. A small girl told me the following in a friendly way, "There is danger everywhere, therefore guard your soul." See also Sirach 21:2.<sup>39</sup>

Wednesday, the 20th of May. Christina Barbara Häfner, the third daughter of the widow Straub, has become engaged to a widower living in Savannah, Caspar Gerber,<sup>40</sup> an industrious and orderly cabinet maker, and will be married to him today in the Zion Church. She is a pious, well-bred, virtuous girl and is coming into a well-arranged household. I am planning to show in the marriage sermon both from the recent gospel for Exaudi Sunday and from the example of the dear disciples of Christ and also from Jeremiah 44:3-4 as compared to Matthew 5:3-6 which persons will be able to partake of the dear gift of the Holy Ghost according to the divine promise. This was the chief content of the sermon I had held in Bethany, where at the same time I led my listeners at the end of my sermon to the two right remarkable verses of Luke 11:13 and Acts 5:32. A marriage without the discipline and governance of the Holy Ghost redounds to the great disgrace of Christ and Christianity. Here, too, it is written: "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal....Let everyone that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."<sup>41</sup> If anyone will not depart, may he leave the name of Christ in peace and name himself after anyone he pleases to.

Since yesterday our loving God has granted us a lasting, penetrating, and fruitful rain, for which we have long yearned. To our astonishment the crops have suffered no damage from the long continuing drought, except that the rye ripened too quickly. The widow Kalcher and her youngest daughter, who also has military disease, returned home last night from Savannah wet and weak, and she thanks God with tears for helping her so far on her way of the cross. The burial of her daughter cost a great deal, and

she does not yet know what the doctor will demand. Her daughter does not yet seem to be out of danger, and Susanna Ernst is also sick with military disease in Savannah. I tried to comfort the deeply distressed Mrs. Kalcher with encouragement from the gospel and with prayer.

Friday, the 23rd of May. Several weeks ago I lent the Evangelical booklet called *Precious Little Drop from Christ the Rock*,<sup>42</sup> which Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen gave us, to some neighbors in Bethany who are desirous of private edification. I have now received this again with much humble thanks and with the request to lend it to them again sometime in the future. A Christian woman, who shines as a light among us for the edification of others, had written the following words in the front of the booklet:

Oh, my Savior, lead me in Thy truth and instruct me. Oh, my God, I thank Thee sincerely for letting these dear truths come to my sight. Oh, my dear Savior, I beg Thee, oh loving Father, I beg Thee, give me the merited Holy Ghost who can remind me constantly of these dear truths. Thou hast taken hold of me with them again. Oh, give me Thy grace that I may follow. Oh, make me entirely a sacrifice to Thee that will live only in Thy blood, a perfect possession that can rise up to Thy fame to live in faith, to rest in Thy wounds, and to accept Thy divine deeds gratuitously. Grant this to me and to all who ask it of Thee for the sake of Thy unfathomable love and good will, Amen. Accompany this straight way further with Thy divine Blessing.

These souls so desirous of edification (or one of them) had marked the most important truths and expressions with a pencil, and this was a benefaction for me because in this way I could quickly read over the most important and necessary things and again grasp them in my heart as more than a honey-sweet food and a treasure worth more than gold. May God be praised for that and may He transfigure His Son, the Saviour of fallen sinners, more and more gloriously in our souls through His holy and blessed gospel! This precious little book has much in common with the late Prātorius' *Spiritual Treasure Chamber*<sup>43</sup> and the late dear Luther's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians.

Sunday, the 24th of May. Yesterday afternoon I wished to visit

the sick Mrs. Hangleiter in Bethany. However, because I was told underway that she was well again and that her husband had ridden to the mill, I postponed the visit to a time when I would also find the edification-hungry husband at home. In the meantime I called on the honest and knowledgeable potter Gnan, who was just working on his wheel, whereupon we remembered the 18th chapter of Jeremiah. Afterwards, from the excellent hymn *Mein Schöpfer, bilde mich* I remembered the comforting words of the fifth verse, "A potter is pleased when he plies his handicraft that the soft clay remains still. Therefore, my Creator, my heart remains quiet for you. Yea, work in me the stillness that Thou lovest, etc."<sup>44</sup>

Through this beautiful hymn our loyal God wished to prepare me on a Sunday shortly before I received my vocation to the ministry of the Salzburger congregation in America, as is probably still known to His dear instrument Dr. Prof. Francke. May He be humbly and sincerely praised for all the wondrous guidance He has given me! Soul, do not forget it. God has shown great mercy to this potter and his pious wife as long as they have been here, which they recognize with thanks to our all-kind God in poverty of spirit.

They have many children, poor and limited land, and a difficult profession with little income, yet they are sincerely contented. Among other things he said, "Be satisfied with your God; if you have God, you will suffer no want. My soul is quiet in God, whose will it is to help me."<sup>45</sup> He said that in this short pilgrimage we had to worry only about those goods that will be useful and comforting to us even in death: the others are merely a handful of vanity. Therefore it was very pleasing to me that, for his conversion and comfort, he was familiar with the hymn *Nicht so traurig, nicht so sehr*. A few days ago our dear God granted me in the house of a Jesus-seeking family a new blessing from the edifying hymns of the second part of Freylinghausen's songbook *Wie lechzet doch mein Geist*, etc., etc., *Mein Trost, da mit ich Nacht und Tag*, etc.

At the funeral yesterday, when in the funeral sermon I presented the great treasure of grace of the children living and dying in baptism, I and I hope others were much edified by the

song we sang: *Geht ihr traurigen Gedanken, die ihr mein Herz beschwert*, etc., etc. This morning I visited the honest Kiefer's well-behaved children, all of whom are sick with the dangerous and excessively severe cough. During the conversation about the cross of Christ, that even the children must bear from baptism on for their own good, he reminded himself and me of the beautiful song *Mein Herz sey zufrieden*, etc., which I read to them again; and afterwards I prayed with them.

The previously-mentioned potter was alone in the house and his wife and children were with the neighbor Johann Paulus at the harvest, whither he led me, voluntarily setting aside his work so that they, too, might partake of a divine blessing through my poor service. There was another family there because of the harvest, and they came quickly from the field with their children and received me in a friendly way. They encouraged their children to recite their little verses, and afterwards they gathered around the throne of Christ in prayer like a little herd of sheep and lambs.

Mrs. Schule<sup>46</sup> of the neighborhood came a bit too late carrying her little child in her arms. She begged me movingly to come to her house also, which I did to her and her husband's joy. The very pregnant Mrs. Metzger lives right next to her; because my encouragement is always pleasing to her and is also useful for her children, and she is in need of encouragement and help in prayer because of her present condition, I called on her, too, but I did not find the master of the house at home. Our kind God has given the inhabitants of Bethany an especially good rye harvest. It rained more here than in Ebenezer.

The 25th to the 27th of May. During the past two days we have celebrated Holy Whitsuntide on the first day in both churches, on the second in the town church, in which we abundantly felt the blessing and assistance of God. The repetition hours were also attended well by both old and young, and yesterday there were many people, especially women and children from Bethany, who had fled to town because of an unfounded rumor that hostile Indians were in the neighborhood. After they had learned better, they returned home, some yesterday and some today. The true report was brought to us by Pastor Zubly, who had ridden from Augusta in the morning of the first day of Whitsuntide and

arrived here yesterday afternoon at about four.<sup>47</sup> Before evening yesterday he rode to the minister's plantation in order to be at home on time this morning.

The Upper Creeks have let the French persuade them to kill the English traders living among them and thus declare war on the English, and this has occurred. The Lower Creeks are displeased at that and are making an effort to restore peace. An Englishman who rode through here in the morning of the second day of Whitsuntide falsely pretended that the hostile Indians had followed him a long way; he said they were in the neighborhood, and everyone should flee to safety quickly. This put the poor people of Bethany into fear and caused them to take flight. In Augusta, Halifax, and in the areas around them everyone is planning to flee. May God have mercy on this misery and curb the increasing sinfulness, to which belongs the shameful desecration of the Sabbath and other holy days, which has become entirely customary. Before the repetition hour I baptized a little child of English parents who were traveling from Briar Creek through our place to Savannah.

The commanding officer of Fort Prince George lured ten chiefs of the Cherokee Indians into the fort with the pretense of showing them, at their earnest request, the twenty-two hostages who had been incarcerated by the previous governor of Carolina. Nine of them he held back in chains and bonds and sent one of them to their nation with the message that the nine prominent Indian warriors would be released if they freed the captured white people. I hope that oil was not poured on the fire by that.

Wednesday, the 28th of May. According to my promise, yesterday morning I visited the shoemaker Hangleiter and his family in Bethany, and with them I received much edification and strengthening of my faith, since I heard, to the praise of our great and glorious God, that He had done great and glorious things through His word and spirit, that He had strengthened them right noticeably in faith, led them in a fatherly way according to His will, averted much hardship and danger from them, and had transfigured His Son in their hearts. The details of this are very pleasing but cannot be cited for brevity's sake. The wife is an especially dear soul and a blessed instrument in gesture,

word, and behavior for her husband, her children, and for others in the community.

On the way home I called on the righteous old Austrian Hans Schmid, whose oldest son has been sickly for a long time and is now coming ever nearer to death. Sometimes he reveals that God has not yet been able to give him a new heart and new spirit; and therefore I admonished him movingly to call upon God according to the content of the dear promise in Ezekiel 36:26-27: He wishes gladly to give it to him, because He has promised it, and because he could not come into heaven without it. Because for several years he has had a very weak memory because of epilepsy,<sup>48</sup> I admonished his industrious sister to remind him often of this dear and certain promise.

When we knelt in prayer, he too crawled from his little bed and knelt on his weak and very swollen legs, and this touched my heart. Just as our merciful, wise, and marvelous God began to strengthen my faith through His word in this dangerous and distressing time, He has also continued doing it graciously and right noticeably. For example, I came with my dear family upon the very important and comforting 46th Psalm, in which is twice written: "The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge, Selah."<sup>49</sup> The whole psalm was so blessed on me that I wished to be able to recommend it to each and every one of our dear inhabitants, with the question at each verse "Do you believe that?"

Secondly, I unexpectedly received in a letter from Savannah the joyful news that Mr. Robinson (Mr. Lloyd's close relation) had arrived safely in the Savannah River in Capt. Ball's ship on the second day of Whitsuntide. He himself must be quarantined with the other passengers, but he had sent the packets and letters that he had brought for me from London to one of my friends in Savannah, whence I should have them fetched. Praise to God, who, after a long wait during this period that has been almost filled with evil news, wishes to rejoice us and strengthen our faith with good reports from our dear European Fathers and friends.

Thirdly, this morning I saw that a rather large number of men from the plantations had assembled voluntarily to help the carpenters with the very heavy church repairs, and I heard that even more will come tomorrow. God granted us this church and the

plantation church<sup>50</sup> during a dangerous time of war, and now he is granting the dear inhabitants the courage to contribute as much as possible with money and work for the improvement and augmentation of the same. This reminded me of the dear words from Psalms 20:5 that were my introit at the consecration of this church nineteen years ago: "We will rejoice in thy salvation, and in the name of our God we will set up our banners: the Lord fulfil all thy petitions."

Fourthly, I hear that the winter crops such as rye, wheat, barley, oats, and peas have turned out very well everywhere in Georgia and Carolina. The Lord would not have done this if He wished to drive us from the enjoyment of this new blessing, especially since we consider ourselves entirely unworthy of it and wish to let ourselves be led to repentance through such kindness. I will conclude this narration with the two verses, which have now been very much blessed in me: "The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it," etc.,<sup>51</sup> "Lord, when I consider how thou hast judged from the world (in mercy and wrath), I am comforted."<sup>52</sup> With the children on the plantations I read, in addition to the 4th Psalm, the 56th to the 60th, which may be called a golden jewel of David, that HE not perish.<sup>53</sup>

Thursday, the 29th of May. Because of holy Whitsuntide that was celebrated a few days ago the usual weekday sermons were not held this week on the plantations or in Bethany. Instead, I summoned to my house the children who wish to go to Holy Communion again next time, to wit, on the first Sunday after Trinity, to give an account of their Christianity from their catechism and the Order of Salvation,<sup>54</sup> but very few of them gathered yesterday in the plantation church or today in my house for that purpose, the reason for which I do not know.

Meanwhile it was worthwhile for the few that I edified myself with them from God's word and prayer, yesterday about the important dogma of the office of the keys, confession, and absolution and today concerning the dear treasures which are given to us in holy baptism, according to Galatians 3:27, Corinthians 1:30, and likewise Ephesians 5:26-27, etc. Oh, dear, dear treasures! They are so little recognized, to the ineffable damage to souls. What did our holy Luther make of holy baptism, as is known from his writings? In the *Christian House School*<sup>55</sup> of the most

blessed Mr. von Bogatzky the important rite of holy baptism is treated very thoroughly, clearly, and edifyingly and is explained and confirmed with very remarkable quotations and documentations from Dr. Luther's, Spener's, and Prätorius' *Treasure Chamber of the Faithful*.<sup>56</sup>

Friday, the 30th of May. Praise be to God, who let the worthy and long-desired letters and reports from our most reverend European Fathers and other worthy friends come safely and well-preserved to our hands. From them He has granted me, my dear family, and my worthy colleague and brother-in-law Lemke, partly yesterday evening and partly this morning and afternoon, right much material for strengthening our faith, for our edification, and for the praise of His great and glorious name. He has also granted us much material for our continuing zealous intercession for our dear Halle, which our wondrous God visited last with great tribulations last August, and this is just an example of the great misery that has struck and is, unfortunately, still striking so many regions and people in this long period of war.

From this, however, we are learning what is written for our comfort in Nahum 1:7, "The Lord is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble; and he knoweth them that trust him." Through divine goodness these blessed instructive and comforting letters have penetrated so deeply into my spirit as new and real testimonies of the providence of our almighty and merciful Father in heaven that is ruling over us that I have almost forgotten the present danger of the Indians which all the inhabitants of Halifax, Briar Creek, Augusta, and other regions above us are seeking to escape by flight by land and water, with total abandonment of their beautiful crops, houses, and farms.

In these letters we are led to the powerful verses for our encouragement to trust in God, whose goodness lasts forever, for example, Lamentations, Jerememiah 3:25-26 ff., cf. 19:24, Psalms 106:4-5, Psalms 75:2, Psalms 136, Psalms 10:17, Psalms 46, and still others. May the Lord seal them in our hearts with all the edifying and instructive and comforting expressions in the dear letters. To our great astonishment He has also right richly cared for our physical good in these otherwise distressful and lean times through the service of our most worthy Fathers and benefactors and has granted a fine monetary blessing both for us ministers

and for the minister's plantation, as well as for the poor and for widows and orphans. A part of it can be applied to the repair of the church. Thus one can obviously see that God does not wish to scatter us but to keep us with His word. Glory and praise be to Him for everything in eternity!

## JUNE 1760

Trinity Sunday, the 1st of June. Last night and especially yesterday the good people of Bethany had a disquieting time, for the reports that people brought them about hostile Indians have put them (it seems to me) in unnecessary fear and caused them to move with bag and baggage to Ebenezer; and this was associated with much hardship and much harm to their health and possessions. Because the town church is now unusable because of the repairs that have been begun, colleague Lemke held the public divine service in Bethany, Mr. Rabenhorst held it in Zion Church, and I held it in my house with the townsfolk, with very many people from upper and lower Bethany present. Also, several German people from Halifax attended the services in both the morning and the afternoon.

Since, with divine mercy, we have now passed not only an entire month, indeed an entire spring, but even the first half of the church year in health and happiness, I considered it my duty to awaken my dear listeners to quiet contemplation both in regard to how much spiritual and physical good our almighty, wise, and merciful God has shown them without any merit or deserving on our part and in regard to how our resulting conduct has been during this long period of time, especially during the very moderate tribulations and chastisements that also belong among God's blessings, which are entirely indispensable for us.

The specification of some of the chief blessings that this our dear and edifying God has let us experience both in the past month and also in the last week and also from a distance I postponed until the afternoon sermon, and I dwelt only on our past and present tribulations and showed in the example of the Israelites, God's chosen people, who were led from Egypt through the wilderness and into their promised inheritance, how necessary the tribulations had been for them, which their God of the

Covenant could have easily turned away from them, and how useful it would have been to the glory of God and to their own salvation if they had withstood the trials.

However, what they did and how much the wicked foundation of their hearts revealed itself at the time of their hardships is shown by their story and by the important 106th Psalm. From it our worthy Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen called out the fourth and fifth verses in his fatherly letter. In the afternoon between the first and second hymn, after the blessing of a woman who was being churched, I had this psalm read by some children, just as I read aloud the 46th Psalm instead of the Epistle and, at the conclusion of the divine service, the 118th Psalm, to which we had been led by our dear Father, Senior Urlsperger, in one of his letters.

What the Lord God did for His ancient people partly through His blessings and partly through chastisements and tribulations so that they and others would know what was in their hearts (for otherwise neither they themselves nor others would have believed it)! God does this to us for the very same purpose, and in addition we are loyally warned by their sad example in both the Old and the New Testaments not to fall into the same example of disbelief and thus into the wrath of God, which cannot leave disbelief unpunished. Therefore not He, but the disbelieving people in the Christian community are to blame if He fulfills not His promises but His threats, as He did on them. 1 Corinthians 10.

Oh how obvious it is now in the present tribulations that they are carrying around with them a heart that can be called a deceitful and wicked thing. Jeremiah 10. It is indeed a great blessing of God when He, who alone can fathom and test it, grants us to recognize it in order to further our salutary remorse and penitence.<sup>1</sup> In this order a loyal man will experience what a new birth and a new creature is, which, through God's mercy, we must become if we wish to persist under tribulations to the praise of God and to the edification of our neighbor, and to our own temporal and eternal well-being. Along with that I directed the dear parishioners to Chapter 3 of Book 1 of Johannes Arnd's Christianity. How beautifully that great emigrant, the patriarch Jacob, in his fear and trials, when his fierce brother Esau was advancing to meet him with four hundred men, has been shown us in Gen-

esis 32 and Hosea 12:5.

In the afternoon after singing the very edifying and comforting hymn *Ey mein Herz sey unverzagt, kenst du Gottes Liebe nicht?* we were led to the manifold spiritual and physical blessings which the Lord has shown us above many other people who, according to the last newspapers, have been visited by famine, contagious diseases, fires, floods, and earthquakes, and in many other ways. This has been the case both in the whole first half of the church year and also in its last few weeks partly to shame us and partly to awaken and strengthen our faith. With regard to the remarkable proofs of divine and merciful providence over and for us in the last week of trial I must stop because of the shortness of time. Among these are 1) that all men and youths in the congregation have voluntarily and loyally helped the carpenters for a day without any pay in working on the church, 2) that we have received from our worthy Fathers and dear friends in Europe letters that are full of testimonies of the gracious providence of God for us in these trying times. To that belongs first of all the maintaining and strengthening of our dear Fathers' and intercessors' health and valuable lives, to which we may rightly apply 1 Samuel 7:12. "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.<sup>2</sup> So the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more into the coast of Israel: and the hand of the Lord was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel."

To these blessings also belongs the great benefaction in money which has flowed together in Augsburg for paying the construction costs of the church, for the minister's plantation, for us ministers and some others as gifts, and for poor and sick people in the community and which amounts to a very considerable sum. In addition our dear Court Chaplain has composed the following very impressive epiphonema,<sup>3</sup> which I read out to the congregation with emotion along with the important Bible verses I had cited: "What an especial kindness and grace of God this is, especially in this present depressing time! If there were still an unbelieving heart in Ebenezer, should it not be deeply ashamed? Then verily, God takes care of Ebenezer as if it were His own dear inheritance."

Even in our dear Halle, upon which great sorrow was inflicted

at the end of last summer, a beautiful physical blessing has flowed from both known and unknown benefactors to the Reverend Dr. Francke for Ebenezer, out of which the many church, school, and other useful books and medicines that have been sent here for many years (in addition to the quantity that the Orphanage has sent each time) could be paid. So much has been left over that with it we could purchase still more requested books partly as gifts for the poor and partly for sale, and likewise many medicines, which we are expecting in the near future. The supplements<sup>4</sup> concerning the gifts sent to Dr. Francke are in part very arousing and edifying, and I plan to make them useful to the congregation gradually as beautiful testimonies of the divine providence for us through His blessed instruments.

I must also mention that, when the people flee from their plantations for fear of the Indians, I cannot entirely blame them in the time of hardship and danger for wishing to bring their wives, little children and possessions to safety, but it must be done in the fear of God and according to the well-tested and recognized will of God, like the beautiful example of Jacob in Genesis 32. In distress, danger, and fear he withdrew into solitude and remembered humbly and gratefully in prayer the promises of the Lord and His many blessings and after withstanding a struggle he received the blessing for his protection and safety. I also reminded them of what is written in the ninth chapter of Numbers vv. 16-23 about the movements and camping of the Israelites in the wilderness according to the word of the Lord, indeed several times, so that we might note it well. Psalms 32:8.

Monday, the 2nd of June. Our captain, Master Kiefer,<sup>5</sup> and his dear wife came in from their plantation yesterday before evening to attend the repetition hour, which, however, could not be held because of the sermon I had preached twice and my somewhat exhausted strength. Yet they did not come in vain, rather I told them the chief contents of my sermon and read them, to their joy and edification, more from the letters of our dear Court Chaplain than I had been able to do at the meeting, especially the beautiful testimony of the divine providence ruling over our letter packet. Concerning this our dear Father used this expression: "I praise the merciful providence of the Lord, which rules

so remarkably over your letter packets especially in the present dangerous time of war, in that up to the present time none of them have been lost, as has surely happened with other foreign letters, etc., etc.”

It is also a joyful testimony of divine merciful providence that the instructive and comforting letters of our dear Fathers and friends came neither earlier nor later but just at this time of tribulation, and thus our loving God has wished to come to our aid from afar so splendidly with counsel and comfort. The contemplation and the public presentation of these rather pleasant circumstances quite strengthened me while I was preaching, since I had awakened with a headache and toothache and a bit of weariness.

God be praised! I could also say to the two dear just-mentioned persons not only that the letter they had written to my son had arrived but also that our loyal God is mercifully continuing to so bless his Christianity and studies that my dear friends are giving me the desired hope that he will become a useful instrument for the praise of God and for service to his neighbors. I likewise told them that our loving God had already taken care of the payment for the little medicine chest that he had received from Halle and which I had given to him with trust in God as to a man who had well served the community, and that I had thus not been put to shame in my hopes.

Tuesday, the 3rd of June. Already at the end of last month I informed dear colleague Rabenhorst that our dear Lord had let right edifying letters and important news of our worthy Fathers and friends come to my hands, some of which I sent to him at the minister's plantation for his and his dear wife's information and edification. The rest I would communicate to him when his circumstances allowed him to come here. When this occurred yesterday morning, our dear God, who heareth prayers, so blessed our meeting and conversation about the important contents of these letters, which gave such exceptional testimony of His merciful providence, that I cannot praise Him enough for it. I shall joyfully report this to our dear Father, who is so especially concerned with our salvation, the blessed effect of one of the points made by the Court Chaplain in his fatherly letter.

God be praised! One good follows from the other. I have orders to pick up a certain sum of money from a bill of exchange for our dear Mr. Rabenhorst, which I did already yesterday; and on this occasion I gave a quick report to our worthy Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen about the arrival of both his packets sent to me via Capt. Ball. The fatherly letter of our dear Senior Urlsperger, which he, richly strengthened by God in soul and body, wrote to us in his own hand has brought us much blessing, edification, and comfort.

In past years we have always celebrated his birthday in the congregation with song, prayer, intercession, and thanksgiving; and, because on that occasion I always held in my heart for him the dear promises of Isaiah 40:31, 46:3-4, and Psalms 92:13-16, it gladdens me inwardly that the Lord has richly fulfilled these glorious promises on this His loyal and dear servant and chosen instrument. I plan to make this beautiful letter and what our worthy Mr. Laminit<sup>6</sup> has written to us in his name useful to me and my congregation in the next weekday sermons and also to make use of what our dear and untiringly beneficent Prof. Dr. Francke has either written to me or sent here in important reports and written testimonies of divine Providence for Ebenezer.

Wednesday, the 4th of June. A well-disposed planter in our colony between here and Savannah asked me what the reason was that our inhabitants did not follow the example of the other inhabitants in Mount Pleasant, Halifax, Briar-Creek, Augusta., Ogeechee, etc. and save themselves by flight through fear of the Indians, who had evil intentions. He wished to remain on his land until he learned what we would do. In case I had to retreat with my family, he offered me all possible hospitality in his house. He reported that the Indians of the Upper Creek nation had sent a courier to our governor and told him that if he would not lend any support to the Carolinians against the Cherokee Indians, with whom they (the Creeks) would perhaps unite, but maintain peace, they would behave the same toward the inhabitants of Georgia. He said their king demanded the governor's resolution in six weeks when he would return from the French in Mississippi. From this impudent demand and the murder of fifteen white people who were living among them for the sake of trade, one can see that they have war in mind and that the usual French intrigues lie behind it. They seem to be waiting to see

what success the English colonel will have with his regular troops.

Meanwhile our governor urges us to suffer patiently and has threatened to hang anyone who kills a Creek Indian, as a party of Carolinians wish to do in common with some Englishmen in the area of Halifax who have come from Virginia. He wishes to apply in advance all possible gentle means to placate the angry Indians. If they had done it that way in Carolina, they would perhaps still have peace. How necessary it is for the subjects, for the sake of their own welfare, to beseech God to give the authorities a wise and obedient heart to rule their people wisely and to administer laws and justice impartially. It is said that the Cherokee Indians have suffered wrongs. Also, one should not deprecate a small enemy as has been done here.

All these and other distressing reports do not frighten a Christian heart and should not weaken faith and trust in almighty God. If it is asked, "what should be done in this case?," then there is a scriptural answer, "I shall place my trust in him."<sup>7</sup> In such child-like trust one still needs the present or advised means of protection, but without faith in them alone. The foundation of this must be that one becomes, in penitent and trusting renewal of the baptismal covenant, a true possession (as our dear Court Chaplain calls Ebenezer in his worthy letter in contemplating the divine providence ruling especially over us so far) and a dear heritage of God (Psalms 16:6), which our eternally loyal God will not sell into the power and the hand of our enemies (as He previously did to His rebellious people of Israel).

However, if our miraculous God had resolved to impose something unpleasant on us in these sad times, we should believe that it is not a punishment for our perdition but rather only a chastisement for our purification for the sake of Christ's intercession and through the intercession of our Fathers and friends, namely, in the strength of the intercession of Jesus.

Friday, the 6th of June. Last evening Mrs. Ziegler, who has married the young Seckinger and is lying sick with fever, had me called to her; and I made useful to her the comforting little verse with which our dear Senior Urlsperger began his dear fatherly letter of August 28 of last year: "Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the humble: thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause

thine ears to hear.”<sup>8</sup> These divine words of comfort were in his heart especially for us while he was writing his fatherly comforting letter.

Because this dear letter contains much for the edification of our congregation, for whom he commissioned me with something pleasant, we made use of it in yesterday’s meeting in my house. Because of the repairs, the meeting, like the evening prayer hour, could not be held in the church. In the world and even in this country people pay little attention to the desires and cries of the poor and miserable (of which we, too, can bear witness), but how comforting it is that the Lord hears it, indeed, that His ear listens to it as if it were a pleasant thing.

Saturday, the 7th of June. The Salzburger Gabriel Maurer has reported that his second little son of seven years has died of fever, swelling, and coughing after having been sickly for seven years. His remaining children are also sickly and must, like all, even the smallest children in our and other places in the country, suffer much from the unusual cough, which is unrecognized even by the doctors and is called Hoopinghusten.<sup>1</sup> It brings a hidden fever that breaks out in the case of some. It is very frightening and the poor children are almost strangled by it and can hardly catch a breath, and they become brown and blue while coughing. It ejects food and blood from their stomachs. It lasts for several months and is widespread, and no one knows any means against it. How an unnamed doctor in Charleston has described this very difficult and dangerous cough, which has raged twice in the last seven years, and what means and what diet he has suggested against it will be seen from what I will enclose as soon as I receive the newspaper again.

The son of the wealthy Caspar Hirschmann, who came here with the third Swabian transport along with his two parents, who died some years ago at Halifax in Georgia, and his very old and since deceased grandparents and his only sister, should have been confirmed and accepted at the Lord’s Table on our memorial and thanksgiving holiday with the children then under instruction; however, because he was called back home to his brother-in-law’s plantation in Halifax because of the disquiet caused by the Indians at the time, he has postponed his confirmation until this morning, when I warned him privately in my

study to renew his baptismal covenant, prayed with him, and blessed him.

As a constant reminder and a Christian rule of life I especially recommended to him the 1st Psalm and the important words from Psalms 119:9: "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? by taking heed thereto according to thy word." The whole Greiner family, into which his sister married, is now at our place for fear of the Indians.

Sunday, the 8th of June, the first Sunday after Trinity. Because of the men's work on the so-called fortress construction, from which they could quit only yesterday evening, we could not hold the confessional service in town and on the plantations at the usual time, but not until five or six o'clock. Because Jerusalem Church has again been put in a rather usable condition (until the repairs are completed in the next weeks), I preached yesterday with joy, indeed with much pleasure because of the good arrangements, the preparation sermon on the triune God and His inestimable blessings and the order to enjoy them (the name of Trinity Sunday and the content of the same gospel had given me a reason for the service in the church and the previous evening prayer hours in my house).

We then sang the excellent hymn *Hochheilige Dreyeinigkeit die du so süß und milde*, etc. However, I was so exhausted because of the prior mental and physical effort during the sermon and the confessional service connected with it and somewhat debilitated that I had great need of refreshment and recovery. And, because our loving God granted them to me right abundantly this time as usual, I praised our good God for His good gifts, our God from whom all good and perfect gifts have their source, even through His chosen instruments. I also wished for the praiseworthy Society in England and other worthy benefactors in Europe, through whose charitable hearts and hands very valuable gifts and benefactions have now flowed again to us ministers and therefore to me for my need and refreshment, all divine blessings for a rich refreshment of soul and body in their lives, sufferings, and deaths, and in blessed eternity. My worthy colleagues had their work in the Zion Church and in Bethany. It further occurs to me that I have recently read in the short letters from Halle written by our worthy benefactors when sending their charities that they

are sending them to the congregation or, often, to the ministers for their own refreshment.

This Sunday has again been such a pleasant day of salvation for us, on which our loving God has mercifully continued to reveal His dear heart to us through all sorts of lovely proofs and testimonies. I diligently led the congregation, which had assembled in a large number, as being listeners before God with the sincere wish that God would open all eyes and hearts to recognize and taste His manifold blessings and to be humbly grateful to Him for them. For this is the way that He shows them the salvation of God for redemption and blessedness. It would be most distressful if, with all the many advantageous blessings they have received here, the people, like the rich man in the gospel,<sup>10</sup> would not open their eyes until in hell and torment and would recognize only then how, with all their use of God's blessings and means of grace and divine services, they had lacked true repentance and conversion, which the rich man had wished for his brothers even in hell so that they would not come to this place of torment to the increase of his agony.

It would distress us ministers, as also our dear Fathers, who pray and care untiringly for us, if we and they should learn that some in this congregation, on whom He has so especially revealed His providence and continues to do so in the renovated church with the gospel that is preached to them from ardent hearts desiring only their salvation, still retained old and unchanged hearts. About them one would have to say, "Because they have no changes, therefore they fear not God."<sup>11</sup> I could not help but quote what our dear Father, Senior Urlsperger, cited about the distress in his heart in his right sincere and edifying letter that I answered yesterday, which used these words: "If anything were able to cast me down again, especially the sight of my twelve respective fatherless and motherless orphans and the fact that so many people remain unconverted and that the Lord must still further enter forcefully with His punishments, the Lord soon raises me up again. Glory be to Him in eternity!

The new testimonies of God's love and providence to us and for us, to which the congregation is led for the awakening and strengthening of their faith in these dangerous and distressful times, are as follows: 1) That our merciful Lord is again letting

His holy word be preached in this renovated, comfortable, and expanded church and that He granted the cost of repairs partly from the congregation and now partly from our beloved and very afflicted fatherland in calm, peace, and order and strengthens the ministers for it. 2) That just today He has granted us the two sacraments of the New Testament, holy baptism and Holy Communion. We not only enjoyed Holy Communion after the sermon with 147 communicants but also in the afternoon a child born yesterday is to be baptized.<sup>12</sup> 3) The Lord also granted a young woman in childbed the opportunity to be churchd publicly before the congregation. "Whoever does so much good, His heart and mind can never mean evil."<sup>13</sup> After the sermon a large group of men, women, and children assembled for common prayer and thanksgiving, and I distributed to them with joy and good wishes the excellent verse that was printed in Halle with large letters in quarto, Exodus 15:1-3.

Monday, the 9th of June. Our devout midwife and one of our Christian vestrymen were prevented by unavoidable business from the confessional service, therefore they came to me (as is usually accustomed to be done in such cases) for prayer and gracious forgiveness of sins and worthy preparation for the Lord's Table. Our loving God granted me such a great blessing in this common prayer and submission before His throne of grace that I have reason to thank Him for this good dispensation. He still fills the good promise: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them."<sup>14</sup>

Tuesday, the 10th of June. Yesterday all the men who belong to the Ebenezer Company had to assemble and draw lots; those chosen must patrol every week against the Indians in the forests with twelve men and an officer. At the command of the authorities they are always joined for this purpose by a troop from Goshen, Abercorn, and Bethany. I was told by a Christian man that they had heard the Christian thoughts of their captain<sup>15</sup> in great quiet and good order and have calmly let this new burden be loaded on them. For they are glad to obey the authorities.

Among these tribulations there is much that our miraculous God imposes on our dear community in these notable times in which He has let us recognize His loving and gracious providence once again, so to speak, since the arrival of the European

letters. Among them also the long-lasting and almost exceptional drought, which threatened with a total crop failure, the patrolling of the men in the forest against the Indians to the damage of their health and their farming, the dangerous and very severe coughing universal among our children, and whatever else occurs inwardly and outwardly among Christians according to Matthew 6. Oh, may the Lord grant them all grace under these tribulations and the strength to stand the them! Then there will certainly follow a time of refreshment, joy, and praise of God.

Shortly before evening Capt. Kiefer's baptized, very well-behaved, and useful Negro girl of nearly four years was buried in a Christian way, at which Mr. Lemke held the funeral sermon. Praise be to God for all the mercy shown to this child!<sup>16</sup>

Wednesday, the 11th of June. I have cause to praise our dear God sincerely for having so right noticeably strengthened me in preparing the accounts of the charities entrusted to me and in continuing the official diary, in which much necessary and noteworthy matter (as it seemed to me) was to be added for the last two weeks that after completing this work I feel stronger than before in spirit and body and also in my vision (I say this only for His glory!). For me it is a great blessing and help that, while I usually have no copyist, the honest plantation schoolmaster,<sup>17</sup> my upright and trusted friend, is my loyal assistant in copying and greatly lightens my official work of correspondence and composing the official diary. May the Lord graciously reward him for this, since this can be done too little by me.

Previously the store assistant Wertsch (a true Israelite and discrete man) has also willingly helped me with writing as far as his extensive business allowed. To my joy our dear God has inclined our dear Senior Urlsperger's heart to order him a gift of 15 guilders, which I look upon as a reward for his sincere active love for the community in general and for me in particular. It strengthens me in my hope that this loving God will put me into a position to show some good also to our dear loyal schoolmaster Neidlinger and his very orderly wife and his family, which consists of three children, for the services and good I have received, perhaps from the Augsburg chest, if the Lord brings it to us.

My worthy colleagues held a very pleasant conference with me, especially concerning the distribution of the great material bless-

ings in money first from Augsburg and then from Halle, of which we ministers have received pleasing gifts for our needs and refreshment partly through the express order of our dear Senior Urlsperger and partly through the dear instructions of some worthy benefactors who are unknown to us. We bent our knees joyfully and with holy emotion before our great God, who has revealed His fatherly providence especially over us until now. We praised His glorious wonder-working name, prayed for our reverend Fathers and our worthy known and unknown benefactors, and begged Him at the same time for a loyal performance of our important office and a proper application of the charities we have received.

In the supplement of the accounts of the charities that have come so abundantly from our so direly tried Halle for the congregation, for the three ministers, and for the minister's institution,<sup>18</sup> there are several very edifying little letters, which I let one of my dear colleagues read to me and which deserve for me to put to good use in solitude (and perhaps on occasion in the community). May the Lord graciously reward in Christ's name all our known and unknown worthy benefactors for all the benefactions they have given us in the past and in the present, and may He let all the prayers they have sent to God on our behalf and all their hearty and sincere wishes for our blessing that they have spread out over us return with great spiritual interest to their respective dear persons, families, offices, and occupations!

The work of church repair is being continued this week despite many obstacles that have arisen. And I consider this another good sign.

Thursday, the 12th of June. Yesterday in the assembly on the plantations I applied the lovely letter of our dear Mr. Laminit dated 23 August of last year and that of our dear Father, Senior Samuel Urlsperger, dated 28 August to my and my congregation's edification. While doing so I felt the gracious presence of our dear Saviour among us so strongly that I was in good spirits; and, judging by the dear and devout listeners of both sexes, it seemed to me that the Lord had blessed in their hearts the right tender and fatherly expressions of Senior Urlsperger and Mr. Laminit. To my great awakening I perceived the very same effect today in the town church; and I later learned that the Lord

had laid a true blessing on it.

Our most worthy Fathers and friends help us work in God's husbandry here with their sincere intercession and with their blessed letters. Someday in heaven, for the sake of Christ's dear merits, they will harvest with us without cease to God's eternal praise and their eternal joy. For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."<sup>19</sup> All our worthy known and unknown benefactors, who have contributed so much in faith and love and through physical blessings to the building of God's kingdom in Ebenezer, will have an everlasting harvest of joy according to God's promise.

Friday, the 13th of June. Our loving God has strengthened me to answer with joy and edification the letters that arrived here two weeks ago from our reverend Fathers, which were full of comforting testimonies of God's fatherly providence that is ruling over us. This morning both the originals and also copies were addressed in two thick packets to a merchant, who has let me know from Savannah that he is sending letters to London in a few days and will also send my packets along safely. May our almighty God also take into His protection these letters, the segments of the official diary, and the accounts of the monies received this time and previously from Augsburg and bring them, when it pleases Him, safely to their destination and to the joy of our dear Fathers and friends, as He has done so far.

Since the day before yesterday the money for the last silk they prepared was paid to our inhabitants in cash. The entire quantity of silk balls amounts this time to 3246 lbs. or about 1,000 lbs. less than last year. The previous high price is still being paid, namely, 3 sh.3 p. Sterling for one pound.

Johann Georg Niess's wife bore a child two days ago, which was baptized yesterday after the weekday sermon.<sup>20</sup> Old Mrs. Greiner received Holy Communion at her request in Mr. Rabenhorst's house, in which these old people and their two married sons have lived since their flight from Halifax, because she had been prevented from receiving it on Sunday by a sudden sickness. They all diligently seize every good opportunity for edification, which they can have abundantly in town and, we hope, not without profit. Thus even their flight can stand them in good stead, and, through God's providence, their physical losses can be an

opportunity for spiritual blessing.

This morning I visited the sickly children of our dear Master Kieffer, all of whom are afflicted with the so-called whooping cough and a fever, from which their Negro child, who received Christian burial, died. Mrs. Kieffer told me that the still unbaptized mother of this child thanked her with emotion for making it a Christian child and for raising it in a Christian way, and she rejoiced in its eternal life in heaven. On this occasion I encouraged her to become familiar with Christ and to become a Christian so that she might someday come to her child in heaven.

This Kieffer woman also explained that about three and a half years ago she had not been happy that her husband had bought this very pregnant woman, instead of a Negro man, in Carolina and brought her into the house, for she did not think they could expect much work from her in this condition on the plantation. However, soon thereafter, when she read in Bogatzky's *Treasure Chest* the verse for that day, she was put right and was assured of God's will, which she has since then recognized more and more. It is written on that very same p. 342: "Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages."<sup>21</sup> The Lord will surely not let this Kieffer family remain unrewarded for the mercy they have shown to this well-behaved, well educated, and already useful child.

Saturday, the 14th of June. Since last Sunday a troop of Rangers has been at our place, whose improper behavior has caused us no little trouble. They are surely miserable defenders of the land and people! We have learned nothing more of what the Creek Indians are planning. The governor is trying to bring the Upper Creeks to peace through the Lower Creeks. In a Christian and God-seeking family on a plantation our conversation concerned the shameful disbelief through which our kind and veritable God is considered a liar and is thus greatly dishonored, which abomination is inborn in us. It is, to be sure, most necessary for us to recognize this major abomination, which is inborn in us and deeply rooted through long habit and which is the source of so much evil, and for us to be deeply ashamed of it and humbled before God but also to come to Christ in faith to be cleansed of it through His blood.

Complaining of the deep perdition of one's heart does not suf-

fice, it does not even redound to the glory of Christ and of Christianity. However, it is often very useful if one can pour out one's spiritual concerns, as it were, into the lap of an experienced minister or Christian, as I have often experienced this in the past and now again to my great refreshment. For, when, while writing a certain letter to our dear Senior Urlsperger, I complained simply and confidentially of the failings of my Christianity and ministry and of my frailties, which are steadily growing more evident, he has now written the following to me to my great comfort: "Don't write to me any more about your failings. I know that you, like me, wash yourself daily in the blood of Jesus; and then we are purer than the angels. We should always pray diligently for one another. He on the cross is our peace." My heart also received a great and salutary impression when this dear Father applied the 136th Psalm to our congregation, from which we so often receive the call: "His mercy endureth for ever,"<sup>22</sup> and one might also say here, "Jesus Christ yesterday and today, and the same in eternity."<sup>23</sup> He is always the same: just and pious and ever true. As He is in disgrace and shame, thus He is on the throne of joy, lovingly inclined to sinners.<sup>1</sup>

As I rode home from visiting this and another family, in which there was a very sick child, I was met by those men of the community who should relieve today those of the patrol in the forest for the week that has just ended. I wished them God's blessing on their journey. But they soon returned because their captain gave them permission to spend Sunday at home now and in the future and not to ride out until Monday and to come home again on Saturday.

Sunday, the 15th of June, the 2nd Sunday after Trinity. Yesterday evening I received from the merchant in Savannah the report that the two packets that I had sent to him had been rightly forwarded with the ship that is to depart from Savannah soon and that the copies were carefully sent to London via Charleston. At the same time he sent me a dependable and authentic report that the colonel of the Scots regiment, Mr. Montgomery, and some Carolina auxiliaries had penetrated into the towns of the Lower Cherokee Indians, had burned many of them, had killed a great many of these heathens, and had led their women and children away captive. Without doubt this has put great fear into the

Creek Indians, who had apparently wished to unite with the Cherokees against Carolina, and therefore against Georgia. An army can march much more easily into their land to lay it waste than into the mountainous land of the Cherokees.

Last night through divine mercy Mrs. Rahn in Bethany gave birth to a healthy daughter, which was baptized after the morning divine service.<sup>25</sup>

Monday, the 16th of June. The Greiners, who fled down here from Halifax (the two old people and their sons with their families) have remained here for several weeks and have had much opportunity to hear the word of the Lord on Sundays in the sermons and in the daily prayer hours. Now that they have received news that the wicked rumor of a war with the Creek Indians has died and that the inhabitants of Halifax who had fled to Carolina had returned again to their plantations, these people, namely the men, are returning home, but the women are remaining at our place for a while for the sake of the Bornemann woman, who married the youngest Greiner and wishes to bear her child here. Also those who fled from Augusta to Savannah are returning home, especially since no one doubts that the Creek Indians will remain neutral and wish to take no part in the murder of the traders and their servants, which is attributed to a single young Indian. From the fear and flight both men and cattle have suffered loss, and many thefts have been committed. God protected Ebenezer.

In the Charleston newspapers from the middle and end of last month there were few reports about the military situation in the Old and the New World. On this occasion I remembered the words from Isaiah 8:9-10: "Be wicked, ye people, ... Take counsel together, etc."<sup>26</sup> as well as what our blessed Luther said about them, namely:

The columns of the kingdom and principality, which could well bear the heavens, often stand where God wished to command them. There is not one of them that sighs upward to heaven and seeks counsel and deed from God. For they are either so godless that they do not let their consciences pray or call out, or they are so certain and sure of their wisdom and affairs that they scornfully forget it as if they did not need them

or they are otherwise accustomed to take counsel and remain firm in their disbelief. Therefore our Lord God must sit idly up there and cannot let such people receive wise counsel and speaks all the while with his angel Gabriel and says, "What are the wise people doing in the council chamber that they do not take us into their counsel? Dear Gabriel, go down and take Isaiah with you and pass a secret writing to them through the window and say, 'With seeing eyes ye shall not see, and with hearing ears ye shall not hear, and with understanding hearts ye shall not understand. Pass a resolution, and nothing will come of it and it will not last, for counsel and deed are both mine.'

In this newspaper there was again something about the previously mentioned very pregnant woman whose husband was burned before her and her four children's eyes by the Cherokee Indians. Namely, an old so-called Indian king bought her and her children as slaves and wishes to give them as a gift to the governor in Carolina. They have continued killing white people and also Negroes in Carolina or dragging them away alive; and they also brought some prisoners and some scalps to the commanding officer of a French fortress in Mississippi, who had the scalps placed on the peak of his house as a symbol of victory.

Colonel Montgomery and his Scottish Highlanders have made their way unexpectedly into the towns of the Lower Cherokees by a path that they did not guard, and therefore their lurking in ambush in the forests and cliffs failed them. He burned six towns and also the so-called "sugar town",<sup>27</sup> into which they had brought their belongings and provisions into safety. He would have spared this well-arranged town; but when he learned that two Indians had burned two white captives with fire, he had this town burned, too, and had the two cruel murderers thrown into the fire. He is summoning all the Indians to come from their towns to one place, and he wishes to offer them peace proposals. However, if they are not accepted, he will march further into their country to their ruin.

Because the small-pox has not ceased in Charleston and the people with their continued inoculations appear to be to blame, the parliament has passed a severe law that they no longer be made and that every house where the pox appears will be care-

fully watched and that such arrangements will be made even in the country so that this evil will not spread further. These noteworthy summaries stand above Chapter 18 of Jeremiah: "True penitence preserves, impenitence destroys."

Wednesday, the 18th of June. Yesterday afternoon we three colleagues had a right pleasant and intimate three-hour conference, which began and ended in prayer. Among other things our dear colleague Mr. Rabenhorst informed us this and that of the present circumstances of the minister's plantation, which is surely a good result of the last worthy letters of our dear Fathers and of the great monetary blessing from Augsburg and Halle for this worthy institution. He invited us in a friendly way to come see his good economic arrangements and the large fields on which, until now, hope has flourished for a rich harvest of rice, corn, beans, and potatoes, which flourishing hope now appears to be falling away because our holy and just God has given us dust and ashes instead of rain.

Thursday, the 19th of June. A week ago at the gatherings in the Zion and Jerusalem Church I lacked time to make the fatherly letter of our dear Dr. Prof. Francke of use to me and the assembled congregation. Now, however, this has been done in both churches, thanks be to God, so that we have cause humbly to praise His goodness for the blessings we have received from it. I let them sing the important hymn *Ich will so lang ich lebe hier*, etc. for the praise of God because the Lord of Hosts has saved not only us but also our dear benefactor of more than twenty-six years, Dr. Francke, and the dear institutions of the Orphanage from great tribulation and has helped so far in these trying times, as we have seen from this beautiful letter and from the written reports that came with it.

At the same time I reminded the congregation that this dear servant of God, in whose heart the spiritual and physical welfare of Ebenezer lies so deeply, had made the recently distributed verse Psalms 68:1: "Let God arise," useful to us in a letter already many years ago and that our loyal God had abundantly fulfilled in us its comforting content and his sincere wish for us. At the same time he made the impressive observation about the reports received from Ebenezer that, if one did not know from Holy Scripture and experience how great and deep the perdition of

the human heart is, one could recognize it, as in a mirror, in those people of Ebenezer who still remain unconverted despite all God's excellent work of grace.

He wished to be rejoiced by good reports from Ebenezer, since he did not have much other joy in the world. It would be far too extensive to cite the great good that our Lord has shown us from this dear letter for our instruction, the strengthening of our faith, warning, awakening, praise of God, and intercession for him, for dear Halle, the institutions of the Orphanage, and for the most worthy benefactors who have let many kinds of physical blessings flow to us through the hands of Dr. Francke even in these difficult and depressing times.

Friday, the 20th of June. Michel's oldest little daughter of about nine years has died in Bethany of clay eating<sup>28</sup> and was buried there yesterday.<sup>29</sup> He is an industrious and well-meaning and serviceable man. He still has three children, and with them the cross that the two youngest are also addicted to clay-eating. In my official diary I have often mentioned this very sad matter, and likewise the very strong and almost irresistible appetite of some of the smaller and larger children for salt, raw corn, beans, rice, charcoal, etc., which causes the premature death of many of our and other children. I have done this so that our worthy and experienced European friends will recommend for us some means against this evil.

Yesterday afternoon I baptized a little girl of five years whose parents have returned from Savannah and are now traveling back to their place at Halifax. Those who brought their families and household possessions and foodstuffs by water cannot travel back home that way now because the Savannah River is excessively low and unusable for the voyagers to Halifax and Augusta because of the exceptionally long-lasting drought.

I often plan, following the advice of our dear Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, who also cares for my physical well-being, to be briefer in my official diary. However, every day there are so many remarkable things belonging to the worlds of nature and grace which fill one page after the other without my intent, that much must be left out. From this day I must still note the following: 1) A couple of converted women from Bethany obtained advice in some questionable matters and gave me great joy through

their experience and growth in Christianity. Oh, how necessary and useful for me in my Christianity and ministry is that which He lets me learn from His kind, wise, and just guidance with His children!

2) God has granted me without constraint an opportunity to refresh some poor and at the same time righteous members of the congregation with something from the gifts which have flowed here from our dear hard-pressed German fatherland for hard-pressed and suffering Christians; and this has caused much joy and praise of God. With these poor people I invoke God for a right gracious reward. 3) The schoolmaster in Bethany has been poorly provided for until now, and now I can give him some good assistance for his diligence. 4) I visited a woman in child-bed, with whom I could speak much good for her conviction, friendly admonishment, and awakening to a true conversion.

Saturday, the 21st of June. Capt. Kieffer told me that he had received orders from the governor to double the patrols in the forest, as they are also doing in Savannah and at other places. It is being done to show the Creek Indians who are traveling back and forth that the white people are active and on their guard both day and night. The verses that we have received in the recent letters are always my comfort in the present tribulations: "Lord, remember us according to thy mercy, which thou hast promised thy people, etc."<sup>30</sup> Psalms 106:4-5. "Thou hast heard the desire of the humble." Psalms 10:17. "His mercy is everlasting."<sup>31</sup>

Our dear Lord has heard our sighs in that He has again freed us from the Rangers who were to keep guard here.

In the Charleston newspapers up to the 14th of this month I found no news at all from Europe. The report has been confirmed of Col. Montgomery's great advantages over the hostile Cherokee Indians in which he killed and captured many of them and burned all their towns with everything in them that could not be carried away, indeed, all within twenty-four hours. It has been added that, because many of them were sick with small-pox and could not be brought away because of the speed of the army, many may have died in the flames. The Indians, who had fled in haste, stood very tamely and sadly on the high cliffs the next day (because the attack took place at night by moonlight) and saw how their towns and belongings went up in smoke.

It is becoming known more and more what cruelty these Cherokee Indians committed against the white prisoners, especially against the men, whose hands and feet they chopped off and whom they martyred most excruciatingly. Because the commanding officer in Fort Prince Charles will not liberate the Indian war chiefs who were captured through stratagem until they surrender the captured white people, they have brought many women and children of both sexes, also some Negroes, to the said Fort Prince George. In this fort, as in Fort Loudon, the garrison was in the most extreme want of provisions, but now Col. Montgomery's victory has stood it in good stead.

Many Creek Indians have accompanied the English traders living among them with their goods. They desire peace but at the same time they wish the governor not to send any more of their people to war against the Cherokees, for they wish to remain neutral. Greedy Englishmen in the northern English colonies, with the help of Spaniards and Dutch, have supplied the French in Louisiana and Mississippi with provisions and war supplies, also all sorts of woolen cloth for clothing, from which gifts have been made to the Indians to the harm of the English colonies; and therefore the Carolina Parliament has passed a law that such things can no longer be transported to the West Indian Islands.

The very hot and dry weather is continuing, and it appears that God wishes to visit our land with crop failure and famine.

Sunday, the 22nd of June, the third Sunday of Trinity. Out of the group who were going from church to my house for prayer a pious woman came to me on the street and said that the dear Lord had granted her much edification last week from Chapter 9 of Book 2 of Arnd's *Christianity*. Because she sincerely wished this spiritual blessing for other members of the congregation, she prayed to God to give the minister the idea of praising this chapter to the congregation for their devout reading. Because that took place today when treating the important dogma of true God-pleasing repentance and conversion, her faith in God, who hears prayers and inclines hearts, was strengthened. In this chapter it is shown very beautifully that we can escape the judgments that threaten us through the order of true repentance and in no other way. She taught her tender little children the comforting verse 2 Chronicles 20:20, which she wished to recite to me: "Be-

lieve in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper." Carl Flerl, who received a physical blessing in his poverty and was praying with me gave me much joy through his faith, contentedness, humility, and gratitude.

Monday, the 23rd of June. Yesterday before the repetition hour at about five o'clock a great thunderstorm arose from the west, which brought us a good rain. We sincerely praise our kind God for this.

Two weeks ago Matthias Seckinger's wife [Catherina Gunter] was couched, and I visited her this morning on her plantation. I gave her a material gift in her need for her refreshment, and this honest couple and I thanked God on our knees for His blessings and prayed for further spiritual and physical blessings. They greatly rejoiced at my unexpected arrival and visit. They are new and weak beginners on this land, for they formerly lived behind Goshen.

Wednesday, the 25th of June. Yesterday God again granted us a penetrating rain, because of which the plants were, as it were, visibly refreshed and made to grow. This fruitful weather has come at just the right time, and one could say here, "When everything seemed to melt away, I still perceived Thy help"; or "What creeps slowly, one catches more surely; and what dallies is all the sweeter. Be content."<sup>32</sup> How blessed is a soul that can accept everything from the hand of God reconciled by Christ and be content with all His wise and good guidance and cast all its cares on Him. How good we could all have it, but they will not. Isaiah 30:15.

Thursday, the 26th of June. After today's weekday sermon we buried Martin Dasher's youngest little boy of two and a half years, who had died yesterday of whooping cough and consumptive fever.<sup>33</sup> The previously mentioned very severe coughing is still persisting among the children.

Yesterday and today, for the people gathered on the plantations and in town, I made use of the edifying little letters from the supplements to the charities that have arrived for Ebenezer, with which letters our unknown benefactors so lovingly sent their charities in these distressful times. They are very edifying; they give witness to their very sincere love for the Ebenezer congregation and its ministers. They contain their moving wishes and in-

tercession for our spiritual and physical welfare and give us much desired material for the strengthening of faith, praise of God, and humble intercession. May the Lord remember them all for their good!

Soon after lunch I had to marry an English couple, whose bans had been posted on three Sundays (as is customary). Afterwards I went out to Lackner's plantation to pray again for his youngest sick little daughter [Dorothea] and to bless her, but she had already died. Still, we knelt down with the women and children of the neighborhood who were present, praised our loyal God for all the mercy in Christ shown to this little daughter, and presented Him with all our and our congregation's woes. This child suffered greatly, but patiently, with coughing, fever, and dysentery.

Saturday, the 28th of June. Because Mrs. Kalcher, as a true Christian and righteous widow, concerns herself day and night with the salvation of her and her family's souls with God's word, prayer, and tears, she takes it uncommonly hard and feels unspeakable sorrow that her second daughter, who was married to Rheinlander, suddenly died of military fever<sup>34</sup> a few weeks ago in Savannah and was taken to eternity. Yet our loyal God helps her during and after the prayer and does not leave her without comfort. But what a great comfort is found in the verse that the Holy Ghost has set in the Bible "We know that all things work together for the good of them that love God."<sup>35</sup> At the burial yesterday Mrs. Kalcher told someone that, in her fever, her oldest daughter's daughter asked someone to fetch her cousin because she wished to tell him that they (namely, this five year old child and the cousin) would soon die, but he must first repent and convert himself, otherwise he would not come to heaven.

Today we can again call to one another, "Ebenezer, so far hath the Lord helped,"<sup>36</sup> especially in that He has let the repair of the Jerusalem or town church be brought to a very successful end, has graciously granted us the repair costs, which amounted to 40 £ Sterling, both through the voluntary contribution of our inhabitants and through our worthy benefactors in Europe.

The foundation of the church has been entirely renovated, the floor has been laid anew, and on the left side a large room has been built so that it can hold far more listeners than previously.

The pews, the pulpit, and the Communion table, and much more are now arranged more comfortably and orderly. Because the church has been provided with two broad and high doors on opposite sides and also with many windows, it is cool in summer but not so cold in winter because the doors and windows can be shut. It is also raised a good deal farther from the ground in order to preserve the door sills and floor beams from rotting. Praise be to God who has let us feel His help and blessing at this time in so many ways! May he make us all grateful in our hearts.

Sunday, the 29th of June. In the evening prayer hour yesterday we sang *Danket dem Herrn ihr Gottesknechte*, etc. to the praise of our unchanging kind and merciful God, who, among other manifold spiritual and physical blessings, has now granted us this clean and spacious church that is arranged so comfortably for the ministers and congregation. We have been shown from Psalms 81:9-11 and 14:17 what our loyal God sincerely wishes to do from now on for adults and children through His word, which will be preached to us in this His house. We have invoked God and asked him to let the dear words always fall forcefully into our hearts as often as we enter the church: "Open thy mouth wide"...<sup>37</sup> Likewise, "Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God."<sup>38</sup>

It is my sincere wish that we ministers, who have so much opportunity here to preach the word of God on Sundays and holy days, at weddings, confessions, and burials, will not say anything except what Christ and His spirit can effect through His dear word and through us so that many souls will be converted and so that much joy will arise through their true conversion before God and all the inhabitants of heaven, indeed, even before our dear benefactors who are still living in their pilgrimage.

Monday, the 30th of June. A week ago our earth and plants were refreshed and, as it were, revived by a good rain; but since then it has again been dry and hot. The garden plants are spoiling, and the fruit such as peaches and figs are falling off unripe, and in the forest things look miserable for man and beast. He is the Lord, may He do with us as it pleases Him. Yet we have high cause to praise Him sincerely despite all tribulations for having averted the dangerous war with the Creek Indians and having

humbled the Cherokees. It is confirmed more and more that the Creeks wish to remain in an alliance and peace with the English. They have taken into their custody the goods of the traders who were killed some weeks ago by about four unruly wicked Indians, and they have preserved them so well that not the least of them was damaged. More and more of the Indians come to Savannah to bring assurance of their friendship and loyalty, which, to be sure, causes the government extraordinary expenses. God, give peace to Thy land and fortune and salvation to all classes. May He let us hear from our dear German fatherland that He has let the content of the 85th Psalm be fulfilled in His church.

### J U L Y 1 7 6 0

Tuesday, the 1st of July. My colleague Rabenhorst told me that his housekeeper Jacob Ihle's youngest child [Jonathan], about nine months old, had died on Sunday of dysentery and was buried yesterday. In our conference and prayer hour our dear God gave us much edification and blessing.

Wednesday, the 2nd of July. Yesterday shortly before evening our very dried out soil received a penetrating rain. Some crops that were planted late will recover. Since the last rain Mr. Rabenhorst also has good hopes for a moderate harvest. In the weekly sermon I repeated something about the righteous and beneficent affection of our dear Fathers and benefactors, which has again been made known to us through their last letters. My parishioners then chose to struggle, through a proper use of the means of salvation and a loyal application of their intercession and benefactions, to achieve through divine order the certain hope of seeing their faces in heaven one day and to rejoice with them forever because of all the Lord's benefactions to them here. What an incomprehensible shame it would be if many of us were revealed as unconverted and therefore miserable people for whom all their good wishes, intercession, and benefactions would be lost. Especially the Salzburgers could never answer to God and man if they did not become converted and righteous; for God, as in other ways, has done them so very much good through His dear servants and children. I spoke emphatically to their consciences on this score.

Thursday, the 3rd of July. Yesterday it rained somewhat in town and much on the plantations, but not at all in Bethany and some other places. Today, soon after lunch, a strong thunderstorm arose and brought us a heavy rain that lasted several hours, such as we have not had for a long time. This penetrated right deeply and was a great blessing for the very dried out soil. For this we humbly praise the Lord both privately and publicly.

Friday, the 4th of July. Pastor Zublin has written to me that the Anglican minister, Mr. Zuberbühler,<sup>1</sup> who, along with his housekeeper the widow Altherr, is now on the ship lying before Savannah, wished to go to London but has now changed his mind and will remain behind. Still, he has given up his office; and by Christmas another missionary will arrive, since he is planning to travel to Europe and completely abandon America.<sup>2</sup> He also announces that a new minister has arrived in Purysburg, and he sincerely hopes that he is a righteous man who will be able to accomplish something in this degenerate place.

God has heard the sighs of the miserable people and caused the authorities to spare the poor people from patrolling in the forest from now on. Thus our loyal God is taking one tribulation after the other from us and is letting none of them become too great or too long. Because we have received such good fruitful weather, the people of both sexes have their hands full in planting corn and sweet potatoes and in chopping the already planted crops and in clearing it of grass. Much that was damaged by the long-lasting drought appears to be recovering because of the warm rain.

Saturday, the 5th of July. Since the first of this month it has been raining every day, and therefore rather cool both day and night, but occasionally fearfully warm. We still hear all sorts of contradictory reports of the Indians, and we do not know what we should believe. I hope that the next Carolina newspapers will report something. In the last one up to the 21st of this month there was no report at all about the Indians.<sup>3</sup> I hear that men who have to patrol in the forests with their officers have returned tired, to be sure, but healthy. May God let this tribulation, of which we knew nothing in previous years, also serve them for their own good.

Some of them will not have failed to amuse themselves and

commit sins; for, where there are many people, there are usually many words and, where there are many words, sin will not be lacking. To be sure, we warn them against sins, which are the perdition of the people, on all occasions, especially at this time which we have good cause to spend not with frivolity but in true repentance and fear of God.

Sunday, the 6th of July. In the past night it again rained very much and it stopped at seven o'clock this morning. There were also little rains during the day. If it had rained as it did during the night, the people from the plantations would have been greatly impeded in coming to church, but right many of them found their way. Mr. Rabenhorst helped me today in the town church, while Mr. Lemke preached in Bethany.

Monday, the 7th of July. Yesterday, on the 5th Sunday after Trinity, we contemplated from the gospel the attitude<sup>4</sup> of God and Christ toward us poor fallen sinners. We waived the reading of the 29th chapter of the 2nd book of Johannes Arnd's *Of True Christianity*,<sup>5</sup> from whose chief verse our loving God gave me a fine blessing during this morning's prayer hour, especially from the so comfortingly expressed purpose of Christ's being sent into the world. This was for the atonement of our sins and so that we might live through Him (1 John 4:9-10), which is surely most comforting for us poor sinners who are worthy of death. Also very comforting for me was the little verse from a Christmas hymn, "Oh little Jesus, thy pious mind causes me to be so full of comfort; Hallelujah."<sup>6</sup>

After I had proof-read in quietude the last section of the official diary and something else that was to be sent today in the packet via Savannah to London, the dear verse occurred to me so pleasingly that I could have sung it and told everyone. This I did afterwards to my brother-in-law Lemke<sup>7</sup> and the assembled vestrymen of the congregation and the church: "I hope that Thou wilt be so merciful, my heart rejoiceth that Thou so gladly helpeth. I shall sing unto the Lord because He dealeth so well, so well, with me."<sup>8</sup>

This afternoon we had an important and very pleasant and intimate conference with the church vestrymen from Ebenezer and Bethany, nine in number. In this assembly, which began and ended with prayer, the repair costs for the church were calcu-

lated and necessary arrangements were made for defraying them, in part through a voluntary contribution by the congregation, which amounts to 33 £ Sterling, and in part from the last blessing received from Europe. Similarly it was decided that all old parishioners would retain their old pews while others who are not yet supplied with seats on the men's and women's sides according to their wish would choose for themselves such seats in the vacant pews as please them. For this they will pay the carpenter and give a free gift to the church. But nothing compulsory. At the death of the owners these seats escheat to the church, and the relatives or others who wish to acquire them later must redeem them with a small gift. This arrangement will no doubt please everyone.

On the other hand, other arrangements that were suggested to me gave an opportunity for discontent, secret murmuring, and jealousy. The ministers and schoolmasters have their own pews, and a special pew is reserved for the midwives and for the women who conduct the churching. The small children who have not yet gone to Holy Communion have their benches across from the pulpit or not far from the communion table, while the larger sit to the right and to the left of the pulpit so that they can all recite their Bible verses on Sundays and holy days in the afternoon and the catechism and the order of salvation in the morning between the first and second hymns. Other things were agreed upon, especially a necessary point about the ministers' home, of which mention will be made in the future.<sup>9</sup>

After the conference I sent my packet to Savannah via our business agent with new letters and the last sections of the official diary so that it will be sent in Capt. Ball's ship, which is to depart soon, to our worthy Court Preacher Ziegenhagen in London. May God take this packet into His protection during these perilous times as He has graciously done heretofore.

The old widow Schubdrein had me called to her at her son-in-law's plantation so she could once again hear my encouragement and prayer as she is now moving to her oldest daughter in Bethany and hopes to die soon.<sup>10</sup> She said that she had been very close to death several days ago and that it seemed as if the beautiful new city of God were gleaming before her eyes, but that she had recovered again. God was surely doing that so that she could

prepare herself still better. In Germany she had thought she was a good Christian, but here God had gradually revealed to her how evil and sinful her heart was. Her oldest daughter is just like the youngest, with whom she has been living so far, she is a truly experienced Christian and will be useful to this old mother's body and soul. She is very frail and needs much care, and she does not wish to be a burden on one child.

Tuesday, the 8th of July. The Austrian Johann Schmid's oldest son Daniel has been greatly wasted by sickness and is pleased when I speak and pray with him from God's word. I asked concerning the verse Ezekiel 36:26 that I had given him several weeks ago which he should put in his prayers diligently to obtain a new heart. He could recite it to me, and it seemed as if our merciful God had blessed it in him. The Lord will surely soon release his soul from all evil. I have also requested such a blessed death for Zettler's youngest little daughter, which would be a great blessing for both the child and the parents, who have had in her a true picture of misery before their eyes and have had little rest either by day or by night. One should not think that a person, and especially such a tender little child of sixteen months, could suffer from epilepsy for so long.<sup>11</sup> I admonished the parents to ask God for a recognition of His wise and salutary purpose for them through this grave tribulation so that it will be achieved in them and their children.<sup>12</sup>

A pious woman showed me from the *Cöthen Songbook*<sup>13</sup> the 15th verse of the first song: *A und O, Anfang und Ende*, which God had blessed in her last Sunday to strengthen her faith. "Fosterer of all heavenly gifts! Even apostates should share in what Thy heart possesses. It was painful for Thee to merit it, giving will not cost Thy life. Give what profits me but not Thee."<sup>14</sup> Her tender little child was standing nearby and recited to me on her own impulse the very excellent song from the second part of the *Freylinghausen Songbook*:<sup>15</sup> *Hofnung macht doch nicht zu Schanden. etc., etc.* Her mother is a lover of edifying songs and verses; and, because she hopes to have her very capable and only child with her with Christ in heaven, she teaches her such beautiful things while she is spinning and doing other house chores, and she told me this at some occasion with much joy. Afterwards in my solitude I sang this song to myself; and our dear Halle and the institutions there

were very much in my mind and intercession. May the Lord strengthen His dear servants and children there for these dangerous times in faith, hope, and prayer, and may He let them, for Christ's sake, experience that which stands in this song.

Yesterday some German Catholic people with four children traveled with bag and baggage through here and asked us for charity. They claim that they were driven out by the Cherokees and were migrating to their brother on the other side of the Altamaha River not far from St. Augustine, where many evil people have arbitrarily settled. Today an English family traveled back to Briar Creek or Halifax and had me baptize their youngest little daughter, seven weeks old. This afternoon Johann Caspar Greiner's little son, who was born this morning before day, was baptized.<sup>16</sup> His wife was the wife of the former surgeon Bornemann of Göttingen.<sup>17</sup> The last time she bore, with the greatest mortal danger, a dead child on her plantation in Halifax, but now our dear God let her come through easily even though she had a severe fever.

Wednesday, the 9th of July. Shortly before I departed for the plantations to hold the weekly sermon, Mrs. Zettler advised me that her little daughter, who had been ravaged by epilepsy, had died yesterday.<sup>18</sup>

At about noon, when I had come home from the weekday sermon in the great heat, our loving God granted me, in addition to a great physical refreshment, also a great spiritual refreshment through the unexpected arrival of a letter packet from our worthy Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, who had also sent me a letter dated the 10th of March of the current year, whose content gives me good information about several necessary matters and leaves me not without comfort in my official trials. May God be heartily praised for having maintained the life and health of this His loyal servant for Ebenezer's good and for having kept us steadfastly in his fatherly favor and intercession, even though not all the reports from this place can be joyful or pleasing to him.

Thursday, the 10th of July. A woman from the plantations, whose heart has clung these past years to the world and to matters of subsistence, has been awakened mightily to true conversion since the rather quick death of her dear little daughter. Since that time she has been so plagued with dreadful temptations<sup>19</sup> and with severe and vicious thoughts that she thinks she

will not long be able to resist them. She was afraid to reveal these her grave problems, but in yesterday's weekday sermon she was somewhat comforted by the gospel concerning God's and Christ's attitude<sup>20</sup> toward all fallen sinners and was encouraged to reveal her problems to me, as occurred today before the daily weekday sermon in town. I instructed her from God's word, referred her to the late Arnd's *Christianity*, and prayed to God in the name of Christ concerning her circumstances. God wishes to have her honest and open, and therefore He goes such ways with her for her salvation. In the weekday sermon, which at the same time was funeral sermon because of the burial of the Zettler child, she heard much about the feelings of God and Christ toward great sinners and toward the tender children, which, I hope, will serve her as further instruction and comfort.

Friday, the 11th of July. Yesterday evening Hans Schmid's very sick son had me called to him to receive a blessing for his soul from my encouragement and prayer. Our merciful God has achieved His gracious purpose with this long-lasting and burdensome sickness through the effective grace of the Holy Spirit through His word and has begun to fulfil the dear promise in Ezeckiel 36 of the gift of a new heart and a new spirit, which was so commended to him. As a result, his parents, who were formerly distressed by his obstinacy, impatience, and disobedience have great joy in his true change in mind and way of life and praise God.

It now stands him in good stead that he has read, heard, and comprehended so many important and comforting verses from God's word and so many edifying parables and examples, of which his mouth now overflows in his great physical weakness. I spoke with him from the gospel according to his spiritual circumstances, prayed with him along with his parents and other people present, and spoke the blessings of the Lord over him. Thereupon his little brother came up to me and recited to me the following edifying little rhyme which his mother had taught him from the little book *The Power of God on Little Children*.<sup>21</sup> and which well deserves a little place here because of its edifying content:

Children, do you wish to languish  
And completely disregard

That the blood of the Lamb  
 Flows in so many  
 And that the call resounds:  
 Children be so good  
 And rejoice in the Lamb  
 My and your Prince of Life.  
 Do quench His thirst.

Saturday, the 10th of July. Already yesterday evening after completing my answers to London and Halle I felt a special impulse to write to our worthy secretary of the praiseworthy Society, Mr. Broughton, to congratulate him for his complete recovery from a dangerous sickness, to thank the worthy Society for its uninterrupted affection for us and our congregation, and to furnish a short report of our spiritual and physical circumstances, for which our loving God gave me time and strength this morning to carry out my intentions.

I had hardly concluded this letter and inadvertently dated it the 11th and therefore as of yesterday when I received in a little letter the news that the ship's captain Ball will depart from Savannah at midday tomorrow, and therefore my packet had to be sent there today. For this the Lord granted me a good opportunity (for nothing occurs through chance) in that a mounted courier was traveling through here to Savannah with letters to our governor and was willing to wait long enough for me to seal my letters to Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen and Mr. Broughton.

May our God, who doeth all in His own time, take this letter as well as the two letters traveling with Capt. Ball into His gracious and mighty protection and let the letters and reports, which were composed with the noticeable assistance of God, redound to the glory of His great name and to the edification of our dear Fathers and to my son! The mounted courier (a Ranger)<sup>22</sup> brought the news that Col. Montgomery had waged a battle against the Cherokee Indians on the first of this month, in which he had, to be sure, driven back the Indians but had suffered 160 dead and wounded among his soldiers. Many of the Carolinians deserted.

After this business was finished, I went by foot to Schmid's plantation to his sick son, who had received Holy Communion from Mr. Lemke yesterday morning as a penitent and grace-hun-

gry sinner with many sighs. Today he experienced the physical mercy that his pains have abated and that his onerous and long-lasting illness had become much ameliorated. I admonished him to become ever better acquainted with himself and with his Savior and to apply his short time well and to follow the good counsel and desires of his parents willingly. Thereupon we prayed and praised God with him. I gave some of the physical blessings we had received to him for his recovery and to his two little siblings for shirts. This entire family is, to be sure, poor, but they are godly and contented.

Our kind-hearted God has granted us not only fruitful weather for our crops but also so much water in the river that the mills can begin to run again, which is a new and great benefaction for our inhabitants, who like to grind their rye and wheat before the summer worms can get to them.

The 6th Sunday after Trinity, the 13th of July. Mrs. Rahn announced that she intended to be church-ed; from her humble confession I could clearly observe that the Lord had shown great mercy to her on her childbed not only physically but also spiritually and had also saved her from much anxiety and melancholy; and, in addition to that, He had blessed the service of her younger sister. In her one can see what humility, poverty of spirit, and hunger and thirst for Christ and His mercy are. I bent my knees with her before God's throne of grace. I dismissed her, as a person poor in spirit and often tempted, with the dear words which I have found very comforting since last week's weekday sermon: "If the zeal of Moses oppressed me, if the sorrow of the law flashes on me," etc.<sup>23</sup> from the lovely song *Wie wohl ist mir o Freund der Seelen, etc.*, which in my day at the Orphanage in Halle was accustomed to be sung in the balcony whenever we carried a deceased pious colleague to his grave at the Glaucha cemetery. This time is still very edifying for me.

Monday, the 14th of July. A man who was present in Col. Montgomery's just-mentioned battle not only confirmed the newly received report but also added to it that a very great body of Cherokee Indians had gathered and attacked this colonel's troops with the greatest fury (as the Turks are accustomed to do) and continued this desperate assault twice, but then they were driven back every time. However, the colonel had to withdraw

with his soldiers with the loss of 160 men, among them many wounded, especially since the Carolina troops deserted in droves. The godless and disloyal people let themselves be voluntarily maintained for good pay and then sin against God, their conscience, and the whole land, which they put into great danger through their disloyalty.

There are said to be two white men (presumably Irishmen) among the Cherokee Indians, who can write and read well, maintain a secret correspondence and teach these savages many things unknown to them to the detriment of the country and also give them bad suggestions. I have often been amazed that so many evildoers, who merited the gallows in England, are transported as men and woman servants to Virginia to serve there a few years rather than make them soldiers on the warships or to condemn them to work on the fortifications or other public works. They get no better through their service in America but even worse because of the great freedom and vast land, and they run away from their service to other colonies, especially to South Carolina and Georgia. Many of them also go over to the Spaniards and French and become traitors and ringleaders. In our colony everyone receives land, no matter from where he comes; and he is not asked of what confession he is. One would like to occupy this our land thickly, but in the recent disturbances one has well seen that such people, who can load their belongings on one or two horses like Arabs, are the first to leave the land. Very few of this kind of men have any love of work, rather they become soldiers or hussars for a while, serve in the forts, travel around on the water, and become servants of the Indian traders who transport their goods through the mountains on pack horses and bring back deer and other hides.

Many of them support themselves in the forests by shooting like the Indians, and they sell their deer hides to the English traders just as the Indians do. These are the ones who also steal horses in the open forest and do much damage to the cattle, and afterwards the Indians are blamed for it. It is among the special testimonies of divine providence over us that we hear little about highway robbery, murder, and burglary, even though the people live far from one another in poorly protected huts and travel much by both day and night through the thick and uninhabited

forests.

To be sure, if every rascal could give vent to the wickedness of his heart as he wished, there would be no safety. The hand of God sets certain barriers to wickedness and to the wicked. I have thought of this providence of God that has ruled over us so far with humility and gratitude, since I read in Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen's last letter that our dear Mr. Lloyd<sup>24</sup> in London was put into danger through the audacity and wickedness of his own coachman at night and robbed of much money, which, I don't know how, he later recovered.

From the worthy letter of 10 March of this year from Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen that arrived here on the 9th of this month I read with much pity the sad news of the great tribulation of our mission in Curlur, which appears to have been totally destroyed by the most destructive war so that our dear missionaries were forced to move to Tranquebar.<sup>25</sup> May our wondrous and ever kind God, who through His wisdom and goodness lets everything, even the most unpleasant, serve to the benefit of His children, bless this destruction of shepherds and sheep for the instruction of other men as occurred at the time of persecutions in the first Christian communities (Acts 8:4 ff.)<sup>26</sup>

Because of this great tribulation I remembered, with regard to the otherwise blessed mission work and the entire church that is now distressed church, the dear promise in faith which greatly impressed me many years ago soon after the blessed death of Professor Francke in a *Collegium paraneticum*:<sup>27</sup> Deuteronomy 32:36, "The Lord shall judge His people, and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that their power is gone, etc." Oh, what the Lord doeth for us, especially in these dangerous times. Thousand, thousand times be Ye, etc. etc.

Wednesday, the 16th of July. Yesterday my dear colleagues again came to my study for an intimate and enjoyable conference, which (as always properly occurs) began and ended with prayer. First we looked over the list of our adult and younger parishioners who had registered for Holy Communion, whereupon I communicated to them<sup>28</sup> something from the letters of our worthy Court Chaplain and of my son which, we received on the 9th of this month. It was resolved that the good arrangements that were recently made in the church vestrymen's confer-

ence concerning the children's and adults' pews would be announced to the entire congregation next Sunday after the sermon.

Regarding the letters, we remembered, partly to our humiliation and partly to the praise of God, the ways He went with us in our dear Halle. Finally, the important financial matter from Augsburg was completely settled with the drawing of a bill of exchange for 77 £ Sterling. May God give a rich blessing to our known and unknown benefactors! Here I cannot leave unmentioned how our wondrous and loyal God has abundantly fulfilled the hope and the wish of an unnamed benefactor, who calls himself a decrepit emigrant, in the Halle accounts of the benefactions and charities collected during the last two years in Augsburg for the needs and refreshment for many thirsty inhabitants of Ebenezer. The remarkable words he wrote with his gift are as follows:

Pro memoria. A decrepit exile who has experienced the truth of the divine words of Mark 10:29-30 on his own example is herewith having 20 Reichthaler sent to the Jewish Institute, to the mission in Malabar, to our distressed brothers in Pennsylvania and Ebenezer with these words: "Here should 30 horses (they were all Lüneburg 4 Groschen pieces) travel to each place and give help to the needy there. Perhaps God will still awaken a rich man who can send a thousand in the future to each place. So far, this exile."<sup>29</sup>

As I recognize from the comparison of this account with the accounts from Halle, this decrepit and dear exile who has passed on to his heavenly fatherland is the late and dear Pastor Sommer of Schortewitz, who is still edifying our youth with his poetry.

This morning the young Mrs. [Agnesia] Waldhauer from Goshen, who has been residing with her mother at our place because of her sickness, brought a healthy little daughter safely into this world.<sup>30</sup>

Thursday, the 17th of July. Although because of the long-missing rain it appeared in the fields and gardens as if crops and fruit would dry up, everything has so recovered in this fruitful weather we are having that we not only expect, but also already enjoy to a certain degree, some fruits such as apples and peaches,

as well as melons and cucumbers; and everything in the fields promises a good harvest of corn, beans, rice, and sweet potatoes. The water in the river is rising and is making the grist mills function, which is a great blessing for our inhabitants who have long wished to grind their wheat and rye. The children's so-called whooping cough has also begun to diminish, and the children are gradually beginning to return to both schools, and this gives me much joy.

Friday, the 18th of July. It is said that Col. Montgomery has received orders from General Amherst to march back to his army because the French are getting too strong for him. In this way Carolina (and perhaps Georgia) is coming into greater danger than it was previously because of the very angry and desperate Cherokee Indians. Oh, if only everyone were in a spiritual condition to take to heart the dear words that the Lord God spake unto Abraham in a likewise distressful time of war: "Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward."<sup>31</sup> Alas, it looks very depressing in both colonies! We greatly desire to learn how things are faring in Germany this summer.

Saturday, the 19th of July. Surgeon Mayer has been sick for a week, but the Lord has raised him up again. He informed me of something from his brother's letter concerning what good the Lord has done for his soul, and for that He is said to have used a person from London as His instrument.<sup>32</sup>

From the latest Charleston newspapers I have learned that the two last ships of this summer will soon depart for London; and, because there will be no opportunity after that until autumn to send letters to Europe, I have completed my packet of copies in order to send it next Monday, God willing, via Savannah to Charleston and on to our dear Court Chaplain.

The 7th Sunday after Trinity, the 20th of July. Because of yesterday's gentle rains today has been cool and pleasant. Holy Communion was held with 111 persons, and after the afternoon service we buried Georg Niess's wife [Maria], who died yesterday of military fever.<sup>33</sup> She was the second daughter of the late gardner Michael Oechsele, and she has left two unreaired daughters, one of two years and the other of five weeks. I visited her on her remote plantation at the beginning of her lying-in, through God's dispensation rather than through my intention, and, to

be sure, not without profit.

I had wished to visit Mrs. Seckinger in her sickness but took a wrong path and came upon Niess's plantation, where I found this young woman already sick and more ready than before for God's word and prayer. Last Friday she had me called to her; and I again encouraged her like other sick people in the gospel, to come as a penitent sinner to Christ, who Himself said that He had come to call sinners to repentance and would not cast out any who came to Him.

Toward the end of last week the widow of the late carpenter Hirsch from Augsburg, who had married a Württemberger named Heinze, bore a healthy little girl.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, Johann Michel's youngest little son [Johannes], who has been sick for a long time, died in Bethany. Like his recently deceased little sister he had eaten clay.<sup>35</sup>

After the funeral the church vestrymen were with me, with whom I first prayed and briefly made plans for several matters concerning good order. Much time passed in this, and I was too tired to hold the repetition hour.

Monday, the 21st of July. Yesterday evening our dear Lord heard the entreaties and sighs of the long-sick Samuel Schmid and his pious parents and released him from all evil through a blessed death and removed him to His heavenly kingdom. His long suffering was, to be sure, a bitter yet salutary medicine for his soul, for which he praised God. I laid as a basis of the funeral sermon the dear verse of James 1:12, which stands above Chapter 45 of Book 2 of the *True Christianity*, which I praised to my congregation yesterday.<sup>36</sup> He was nineteen years old.

In his very great pain in his last days he sighed earnestly, among other things, "If I am now going to heaven and will be unseparated from Jesus, then I am content." He learned such things from the hymn *Gott wills machen, dass die Sachen gehen, wie es heilsam ist*. With these words he was strengthened up to his death in faith and patience. "Just believe firmly that the best has been determined for you. If only your will is quiet, you will be freed from your sorrow." With these words and through a blessed death he was liberated from his great pains and all suffering. He had learned many beautiful verses and hymns even though he had a very weak memory because of his very severe epilepsy.<sup>37</sup>

Tuesday, the 22nd of July. I was told that Samuel Graves's oldest son of seven years was dangerously sick, and this moved me to travel out to his plantation in Bethany this morning. This weak child, swollen with dysentery, recited for me the little verse: "Delight thyself also in the Lord, etc., Commit thy way unto the Lord, and he shall bring it to pass."<sup>38</sup> These last words he repeated several times: "He shall bring it to pass." After I had admonished the parents to Christian unity in faithful prayer together and for each other and to a Christian way of life as an example for their children, I prayed with them and then went to their pious neighbor Hangleiter and his devout wife, where I found their oldest son sick and lying in bed. We had a conversation about yesterday's funeral sermon, James 1:12, and the important words of the second verse: "My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall in divers temptations."<sup>39</sup> God granted us much blessing in the conversation and prayer. They saw it as God's gracious dispensation that I had come to them precisely today, since they had a desire for me because of their child. In the afternoon my colleagues and I had an intimate and useful conference and prayer hour, in which we fondly remembered for our encouragement the great good we had experienced in our academic years and that was recognized by other righteous people.<sup>40</sup>

Thursday, the 24th of July. That dear jewel of her house, of her kinship, and of our community, Mrs. F., is experiencing more and more Christ's sweet promise of His gracious and mysterious manifestation in the hearts of his true lovers, John 14:21, Hosea 2:20. He holds Holy Communion with her; and, according to Psalms 36:9, she is sometimes so intoxicated or celestially sated from the rich goods of His house that she occasionally loses her appetite for physical meat and drink. For her husband, two grown sons, and her old mother she is a constantly blessed instrument before God in prayer, words, and actions, which are based on true poverty of spirit, faith, humility, and patience.

Whenever she can come to me from her remote plantation (as happened this morning), she pours forth, as it were, her whole heart before God and his poor servant for the praise of God and with desire for a well founded instruction to go forth on God's ways. With all this she is a great and, at the same time, patient bearer of the cross and has inwardly many spiritual temptations

and outwardly many tribulations in her profession, which, however, serve for her good as a lover of God.

She belongs among the dear and well tested and purified souls to whom a worthy friend of Ebenezer has donated five Reichsthaler with the hearty wish "that our loving Jesus as the best physician will help all these His dear lambs (namely, the sick and distressed members at Ebenezer) through miraculous divine power and also let the light of faith rise in their souls and thereby keep them unaggrieved to the very end." (According to the Halle Supplements in the account of the charities that have arrived for Ebenezer) "the Highest, in keeping with His unending mercy, has let this friend of Ebenezer feel great grace and His sweet comfort in her soul in her great temptations and distress." Our Mrs. F., in her poverty and suffering thus received a part of this charity with great humility and gratitude.

Friday, the 25th of July. Colleague Rabenhorst informed me that the people of our confession would fetch him to Savannah to preach and hold Holy Communion. Therefore he will not be able to help us in our office next Sunday. We gladly serve the people in Savannah in the hope that it will not be entirely in vain.

Sunday, the 26th of July. I hear from our inhabitants that God is visiting their fields with grass and plant worms, which set themselves in the green grain like locusts and devour it from the heart down to the roots. Indeed, they eat away entire fields of grass of which people wished to make hay, as if the grass were mowed. They are already beginning to reach the green beans and squash. How incomprehensible are His judgments and how unfathomable His ways!<sup>41</sup>

Niess's oldest orphan, six years old, whose mother died two days ago,<sup>42</sup> was brought to church this morning by her guardian, the grandmother Oechsele, so that we could pray for it before and with the entire congregation, praise God, and bless it. This occurred with the noticeable assistance of God after I had given the congregation a short report of this extraordinary service that was going to be given. My previous work with letters from Savannah and the rapid preparation of a dispatch there, as well as this new service, took a part of my strength for the sermon. Yet I praise the Lord, who has heard my poor prayer and that of my

faithful parishioners and has graciously strengthened me both in the sermon and in the following house prayer hour. It has been very hot, but during the afternoon divine service it rained penetratingly.

Monday, the 28th of July. In his letter of yesterday the Governor announced that a party of Creek Indians had come to him with promises of peace and that he hoped that, with God's help, we would keep them in an alliance and in peace, even if our security can not be entirely entrusted to the outwardly good promise.

Tuesday, the 29th of July. Yesterday Mrs. Landfelder let me know that her 60 year old worn out husband had contracted a dangerous fever on Sunday and that my visit would be very welcome to him. I went to him without delay, told him something according to his weak capacity about the right preparation for a blessed death through faith in Christ the Physician of the sick and the Savior of sinners, and prayed with him. He is very tired and must sleep all the time, and it is difficult to keep him awake. I promised some of the charity we had received so they could pay Mr. Thilo for his help if they wish to use him regularly as they had begun.

I was told that a pious mother in Bethany wished to use something from the doctor for her oldest little boy in his sickness but that the stepfather was so penurious that he did not wish to spend any more for the child than had already been given. This moved me to ride out this morning to inculcate in them their duty toward the sick children, and at that time I gave them some help. The good people are afraid of debts. In the neighborhood was a very poor family with a very sick child, where I did the same. May God bless my conversation and prayer.

Thursday, the 31st of July. At the conclusion of this month I must mention the following: 1) The pious wife of shoemaker Weitmann has been very sick up to now, and yesterday, at great risk of death, she bore a dead baby. When I had prayed with the honest man in my study, I also reminded him of the very important and comforting Chapter 23, Book 3 of Johannes Arnd's *True Christianity*, which I had recommended to the congregation on Sunday. 2) It has been found good to panel the inner parts of the church, to paint blue some things such as doors, sills, the

railing around the Communion table, etc., and to put backs on the men's and women's pews. All this has been done, and it decorates the church and makes it comfortable. 3) The tribulation with the grass and corn worms is bearable and is subsiding here, on the other hand in other places large rice and corn fields have been eaten away. 4) For two or three weeks God has granted us enough water in the river for the use of the mills, without which we have had to do at this time in other years. 5) The weather is very fruitful, and a good harvest is beginning everywhere, even on the minister's plantation, where Pastor Rabenhorst has noticed almost no damage from the worms. Through God's goodness the fields have been little hurt by the long drought.

#### AUGUST 1760

Friday, the 1st of August. Yesterday before evening I visited the sick Landfelder on his plantation and praised the Lord with him and his pious wife for His many general and special spiritual and physical blessings, which He has shown us so richly in our whole lives and now again for a whole month. We also called upon Him for gracious forgiveness of all our sins and for His continued grace and benefactions. He is getting better. At my arrival his still very young little girl sang a song she had learned by heart: *Hofnung macht doch nicht zu schanden, etc. etc.* She sings herself to sleep every evening with the many sayings and verses she has learned from lovely hymns.

God granted a pious woman a great blessing from the dear gospel presented for the 9th of July in the *Little Treasure Chest*,<sup>1</sup> especially from the comforting fourth verse of the song *Wie lechzet doch mein Geist*, etc., which stands under it. Because it does not appear in her hymnal, she requested of me the large Freylinghausen Songbook,<sup>2</sup> in order to refresh herself from it as a soul thirsting for Christ and His salvation. I also pointed out: *Hofnung macht doch nicht zu Schanden*.<sup>3</sup>

Saturday, the 2nd of August. Yesterday morning I set out with the intention of visiting the school in Bethany, but it began to rain; and thus I was forced to visit some closer plantations. One was that of Peter Arnsdorf, whom I unexpectedly found dangerously sick with side stitches,<sup>4</sup> for which I came just in time with

advice, good encouragement, and prayer. The other was that of Capt. Kieffer, where this dear married couple called out to me, as I entered the house, that they now looked upon me as one sent by God, who came at just the right time in their suffering and tribulation that had come upon them on the previous day.

Like the previously mentioned patient and his wife, they received me as a testimony of God's paternal and comforting providence. In the conversations with both families we remembered Chapter 23 from the 3rd Book of *True Christianity*, which had been read out publicly on Sunday. From it our dear Lord had already given the instruction and comfort from the mystery of the cross, through which God wishes to draw us from the world in us and outside of us to Himself.

The 9th Sunday after Trinity, the 3rd of August. Young Mrs. Greiner, the former widow of the surgeon Bornemann of Göttingen, was churched today with her little son, and they were both blessed before the congregation according to the method we have introduced here. Her flight here from Halifax because of the Indians' attack has been so spiritually and physically blessed in her and her husband through divine direction that they have learned to love our place and the good opportunity for edification for eternity and wish to remain here.

The oldest brother and their father Greiner are thinking of moving down here with their families and of establishing their households here. The grounds they give for this are so important that I believe the hand of God is at work. God granted her here a fortunate birth and a healthy and blessed lying-in, the likes of which she had never had in previous years.<sup>5</sup> He came to me last evening and greatly pleased me with his conversation. Before leaving he requested me to pray with him, which has otherwise not been easy for him and his family.

Tuesday, the 5th of August. This morning an old and honest Englishman was married to an English widow.<sup>6</sup> This man confirmed the report that Col. Bird of Virginia had attacked the Cherokees across the Blue Ridge and killed many in four battles. On the other hand Col. Montgomery and his troops are going from Charleston by water back to General Amherst. Because of contrary winds no vessels have come to Savannah for a long time, and therefore no newspapers have arrived from Charleston for

five weeks. We long for good news from our dear German fatherland.

The arrival of our new governor is expected every day,<sup>7</sup> for we hope that the chests of medications and books and good news, also the long-awaited Augsburg chest with all sorts of useful things, will come, to the praise of God, to our joy, and to the strengthening of our faith. Oh how much good the Lord is showing us in this land, especially to me, the most unworthy!

Wednesday, the 6th of August. Colleague Rabenhorst told me with joy and praise of God that in this exceptionally good weather a very good harvest of rice, corn, beans, and sweet potatoes is beginning. It pleased me since he assured me that he will apply the expected blessing to buy more Negroes for a proper establishment of this important plantation after most of the debts have been paid through the last bill of exchange. God be praised for this good hope!

Thursday, the 7th of August. In the just arrived Charleston newspapers from the middle of June to the end of July there is no news from Europe because no ships have come from England to Charleston for a long time. Many pages are filled with the state of war in America and the continued rearming for an expedition against the French in Canada, from which I note only: 1) Quebec was besieged last winter by 15,000 French, among which were Indians, and the English suffered at first much hardship and danger and also lost many soldiers and cannon but finally drove off the enemy with great losses at the arrival of some English warships. 2 ) Recruitment is being continued with good success in the northern colonies in order to put General Amherst in a position to drive the French entirely out of Canada.

3) Fort Loudon in the land of the Cherokees across the mountains has been so watched by the Indians that no provisions can be sent to the garrison. Until now an Indian chief, who is called Little Carpenter (He received this name in childhood because he helped his father, a bad Indian carpenter, build a simple hut for the Indians and the English traders who live among them) has supplied them, sometimes by himself and sometimes with Indian women, scantily with corn and fowl, etc. Because of this he and his women have come into great danger from his countrymen. Since no supplies or help can be sent them from Carolina,

one is trying to do it with a strong detachment under Col. Bird or Vogel<sup>8</sup> from Virginia where one can march more easily across the mountains.

Thus it appears that there was no truth to the new report that this colonel with a thousand soldiers and a hundred Indians had attacked the Indians several times, beaten them, and relieved Fort Loudon. Yet it is doubtful that all the Cherokees have moved beyond the mountains and have committed no hostilities against the Carolinians after Col. Montgomery's departure. From this we conclude that they have, or expect to have, work in protecting their towns, women, and children across the mountains. Among them they have traitorous white men who intercept the Englishmen's letters and betray much of the Englishmen's plans to the Indians and give them as much intelligence as renegades in Europe used to give the Turks.

4) In his other attack from the Indians Col. Montgomery suffered great losses in officers and men, for during the time that he twice set for peace negotiations after burning their towns on this side of the mountains, they assembled and armed for war, lay in wait for him and his soldiers on their march while hiding behind trees and in the cliffs, and did much harm from a distance with their rifled guns (with which many are supplied).<sup>9</sup> Because this colonel had, as it were, lost many soldiers as if from bandits and had had many wounded with no fort in the whole region to lodge them for their care and cure and because many of the Carolina hussars and soldiers had deserted with the excuse that their reenlistment was coming to an end, he was forced to march back, which retreat was made very difficult by the Indians hiding behind the trees and bushes. All land here in America is full of trees, and up there among the Indians there are not only the thickest trees but also may cliffs and rocks, behind which and in which they lie as if in a fort, do much damage while they are, as it were, bullet-free. This makes waging war against them very difficult and dangerous. They have informed the Creek and Catawba that they have conquered the white men in three battles and killed 1,500 of them. Through this report they wished to excite the said Indians to join them against the whites.

Nor are the French failing to pour oil on the fire, and the traders and their servants are no longer safe among the Creek

Indians. The Cherokee Indians treated the slain officers and men who could not be buried or carried off very brutally. What would they not do with the living, if they captured them? 5) The South Carolina assembly in Charleston has movingly presented the country's present great danger to Lieutenant-Governor Bull with the request that he persuade Col. Montgomery to remain with his troops to protect the inhabitants in the country. He also promised to do his best with this colonel, but he must not have accomplished anything because he and his Scottish regiment came to Charleston and wishes to return to Virginia in a couple of vessels on the 12th of this month. Presumably he has permission or orders for this from General Amherst.

6) The local Uchee Indians are still waging war against their old enemies the Florida Indians, who live a wild life in Spanish territory near St. Augustine and serve as pirates. It is said that they are cannibals. The said Uchees went to their area in a boat that a captured Spaniard has to navigate (because it is very hard to get to their land because of the many rivers and creeks, or to carry anything away) and captured some of them and made slaves of them. The Creek Indians also do this to them.

Friday, the 8th of August. Last Sunday in the morning sermon I explained what we must become and be if the Lord Jesus is to have a gracious joy in us and lead us to salvation. For this I used as a basis Matthew 25:21, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant,...enter into the joy of thy Lord." In order that we may be awakened through the idea of eternal life and eternal joy and become pious and faithful servants and handmaidens, I read to my listeners with great pleasure what our blessed Provost Porst set at the end of Book 3 of his thorough and edifying *Theo. Viat. Practica* as a crown to his contemplations, which he took from a sermon by the late Arnd concerning the 21st Psalm.<sup>10</sup>

Our dear God also blessed the idea of eternal life in the old widow Schweighoffer. However, she wishes to have blessing from it doubled or quadrupled, so she borrowed said book from me. She would have liked me to read it to her, but my necessary work would not allow it. She is living with her son-in-law, the town schoolmaster, and can read well herself.<sup>11</sup>

Sunday, the 9th of August. Peter Arnsdorf is very sick in body, but in his soul the Lord is continuing His work of grace right no-

ticeably. He lies very restful and quiet in the arms of his Physician and Savior; and he says that through His grace not a claw will remain behind, and he recites the verses, "Whoever lets all things pass and carries Jesus in himself, he has laid the best foundation in his Christianity."<sup>12</sup>

Sunday, the 10th of August. Yesterday morning young M.'s little girl of something more than three years died and was buried in Bethany.<sup>13</sup> I encouraged him to turn about and become like the little children, namely, born again through renewal of baptism and thus like born again children and favorites and allies of God, otherwise he would not be able to come to heaven and to his two already deceased children. For several months a certain female person has been in a condition of serious temptation<sup>14</sup> so that she can hardly stand her dreadful thoughts against God her dear Savior, His word and communion, and the pangs of conscience and soul; and she has also become very emaciated and miserable physically. No word of comfort will last, she feels no strength to pray, indeed, she is prevented from it by these thoughts and can not believe that there is any grace for her a the greatest sinner.<sup>15</sup> My encouragement, largely based on personal experience, and prayer appeared to be not without profit.

For her instruction and comfort I gave her the second part of the late Provost Porst's *Divine Guidance of the Soul*<sup>16</sup> to take home for devout reading, especially the chapter on the inner temptation of believers. It later occurred to me that the learned and pious English theologian Thomas Goodwin wrote very thoroughly and edifyingly in his very important tractate *Of Spiritual Temptations*, which has been translated into German,<sup>17</sup> but I do not have it at hand. Several years ago a dear benefactress, a pious person of rank whom God has purified and chosen in the furnace of misery, had read something in our diary about a person in our congregation who had been visited by serious temptations. This caused her to send the aforementioned very valuable book to our congregation. May the Lord be a rich rewarder for Christ's sake for this as well as for the Bibles and Arnd's *Books of True Christianity* which were sent.

After the prayer with some of the listeners following the morning sermon, I let the said woman wait and showed her for her devout contemplation the hymn *Immanuel, des Güte nicht zu zählen*,

etc. Yesterday in her conversation with me she thought that she could not believe that a soul like hers could ever find grace. To-day I told her something about the noble benefactress (who, if I am not mistaken was the blessed, learned, and heartily pious wife of Council Director von Gersdorf) who composed this song out of her own experience for the benefit of other similarly suffering Christians.

Another woman who is experienced in Christianity and is at the same time right humble was standing not far away, for whom I recommended this person's intercession. She said that once at night God had granted her great comfort and calm from this song (which the Lord had let her remember in her anxiety). She then clearly recognized that other souls had languished with her sickness, whereas she had previously thought that only she had so wicked a heart.

Both morning and afternoon the story of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish land was read instead of the Bible chapter (as is customary with us every year on this day). Colleague Rabenhorst preached in Goshen and we two preached in Jerusalem Church, in the morning about the similarity of our time with that of Jeremiah and Christ before the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, in the afternoon about the epistle concerning the working of the spirit of the world and the spirit from God.

Monday, the 11th of August. At noon on Saturday I was visited by the son of Pastor Whitefield's brother, who is still a very young person and is the secretary in the chancery in Savannah. This Mr. Whitefield told me that the great joy of the inhabitants at the well conducted election was changed to great dismay by a great accident, for a little cannon burst into almost countless pieces when it was fired. A young man was suddenly killed and an other had his foot almost entirely blown off. We hear of many dreadful accidents and cases of death, but little about the improvement of men by them. A few months ago a well dressed person was found in the river not far from Savannah; his two thumbs were tied together and an ear had been cut off and bound with a cloth.

The believing wife of the very sick P.A.<sup>18</sup> is very composed and edifying for her husband. Her heart lives in Jesus and His grace, and this is testified by her words and works. She sees this sickness

as a blessing for her husband, through which the Lord wishes to awaken him from his indolence in Christianity and make him eager to seek Christ alone. However, if the dear Savior wishes to take him entirely to Himself, then she will repeat truly what the believers in Acts said, "The will of the Lord be done!"<sup>19</sup> This life means nothing to her, but only eternal life.

Mr. Mayer is now taking on this patient, this morning I found him with him. I found today's conference and prayer hour with my worthy colleagues very pleasant and profitable, and I believe it was for them also. Today, like yesterday, the heat was very great, yet it did not hinder us in this weekly and edifying meeting.

Wednesday, the 14th of August. In the Charleston newspaper it was reported that people are worried that Germany will be afflicted by great hardship. It is our comfort that the Lord of Hosts hears prayers and that it is shown in clear words and examples in the Bible that it is not difficult for the Lord to help through much or little and that it makes little difference to Him to help among many or where there is no strength. It is not difficult for the Lord to help in great or small matters; and it matters not to Him whether He helps the strong or the weak. In these dangerous circumstances I remember, to my comfort and to the strengthening of my faith, the 124th Psalm, which was explained by the late Pastor Freylinghausen and which ends with the dear verses of faith that are presented in large letters in the Halle Orphanage: "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth."

The Charleston government has appropriated £ 5,000 of their money (which, at a rate of 7 £ to 1 £, makes £ 714.5.8 Sterling) to be distributed among the poor people who have had to abandon their plantations through fear of the Indians and have thus suffered great loss. They have also decreed that £ 1,000 (i.e. £ 142.17.1) should be paid from the public treasury as a present to the inventor of a method of making the local indigo dye equal in quality to that of the French. South Carolina is very rich because of the many Negroes and the very good price for rice, indigo, tea, pitch, and lumber. Even in these times of war they pay heavy taxes on their Negroes.

Thursday, the 14th of August. This morning was named by the authorities for the election of three men for the General Assem-

bly, and therefore the weekday sermon could not be held. We have prepared ourselves in other spiritual meetings through the word of God and prayer for this action so that everything will proceed honestly and in an orderly way, to the glory of God and to the welfare of the country and of our parish. The election selected honest, skilful, and well-inclined Englishmen who have already done good service in the parliament and have been pleasing to the governor and useful for the country.

Two of the men, along with another Englishman, were present at the election and visited me and told me that the Cherokee Indians had begun to give satisfaction to the English and had executed four of the murderers of the traders and their servants. This was considered a sign that they wish to keep peace with the English and are eager to have the traders and their wares among them again.

At the request of the Carolina governor, Col. Montgomery has left 400 soldiers recruited in Virginia behind to protect the country and has taken only his Scots to General Amherst. The said Virginians proved themselves better against the Indians than the Scots, even though the newspapers gave preference to the latter. In both houses of the General Assembly in Charleston there are great differences between the members; some wish to recruit soldiers and take the offensive against the Cherokees but others wish to remain on the defensive. The Lieutenant Governor is a very wise and gentle man who is experienced in government matters and communicates diligently with our governor. The new report that Col. Bird and his troops from Virginia have defeated the Cherokees several times and relieved Fort Loudon has been confirmed.

The harmful contagious smallpox is still raging in Charleston, therefore all vessels coming from there must be quarantined a few miles below Savannah. It takes a lot of time if one wishes to order from Charleston those wares that are not to be had in Savannah.

Friday, the 15th of August. Peter Arnsdorf is still very weak in body and spirit. I presented him with the mark in the gospel from the words that stand in the *Treasure Chest*<sup>20</sup> under today's date: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world!"<sup>21</sup> and what follows about the crossbearers who have

washed their clothes and made them bright in the blood of the Lamb. This *Treasure Chest* serves me well in my visits to both the sick and the well, for they have generally already read and contemplated the verse and the edifying notes standing under them, and this serves me afterwards as material for an edifying conversation.

Saturday, the 16th of August. We have had heavy rain and stormy weather for three days. When the rain ceased yesterday before evening I traveled to Mrs. Schmid, who is lying ill with violent fever and headaches. I had already visited her on the previous day and edified myself with her from the inestimable blessing of the redemption that Jesus had found on this Friday. However, after my departure she became depressed by a certain cause, so she thought I would not visit her soon again. Therefore her contentedness and joy at my arrival were all the greater. Several years ago she had already found the little rhyme, which has remained deep in her memory for her constant encouragement and is stuck to the wall before her bed along with two others: "Direct thy ear to God's word and think of Joseph" (Genesis 39:9). Her righteous husband was also present and remembered, with amazement and to the praise of God, the previous divine guidance which, to be sure, had passed through much suffering yet had been pure goodness and truth. I myself have been a witness to this.

Sunday, the 17th of August, the 11th after Trinity. Through the Bible verses and edifying little rhymes which the heartily pious late Pastor Sommer himself sent me and those that were sent to me at my request after he had completed his pilgrimage much good has been done for the children and through them for the congregation, and they are pure seed for eternity. Thus he is doing good even after his death.

Monday, the 18th of August. My first trip this morning was to Peter Arnsdorf, whom I reminded of the oath he had made in his dangerous sickness, praised our dear God with him and his wife for the spiritual and physical mercy He had shown him, and showed them both in our conversation the important Chapter 19 of Book 1 of *True Christianity*, which the Lord has abundantly blessed in my heart along with Chapter 5 of Book 3, which was assigned yesterday. Already yesterday that chapter had been read

to him by a neighbor who visited him. His Christian neighbors have shown him much good in his sickness with reading aloud, encouragement, and prayer and in other ways. Underway I met D. E., who complained to me with tears his wife's serious condition of temptation, which he, as an experienced man, cannot understand. He asked me to come to her, which, God willing, I shall do. Meanwhile I sent the previously mentioned Chapter 19, whose summaries are very comforting. "He who is the most miserable in his heart is the dearest to God," etc.

In Paul Müller's house I encouraged her and their son (for the father was not present) to a seriousness in their Christianity and left them Chapter 18 of Book I of *True Christianity* to read later on.

Tuesday, the 19th of August. I spent most of this morning, not entirely without blessing, in a conversation with D.E., whom I visited at her very remote plantation at her earnest desire. The late Johannes Arnd must have been deep in this school of suffering and temptation for a long time, likewise Tauler, whom he often cites, since they attest it so emphatically.<sup>22</sup> Her condition was so well illustrated in some passages in Arnd's Christianity that she could believe that others had been mired in this plight, whom God did not allow to remain stuck. I showed her several times the order of grace and salvation, quoted some unmistakable signs by which she could recognize definitely that, despite all these severe temptations, she was standing in the state of grace and that God will not let the work of grace that He has begun cease or perish. She should just continue to use the means of grace and prayer in obedience to God even if it seemed to her to be in vain. God is glorified through simple obedience and He will surely indicate the time of His help. The husband listened very devoutly and prayed sincerely with us.

Wednesday, the 20th of August. Yesterday afternoon I had a pleasant and useful conference and an edifying prayer hour with Colleague Rabenhorst, for which our dear Colleague Lemke could not be present because he had hurt his foot. Our conversation dealt with, among other things, some of our young people to whom the two of us need to give some private admonishment because of their frivolity and excesses. This afternoon we baptized Sebastian Hasenlauer's little son, who was born this morning. The wife is a Christian woman. Her husband received many

salutary admonitions in my study. May the Lord bless them! Last night the Negress at the gristmill bore a healthy little son [Christian] who is to be baptized tomorrow, God willing. Because some people among us suffer the vain delusion that, before baptism, their children are better by nature than the Negro and heathen children, I plan to disabuse them of this harmful fancy next Sunday at the public thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown to this little heathen child, partly through the verses Ephesians 2:3 and Romans 3:23 and partly through the godfather letter<sup>23</sup> of our humble and blessed Luther from his *Table Talk* in Chapter 13 in the appendix in Part 11. Salfeld Edition.<sup>24</sup>

Thursday, the 21st of August. Our youths and maidens who wish to go to Holy Communion this time gathered together yesterday in the Zion Church and today before the weekday sermon in my study so that they could be examined from their catechisms and order of salvation, awakened from God's word, and prayed with. Those were blessed hours for me, in which our dear Lord right noticeably strengthened me in body and spirit. Ordinarily colleague Lemke assists me with the children in and near the town and from Bethany so that it will not be too strenuous for me because of the weekday sermon I must give, but now he is a patient. Some young people of both sexes remained behind from this necessary and useful hour both times that we went to Holy Communion. I publicly admonished the parents and guardians about this, and this was profitable.

Sunday, the 23rd of August. In the Charleston newspapers from the end of last month it is reported that the Assembly has agreed that it will act only defensively against the Cherokee Indians in the summer and autumn months when the soldiers in the field easily become sick. However, if in this time they do not make peace, then they will take the offensive against them in late autumn and winter.

Sunday, the 24th of August. On this 12th Sunday after Trinity 139 people took Holy Communion, to whom Colleague Rabenhorst in the Zion Church and I in the Jerusalem Church held the preparation sermon with noticeable assistance from God. Colleague Lemke usually holds it in Bethany; but, because he is sickly, these people came to Jerusalem Church for the Communion service.

Today it was very hot (as also on previous days), but in our raised and spacious church, which is supplied with large doors and high windows, it was quite bearable for the ministers and for the parishioners. In the repetition hour I confirmed what I had reminded them of recently after the sermon about the equality between Christian and heathen children regarding the spiritual misery in nature. Further, I confirmed it especially with what a knowledgeable heathen had said to the late Mr. Ziegenbalg and what the latter had answered thoroughly to it in the ninth *East Indian Continuation*, p. 672.<sup>25</sup> Because I had taken the entire first part of the *East Indian Reports* to church with me, I read out of it some important passages as remarkable examples, from which we can learn what the Christian's duty toward the slaves that come into our power, p. 79, 423, 630, 921. I also warned against Anabaptist principles.

Tuesday, the 26th of August. Since we keep constantly in our hearts and prayers the greatly desired welfare of our dear Fathers in general and of our dear Senior Urlsperger in particular, and since we know that the last day of August is his birthday, we are asking the Lord already in advance, especially in my house, that our merciful and almighty God will grant His dear, proven, and blessed servant on this same seventy-sixth birthday much new spiritual and physical strength, blessing, joy, and praise of God and that He will lengthen his valuable and useful life several more years for the comfort of his worthy family, to the great blessing of our dear Augsburg, Ebenezer, and many other people in Europe, also in the East and West Indies.<sup>26</sup>

In the past week I have again found our dearest Fathers and other blessed friends of our country and of our community particularly dear and cherished with their lives and intercession, since I had an opportunity all week long in the prayer hours to instruct my listeners on what blessed people the righteous are according to the judgment of Holy Writ and how much they are worth to God in heaven because of their faith and prayer, so that one can with good right call them the supports and pillars of the country, as is explained and confirmed by verses such as James 5:16-18, Jeremiah 5:1 and examples like 1 Kings 3:14, Genesis 18:32, Acts 27:24. With regard to our dearest Samuel and Ebenezer, I add what is said about Samuel in 1 Samuel 7:13.

Friday, the 29th of August. Colleague Lemke is still sick with a swelling of the feet and because our town schoolmaster, like other inhabitants (for no one but ministers and members of the parliament are excepted) has to work on the long bridge and on the highway, I have joyfully held the school along with my other official duties and therewith felt God's assistance in my body and spirit. Today with the children I read from 2 Corinthians 13:11 the beautiful words for my new and powerful awakening: "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you." To the praise of God I can still say that that is the way it stands among us ministers. True reconciliation and unity are great and salutary things in God's heart and word.

Sunday, the 30th of August. Mrs. Deininger (a true disciple of the Lord Jesus) bore a little son today in Bethany, which was baptized before evening.<sup>27</sup> Mr. Ottolenghe reported with sorrow that people in Savannah had organized a tournament, which had proceeded very sinfully and vexatiously and finally ended in a misfortune when the same man who broke his collarbone three years ago broke a leg.

Another man has been found dead in the river in front of Savannah, and in Purysburg lost his life while playing ten pins, and a skittle-ball bounced from a tree and hit a young man in his knee and caused him unspeakable pain. At Mount Pleasant three men were seriously injured by a powder horn that got into a fire, and a man who was led to the local judge because of an alleged but unproved theft got angry and seriously wounded the judge and his servant with a pen knife. Yesterday a misfortune also befell a local man, for his only horse, which was at pasture in the woods in Carolina opposite our town was so wounded by shotgun pellets in a dangerous place that it soon died. To be sure, the man suspects the unconscionable perpetrator but can not prove the evil deed. Many judgments are occurring now, yet people take them no more to heart than did Pharaoh in Exodus 7:23. This is an indication that greater and more serious ones will come. It is true also in our times that: "Thou hast stricken them, but they have not grieved, thou hast consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction," etc.<sup>28</sup>

In the Charleston newspapers from the second to the six-

teenth of August a lot is written about the great danger in which the very weakened garrison in Quebec found itself during the siege. It is attributed to divine providence that they received succor and help through the fortunate arrival of some warships. The garrison in Fort Loudon across the mountains complain greatly in all the letters they write to the governor that they seem to be abandoned by God and man. Their plight because of lack of food is unspeakable. They have given all their clothing and the most necessary things to friendly Indians for food, and now they can get no more. When the hostile Indians noticed that the soldiers were capturing their horses for slaughter, they drove them all away from that region. People hope, however, that the Virginians will soon come to their help: indeed, it is said that it has been done.

To be sure, the Cherokee Indians are offering the Carolinians peace, but we believe they are doing it only in the hope that their crops will not spoil and that they will be sent all sorts of goods for wearing apparel for the winter, also flintlocks, powder, and lead. They have made an effort to bring the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Catawbas to their side and to involve them in the war against the English, but they have accomplished as little as the French did. It has been found necessary to build another fort on the Carolina frontier opposite the Cherokees. The inhabitants on these frontiers are still fleeing to the northern colonies through fear of these cruel Indians.

People flatter themselves with the hope that all Canada will be brought under the sovereignty of the King of England this summer if God grants His blessing to the present expedition.

Sunday, the 31st of August was the 13th Sunday after Trinity. Hearty praise be to God who has granted us grace to pass this last day of this summer quarter of the year with much edification for His praise. Because of Colleague Lemke's indisposition I also preached the afternoon sermon, because Mr. Rabenhorst preached in the Zion Church. My sermon was aimed at leading my listeners to God's salutary purpose with the wealth of His goodness, patience, and forbearance that He has shown us. For this purpose I again gave them the edifying Chapter 19 of Book 2 of *True Christianity*, which has also been blessed in us many times. In the morning we sang, *Sollte ich meinem Gott nicht singen?*, etc.

and in the afternoon “*Womit soll ich dich wohl loben*, etc. In singing these two edifying hymns, which are full of witness of God’s protecting and benevolent goodness, we aimed at celebrating the birthday of our dearest Father, intercessor, and benefactor, Senior Urlsperger, which falls on this day, joyfully and with praise of God. This was told to the congregation. May God grant him many more years of health, life, and blessing!

### S E P T E M B E R 1 7 6 0

Since our loyal God, for the sake of Christ’s merit and intercession, has again let us experience the beginning of fall healthy and at peace, we rightly praise His great and splendid name for all the good that He has shown us so abundantly until now and continues to show us so mercifully. I, poor and unworthy, have especially great cause to devote myself with my entire soul and body and all that is in me, or belongs to me, to our most benevolent God as a thank offering as to my highest Benefactor because He has marvelously strengthened me in body and mind since spring and all through the summer and made me once again physically and mentally capable of performing my official duties and has let me enjoy in health innumerable spiritual and physical benefactions from near and from afar. One would not have expected that a year ago, since I was sick for so long. Oh what a great blessing for me are the intercessions of the servants and children of God!

Tuesday, the 2nd of September. The day before yesterday in the afternoon sermon I reminded myself and my listeners of the manifold blessings that our merciful God has shown us so abundantly in our entire lives beyond many other Christians and especially all this summer for the sake of His Son and the intercession of His dear servants and children. Because of that we should let ourselves be led to true repentance, righteous Christianity, to love, obedience, and thanksgiving toward this most benevolent Benefactor, to which Chapter 29 of Book 2 of *True Christianity* can also lead us.

Since my mind was filled with the pleasant material and I was seeking a little schoolbook among my many little tractates, a lovely little book came to my hand which a Christian friend had

sent us already several years ago and which I treasure greatly because of its edifying content. It is called, *List of the Chief Gifts and Blessings of God in the Order of the Three Articles of Christian Faith*.<sup>1</sup> Many years ago, during the lifetime of my late Colleague,<sup>2</sup> I presented it to my listeners who came for prayer in my house on Saturday as a basis for their edification. Now I am planning to use it as a means of edification in the evening hours, at which I will also take the late Spener's *Pure Milk of the Gospel*.<sup>3</sup>

Wednesday, the 3rd of September. In today's weekday sermon I also led my listeners in the Zion Church to the manifold spiritual and physical blessings which the Lord has shown us so abundantly all summer and continues to show us. In doing so I referred them to the following duties: 1) to rightly contemplate in quiet devotion each and every divine blessing, 2) to confess to God on bended knee and in true humility the sins of inattentiveness, disregard, misuse, and ingratitude and to ask Him to forgive them for Christ's sake, 3) to call on Him ardently for the Holy Spirit and, through its grace, to recognize and apply the divine gifts and blessings, for it is said in 1 Corinthians 2, "We have received the spirit from God so that we might know what has been given to us by God."<sup>4</sup> Our dear Lord has held His hand over me all summer so that the great heat did not harm me even though I had to ride home between 11 and 12 o'clock from the weekday sermon every Wednesday and had business on other days in the hot hours of the day.

Saturday, the 6th of September. So far we have always hoped that the garrison in Fort Loudon would maintain itself until the Virginians could free them from their siege and their great want of food. However, (as the last Charleston newspapers from the 16th to the 23rd of August report) the lack of food has become so severe that some soldiers have deserted, while others have become weak and sick from the fresh horse meat without bread. Because all threaten to surrender unconditionally to the Indians rather than to continue living so miserably and because they have no hope of relief since the retreat of Col. Montgomery, the commanding officer, Mr. Paul Demere,<sup>5</sup> addressed a friendly and prominent Indian war hero and offered to him and his people the surrender of the fort under just conditions.

Thereupon the capitulation was signed on the 7th of August

by the said commanding officer and two Indian chiefs, and on the next day the fort was surrendered with a great quantity of powder, large and small shot, flintlocks, cannons, and all things belonging to the fort. The soldiers were allowed to take with them their guns, some powder and lead, and also their very poor baggage; and they were convoyed by some Indians as a safe-conduct to Fort Prince George and supplied underway with fresh provisions.

We are very happy that the Indians, who well knew the great plight of the garrison and were keeping them tightly shut in, granted them such just conditions, even though they had been greatly embittered both by the former governor's expedition and by that of Col. Montgomery. Least of all could they, or shall they, forget that those Indians whom the former governor Lyttleton had kept in Fort Prince George as hostages until the confirmation of the treaty had been killed by the garrison. Also, so much injustice and evil had been done to them even before the war that one is not surprised that they are very dissatisfied, according to a letter written to Charleston by a very knowledgeable officer.

Yet it appears that many Cherokees seriously wish to make peace with the English. At the same time they show that they are not afraid of the Englishmen's usual manner of waging war against them if only the other Indian tribes such as the Creeks and Catawbas remain neutral. They seem to have been made only braver and more impudent by the expeditions of the former governor and Col. Montgomery. Fort Prince George is also being besieged by the Indians, and the garrison complains that, if they are not supplied with food in time, they will suffer the same fate as Fort Loudon. The Lieutenant Governor in South Carolina has dissolved the General Assembly and is having another one elected. Perhaps this will lead to greater unity.

Tuesday, the 9th of September. In Carolina it is feared that the Indians have killed the garrison from Fort Loudon en route, because they have heard nothing for a long while about their arrival at Fort Prince George. Now, however, the report has come that they have arrived there safely.

The planter in Carolina who received a thousand pounds of local money as a recompense for the method he discovered to make three sorts of indigo as valuable as the French indigo is has

now uprightly publicized the entire secret of its preparation and has had to attest before a judge that he has honestly revealed everything. Nothing more is said in the papers about the invention of red indigo.

I have been told that Samuel Graves in Bethany is very weak in body and spirit and that his oldest son is deathly ill with dropsy. This morning I rode out to visit this poor family, but I could not cross the bridge causeway because it is now being worked on to raise and improve it. Then I rode to the previously sick Peter Arnsdorf and to Mrs. Landfelder, who is lying sick; and in both places I received much edification and spiritual joy from the word of God and from prayer so that my vital forces, which had been somewhat weak since Sunday evening because of the erysipelas<sup>6</sup> on my ear, were noticeably strengthened. Among other things in the conversation and prayer I made useful to myself and to them the well known little prayer: "Teach me to do thy will; for thou art my God: thy spirit is good, lead me into the land of uprightness."<sup>7</sup>

For their edifying use I recommended to them the important hymn: *Herr lehr mich thun, nach deinem Wohlgefallen*, etc. He who correctly recognizes his great misery<sup>8</sup> and entire inability in spiritual matters will gladly pray this little children's prayer in earnest. Oh, what are we without Jesus? He has recently let me recognize it anew from Chapter 2 of the 1st book of *True Christianity*, which we presented on Saturday.

Wednesday, the 10th of September. Today it has again been very hot, in the afternoon at 3 o'clock it was 88 degrees Fahrenheit. This time our dear God freed me very quickly from my inflammation on my head and my feverish motions so that I could hold the prayer hour yesterday afternoon and the sermon in Zion Church today.

Thursday, the 11th of September. Before the weekday sermon this afternoon we baptized the shoemaker Metzger's little child that was born yesterday.<sup>9</sup> Our dear God has again strengthened Colleague Lemke so he could perform the baptismal service in my stead because I had to serve as godfather. According to my little book in which I am accustomed to write the names of my and her godchildren, the child baptized today is the 74th that we have helped lead through holy baptism and prayer to the Lord

Jesus (the great Friend of adults and children). Among them are three Negro children. May God let those still living grow and increase in wisdom and in grace before God and men, and may He give joy to those who have departed, of which there are twenty-seven, along with our own two dear children, forever before His countenance and bring us all together at last through Christ, the Duke of our Salvation, to the everlasting glorification of His great name Amen!

Friday, the 12th of September. Yesterday our almighty and all-merciful God again saved a woman, who is very close to me, from an obviously mortal danger on her way home from her Christian sponsor in baptism, for which reason praise and thanks were given to His glorious name by several honest souls who loved her sincerely because of her upright fear of God and good gifts. God's angel, which He sends, turned aside the evil that the devil intended to perpetrate. Everything takes its time, God's love is eternal.

This afternoon my visit greatly pleased two honest women in childbed, and I hope the Lord will let our conversation and prayer have a lasting value. There were also other women present, some who served the women through love and some who had brought something for their refreshment. Among us it is customary that it is not the married couple who prepare and bring something to the sponsors, but the sponsors who bring it to the women in childbed, for example bread, cakes, butter, eggs, wine, and chickens; and shirts and skirts are given to the child. All in love and unity.

Saturday, the 13th of September. The heat now seems more severe than in the dog days, and it is not yet as cool in the night as it usually is toward the equinox. Both adults and children are getting hot and cold fever, which, however, do not appear to be dangerous and soon go away.<sup>10</sup> After the violent coughing (which some of them still have), the children are afflicted with a rash. The hardships of this short and uncertain life are manifold, and everything should serve for the best of those who love God.

I have now let an honest and trusted friend make a clear copy of the receipts and expenses of the European charities for the congregation and prepare it for sending, to wit, from April 1758 until now. I am amazed at how much our merciful and almighty

God has generously granted us from time to time to cover the congregation's expenses and for the needs of the poor, sick, etc. Sunday, the 14th of September was the 15th after Trinity. Colleague Lemke has had gout attacks for some four weeks and has had to remain at home, but at noon today in this great heat he held the catechizing, to my great relief. A year ago I too was sick for five weeks at about this time, and afterwards our loving God did more abundantly for my otherwise so weak body than in all my and other believers' prayers and beyond our understanding.<sup>11</sup> May His name be praised. A good number of our children come voluntarily and with the permission of their parents or kinsmen to the catechization in my study and cause me much joy by their diligence and devotion.

Monday, the 15th of September. Already twenty-six years ago I got to know a wicked and unconscionable family which now (as I learned today) has gradually gone to ruin through the miraculous providence of God, about which I can give no details. Lord, thou art just and Thy judgments are righteous. Sin is the people's perdition whether it takes a short or a long time.

Tuesday, the 16th of September. The two righteous widows, Mrs. Zittrauer and Mrs. Straube,<sup>12</sup> are having manifold severe tribulations and are very fond of my encouragement from God's word and my help in prayer. The former has a good livelihood but the other and her two orphans are very poor and need help, which is given to her as to other needy widows. Mrs. Kalcher is also poor and at the same time a great bearer of the cross both inwardly and outwardly, who prays diligently and is well content with God's providence. One of the greatest crosses for widows and parents is that many children do not wish to become sincerely pious.

News has come to our place from Savannah that our new governor, Mr. William Wright,<sup>13</sup> has landed in Charleston with his large family and is expected in Savannah in a week. The recent news of the fortunate arrival of the Fort Loudon garrison at Fort Prince George has been contradicted; and it is reported as certain that the commanding officer and twenty-three men were murdered underway, the details of which I do not know.<sup>14</sup>

Wednesday, the 17th of September. D. E.'s wife is also very emaciated and feeble from her grievous inner temptations,

which are still lasting; yet our merciful God has helped her enough for her to give herself to Him now entirely and to trust that He will have mercy on her as His own creature, be it before or only after her death. Our dear God gave me much grace to speak to her from His word, and indeed much differently from what I had intended. After the prayer she used such expressions of her respect for my office that I had to divert it from myself. Still, it revealed the grace that dwells in her soul, even if she cannot recognize it. The *Little Treasure Chest*<sup>15</sup> is serving me very well in this; and good souls feel that our dear Mr. von Bogatzky has written his observations from experience. On the way home I stopped at Mrs. Landfelder's, whom I found to be still sick, to be sure, but very calm and happy in Jesus. Her mouth flows abundantly with the recognition of her unworthiness and with praise of the Saviour, who is doing such great things to her soul through His gospel; and she rejoices inwardly when I come to her and help her praise her Saviour.

This autumn is very hot and dry and therefore convenient for making hay. Although the worms had eaten away the grass from the rye and wheat fields, much of it grew back after the penetrating rains so that there is still some hay. At three o'clock in the afternoon the Fahrenheit thermometer registered 92 degrees. Upstream, at and above Augusta, it must have rained a great deal because the river has risen again so that the gristmill (which has been standing still for a short time) can run again. The local inhabitants and strangers have enjoyed this blessing almost all summer, whereas usually the water is lacking in summer until or after the equinox. God, make everyone grateful for this great benefaction! Colleague Rabenhorst told me with joy that, through the industry of some white and black workers, the foundation of the sawmill on the minister's plantation and whatever else was faulty have been so well repaired that it will be able to do much good for many years with God's blessing.

Thursday, the 18th of September. Rain has been falling since yesterday evening, and this afternoon the thermometer registered 65 degrees Fahrenheit. Anyone who does not take great care in such quick and dangerous changes in the weather easily suffers harm to his health. An honest man from Bethany told me after today's weekday sermon that his wife and daughter were

sick with fever and were very depressed that they could not attend the preaching of the divine word, which has given great edification to their souls. They requested from me a beautiful chapter from Arnd's *True Christianity* which suited their circumstances. Colleague Lemke used to give a sermon in Bethany every Wednesday, which has not been able to take place now for four or five weeks because of the ailment in his foot. For I give the weekday sermon in Zion Church on Wednesdays, and Bethany is too remote from Pastor Rabenhorst. He also gives a sermon every two weeks in Goshen on Wednesdays. Mr. Lemke's foot is still not getting any better.

Friday, the 19th of September. I found the children in school quiet and well behaved, and this moved me to distribute among them some little rhymes and verses composed by the late Pastor Sommer,<sup>16</sup> under each of which there is a short Bible verse. The children like to receive these and to learn and recite them. In the plantation school, too, I always find them very orderly and diligent, and I shall soon distribute such little gifts to them also. I praise God for the Christian attitude and good industry of our two schoolmasters, and I wish them God's blessing as a compensation for them and their dear families along with their very small salaries!

This morning, I wished to visit some families on their plantations in Bethany, especially a pious woman in childbed; however, I met two Indians with an Englishman and learned that many of these now very impudent people had their camp on the road on which I had planned to ride, so this time I remained in the lower part of Bethany and visited first the honest and knowledgeable potter Gnann and his wife, who is well founded and experienced in Christianity; and my visit and encouragement came to them at an especially opportune time. The husband called my attention especially to the excellent hymn in the Wernigerode hymn collection:<sup>17</sup> *Ich weiss von keinem andern Grunde*, etc., which nicely accords with the comforting Hymn that is found in the Cöthen Hymnal: *Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden*, etc.<sup>18</sup>

I found Mrs. Landfelder still sick in her body, but well comforted in her soul and well content with her Saviour's providence. At my arrival she had before her the edifying song that had flowed from much experience: *Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor dir*

*nieder*, etc. Also, since Thursday, God had granted her much blessing from the two hymns *Mein Gott und Vater kan mich nimmer lassen*, etc. and *Meine Seel, komm in die Wunden*. A pious neighbor coming from the weekday sermon had caused her to do this.

I found the sick Daniel Schubdrein with his Bible; and, when his tender little daughter recited for me the verse "The Lord is nigh unto all them who call upon Him,"<sup>19</sup> he gave me an opportunity to say something for the comfort of both these suffering married people and to pray with them. The oldest little girl of about six years lay in bed with fever; but, when we knelt down, she too got on her knees, and this moved me to promise her a gift to encourage her further to pray and learn verses diligently. I found my dear brother-in-law and colleague Mr. Lemke strengthened, and I spoke with him concerning the school which is to be re-established in Bethany. He plans, God willing, to preach in Bethany. But Mr. Rabenhorst has promised to help me here. May the Lord strengthen and bless us!

Wednesday, the 24th of September. In the Charleston newspapers from the 6th of this month it is reported that after long and anxious waiting a Negro from Fort Prince George finally reached Charleston and brought the sad news that an unnamed white man among the Cherokee Indians, who is allied with them, secretly sent a letter to the commanding officer of Fort Prince George and announced in it that these Indians had killed the commanding officer of Fort Loudon and twenty-three men soon after the surrender of this fortress but had captured Capt. Stuart with some soldiers and compelled them to help them bring the cannons down to Prince George and to instruct them how they should bombard the fort with them.

All these Indians were about to march down to besiege Fort Prince George and to lay the country waste. They would be there in four days and afterwards march to Fort Ninety-Six (situated 96 miles from Prince George) to destroy it with their cannons and then push on to Congarees.<sup>20</sup> Two large parties set out independently to kill the people on their plantations, as they had done to three people on the border with the Catawba Indians and as they had killed many horses in the camp in the vicinity of Congarees.

Friday, the 26th of September. On the 7th of this month two ships from London arrived at Charleston, but, as I see from a let-

ter from a friend, it appears that they have brought us neither letters nor the chests from Augsburg and Halle, for which we have hoped for a long time. The new governor is not expected in Savannah until the 10th of October; then our previous governor will go at once either directly to London or to the northern colonies to the royal general Amherst to persuade him to have regular soldiers sent here to protect our and the neighboring province. One fears not only much evil from the Indians, even our allies the Creeks, but also from the neighboring Spaniards; and one sees it as no good prelude that many newly cast brass cannons have been sent to St. Augustine and that other preparations are being made for war.

In the newspapers it is reported from the land of the Cherokees that all these Indians, even those who were formerly inclined to peace, have been made very animated and courageous by the misfortunes of the English and by the surrender of Fort Loudon and moved to avenge themselves cruelly on the Carolinians. All these Indians who live both on this side and beyond the mountains have assembled, and other pro-French Indians and even 200 Upper Creeks have joined them; and they are preparing to march down to Fort Prince George and still further down. They have brought some captives from the siege of Fort Prince George along with them who have informed them of the great want of the garrison in this fort and of the poor shape of the resistance. Some French are said to be among them.

In Charleston they are not happy that Col. Montgomery's soldiers and the Carolina Rangers did not spoil the Indians' corn in the fields: now they have enough foodstuffs and do not have to carry or transport them far. There are said to be wicked white people who are trying to fill these heathens' minds with all sorts of suspicion against the English. One expects very little good from them, even though, to be sure, our governor has spent a great deal to keep them in peace and friendship.

Saturday, the 27th of September. The Austrian Schmid and his wife are almost always sick, yet well content with God's providence. She complains with tears about her spiritual perdition, especially about her sloth in prayer, to which her body, which has been much weakened by her longlasting sickness, surely contributes very much. In her spiritual distress she has recalled the

very important 38th chapter of Book 2 of the *Book of True Christianity* and read it again, which concerns the seven aids of our weak prayer. During our conversation with her and her husband we hit upon the comforting hymn *Er wird es thun, der fromme, treue Gott, er kann ja nicht ohn alle Maass versuchen*, etc.

On this occasion I told something important and edifying, how marvelously God leads His servants and children, from the author of this hymn, the righteous, learned, and diligent Dr. Prof. Herrnschmidt. In return this Schmid told us of the late Pastor Kraft in Regensburg,<sup>21</sup> that he was a sincerely pious and zealous minister, and at the same time a great bearer of the cross. God blessed his ministry on Schmid's soul, too.

Sunday, the 28th of September, the 17th after Trinity. Mr. Kieffer (a true Israelite, in whom there is no guile)<sup>22</sup> advised me yesterday by his daughter that he was going to travel to Savannah on Monday, and this caused me to go to his plantation to talk with him about this and that and to pray with him and his family. However, I found neither him nor his wife at home, but I encouraged the Negroes, who were eating, to pray with simple words to God and Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all men, that He have mercy on them. I told them that I had read in a book that He had shown mercy to some Negroes in other places so that they became Christians. They listened respectfully and devoutly.

It is to be regretted that neither these nor other Negroes can speak either English or German correctly but learn and speak among themselves a very corrupt English language.<sup>23</sup> Most of them have as much intelligence as the Europeans, but the hard work and everlasting slavery makes them so indolent for all good and so disinclined to learning and acceptance of the Christian religion.

People have claimed here, even at our place, that all Moorish slaves who are baptized and made Christian must be made free after the passage of a certain number of years. By this they wish to frighten us from baptizing the Negro children. However, I have showed our people from a useful book by an honest English Bishop of Sodor and Mann, Mr. Thomas Wilson, that this claim is entirely without foundation. Neither divine nor English law states that a slave achieves manumission by learning and accepting the Christian religion and that a master would lose his right

and property. In Carolina (perhaps also in all other colonies that are filled with Moorish slaves) no master can emancipate his slave without the consent of the authorities because they are afraid the freedmen might help their enslaved countrymen rebel. However, one should not free any slave who has not become a Christian and does not lead a Christian life. I have got to know some emancipated Negroes as orderly and fine people, who, however, see no good example from Christian people.

Monday, the 29th of September. Yesterday, Sunday, was an edifying and blessed day for us on which we remembered with joy, humility, and gratitude the many spiritual and physical blessings that our loyal and merciful God has shown so abundantly to us poor and unworthy people in these dangerous times of war not only in the past month but again for a whole year, namely from the 17th Sunday after Trinity of last year until this present Sunday. This we did in the Jerusalem Church, which was consecrated in a Christian and edifying way on this Sunday nineteen years ago.

I, poor man, must truly say from the depths of my heart, "Lord, I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which thou hast showed unto thy servant."<sup>24</sup> In such momentous times we like to call out to one another, "It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not,"<sup>25</sup> "And now bless the God of all, who in every way does great things, who exalts our days from birth, and deals with us according to his mercy."<sup>26</sup> To the praise of God we sang the beautiful hymn, *Mein Herz soll den Herrn loben*, etc.

Today I came to the honest sick Schubdrein and found him very sick, to be sure, yet he confessed and recognized that God has a fatherly purpose with these and other sufferings that are laid on him and his wife and that He himself is always bearing the most grievous ones. They said they had had all sorts of suffering in their marriage these last ten years, yet the time had not been too long for them and that the dear Lord had shown them much good. She confirmed all this on her sickbed and said through the curtains, "We must enter into the kingdom of God through much tribulation,"<sup>27</sup> and I confirmed this and substantiated it with verses from holy writ and with the example of all, even the dearest children of God, as the mother and apostles of

the Lord Jesus indisputably were. It is written in Hebrews 12:8 that all of God's children have become participants in God's chastisements, which is presented here and in other passages as a great and indispensable blessing, e.g. Hebrews 12:4-11, 1 Peter 4:1, 2, 12, etc.

Because Schmid remembered today's verse in the *Treasure Chest* and read the verses standing under it for his and our edification, I turned to the dear verse that is cited there under the chief verse as a daily rule of life for Christians and read it aloud. During the morning hour God again blessed it in my heart, and therefore I wish to quote it here in its entirety, Philippians 2:14-15, "Do all things without murmurings and disputings: That ye may be blameless and harmless, the sons of God, without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, among whom ye shine as lights in the world; Holding forth the word of life."

Tuesday, the 30th of September. A certain righteous widow Z.<sup>28</sup> has an obstinate son and much suffering in her heart because of him. He is afraid to come to me, and I have never found him at home on the three occasions I have visited his mother in the last five weeks. This grieves both her and me. He is very industrious in his work, especially with cattle, but dead in his Christianity and secretly given to youthful pleasures. God will still bless prayer, tears, and good example, also the mother's many admonitions, so that his soul will be saved, if not in healthy days and through benefactions, then at least in sick days and through chastisements. She was pleased by my encouragement and prayer.

In the neighborhood I reminded the young Nicolaus Schudrein and his wife of the great tribulations in which they, especially the young woman and her twins, have been in because of dangerous sicknesses. The Lord has helped them from their sicknesses mercifully and mightily and has blessed them in many ways. Here might it be said, "Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits,"<sup>29</sup> "God lays a burden upon us, but he helpeth us also, Selah, We have a God who helpeth and a Lord God who saveth from death."<sup>30</sup> He has done exceeding abundantly to them above all that they ask or think.<sup>31</sup>

We ministers, together with our dear listeners, can also say the same at the end of this month to the praise of our almighty and kind God. May He let us experience the content of these two

dear verses from Psalms 68:20-21 and Ephesians 3:20-21 for the praise of His glory also in our future life and our short pilgrimage, and may He let us learn from the next European letters that He has shown the same mercy and loyalty to our dear Fathers and benefactors until now in these dangerous times of war. In conclusion it stands written in my heart: "Aye, grasp, oh, Christian heart, all thy pains, joyfully throw them all behind thee; let the candles of comfort ignite thee more and more. Give praise and glory to the great name of thy God. He will help. Amen!"<sup>32</sup>

My dear colleague and brother-in-law Mr. Lemke was at my house, and with him I could consider and solve some things sincerely and intimately and also praise the Lord with him for His spiritual and physical blessings and invoke Him for further blessing.

#### OCTOBER 1760

Wednesday, the 1st of October. In the weekday sermon today in Zion Church we sought to awaken ourselves both through the edifying hymn *Man lobt dich in der Stille*, etc. and through the contemplation of the divine word to a humble and ardent praise of God for so many spiritual and physical blessings which our gracious and affable God has shown us for a whole month during this pilgrimage. At that time we showed from God's word how much not only the prayer but also the thanksgiving of those who appear before God in true poverty of spirit and clothed in Christ's justification means to Him and how much it accomplishes, James 5:16, Psalms 22:4. Before the sermon some of the children who wish to go to Holy Communion soon were at my house and were examined from the Order of Salvation and sincerely warned against assurance,<sup>1</sup> frivolity, disloyalty, and worldly thoughts and against what results from them, namely, against God's wrath and everlasting perdition according to 2 Thessalonians 1:8-9.

In the afternoon I wrote a letter to our dear Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, which I plan to send in the next few days along with the last segments of the official diary.

Thursday, the 2nd of October. Our miraculous God visited some of my dear neighbors with all sorts of suffering, for which

they need, and well apply, encouragement from the word of God and help in prayer. Daniel Schubdrein and his wife (a woman in childbed) are sick with fever. The schoolmaster Paulitsch<sup>2</sup> has two very sick children, of whom the younger has had very severe epilepsy.<sup>3</sup> The baker Rentz's wife has been suffering very much for a long time with a chest complaint and has a mortally sick child in the cradle. I am much edified by all of their patient and God-devoted conduct. I led them to Hebrews 12:1-11.

Friday, the 3rd of October. A certain woman in Bethany has had a dangerous sickness for some three weeks, which our merciful God has used as a salutary means of chastisement to bring her to penitence and faith. She was previously in the service of a believing family on our Salzburger plantations; and the great good that she has seen and heard serves her in good stead. Until now this has remained hidden like a seed of grain in the field. She also has a converted, experienced, and humble sister who edifies her with encouragement and example. Her husband is also a friend and lover of the good, who now has much suffering yet a peaceful marriage with her.

I then visited another woman, who complained with tears that her husband wishes to leave Ebenezer and move to Savannah. He hopes to be healthier there and to get ahead more easily. H. praised God's goodness, through which he has received a rich harvest and much other good in establishing his household. After God granted him a healthy and well formed little son he has lived more contentedly with his wife. She is achieving more wisdom to handle him.

Saturday, the 4th of October. This morning we held the preparation sermon for tomorrow's Holy Communion in town and in Bethany, and in the afternoon in the plantation church.<sup>4</sup> Some people from Purysburg and Goshen joined us, who are also going to Holy Communion. As a basis for the preparation sermon I laid the important little verse standing under today's date in the Treasure Chest from Psalms 18:36, "When thou humblest me, thou enlargest me."<sup>5</sup> Colleague Lemke held the confession service in Bethany and Mr. Rabenhorst in Zion Church, that is to say the sermon concerning the edifying prayer of penitence and confession in our confessional and Communion agenda, which was presumably composed by our dear Court Chaplain Ziegen-

hagen or by his late predecessor Mr. Böhm for the use of the Court Chapel.<sup>6</sup>

Before evening Colleague Rabenhorst came to me. He is sick with a swelling of the throat, and he wishes on this Sunday to play only the role of a listener. I found his visit very pleasant and useful.

Sunday, the 5th of October. On this 18th Sunday after Trinity 118 people were at Holy Communion. Even though the weather was somewhat uncomfortable because of wind and drizzle, we had, especially in the morning, a whole church full of listeners, in whom we could notice a pleasing quiet and attention. Even the children did not let the uncomfortable weather keep them from coming to me in my study to repeat the verses and little rhymes we had given them and to read and pray. They again gave me much joy through their love for God's word and orderly behavior; and by this they encouraged me to the praise of God.

Last evening I had much distress in my heart because of my office, which my body had to feel during the night, yet our loyal Saviour richly rejoiced me today through His comforts and especially strengthened me during my preaching of His word so that I also hope for a blessing from it for my congregation through His divine mercy. He has let me experience to some degree my yesterday's text: "When thou humblest me, thou enlargest me." May His great and glorious name be humbly praised! A child recited to me the little verse: "Be truly humble if you wish to be rightly honored"<sup>7</sup> along with the verse 1 Peter 5:6.

Monday, the 6th of October. The baker Rentz's youngest child<sup>8</sup> died last night before it had lived for only about a half year in the world. It was a fine child, but it had a defect in a dangerous place, from which the child and the parents would have had pain and disquiet and from which our dear God has now freed them for once and for all. He places all sorts of suffering upon these young married people, but He also helps them bear it. There are now many *Frebricitanten* among both adults and children.<sup>9</sup> Hans Schmid's wife is now so far recovered that she could attend divine services yesterday. Today, I praised our loving God with her, her husband, and their two well-behaved and diligent children for the mercy He has shown to her and her family (and also to me and mine); and we called upon Him for continued blessing

for soul and body. The little boy was lying in bed sick with fever. He offered me his hand in a friendly way and recited for me the little verse he had recently received: "Oh soul, let Jesus please you more than all else,"<sup>10</sup> along with the words from Psalms 45:3 that stood under it: "Thou art fairer than the children of men."

At the children's assembly yesterday a baptized Negro boy belonging to Capt. Kieffer willingly recited to me the verse assigned to him: "Jesus, dearest child of God, make me like-minded with Thee" along with the dear promise of John 14:13: "And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that" etc.<sup>11</sup>

Tuesday, the 7th of October. Young Seckinger's wife asked me to visit her sick husband, which I did today after the catechistic instruction hour with the important and comforting verse, which I diligently outlined for the two married people, Jeremiah 17:7-8: "Blessed is the man," etc. I brought this same verse to Landfelder and his wife. In return, before the prayer that she is accustomed to say with us very willingly on bended knee, their little girl recited the verse of praise that is always important for me: "And now bless the God of all, who in every way does great things."<sup>12</sup> I have again found the previously mentioned verse from Jeremiah 17 most remarkable in school with the children, and I am planning to lead several of my parishioners to it during my private visits.

My brother-in-law has traveled to the governor and the council with Mr. Mayer on a very difficult matter; in the meanwhile I have the pleasure (as I can well call it) of holding the catechism class for him tomorrow morning from eight to nine. This week we are singing with the children the beautiful bridal song of the children of God *Nun, gute Nacht, du eitles Weltgetümmel*, etc. On Sunday in the repetition hour we sang the devout hymn about the 84th Psalm: *Ach mein Gott, wie lieblich ist deine Wohnung*, etc.

In my approaching old age many important and edifying things have returned to my mind fresh and alive from my teacher and father-confessor, the late Pastor Freylinghausen, who had us learn and sing this song some twenty-four years ago in the German schools of the Orphanage at the examination and in the sermon we held after it. Through the grace of God this has mightily awakened me to come ever closer to the model and footsteps of my dear old fathers.

I was impressed that my dear colleague Rabenhorst said in our conference today that he is reading the late Professor Francke's *Idea studiosi Theologia* and the tractate called *Nicodemus Concerning Human Fear*.<sup>13</sup> May the Lord give him much blessing for such reading! Our dear God blessed for me right abundantly and in many ways today's conference and prayer hour with him (we are generally assembled for two or three hours before the Lord and in His name) and laid a foundation already on Saturday so that our hearts flow together right intimately.

Wednesday, the 8th of October. I learned from a pious and industrious Salzburger that, for lack of good land on his plantation, he has been planting his field with corn, beans, and rye for twenty years, but now it no longer bears much even though he fertilizes a part of it every year and plows the whole field. To be sure, he has good land on the mill island; but, because he is worn out and has no hired hands, he cannot risk himself on this hard-to-cultivate land, since one must do everything without a plow and just with a hoe. It is the same with his neighbors. Still, our kind God has again let everyone grow enough for his need: Christians should not worry about the future, for each day takes care of itself, as was the case of the Children of Israel with the manna in the wilderness. Our omniscient God has already numbered our days, how many of them there should be; and He has already determined for each of them our allotted share and our cross.

Immediately after our conversation and before school and the sermon on the plantations a little girl recited for me the remarkable verse Sirach 10:25, "Both the rich man and the poor man, the great and the small, should boast only that they fear the Lord." In our prayer hour yesterday colleague Rabenhorst praised God for having granted an exceptionally good harvest on his plantation and on the minister's plantation.

Thursday, the 9th of October. Daniel Schubdrein (an honest man and lover of the divine word) is now dangerously sick, and his wife is sick and lying-in. In their tribulation both of them need encouragement and help in prayer, which they enjoy every day because they live in town. In Mrs. Krämer he has a believing and sincerely loving sister-in-law, to whose house I wished to ride this morning in order to pray with her and her family together

for her brother-in-law and her sister, but she and her husband met me on the way. He was in Savannah with my brother-in-law Lemke and they returned with three young Negroes for the plantations of certain benefactors in our district. These three young Negroes, namely two men and a girl, are said to have cost 126 £ sterling.

Nothing has come for us from Europe with the last ships; and therefore we are expecting letters, medicines, and books for use in the church and school in the next ships, which are accustomed to bring winter supplies. May God take everything under His protection!

News has come to Savannah that the English have been so fortunate in their expedition against the French in Canada that they have driven them out of almost all fortified places and have occupied almost the entire country except for the city of Montreal, which cannot be easily taken because of the cliffs and water but must be blockaded and starved out. Our new governor is said to have reached Port Royal yesterday, and he will arrive in Savannah at noon tomorrow in one of our colony's vessels. The chiefs of the Creek Indians have been called to Savannah, from whom Governor Ellis will take his leave and whom he will recommend to the favor and friendship of the new governor before traveling through the northern colonies to England.

Friday, the 10th of October. Yesterday noon I had to investigate an unpleasant quarrel and annoying dispute on a Salzburger's plantation which had been made public by his serving girl and by his wife, who had acted incautiously. I had been requested earnestly by both of these married people to do this, even though I like to be spared from such matters. I hope that our kind God has blessed my poor efforts so much that there will be peace again between these angry parties.

In the neighborhood I visited the Salzburger Michael Rieser and his wife and children, with whom I could speak and pray for their edification. This pleased them, especially since I have not been able to come to them for a long time. Although both of the married people have been sick often, God has so blessed their field work that they have a good harvest. Godliness and contentedness are two precious things that reveal themselves in many of our inhabitants who are poor in and before the world to the

praise of God as signs of their state of grace.

Yesterday after the weekday sermon Peter Hammer called on me to say that he and his children will move next week to his son-in-law in Puryzburg; and he asked me for some medicine for his youngest daughter, my godchild, who had eaten impure and harmful things, because the previous medicine had helped him and her.<sup>14</sup> I wished to visit him again today but found only the two smallest children at home. I gave them a gift, spoke kindly to them, and prayed with them.

Sunday, the 11th of October. This morning I unexpectedly received a friendly and arousing letter from the worthy Mr. Whitefield in Bristol in which he mentions something of the blessing our kind God is still granting him in his office here and there in the country and in which he writes that he is physically healthy and becoming more and more corpulent even though he is not sparing himself but preaches twice every day, sometimes even three times before a great multitude of people, during which time he tries to do his utmost. He greatly respects and esteems our dear Court Chaplain, as is witnessed by all the letters he has written to me. He hoped that the Lord would be our treasure and fortress in all our wartime dangers. Indeed, he was sure of it because he was assured that Christ was our refuge. Recently, to the great strengthening of my faith, He has blessed what stands written at the end of Psalm 84, verses 12–13.

Sunday, the 12th of October, the 19th Sunday after Trinity. Yesterday afternoon my dear heavenly Father again gratified and comforted my distressed and sorrowing heart, first from Professor Francke's short and pithy little tractate *Christ in us*,<sup>16</sup> which I unexpectedly heard read by my sickly daughter to her mother, and then I prayed with them. Our dear God further strengthened and comforted me right noticeably while I was answering Mr. Whitefield's worthy letter, which I mentioned yesterday. While I was writing, the Lord reminded me of His rich and entirely unmerited merciful and benevolent goodness to me and our dear congregation to my great humiliation, to His praise, and to new strengthening of faith.

Mr. Whitefield still overflows with the praise of God for his spiritual and physical blessings and never complains of the cross and suffering. While I was writing, the poor pregnant widow

came to me with her two little children, whose father and husband recently drowned in Savannah. She is from Württemberg and of our confession, and she recently fled before the Indians from Congarees to Purysburg. Here I had an example that reminded me to praise God heartily for the advantages He is giving us in spiritual and physical matters and not to complain.

Tuesday, the 14th of October. News has come that the new governor arrived in Savannah on Saturday, and this motivated me to go down to recommend our community to him and to take leave of Governor Ellis.

Because I heartily wish our dear inhabitants good health in their so hard and difficult work and a long life in their dear and inestimable period of grace and also seek to pray for it from God, the lover of life, I gladly confer with the otherwise so knowledgeable physician Thilo about such remedies as I learn of in the newspapers or elsewhere. I communicated to him the recipe that has come to the inhabitants for curing chlorosis and cacherie,<sup>17</sup> which is praised as being proved. They take vermouth, cardobenedict, hyssop, feverfew, starflower,<sup>18</sup> Virginia snakeweed, which, like the previously mentioned herbs grows here abundantly. Instead of isop one also uses wild marjoram. These items are dried in an oven and ground to powder in a mortar and mixed in equal parts. To that is added an equal amount of finely powdered sulfur and hammer-scales<sup>19</sup>. These ingredients are mixed with honey and a point of a knife full is taken three times a day during the waning moon. After each dosage a spoonful of vinegar. I am sending this to our friends for them to test.<sup>20</sup>

Shortly before my departure I visited Daniel Schubdrein again; and, before the prayer with him and his indeed depressed yet also comforted wife I made use of the little verse "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin,"<sup>21</sup> similarly the words "It is good to dwell in heaven, my desire strives up to it: there God will always reward him who serves Him here."<sup>22</sup> Then I admonished him to put his mind to it as comforted as a child, for it is written, "Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it."<sup>23</sup> How often our Saviour leads us to the little children and wishes sincerely to grant us the grace they have received in baptism, their mind, and their good behavior. For, if we do not receive the Kingdom of God like a child, or if we do not convert and be-

come as children, we shall not come into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Something else important and lovely stands under today's date in the Treasure Chest about little children. This Schubdrein's pious oldest sister told me that every day she reads the verses in the Treasure Chest and the edifying annotations and verses standing under them because of her weak memory; and she said that God has blessed this effort in her. The children of God who make use of every page in the morning or at other times before prayer find very beautiful material for praying for the most necessary things for themselves and others. It does not appear at all that I shall see this honest man in life again after my, God grant it, safe return. For my own life is uncertain, and it is always true that "in the midst of life we are surrounded by death."<sup>24</sup> He appears to have come especially near death. His constitution has been so weakened that he feels nothing and always sleeps, and the medicines he has taken so far have made n difference at all. The doctor from Purysburg, Dr. [George Friedrich] Meissner, has asked the keeper of our store about medicines from Halle, which he would like to buy. Such requests are made by many German and English people, but we cannot serve them.

Wednesday the 15th to Tuesday the 21st of October. Late in the evening last Tuesday I arrived in Savannah by water; and, because I had business with both the old and the new governor and was to preach to and hold Holy Communion with the German people, I could not begin my way home by horse before yesterday morning. At about noon my guide and I reached the minister's plantation strengthened in soul and body under divine guidance and was lovingly received by Colleague Rabenhorst and his honest wife. He showed me the great physical blessing in the barns, in the farmyard, and on the fields that God had granted him this fall on the minister's plantation and on our own plantation. For that we heartily praised His name.

This great physical blessing is also a noteworthy testimony of the sincere intercession of our worthy Fathers and friends in Europe. Accompanied by Mr. Rabenhorst, I arrived at my house a couple of hours before evening, found my dear family healthy, and learned to my joy and to the praise of God that nothing unpleasant had occurred in our community since my absence. The

very sick Daniel Schubdrein, whom I visited at once, has recovered somewhat.

In Savannah I was received very kindly by both governors. Early on Wednesday morning I congratulated Governor Wright on his safe arrival, wished him God's blessing for his important office, and recommended our community to his love and affection. Until the departure of Governor Ellis he will live as a private person in a private house. He has left his family in Charleston; and, after the governor's departure, he will move into the large house that the Assembly has bought for 400 £ from the Attorney General. Governor Ellis put up the money for it and will receive 12 £ annually for each 100 £. He also had built on one side of the city near the Savannah River on a piece of land that had been given him by the Assembly a house with several outbuildings and a wall of planks, earth, and palisades all around it like a small fortress. This cost him 500 £ and will be given to a hotelier who will pay him 50 £ interest annually.

The senior judge, Mr. Grover, told me that he will soon leave this colony for the sake of his health and go to England to live in quietude on a small estate there. He, too, wishes to rent his comfortable house, which he built for 500 £, in this way, as he has already done very advantageously with his Negroes. A certain established planter gives him 6 £ Sterling annually for each grown and working Negro and must return them as he received them and replace those that die.

Governor Ellis was not in town for several days, during which time his entire household belongings were auctioned, along with many books. Therefore I could not come to him until Saturday morning and after lunch, at which time the new governor was present, in order to thank him properly for the affection he has shown to me and the congregation and to wish him God's blessing on his journey and in his future activities. He assured me that he was sincerely inclined toward us and has commended us to the new governor and that we would have a true friend and patron; and he also gave me privately such a good description of his good qualities that I gained new love and respect for him. In this Mr. Ellis, Georgia has had a very good governor, to whose diligence and attention the Lord has granted much blessing.

Governor Ellis is also very much loved by the Indians, who do

not wish to see his departure. There were a couple of chiefs of the Creek Indians, who have almost exterminated the cruel Florida Indians. They have killed the old ones and led the young ones as slaves to their tribe, where they receive the same treatment as the other Indians and in time marry into the Indian families. Death is sure to follow desertion.

A Choctaw Indian had come with a small English flag a great way from the French fort, where he killed two French Indians with great mortal danger because they had shot an English trader's servant and thereby taken away the English traders' desire to remain among them. He brought the victory symbol, the two skins with their hair taken from the upper part of their heads, and he will receive the great gift that is promised.<sup>25</sup> Mr. Ellis spent much money and effort to maintain peace with the Indians. In his office hangs the unforgettably well made royal portrait of our dear old king in life-size in a thickly gilded and decorously carved frame, which was shown to the Indians to their great amazement.

A newer report had appeared in the newspapers that the Indians had treated the commanding officer, Mr. Demere, very barbarically,<sup>26</sup> had massacred many of his soldiers, and taken some into captivity. Few of the more than 200 soldiers could get away from there and reach Virginia. Among these was Capt. Stuart, a born Carolinian, whom the so-called Little Carpenter (a brave Indian loyal to the English) had bought from another Indian in exchange for his rifle and his own clothing and secretly brought to safety in Virginia, from where he has written moving letters to the governor and his wife.

In order to save her life, Capt. Demere's so-called housekeeper informed the Indians that the soldiers had buried powder and lead in the fort. If this woman had not had to speak to the Indians through an interpreter who was favorable toward Capt. Stuart, he would have suffered the same fate as the commanding officer. The Indians are said to be very angry at the garrison of Fort Prince George because of the hostages who were murdered in the fort and because of other deeds. The officers give the most distressing reports of their great want of food, which they will no longer be able to give because the Indians are guarding all entrances and are gathering more and more.

The Indians are not serious about their offers of peace, rather they come down here only in order to learn what preparations the English are making to protect Fort Prince George and other regions. The Cherokees have brought small-pox to the Creeks, and it is still raging in Carolina.

News has now come that Montreal has fallen to the English without bloodshed and that now all Canada has been brought under the sovereignty of the king. Concerning my official duties I still have to report that Pastor Zubli was very pleased that I wished to pray to the Germans at their request on Sunday, which served to lighten his load in his present infirmity. With God's right noticeable assistance I presented to the listeners from the gospel on the 20th Sunday after Trinity the merciful counsel and will of God concerning our salvation, especially of what it consists; and secondly I said that contempt for it is a damnable sin.

At the same time I recommended reading diligently from Arnd's Christianity the 34th Chapter of Book 1, about which one might well write: "This is the path, tread it, neither to the right nor to the left." I held Holy Communion with 31 persons, and early in the morning the preparation hour and the confession service. I also worked on their souls in the prayer hours on Friday and Saturday evenings and on Sunday evening in the repetition hour.

Wednesday, the 22nd of October. It is now beginning to be noticeably cool in the evenings, but in the day it is constantly warm and dry so that all the crops, even those that were impeded in their growth in the spring because of the great drought, have been able to be harvested fully ripe and dry. During the past night a strong white frost fell, the Fahrenheit thermometer registered 39 degrees shortly before sunrise. On all sides it seems to have been a fruitful year.

God has given a great blessing in rice and indigo (presumably with other crops) to Mr. Whitefield's orphanage.<sup>27</sup> I could remain there for only one night and a half of a day and again enjoyed much good from the managers. They are still taking in poor orphans from both Georgia and Carolina. When they are 14 or 15 years old they are put out to masters to learn a good handicraft, skill, or merchandizing. The grown girls are put to service in good families. Some boys who are apt for study are sent to the

college in New Jersey that has been established by Presbyterians.<sup>28</sup>

Good land is now becoming scarce in this colony and one must go far up toward Augusta. As I heard from the governor, there are already about five thousand Negroes or Moorish slaves in this colony; and, because the people are beginning to become wealthy because of the good harvest of rice, indigo, boards, barrel staves, roof shingles, lumber, etc., such black slaves are brought here for sale from Carolina or the West Indies.

In Savannah they are continuing to build large and beautiful houses. They are lacking only carpenters and masons, also day laborers. Everyone, even the poorest and weakest, finds good service and nourishment, if only they will work and accept advice. Frivolity of mind, worldly and carnal inclinations, and course and subtle conformity to the world are gaining the upper hand.

Thursday, the 23rd of October. At the conclusion of last summer I sought to awaken myself and my congregation humbly to recognize in quietude before the countenance of God the many spiritual and physical blessings that have been granted us by His generous hand and fatherly providence in this dangerous time of war and to praise Him for it with ardent hearts according to the example of all servants and children of God with heart, mouth, and conduct. During this meditation and presentation I came again across the little book *List of the Chief Gifts and Blessings of God According to the three Articles of our Christian Faith*.<sup>29</sup> From that time on our loyal God has granted us from it in the evening prayer hours much blessing for our edification and preparation for blessed eternity. In the weekday sermons I am accustomed to repeat the Sunday sermon. However, because I did not give any sermon here last Sunday, I laid the seventh benefaction from the said list as a basis of our contemplation today, namely, that the kingdom has always been prepared for us. The verses standing under them carefully describe the people who can comfort themselves and rejoice in this inestimable blessing, of which scripture says so much.

Friday, the 24th of October. The day before yesterday in the afternoon I traveled to Bethany to visit Samuel Graves, of whom I was told that he had become sick during my travels and showed a desire for me. However, because I wished first to visit his neighbors, who have had much to do with him, and to learn his real

circumstances, so much time passed and I became so exhausted from the useful conversations and communal prayer that I could not enter this man's house this time but had to hurry home. Yesterday he was at the weekday sermon.

In the two families in this man's neighborhood I found everyone thirsting for the word of life: they came joyfully into the house from their fieldwork and did not consider it a truancy from their work but a gain to see one of their ministers with them and to let themselves be awakened through the word of God and through prayer. Their mouths flowed with praise of the Lord for all the good that they have experienced so far, for which they, in the poverty of their spirit, did not consider themselves worthy. They have also received a good harvest, which they are now bringing in. I found some children sick with fever.

Saturday, the 25th of October. On my visits I am find more people sick with fever and diarrhea or at least very weak. Some children again have a violent cough, rash, and sores. In her physical weakness the pious Mrs. Kalcher still has great sorrow because of the death of her second daughter, who died in Savannah; and her great pain is being renewed since she is now reading in order the story of David and his children. One can say of her as of David, "Unless thy law had been my delights, I should then have perished in mine affliction."<sup>30</sup>

Her moving words and tears give me cause to remind her three surviving daughters ardently of their duty toward God, their mother, and toward their own souls and then to invoke our dear God for everything that we need in this and that life. Along with a physical gift I dedicated to the mother and her daughters the two very comforting and edifying hymns that have been printed in Halle for the birthday of a blessed mother by one of her daughters whom God had made dependent on her (who can also be called well blessed). We are now making use of them in our evening prayer hours.

By all sorts of official business and by my journey I have been kept from visiting the young Mrs. Eischberger. When I came to her this morning, I found her at breakfast and by the Treasure Chest, and therefore I gave her the nourishment necessary not only for her weak body but also for her soul. Her mouth flowed over with inner love for God for having shown her mercy, having

freed her from her severe temptations,<sup>31</sup> and having allowed her to recognize secretly His fatherly heart in Christ.

She also praises him for the two hard but salutary chastisements, and this cordial praise of God is her first and dearest business as soon as she wakes. Her husband partakes of her blessed change, joy, and praise of God and has the intention to tear his heart away from all worldly and anxious cares through the grace of God and not to let himself be hindered from a serious Christianity by an all too great industry in his work. We prayed together simply and heartily, and while doing so I especially felt the gracious presence of Christ and rejoiced inwardly.

On my return I stopped at Koglers and Flerls, briefly wished them divine blessing for their general and special calling and rejoiced with them for the rich blessing granted in the fields. To the sickly and often depressed Mrs. Flerl I spoke a word of comfort at the right time because of certain circumstances. He was in the field.

Sunday the 26th of October, the 21st Sunday after Trinity. The fact that the centurion in the gospel had suffered much distress and sorrow because of the dangerous sickness of his son<sup>32</sup> gave me an opportunity in my sermon to present to our young people and children the great advantages they have in this quiet wilderness with the rich preaching of the divine word in church at three places, in the schools, at home, and in other ways beyond other children in large and populous cities.

Likewise, I told them how much care and trouble their parents, especially their mothers, have in bringing them up, especially since they are exposed to so many sicknesses in this country and that they would never be able to answer to God and to their consciences if in later years they caused sorrow and pain to their ministers and parents, who had much joy in their tender childhood. Thereupon I introduced what had been made known yesterday evening to me and my listeners in the prayer hour before singing the two hymns that had been composed for the birthday of a blessed mother and printed separately about the edifying characteristics of childlike reverence, devotion, love, humility, obedience, and gratitude of the adopted daughter according to the announcement on the title page. By this I was seeking to arouse the children and young people who are still subject to

their parents and superiors to imitate it. God blessed it.

After the afternoon church there was again a whole room full of children at my house to recite their verses and to receive other ones. I was as pleased by this as if I were in heaven among the holy angels. Master Kiefer's baptized Negro boy comes with his master's well-behaved children regularly and receives and learns his little verse. When we baptize Negro children (as has occurred with all those born among us) the master and mistress act as sponsors and obligate themselves to raise them in a Christian way and to take care that holy baptism is not lost on them. This will happen if they are sold in their childhood, before they have received good instruction, again to such people as ridicule the baptism of Negro children and the efforts to make these poor slaves who have come into Christian hands into Christians through baptism and instruction. Yet it occurs from time to time.

Monday, the 27th of October. Last week through a published announcement and yesterday by a letter that arrived here, our inhabitants have been advised that a number of Negroes have been brought from Carolina to Savannah for sale. They must remain a couple of days in quarantine, because small-pox has shown itself again in Charleston and in other places in Carolina. We might well worry that our holy and just God will have to visit us in this land with small-pox or in other ways because of our sins that are forever getting the upper hand. But may He not punish us with the cruel Indians and with spiritual judgments; and may He let us apply the present moderate and well-meant chastisements with the correct use of the means of salvation.

Yesterday I preached about the praiseworthy and God-pleasing conduct of the centurion in his distress and tribulation as an example of the Imitation.<sup>33</sup> At the close of the sermon I gave my listeners to take home with them the important words of 2 Chronicles 15:2-7. I also recommended to them the 15th Chapter of Book 3 of Arnd's *True Christianity* for later reading, as is done on every Sunday.

Wednesday, the 29th of October. In today's weekday sermon in Zion Church I did not have as many adults as usually come. It was raining hard and several heads of family and some women had gone to Savannah to inspect the Negroes that have arrived. If they are pleased with them, they will buy some. They are dri-

ven to this because they are worn out and cannot find any white servants or daily laborers.

I heard that the old Thomas Gschwandel (an industrious Salzburger of the first transport) has had quotidian fever for many months and is very weak from it. It appears that he will soon follow into eternity his first righteous and childlike wife, who died an edifying death twenty-six years ago in Old Ebenezer and his second wife Sibylle Resch, who died two years ago. Today in the sermon about the gospel John 4, which we had last Sunday, he again heard what God's gracious purpose toward us is both with His blessings and also with His chastisements and what is required of us according to the example of the centurion if His purpose is to be achieved in us.

Thursday, the 30th of October. Yesterday evening a God-seeking widow in the neighborhood complained to me of her great servile fear, which made her very disquieted in her imagination and almost sick. She stands well with God, but things are not getting better and she thinks that God does not wish to hear her poor and imperfect prayer. From several Bible verses I showed her that she, too, has a claim to the divine promise of protection to miserable people who, in the recognition of their unworthiness, place their trust in our merciful God in Christ. She should accept this in simple faith as one is accustomed to do in the case of the promises made by an honest man. Thereupon I knelt with her. I had much sorrow yesterday and today. But the Lord has begun to comfort me again.

In the afternoon we buried Samuel Graves' youngest little girl, who had died the previous night. I sincerely admonished N.N., who is himself sick and poor, to a Christian preparation for death in the order of true conversion, and also to Christian unity with his wife.

Those of our inhabitants who went down to Savannah on Tuesday have bought Moorish slaves to the number of nine or ten, but they are very expensive. This is surprising, since so many Negroes are brought to Carolina from Africa and the West Indies.

## NOVEMBER 1760

Sunday, the 1st of November. Since our merciful God has again let us live in health this day, on which our salaries from the praiseworthy Society<sup>1</sup> are paid to me, my dear colleague Mr. Lemke, and our town schoolmaster, each of us received his own in cash; and I bent my knee before our all-loving God and Father in the name of Jesus Christ both with my just-mentioned colleague in his house and with the schoolmaster Paulitsch in the school dwelling. I humbly thanked Him for this and His other benefactions and prayed for His rich divine blessings on the dear beneficent Society and our other worthy benefactors as a gracious reward.

It is surely something great and worthy of thanks that the honorable members of the highly respected Society continue so kindly from one half-year to the next to give it to us accurately, in cash, and in advance because we need it. The congregation provides for the schoolmaster on the plantations, and I brought him his salary this afternoon myself and praised the Lord with him and his wife.

Wednesday, the 5th of November. Yesterday about noon we heard heavy cannon fire from Savannah, which is presumably a sign that the new governor has announced his commission from the king and which always occurs with many ceremonies and expressions of joy. In the Charleston newspapers for the 11th to the 18th of last month it is reported 1) that in its first address the new parliament in Charleston accused the governor of credulity and negligence with regard to the hostile Cherokees, otherwise Fort Loudon and its garrison would not had such a bad fate and General Amherst would have taken their dangerous situation more to heart. In his defense he laid the blame on the members of the previous parliament and excused himself with his dangerous illness.

2) Of the four companies of Virginia troops that Col. Montgomery left behind to defend the country and that have their camp at Congarees more than half have taken sick and have been brought to Charleston for better care and recovery.

3) A captain and 200 Rangers have been sent to the garrison in Fort Prince George carrying flour and meat by packhorse and

also driving many live oxen. No more Indians have been seen in the entire region. Indeed, they are beginning to send good words in letters and through their deputies and to show themselves as friends; and this is doubtless a good result of the arrival of the wise and brave Col. Byrd, who enjoys great respect among the Indians, with Virginia soldiers not far from the border of the Cherokees beyond the mountains.

This Col. Byrd has sent a letter to the most prominent chief of these hostile Indians and requested him to call all their war chiefs together at once and to inform them (as the Indian messenger would confirm) that he was on their borders with an army of brave Virginian soldiers, who well knew how to fight against Indians and that he could have enough Indians to help him if it were necessary. They should remember that he has always been their friend and that they had never caught him in a lie but he had always told the truth and that they should therefore believe now what he wished to tell them.

He had heard that they had treated the white people evilly and that he had therefore come to punish them unless they would at once send their warriors to him to make peace. They should not depend upon the French, for they would surely hear that they have been driven out of all of Canada by our king's soldiers. If it went the same way with those in Mississippi, with whom would the Cherokees do business and from whom would they get clothing, powder, lead, and other necessities? If they do not humble themselves and accept peace proposals, he will burn all their towns and villages and not leave them a single grain of corn for their subsistence and will kill every Indian his soldiers capture until they are all exterminated. However, if they would just submit,<sup>2</sup> they would again be supplied with necessary trade goods in all their territories.

At the same time he offered them the following conditions: They must surrender Fort Loudon at once with all ammunition, liberate all captured white people, extradite for a well deserved punishment those Indians who killed the garrison or any other white man. They must not hinder the Virginians from building forts wherever they wish in their land, they must maintain no correspondence with the French but drive them all immediately from their country, and, finally, they must elect as their emperor

and supreme chief the so-called Little Carpenter (called Attacula Kulia in their language) and obey him.

Thursday, the 6th of November. Yesterday we preached our thanks and harvest service in Zion Church before a large assembly with blessing; and we did so today in the town church, to wit, according to the content of the lovely text that we always pray after eating: "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth forever."<sup>3</sup> From that we received a new encouragement for an upright gratitude toward God for His love and manifold goodness. I pointed to the instructive and most edifying 42nd chapter of Book 2 of J. Arnd's *Of True Christianity* and recommended that they make use of it from chapter to chapter all year until the next harvest and thanksgiving sermon.

In the spring our inhabitants sowed and planted with distress because of the disturbances of the Creek and Cherokee Indians, and another tribulation came upon them in summer with the harmful grass and corn worms. However, our loving God, whose goodness lasts forever, averted all this hardship in a fatherly way so that they can now harvest in quiet and joy. In praise of His glorious name we sang in both churches the beautiful hymn *Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut*, etc. I praised the Lord especially for a doubly great blessing for the congregation, namely, that for twenty-seven years He has made the praiseworthy Society in England willing and able to give the necessary annual support to the two first ministers and the town schoolmaster, which is a great benefaction deserving of thanks not only for us ministers in particular but also for the congregation, both adult and children.

Secondly, I praised the Lord for having mercifully and mightily averted all damage from the minister' plantation, even the harmful worms, and for letting everything grow and be harvested dry better than anyone could have wished. I do not think it was by chance that yesterday, after the thanksgiving sermon about God's kindness and goodness, I found (in Mr. Rabenhorst's house, where a part of the communal books are being stored until a more favorable place can be found) the right thorough and edifying discourse of the dear old and experienced Inspector Rende concerning the words "O taste and see that the Lord is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him."

Inspector Rende said them at the annual thanksgiving ceremony in the Protestant Poor House in Augsburg in 1754, and I

do not know how it has come about that all copies that have been sent here have lain hidden so long in my colleague's repository. I accept them as an unexpected and pleasant gift and have begun to make them useful to me and my dear family in the morning and evening prayer hours.

I am also planning to lend out the remaining copies for the edification of other lovers of the divine word, since they appear to have been sent not just for my colleague but for the use of all of us. According to this beautiful discourse, what our almighty, friendly, and kind God has done in the blessed Poor House in the beneficent city of Augsburg in good and bad days, He has also done so far for us, especially in the past year; and this should arouse us to sincere praise and to further trust in His great name.

Tuesday, the 11th of November. Yesterday afternoon I wished to visit several families, but I did not find them at home. I heard that they are now gathering acorns on the mill island, of which there are many this year. All in all it has been a blessed year. I found a sick young man, who must also learn that "one is punished by the very things by which he sins,"<sup>5</sup> likewise, "for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged."<sup>6</sup> In my contact with people I have often perceived the justice of divine retaliation, and this has given me a humble reverence for the wisdom and justice of God. In this there is a great kindness in His wishing to bring the sinner to a recognition and feeling of sin and to warn the others. Many children of God among us who have already passed away in Christ have confessed how much harm they have brought upon themselves and their neighbors by letting themselves be brought first to the opportunity and then to sin by neglecting constant vigilance and prayer.

Thursday, the 20th of November. In the Charleston newspapers up to the 25th of October I read that even more Moorish slaves are being brought from Africa to South Carolina despite the fact that they are very expensive, but not as expensive as in Georgia. The Cherokee Indians are very dismayed by Col. Byrd's letter; and, as they are almost naked because of the lack of trade and because the corn harvest has turned out so poorly and much of the corn planted in the fields has been destroyed by the soldiers, they seem to be inclined to peace with the Carolinians. They are afraid of the Virginians because they are accustomed to fight in the Indian manner, namely, not in the open field but by

lurking behind the trees and bushes.<sup>7</sup> Many of them have died of dysentery and small-pox. It appears that they will soon wage war against the Creeks because one of their chiefs and his war party set fire to the house of one of the principal Cherokee chiefs.

Friday, the 21st of November. Yesterday a German goldsmith from Charleston visited me and confirmed the already heard report that the long-expected ship captain While<sup>8</sup> had arrived there, from whom we hope for letters and the chest of books and medicines from Halle. May God grant this and bring everything here! Ever since they have had to keep a quarantine on the Savannah River because of the small-pox that is still raging in Carolina, very few vessels have come from Charleston; and often a long time passes before we receive anything from there.

The sun now rises at four minutes before seven o'clock. A half an hour before sunrise this morning the Fahrenheit thermometer registered 33 degrees, yesterday 26, and the day before yesterday 24 and the day before that 27 degrees. In the daytime it is as pleasant as in spring. The dry weather is still continuing, and there is little or no water in the so-called swamps and in some wells. This year we had a rather dry spring and summer and especially a constantly dry autumn, yet before that we had adequate rain at the right time for the growth of the crops. Therefore we could use with very great profit the low land along and beyond the Mill River and the Savannah River, which appears to be very much like the rich and fertile soil in Egypt because of its fertility and fruitfulness, and the harvest of rice, corn, squash, beans, and sweet potatoes is quite worthy of admiration.

Yesterday evening I happened to learn that Mrs. Rottenberger is dangerously sick, and this moved me to go to her without delay this morning to speak with her according to her circumstances from God's word, which heals all things, and, together with her believing husband, to bring to God a prayer of faith that helps the sick. Both the conversation and the prayer were blessed in her in her great weakness. She belongs among the faithful mothers in our congregation to whom I have begun distributing and giving the edifying hymns composed for a blessed mother. With them one must also call out, "Hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown."<sup>9</sup>

I have some thirty copies of these excellent hymns; and, while

I was pondering in quietude before God whether a similar number of blessed mothers were to be found in our congregation, I found to my comfort and joy such a number with certainty, and even prospect for still others. May God grant that all mothers, fathers, and young people allow themselves to be awakened to tread in the footsteps of the prodigal son and the repentant publican in a true earnestness and similar sincerity of heart. Then we will be able to say of them all "you have found mercy, and it can be enough for you in all inner and external suffering."<sup>10</sup>

Saturday, the 22nd of November. Yesterday evening at the time of the Bible hour, which was canceled because of the cold, the very sick Mrs. Rottenberger had me called to her in her severe struggle to hear from me a word of comfort and instruction from the word of God. She not only feels her spiritual perdition but also the power of disbelief so that no encouragement and comfort can penetrate into her heart. Finally we prayed with and for her, and we left her in good confidence in the shepherd-like loyalty and care of the Lord Jesus and also left for her honest husband, who is experienced in Christianity, the hymn *Weg, mein Herz, mit den Gedanken als ob du verstossen wärest*, etc., etc. for him to read to her piecemeal.

This morning I found her calmer, and she could trust her Saviour more than yesterday evening. She was also somewhat stronger physically. His body is a very fragile tabernacle and he has three still unrealed children who are often sickly, too. Our dear Lord will certainly not let him be tempted beyond his power but graciously make his temptation take such an end that he can bear it and praise Him.

Sunday, the 23rd of November, the 25th after Trinity. On this last Sunday of the old church year we had a necessary and edifying meeting with the old and the new vestrymen in my study during the afternoon catechization, in which we thanked our dear God on our knees with heart and mouth for all spiritual and physical blessings and invoked Him for new blessings for our Christianity and external business affairs. The six new vestrymen are taking office in God's name with the new church year, and they were briefly shown their duties for the glory of God, for service to the community, and for assistance to the ministers.

Monday, the 24th of November. Mrs. Rottenberger appears to

have recovered somewhat, and our dear God gave me the grace to speak to her in a friendly way from the gospel as to a repentant sinner, for which purpose the comforting verses and annotations under today's date in the *Treasure Chest* supplied convenient matter, similarly the thorough and edifying annotations of the late Dr. Anton<sup>11</sup> concerning the future Sunday gospel, which I had read this morning before the visit. For me this dear man is still living in his writings and in his very edifying example, which I enjoyed for some years in Halle following Easter 1727. Praise be to God!

In the afternoon when I came to the industrious shoemaker Hangleiter's house, I found him in his workshop and his wife and four well-behaved children at a table near him reading them something from the catechism, indeed, in such a loving way that it was most edifying. They had also learned something from the hymn composed for Dr. Francke's birthday, *Lobe, lobe, meine Seele, deinen treu- und guten Gott*, etc. (which also stands at the end of Bogatzky's very edifying hymnal),<sup>12</sup> and one of the smallest children, who can not yet really speak, recited for me the beautiful verse from it that is especially edifying for the mother, "Lead, oh Shepherd of thy herds, thy sheep and lambs both in and out; let them become junior pastors,<sup>13</sup> also just sheep. Continue to cover thy table for us against all the devils' snorting. Oh Lord, just give us faith, faith, make us merry, strong, and fresh; and let the childlike babble of praise of unworthy people please the Father through Thy intercession."<sup>14</sup>

When I was with these married people and their children, the Lord again granted me much enjoyment and edification through conversation from God's word and about what we had already heard from it previously and experienced in the Imitation of Christ.<sup>15</sup> We also made use of the excellent hymn *Mein holder Freund ist mein*, etc. I was also invited to visit with encouragement and prayer by the pious potter Gnann, who also has a sincerely pious and humble wife, who is experienced in Christianity; and I also had much edification with this dear couple. Their children always await me eagerly in order to recite their little verses for me.

Tuesday, the 25th of November. For some days it has again been as warm as it sometimes is in summer. Before sunrise this

morning the thermometer registered 54 degrees and in the afternoon 79.

Wednesday, the 26th of November. Johann Paulus<sup>16</sup> and his wife also belong among our obedient and loyal parishioners, whom our miraculous God allows to get in all sorts of suffering. She has been sick for a long time and can help him only a little in his work, especially since she has had no children from her first or from this husband. Some time ago the smallest child from the first marriage was bitten by a snake, and now it would have lost its life in a fire if God had not averted the obvious danger in the absence of the parents through another child, who put out its burning clothes.<sup>17</sup>

Thursday, the 27th of November. This morning I baptized three English children, who were born in Halifax.<sup>18</sup> Two were almost a year old and one three months old. English Anabaptists, who are Sabbatarians and course Chiliasts,<sup>19</sup> are spreading out in the district of Mount Pleasant and Halifax and have also brought N.N. to their side. Because he claims he wishes to be instructed, I lent his wife last Saturday the late Dr. Lange's *Instruction on Baptism in its Middle Road*<sup>20</sup> for her instruction and as a foundation in this important article of faith (for she is much assailed by these seductive people); and I gave her husband two important sermons by the learned and famous Dr. Watts<sup>21</sup> (who is famous and loved among all the so-called Dissenters from the Anglican Church) about the Christian Sabbath and child baptism for her devout reading, which I borrowed from Mr. Whitefield's orphanage.

Colleague Rabenhorst complained to me that the last great freeze had caused great damage to his many sweet potatoes, which were still in the ground. There had been no time to dig them up and store them properly. He and his wife are very well.

Friday, the 28th of November. In the last two days I have not been able to go to the sick Mrs. Rottenberger, which (as I heard today from her husband) has somewhat distressed and disquieted her but has also increased her desire all the more for encouragement from the gospel. After finishing my work this morning I was, so to speak, driven to her by a hidden force; and I afterwards learned that this visit, encouragement, and prayer had been necessary for her and for her salvation-hungry hus-

band. They, too, belong to the spiritual Zion, to which it should be said, "Fear not, but rejoice. Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, just, and as a helper."<sup>22</sup>

Because of the preparation hour there are so many school children that the schoolmaster would not be able to advance them all in reading, especially since their capabilities are so varied. Therefore necessity has required me to take the large children who still need practice in reading after the preparation hour so that they will not only be advanced in reading but also become familiar with God's word. I find this a very pleasant task (even if considered menial by many). Before this task I usually apply my morning hours to visiting my dear people who live in the vicinity, to wit, in town and within the two long bridges toward the plantations.

Sunday, the 30th of November was the first Sunday of the new church year. Although it was very cold last night, we still assembled in the house of God to sing a song of praise to His great and glorious name for all the blessings we have received from Him and to thank Him for them on our knees and to beseech Him for new blessings for us and others, especially for our dear Fathers and benefactors in Europe.

We have also read unpleasant reports that the French have incited the Cherokee Indians through an officer who has come among them with apparently great promises, to a new war against the Carolinians and have promised them the men and ammunition to capture Fort Prince George and to penetrate deeper into the country. That is why they have taken back the prisoners that they wish to surrender to Col. Byrd and the governor in South Carolina.

The Creek Indians are also said to be planning to unite with the Cherokees and to fight against the inhabitants of both colonies. In Congarees some unconscionable people have let themselves be used to supply the Cherokees secretly with clothing and ammunition but they have now been imprisoned.<sup>23</sup> These are, to be sure, new sad aspects that should awaken<sup>13</sup> us and drive us to serious and continuous prayer.

Our forbearing and very patient God tries in every way to arouse men to true repentance even in these regions. To this ef-

fort belongs the very good harvest, especially of rice, which has turned out also in Carolina better than ever before. It is reported in the newspaper that it is believed that 120,000 barrels of rice, each estimated at 600 lbs. will be exported from Charleston alone. Last night the wife of the potter Gnann in Bethany bore a healthy little daughter, which was baptized after the morning service.<sup>25</sup> May God be sincerely and humbly praised for His holy word, for the holy sacraments, for the period of grace still remaining, and for all else.

### D E C E M B E R 1 7 6 0

Monday, the 1st of December. On this first day I must, to the praise of God, rightly remember the blessings which He granted us yesterday on the first day of the new church year, and which we lived healthily and peacefully through His unmerited kindness. The public divine service in Bethany was held by colleague Lemke, while God strengthened me and Colleague Rabenhorst to edify the congregation in the Jerusalem Church. I preached from the gospel. As a foundation I used Hebrews 5:8-9, and Mr. Rabenhorst held the catechization using Jeremiah 23:5-6.

It is, to be sure, a special blessing of the Lord for us and our dear congregation that we have enjoyed almost constant health during the entire church year and could therefore perform our official duties with both adults and children, local people and strangers, without hinderance. For that reason we have rightly encouraged ourselves to a humble and sincere gratitude toward our kind God and Father. The children have again edified me in my study with their devout recitation of the little verses by Pastor Sommer, which they gradually received in the past church year; and in the repetition hour our loyal Saviour granted me much edification, especially from the two very evangelical hymns *Das ist ein theures Wort*, etc. and *Herr Jesus Christ mein Fleisch und Blut*, etc.

Tuesday, the 2nd of December. The honest Paulus from Bethany announced to me that his wife had brought a dead child into the world, which appears to have resulted from great fright because of her child who was injured by fire. God had, as it were, prepared

her for this sad incident through the very edifying and instructive hymn *Gott kans nicht böse meinen*, etc., of which she is planning to continue to make use. We are accustomed sometimes to especially recommend a remarkable and edifying hymn in the sermons, as was done with this hymn in the last weekday sermon in Jerusalem, which was, through divine grace, of great use.

In the weekday sermon in Zion Church at the end of the church year our dear Lord led my mind especially to the important hymn *Erleucht mich, Herr, mein Licht*, etc., which is well known among us and is worthy of diligent contemplation. We encouraged ourselves to apply this excellent hymn in the new church year for our constant careful examination and awakening. This we did on the first Sunday of this new church year with the two dear gospel verses Hebrews 5:8-9 and John 4:34, similarly with the two very important chapters of the Revelations of St. John, numbers 2 and 3, in which the Lord Jesus says seven times "I know thy works" and seven times "He that hath an ear, let him hear."<sup>1</sup>

Toward the end of the church year our loyal God let come to my hand entirely unexpectedly the late Inspector Kalckberner's thorough and edifying printed meditation entitled *Christian Friendship and Spiritual Relationship*.<sup>2</sup> This renewed in my mind the blessed memory of some righteous servants of God in Berlin and Halle whom I got to know in my school and academic years and gave me new encouragement. I even got to know the dear and righteous Inspector Kalchberner, who was very dear to the late Abbot Breithaupt.

Among the especial blessings of God which I have experienced in my life and which have advanced my Christianity and ministry I rightly count the fact that He, in His wisdom and goodness, has so marvelously arranged that I not only came to Halle during the lifetime of three great divinely trained theologians, Prof. Francke, Dr. Breithaupt, and Dr. Anton<sup>3</sup> but also got to know so many righteous and dear servants and children of God. How will it be if I, miserable man, come together with them in the house of the Lord for ever.

In this meditation by Kalchberner is found the very edifying biography of the righteous and very diligent Inspector and Pastor Schütte,<sup>4</sup> from which the Lord has granted me a rich bless-

ing. In reading it, I sincerely wished that our dear son,<sup>5</sup> who is entirely dedicated to God and His church, may participate in it, as I plan, God willing, to instruct in my next letter. While we were seeking in our today's conference and prayer hour to make use of it for a new awakening to a proper loyalty in Christianity and in our very important duty as pastors, the new French and German pastor from Purysburg, Mr. Abraham Immer, who arrived last summer, came to me in my study; and we did not let his visit hinder us in our reading and prayer, rather we let him take part at his own request.

Pastor Immer is a learned man from Canton Bern and served there for several years as minister in a regular congregation and has also brought a very good testimony from his Ephoris.<sup>6</sup> He has a wife and children; of ten children he has brought only two to this country, two died on the journey, and the others are in the home land. He has found a wild and ignorant congregation, and he plans to take over their salvation, and especially the instruction of the youth, better than his miserable predecessor. One can get on with him well. May God bless him and his work.

From the 3rd of December to the end of the year. During the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December it has pleased my dear heavenly Father, according to His wisdom and goodness, to let me become unexpectedly so sick with a dangerous catarrh fever that I lost all my strength and could not do the least work on this Advent and Christmas season. Consequently, I could not continue this official diary, especially since my otherwise weak vision was greatly weakened by the flow in my head and especially in my eyes and nose.

For the past week I have begun to regain my entirely exhausted physical strength (my spiritual forces have always been strong); and I hope that, in accordance with His mercy and for the sake of Christ's merits and intercession and also because of the diligent prayers of my sincerely loved parishioners, the Lord will soon grant me my health and strength to His service and glory and to the service of our dear congregation. During this sickness He has again shown me much mercy, has revealed to me my spiritual misery, my own worthless justification and the wicked recesses of my heart in a salutary manner,<sup>7</sup> has again transfigured Christ and His dear merits and inestimable justifica-

tion through the Holy Ghost, has let me taste sweetly His dear fatherly heart, and has powerfully assured me of a holy state of grace.

Oh, if only I had a thousand tongues and a thousand-fold mouth to praise properly His great, sincere, and wonder-working Name for this so fatherly and salutary chastisement, during which He has done such ineffable good to my soul and to my weakened body. Yet He does not wish to have many tongues: there is only one thing that can refresh Him, a heart that loves just Him alone. Oh Jesus, if Thou wilt grant me that, I shall always remember: my Shepherd is mine, and I am His.<sup>8</sup> In both this sickness of mine and also in some special external matters His divine fatherly providence has ruled over me, unworthy man, to His praise and to my joy, which I cannot keep silent according to Tobit 12:18.<sup>9</sup> Foremost among these blessings is the fact that, toward the end of the old church year and therefore shortly before my sickness, He guided my spirit and granted me time to write down the annual reports required of me concerning the spiritual and physical circumstances of our congregation and of our ministry so that they can be sent at the first opportunity to the Society *de promovenda Christi Cognitione*,<sup>10</sup> as must be done every year at the end of the year and which, praise God, has been done so far. Now, when I sank so low in strength of body and vision, it would have been difficult for me to write it and I would have become sick with worry. Second, my sickness and inability to perform some official duties did not deprive the congregation of any edification, and this kept my spirits calm and contented. For our good God has granted my worthy colleagues constant good health to perform all official business in the town, on the plantations, and in Bethany on Sundays, holidays, and weekdays without hinderance; and I have tried to come to their help with my poor prayer.

If only all our dear parishioners would gratefully recognize that God has given them three ministers and has supplied them publicly and so abundantly with His word. In addition to their work in the Advent Sundays and Holy Christmas, they have also celebrated on the 11th of this month with the parishioners in both churches a thanksgiving ceremony ordered by the authorities because the Lord has so especially blessed the weapons of

our king and driven the French out of all of Canada and thus brought the northern colonies into safety. On the last Sunday of this year they also held Holy Communion with 103 persons. Not only the catechistic and school hours but also the preparation lessons with the larger children for Holy Communion are being loyally continued by my colleague and brother-in-law Lemke so that I can also rest calmly. Thirdly, the Lord has let me be entirely spared from pastoral visits and other difficult things. To be sure, our governor wished to come up here to take a look at our fort, but he became sick.

N.N., who, as long as he has been in this country, has led a disolute and vexing life in Savannah to the ruin of his large family, came to me on the second day of Christmas and testified with humble gestures that Jesus has begun to save him from the authorities of darkness and to free him from Satan's snares, but, he says, he is not entirely free. With divine help I would still learn that the work done on him publicly and privately has not been lost: the seed has merely remained hidden.

It is too bad about the man: he has great natural talents, ability, and opportunity to earn much money but lives with his family in great poverty and want because of his sins. He possesses a thorough literal recognition of the foundation and order of salvation; and under the guidance of loyal ministers he has not been without grace and spiritual experience, of which the empty ideas still remain. Because of that, he can speak very clearly about matters of Christianity. He wishes to bring his youngest daughter up here for the preparation lessons for Holy Communion. I wish that it would last. He has already taken her out of the school here once.

Fourthly, since the wicked devil is usually accustomed to cause trouble at Advent and Christmastide, if not by local inhabitants then by strangers, especially since there are two taverns at our place and hard drinks are sold at five places in and outside of the town, disquiet, vexation, and distress are expected to arise, yet our loyal God has graciously averted such things and everything remained quiet and orderly in the holidays. It is a great blessing that there are no regular soldiers or Rangers in our area or fortress. We do not need such defenders, for we have a firm city wall and our defenses are sound.<sup>11</sup>

To the strengthening of my own and of others' faith I shall never forget what our dear Father, Senior Urlsperger, wrote to us some years ago in a dangerous time of war: "The citadel of Ebenezer is the Name of the Lord, of whom it is said that He is a mighty fortress, let the righteous flee to it and be defended." God be praised! We have experienced that for so many years.

Fifthly, among the evidence of the divine and merciful providence ruling over me is the fact that I have had no lack of medicines during my long sickness even though the medico Thilo has run out of all necessary medicines, the medicine chests sent out from Halle already last spring have not arrived, and my dear colleagues need their share of the medications we have received. The portion that my colleagues and I received at the same time has, to be sure, been almost all used up because of the weaknesses of my dear family and because of my own attacks of sickness, especially since we like to serve some friends and sufferers outside of the family.

However, our loyal God has preserved and finally brought here the prized Halle book and medicine chests, which have been lost several times, to the benefit also of me in my unworthiness and need. In it our dear and untiringly beneficent Prof. Dr. Francke had sent, at my request, a fine portion of the most necessary Richter medications<sup>12</sup> for me and my family. This has now been an excellent help to me and my wife, who has again had much to suffer in her weak body. Thus the Lord provides in advance for us poor people, for He knows what we need. May He, for Christ's sake, reward with rich blessing the dear institutions of the Halle Orphanage and others for these right great blessings in medication that have flowed to us abundantly for these twenty-seven years.

Sixthly: Although I have not had any news from my son and the circumstances in Halle for a long time, our loyal God has kept my spirits in perfect rest and contentedness concerning him even in my the greatest weakness so that I have prayed for him with joy and have humbly praised our almighty and merciful Father in heaven for the great spiritual and physical good which he has experienced there from His dear servants and children and also from the dear benefactors outside of Halle, and which he is doubtless continuing to experience.

His first sermon, which was held in St. Ulrich's Church, concerned the dear words of Psalms 37:45: "Delight thyself also in the Lord; and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart. Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in him; and he shall bring it to pass." May our most merciful God let him actively experience more and more the beautiful thought that is expressed in these dear words and the blessedness of those who believe in it so that with such living experience he can guide to it others over whom he has been placed or will be placed because of his good leadership and may He let him strengthen them in it.

May this ever-loyal God reveal Himself better and better to all my and His dear Fathers and benefactors in whose affection and intercession He stands and may He let them taste Him as the highest and most loving Good in Christ through His spirit in the gospel. May He grant them their hearts' desire, may He commend their comings and goings to His gracious guidance and do everything for them in their lives, sufferings, and deaths so well that we will some day be able to call to one another in heaven to His eternal praise: "He has done everything well."<sup>13</sup>

7. In my sickness I again enjoyed very much good and necessary care and convenience through the good providence of our heavenly Father; and, now that my appetite has returned, the strengthening and necessary food suitable to my weak physical circumstance is on hand for me to enjoy. However, I have nothing through my own means and merit: I am keeping alive in my heart the great and manifold material benefactions which have flowed to me and my family for these twenty-seven years without my deserving them and are still flowing in this now ending year through the praiseworthy Society, through my worthy and dear Fathers in London, Halle, and Augsburg and especially through the late dear Mr. von Münch and his most worthy son. For that I humbly implore, and shall continue to implore, our most kind and heart-guiding God and implore Him to give rich compensation to all such esteemed known and unknown benefactors for such active love and affection.

Now in conclusion I will briefly add a few more things that have happened in the community during my sickness:

During the past very inconstant weather, now cold, now hot, now wet and now dry, our marvelous God has visited some mem-

bers of the community with various physical weaknesses as colds, fever, sore throats, coughing, etc. In particular Mrs. Hässler was very sick, but she has somewhat improved. Mrs. Schweiger died of severe epileptic fits,<sup>14</sup> with which she has been plagued since childhood. She loved the means of grace and prayer and also testified to me several times that she had experienced grace through the sake of Christ.

Urban Buntz's pious wife in Bethany has borne a little daughter, and Zettler's Negress has borne a little son, and both of these were dedicated to the Lord Jesus through holy baptism.

Christian Steiner, the oldest son of a deceased righteous Salzburger, has married an orphan who was well brought up here.

Two weeks before Christmas surgeon Mayer moved to Savannah with his entire family, namely wife, four children, a Salzburger serving girl, and two recently bought Negroes. God took good care of him here for nineteen years and did much good for him in body and soul. May God let him so prosper that his soul, and those of his family, will suffer no harm. He took a friendly farewell from me. Now that I am making a final close to this official diary, I still remember that the nature my very weak vision will not allow me to continue it, and upon my prayer the Lord assured me that it was His will. I close at the entry of my fifty-eighth year and the twenty-eighth year of my ministry. "What I have lived, graciously conceal, my dear Saviour. May Thou effect and rule how I shall still live."<sup>15</sup>

# Appendix

## H Y M N S   S U N G   B Y T H E   S A L Z B U R G E R S I N   1 7 5 9   A N D   1 7 6 0

Most of these hymns are reproduced in Albert Friedrich Fischer—W. Tumpel, *Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh, 1916, reprinted Hildesheim 1964). Authors of all identified hymns are listed in Albert Friedrich Fischer, *Kirchenlieder-Lexikon* (Gotha, 1878, reprint Hildesheim 1967).

*Ach mein Gott, wie lieblich ist deine Wohnung ...* (Oh my God, how lovely is Thy dwelling), by Christian Jacob Koitsch. p. 256.

*Angenehme Fasten-Zeit ...* (Pleasant fasting time), unidentified. p. 20.

*Auf, hinauf zu deiner Freude ...* (Up, up to thy joy), by Johann Heinrich Schröder or Johann Caspar Schade. p. 171.

*A und O, Anfang und Ende ...* (A and O, Beginning and End), identified, in Cöthen Hymnal. p. 212.

*Auf, hinauf zu deiner Freude ...* (Up, up to thy joy), by Johann Caspar Schade. p. 171.

*Danckt dem Herrn ihr Gottes-Knechte ...* (Thank the Lord, ye servants of God), by Heinrich Georg Reuss. p. 207.

*Das ist ein theures Wort ...* (That is a dear word), by Ludwig Andreas Gotter. pp. 8, 279.

*Der Herr ist noch und immer nicht von seinem Volk geschieden ...* (God is never separated from His people), unidentified. p. 48.

*Du unbegreiflich—höchstes Gut ...* (Thou incomprehensible, highest Good), by Joachim Neander. p. 11.

*Eins ist Noth ach Herr / dis Eine ...* (One thing is necessary, oh Lord, this one), by Johann Heinrich Schröder. p. 8.

*Erleucht mich, Herr, mein Licht ...* (Illuminate me, Lord, my Light), by Ernst Wilhelm Buchfelder. pp. 30, 280.

*Er wird es thun, der fromme, treue Gott ...* (He will do it, our pious, loyal God), by Johann Daniel Kleinschmidt. p. 250.

*Es ist vollbracht ...* (It is done), by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen or Johann Eusebius Schmidt. pp. 37, 151.

*Es sey, Herr, deine Gütigkeit ...* (May it be Thy goodness, Lord), by Philipp Jacob Spener. p. 114.

*Ey mein Herz, sey unverzagt ...* (Oh my heart, be undaunted), by Jacob Israel Wolf. p. 185.

*Geht ihr traurigen Gedanken ...* (Go, ye sad thoughts), by Johann Gottlieb Olearius. p. 178.

*Gelobet sey mein Gott ...* (May my God be praised), by Martin Rinckart. p. 61.

*Gott ist doch kein Bär noch Löwe ...* (God is neither bear nor lion), unidentified. p. 61.

*Gott kanns nicht böse meynen ...* (God cannot mean it wrongly), by J. Kless. p. 280.

*Gott wills machen, dass die Sachen, ...* (God will ordain that things ...), by Johann Daniel Herrnschmidt. pp. 149, 221.

*Herr, der du Gnad und Hülff verheisst ...* (Lord who promises grace and help), anonymous, in Freylinghausen's hymnal. p. 25.

*Herr, ich bekenne mit dem Mund ...* (Lord, I acknowledge with my mouth), anonymous, in Freylinghausen's hymnal. p. 10.

*Herr Jesu Christ, mein Fleisch und Blut ...* (Lord Jesus Christ, my flesh and blood). This is probably the same as *Herr Jesu Christ, mein Trost und Licht*, by Johann Rist. (Cf. *Fleisch und Bluth* in strophe 6. v.1). pp. 33, 279.

*Herr Jesu Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott ...* (Lord Jesus Christ, true man and God), by Paul Eber. p. 24.

*Herr, lehr mich thun, nach deinem Wohlgefallen ...* (Lord teach me to do according to Thy pleasure), anonymous, found in Freylinghausen's hymnal. p. 243.

*Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor dir nieder ...* (Here my mind lies down before thee), by Christian Friedrich Richter. p. 247.

*Hochheilige Dreyeinigkeit, die du so süß und milde ...* (Most holy Trinity, Thou art so sweet and mild), by Johann Scheffler (Angelus Silesius). p. 191.

*Hoffnung macht doch nicht zu Schanden ...* (Hope does not bring

disgrace), by Ernst Heinrich, Graf zu Stollberg Wernigerode. pp. 165, 212, 225.

*Ich bin ja Herr in deiner Macht ...* (I am, oh Lord, in Thy power), by Simon Dach. p. 171.

*Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden ...* (I have found the foundation), by Johann Andreas Rothe. p. 247.

*Ich weiss von keinem andern Grunde ...* (I know of none other foundation), by Carl Heinrich Bogatzky. p. 247.

*Ich will, so lang ich lebe hier ...* (I shall, as long as I dwell here), by Johannes Scheffler (Angelus Silesius). p. 201.

*Immanuel, des Güte nicht zu zählen ...* (Immanuel, whose kindnesses can not be counted), by Henriette Catharine von Gersdorf. p. 230.

*Jesu Blut kommüber mich ...* (Blood of Jesus come over me), by Ludmilia Elisabeth, Gräfin von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. pp. 17, 21.

*Jesu, Gottes Sohn von des Himmels-Throne ...* (Jesus, Son of God, from the heavenly throne), unidentified. p. 17.

*Komm, o mein Heyland Jesu Christ ...* (Come, oh, my Saviour, Jesus Christ), unidentified. p. 295 n 15.

*Lehr mich thun, see Herr, lehr mich thun.*

*Liebes Herz, bedenke doch ...* (Just think, my heart), by Christian Jacob Koitsche. p. 146.

*Lobe, lobe, meine Seele, deinen treu- und guten Gott ...* (Praise, praise, my soul, thy loyal and kind God), by Carl Heinrich Bogatzky. p. 276.

*Lobe, lobe, meine Seele, den der heisst Herr Zebaoth ...* (Praise, praise, my soul Him who is called Lord of Hosts), By Hermann Reinhold Pauli, p. 139.

*Man lobt dich in der Stille ...* (We praise thee in quiet), anonymous, often attributed to Joachim Neander. Based on a hymn by Johannes Rist. p. 253.

*Meine Seele, senket sich hin in Gottes Herz und Hände ...* (My soul sinks into the heart and hands of God), by Johann Joseph Winckler. p. 66.

*Meine Seel, komm in die Wunden ...* (My soul, come into the wounds), anonymous, found in Freylinghausen's hymnal. p. 248.

*Meine Seele / willst du ruhn ...* (My soul, wilt thou rest), by Johannes Scheffler (Angelus Silesius). pp. 8, 9.

*Mein Gott und Vater kan mich nimmer hassen ...* (My God and Father cannot hate me), anonymous, in Freylinhghausen's hymnal. p. 248.

*Mein Herz sey Gottes Lobethal ...* (May my heart be the valley of God's praise), by Aemilia Juliana, Gräfin von Schwartzburg-Rudolfstadt. p. 48

*Mein Herz sey zufrieden ...* (Be content, my heart), anonymous, in Freylinghausen's hymnal. p. 178.

*Mein Herz soll den Herrn loben ...* (My heart should praise the Lord), by Johann Anastasias Freylinghausen. p. 251.

*Mein Heyland nimmt die Sünder an ...* (My Savior accepts the sinners), by Leopold Franz Friedrich Lehr. p. 307 n 24.

*Mein holder Freund ist mein ...* (My dear Friend is mine), by Bogsilaus von Bonin. p. 276.

*Mein Salomo ...* (my Solomon), unidentified. p. 70.

*Mein Schöpfer bilde mich dein Werk nach deinem Willen ...* (My Creator, build me, Thy work, according to Thy will), anonymous. Found in Freylinghausen's hymnal. p. 177.

*Mein Trost da mit ich Tag und Nacht ...* (My Comfort with which I day and night), ascribed to August Hermann Francke. p. 177.

*Mein Vater, zeuge mich ...* (My Father, beget me), by Christian Andreas Bernstein. p. 76.

*Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfangen ...* (In the midst of life we are surrounded by death), By Martin Luther. p. 312 n 24.

*Nicht so trauerig, nicht so sehr ...* (Not so sad, not so very), by Paul Gerhardt. p. 177.

*Nimm von uns Herr, du treuer Gott, die schwere Strafe ...* (Take from us Lord, the severe punishment), by Martin Moller. p. 123.

*Nun gute Nacht, du eitles Weltgetümmel ...* (Now good night, thou turmoil of the world), anonymous, in Freilinghausen's hymnal. p. 256.

*O grosse Freude, die auf der Weyde ...* (Great joy, that on the meadow), traditional Christmas song. Found in Freylinghausen's songbook. p. 148.

*O Jesulein, dein frommer Sinn ...* (Oh, little Jesus, Thy pious mind), unidentified. p. 129

*O meine Seel, erhebe dich mit, mit Andacht zu betrachten ...* (Oh, my soul, arise to contemplate with devotion), by David Denicke. p. 129.

*O Ursprung des Lebens, o ewiges Licht ...* (O source of life, eternal Light), by Christian Jacob Koitsch. p. 5.

*Ringe wohl, wenn Gottes Gnade dich nun ziehet und bekehrt ...* (Struggle hard when God's mercy draws and converts thee), by Johann Joseph Winckler. p. 9.

*Sey fröhlich in dem Herrn, du heilige Seele ...* (Be happy in the Lord, you holy soul), by Johann Eusebius Schmidt. p. 64.

*Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut ...* (Praise and glory be to the highest Good), by Johann Jacob Schütz. p. 272.

*So führst du doch recht selig, Herr, die deinen ...* (Thou leadest Thy people right blessedly), by Gottfried Arnold. p. 298 n 22.

*Solt ich meinem Gott nicht singen? ...* (Should I not sing unto my Lord?), by Paul Gerhardt. p. 239.

*Thut auf die Herzen zur seligen Freude ...* (Open up your hearts to blessed joy), unidentified. p. 304 n 34.

*Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich ...* (Graciously grant us peace), by Martin Luther. p. 123.

*Wann endlich, eh es Zion meint ...* (When at last, before Zion...), unidentified. p. 165.

*Warum solt ich mich denn grämen? ...* (Why then should I grieve?), by Paul Gerhard. p. 164.

*Weg mein Hertz mit den Gedanken ...* (Away, my heart, with all such thoughts), by Paul Gerhardt. p. 275.

*Welt, ade, ich bin dein müde ...* (World, farewell, I am tired of you), by Johann Georg Albinus. p. 169.

*Wie lange schlagt ihr nicht, ihr ...* (How long will you not strike, you...), by Wolfgang Christoph Dessler. p. 61.

*Wie lechzet doch mein Geist ...* (How my heart doth thirst), by Johann Caspar Stegmann. pp. 177, 225.

*Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seelen ...* (How well I feel, oh Friend of the soul), by Wolfgang Christoph Dessler. p. 216.

*Womit soll ich dich wohl loben ...* (Wherewith shall I praise Thee?), by Ludwig Andreas Gotter. pp. 83, 240

*Zu dir, Herr Jesus, komme ich ...* (To Thee, Lord Jesus, I come), by Joann Anastasias Freylinghausen. p. 16.



# Notes for the Years

## 1759 & 1760

### JANUARY 1759

1. *Schätze aller Schätze, o Jesus, liebster Schatz / an dem ich mich ergötze; hier hab ich einen Platz in meinem treuen Herzen dir, Schönster, zugetheilt, weil du mit deinem Schmerzen mir meinen Schmerz geheilt.*

2. *Eröffne dich, meins Herzensschrein, du solt ein Schatzhaus werden, der Schätze, die viel grösser seyn als Himmel, Meer und Erden. Weg mit dem Gold Arabia, weg calmus, myrrhen, casia, ich hab ein bessers funden. Mein grosser Schatz, Herr Jesu Christ ist dieses, was geflossen ist aus deines Leibes Wunden.... Wie bin ich doch so herzlich froh, dass mein Schatz ist das A und O, der Anfang und das Ende! er wird mich doch zu seinem Preis aufnehmen in das Paradeis. Des klopf ich in die Hände. Amen, Amen, komm du schöne Freudencrone, bleib nicht lange, deiner wart ich mit verlangen.* From a hymn.

3. Boltzius does not state what thermometric system he is using. It is probably the Basel thermometer, which he mentions later. See p. 295 n 14.

4. Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, *Ordnung des Heils, Nebst einem Verzeichnis der wichtigsten Kern-Sprüche*. Halle: Waysenhaus, many printings.

5. This is not a standard Greek word.

6. *Welche ich lieb habe / die straffe und züchtige ich: so sey nun fleissig, und thue Busse*. Unidentified. Cf. Proverbs 3:2.

7. See note 3 above.

8. The German word *Person*, although feminine, can refer to a man, but here and elsewhere it probably refers to a woman.

9. *Ey, nimm ihn heut mit Freuden an, bereite ihm die Hezensbahn, auf dass er komm in dein Gemüth, und du geniessst seiner Gut. Wo du dis thust, so ist er dein, bewahret dich von der Höllenpein; wo nicht, so sieh dich eben für, denn er schleusst zu des Himmelthür.* From a hymn.

10. *Meister, lass dein Werk nicht liegen, hilf uns beten, wachen, siegen, bis wir stehn vor deinem Thron.* From a hymn.

11. The word *Epilepsie* denoted any paroxism, regardless of cause.

12. 1 Samuel 2:21. The King James version differs greatly.

13. Town in Brandenburg.

14. August Hermann Francke, *Lehre vom Anfang Christlichen Glaubens*. Halle 1696 ff.

15. John 3:16.

16. Meditation of the pastor Mr. [James] Harvey, unidentified.

17. This was Johann Heinrich Greve of Celle in Hanover, the father of Caroline Magdalene, the widow of Johann Christoph Bornemann. Boltzius often

confuses the name Greve with that of Samuel Graves, an Englishman in Bethany.

18. Caroline Magdalene Bornemann married Johann Caspar Greiner on Feb. 7, 1758, in Halifax. The plantation was named New Goettingen in honor of Bornemann's home town, Göttingen.

19. "Say why here."

20. The Jerusalem Church records give Elisabeth Rottenberger's birth as Jan. 16, 1759.

21. Ludwig Hartmann's *Pastorale Evangelicum*. Nürnberg 1697.

22. *Der treue Hirt jetzt kommt vor dich, und träget mich, das Schaaf, auf seinem Rücken; das Schaaf, das ganz verirret war, gieng mit Gefahr, es war in Satans Stricken; das hat er bracht aus eigener Macht, wie du begehrt, zu deiner Heerd, zur Heerde der Gerechten.*

23. Like the Latin word *sensus*, the word *Sinn* had many meanings, including idea, meaning, intention, purpose, etc.

24. The *Ebenezer Record Book* (p. 111) states that Johann Michael Hirsch died on Jan. 24–25, 1759, and (p. 89) that Regina Barbara Hirsch married Johann Christoph Hirsch on Aug. 15, 1759.

25. See note 4 above.

## FEBRUARY 1759

1. See p. 293 n 17.

2. Luisa Margaretha Greve, née Schwichhofer, died on Oct. 10, 1756. Anna Catharina Greve, née Heinrich, died on Nov. 21, 1757.

3. Henriette was buried on Sept. 25, 1756.

4. Johann Christoph Bornemann of Göttingen in Hannover established a plantation on the Savannah River near Briar Creek that he named New Goettingen.

5. Boltzius should have said "widow." She was Caroline Magdalene, née Greve, who married Johann Caspar Greiner II in 1758.

6. Andreas Greiner married Barbara Hirschmann on July 16, 1756.

7. Johann Joachim Zubly named his plantation St. Gall in honor of his native city in Switzerland.

8. The Bethesda Orphanage just south of Savannah.

9. The belief in predestination.

10. Popular English theologian and author.

11. Psalms 74:12.

12. Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky, *Tägliches Hausbuch der Kinder Gottes*. Halle: Waysenhaus 1749.

13. Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky, *Güldenes Schatz-Kästlein der Kinder Gottes*. Halle: Weisenhaus 1753.

14. Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, *Kurze Erklärung des Gebeths des Herrn*. Halle / London 1750.

15. Psalms 124:8.

16. An ailment often mentioned but never well described.

17. Psalms 25:8.

18. Matthew 11:28.

19. "Great man and man of God."

20. The word *Feind* (enemy) was commonly used of the devil.
21. *Vortheilen zum Wachsthum in dem angefangenen Christenthum.*  
Unidentified.
22. Ambrosius Wirth, *Beicht und Abendmahlbüchlein nach dem Zehngebot.*
23. *O wie freu ich mich, dass ich kenne dich, der du bist mein Heil und Leben, der du dich für mich gegeben, der du liebest mich! So erkenn ich dich.*
24. *Er lässt die Seele nicht, er hat sie viel zu lieb.*
25. *In der Wernigerodischen Sammlung neuer Lieder.* The Wernigerode hymnal.
26. Johann Georg Albinus, hymnist.
27. Basel thermometer. See p. 293 n 3.
28. Inexpensive Bibles published by the Pietist benefactor Karl Hildebrand, baron of Canstein.
29. See p. 293 n 14.
30. Johann Gottlieb Schneider.
31. Boltzius means the wheat, rye, barley, and oats, which he usually calls "European grains."
32. Boltzius' son, Gotthilf Israel, was studying in Halle.
33. See p. 294 n 13.

## MARCH 1759

1. Boltzius seems to mean that the high river water is backing up in streams like Ebenezer Creek.
2. Boltzius has resigned himself to the fact that the silk will be spun, and the greater profits made, in Savannah.
3. Psalms 37:5.
4. The Luther version differs somewhat.
5. *Du thust was du beschleusst; und was unmöglich heisst, ist das Geringste deiner Werke.* From a hymn.
6. *Und ob es währt bis in die Nacht und wieder an den Morgen / soll doch mein Herz an Gottes Macht verzweifeln nicht noch sorgen.* From a hymn.
7. Surely Chrétien von Münch.
8. See p. 294 n 14.
9. Usually written Alther. She was the former Amalia Schiermeister, servant to Boltzius.
10. "From her properties." She was the widow of the wealthy Swiss butcher, Johann Alther, of Purysburg. She had previously been the Boltzius' servant.
11. See p. 295 n 22.
12. The relative locations of most of these towns may be found in George F. Jones, *The Georgia Dutch*, Athens, Ga., 1992, p. 141.
13. See p. 294 n 13.
14. *Immer stiller! immer stiller! lass, O stilles Lamm mich seyn; still im Leiden, still in Freuden, immer in die Still hinein. Wenig Wort und viele Kraft, und ein still und sanftes Wesen, mehr im Wandel als im Wort, sey zu meinem Schmuck erlesen.* From a hymn.
15. *Komm, o mein Heyland Jesu Christ! mein's Herzens Haus etc.* From a hymn.

## APRIL 1759

1. She was named Margaretha.
2. Isaiah 40:29.
3. Ecclesiasticus is in the Apocrypha, but not in the King James version.
4. 2 Corinthians 4:7.
5. 1 Corinthians 4:9.
6. Joel 2:21.
7. Hebrews 13:5-6.
8. Psalms 68:20. This is from Luther, the King James version (68:19) differs greatly.
9. Psalms 126:3.
10. *Es ist ja abgemessen die Last, die uns soll pressen, es sey gross oder klein. Was aber nicht zu tragen, darf sich nicht an uns wagen, und solts auch nur ein Quentlein seyn.* From a hymn.
11. *Du leitest mich nach deinem Rath, der anders nichts beschlossen hat, als was mir Segen bringet. Geht's gleich zu Zeiten wunderlich; so weiss ich dennoch, dass durch dich der Ausgang wohl gelinget. Nach harter Zeit auf rauher Bahn nimmst du mich dort mit Ehren an.* From a hymn.
12. This was a common use of "another." Boltzcius means "another person, a noble, esteemed benefactress."
13. See note above.
14. Medications made by Christian Friedrich Richter, professor at Halle.
15. They were named Johann Gottlieb and Samuel.
16. A concentrated form of *essentia dulcis*, a favorite panacea that owed its effectiveness to gold dust.
17. "Dearth in the house and short supplies."
18. *Es ist vollbracht! Vergiss ja nicht, mein Herz, dis Wort, das Jesus spricht, da er am Creutze für dich stirbet, und dir die Seligkeit erwirbet, da er, der alles wohl gemacht, nunmehr spricht: es ist vollbracht.*
19. *General-Fiscal*.
20. A popular English theologian and author.
21. The official name of the SPCK.
22. Isaiah 65:8.
23. *Wenn der Winter ausgeschneyet, tritt der schöne Sommer ein; also wird auch nach der Pein (wers erwarten kan,NB) erfreuet. Alles Ding währt seine Zeit; Gottes Lieb in Ewigkeit.* From a hymn.

## MAY 1759

1. "Not many, but much."
2. These were the family of Benjamin Sheftal.
3. A missionary society concerned largely with the British colonies.
4. Their patois, called Gullah, has persisted to the present on the coastal islands.
5. Matthew 24:42.
6. Pastor and missionary to the Jews.
7. On the night of April 28–29. He was named Emmanuel.
8. Named Albrecht Ludwig.
9. See note 14 above.

10. Johann Anastasias Freylinghausen, *Geistreiches Gesang-Buch*. Halle 1704 ff. For *Order of Salvation*, see p. 293 n 4. The *A.B.C. Büchlein* was a popular manual published by Pastor Sommer of Schortewitz for the religious instruction of children. Verse register was to Justinus Töllner, *Biblisches Spruch-Buch*. . . . Halle: Waisenhaus 1709.
11. The "clay-eating" was not the cause, but a symptom of hookworm disease.
12. *Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit, das ist mein Schmuck und Ehrenkleid; damit will ich vor Gott bestehen, wenn ich in Himmel wird eingehen*. From a hymn.
13. *Zum Himmel eingehen*. Her meaning is not clear.
14. See p. 293 n 14.
15. Johann Rudolph Brehm, *Gnaden und Heilsschätze*. Unidentified. See note 20 below.
16. Bishop Peter Hersleb, Danish theologian who published in Danish and German. Urlsperger's penitential sermon, unidentified.
17. *Der Königlichen Dänischen Missionaren aus Ost-Indien eingesandte Ausführliche Berichte*. Halle 1735 ff. The reports submitted by the Halle missionaries in India.
18. The N.N. mentioned in the three previous paragraphs.
19. 2 Timothy 3:12.
20. *Brehms schönen Extract aus des seligen Porsts Göttlicher Führung der Seelen* (See note 15 above). August Hermann Francke, *Lehre vom Anfang Christlichen Glaubens*. Halle: 1696.
21. See p. 293 n 4.
22. Canton in southwestern Switzerland, called Valais in French and English.
23. Ft. Loudoun.
24. John 12:32; Exodus 10:26.
25. *Herrn Brehms Gnaden-und Heilsschätze*, see note 15 above.
26. They were Johann Lohrmann and Susanna Humbart.
27. *Da werden wir mit Freuden den Heyland schauen, / Der durch sein Blut und Leiden den Himmel aufgethan, / Die lieben Patriarchen, Propheten allzumal / Du Martyrer und Apostel mit ihm in grosser Zahl*. From a hymn.

#### JUNE 1759 (BOLTZIUS)

1. *Ach Gott, sprich ja zu meinen Thaten, hilf selbst das beste rathen, den Anfang, Mittel und Ende, o Herr zum besten wende. Mit Segen mich beschütte, mein Herz sey deine Hütte, dein Wort sey meine Speise, dass ich gen Himmel reise*. From the hymn *Wach auf mein Herz*, by Paul Gerhardt.
2. *Wenn mir gleich Leib und Seel verschmacht*. From a hymn.
3. John 12:32.
4. Psalms 94:19.
5. Although Christian Ernst Thilo was the official physician at Ebenezer, the surgeon Johann Ludwig Mayer enjoyed the larger practice.
6. These "Virginians" were the lawless backwoodsmen who were squatting along the southern frontier.
7. This would appear to be Thomas Brown, later a notorious Loyalist colonel at Augusta.
8. For de Brahm's experience at Ft. Loudoun, see Louis De Vorse, Jr., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southeastern District of North America*. Columbia, S.C. 1967.

9. England was fighting France in the Seven Years' War.
10. Language, not nationality, was then the chief criterion. All German-speakers were Germans and all English-speakers were English, even if they considered themselves Welsh, Irish, or Scottish.
11. The pastors and Surgeon Meyer served as justices of the peace.
12. August Hemann Francke, *Timotheus zum Fürbilde allen Theologiae Studiosis dargestellt*. Halle 1695.
13. Boltzcius usually calls the older Kieffer "Master," perhaps because of his shipbuilding. The son was usually called "Captain," as well as "Master." In this case it is the son.
14. Next to Schauer's balm, the *essentia dulcis* was the most popular panacea in Ebenezer.
15. Boltzcius (or the type setter) has written the name as Preachtle.
16. Boltzcius uses the word *Elend* in the Pietistic sense of "sin," the word *Elend* having originally meant alienation or exile, in this case alienation from God.
17. Boltzcius uses the word *Base* (cousin), although the girl was Mrs. Boltzcius' niece, being the daughter of her sister Catherina, widow of Gronau and wife of Lemke.
18. This would have to be the child of Captain Kieffer's wife, Master Kieffer, Senior's, wife being too old.
19. *Ich krieche, Erlöser, dir zu Füßen: Es ist noch Raum in deinen Wunden*. From the hymn *Wie lange schlägt ihr mich*. See Appendix.
20. For the Pietists, *unwissend* (ignorant) meant not well versed in the ways of the Pietists.
21. Boltzcius had maintained a cordial correspondence with Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg since the latter's brief stop-over at Ebenezer in 1742.
22. *So führst du doch recht selig, Herr, die deinen, zwar selig und doch meistens wunderbarlich*. The beginning of a hymn by Gottfried Arnold.
23. Allusion to Psalms 119:92.
24. Psalms 37:5; *Befiehl du aber deine Wege*, hymn by Paul Gerhardt.
25. Matthew 25:46.
26. *Was ich verdient, muss Jesus büssen, was er verdient, soll ich genießen*. From a hymn.
27. Christian Friedrich Richter, *Erbauliche Betrachtungen vom Ursprung und Adel der Seelen*, Halle 1718.
28. *Aufsatz vom dem gesegneten Wege des Creutzes*. Unidentified.
29. Like the French *Lycée*, the German *Gymnasium* was a preparatory school for the university.
30. There was surely an error, perhaps typographical, in this estimate.
31. Johann Arnd (or Arndt), *Vier Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum*. Halle 1731.
32. Sirach is found in Luther's Bible but not in the King James Bible.
33. Psalms 81:10.
34. *Wenn du verlangst ein Tröpflein, so sollen Ströme sich ergiessen. Es soll noch als ein volles Meer von Gnadewasser überfliessen, dein ausgeleertes Hertz*. From a hymn.
35. Psalms 81:11.
36. Tobit 4:22. Tobit is found in the Apocrypha but not in the King James Bible.
37. Psalms 128:1-2.
38. Isaiah 1:9.
39. Psalms 68:18-20. The Luther Bible and the King James differ here.

40. Matthew 25:40.
41. *Pastor Sommer's guter Rath für diejenigen, die sich beklagen, dass sie unschuldig leyden müssen*. Unidentified. See p. 297 n 10.

#### JULY 1759 (BOLTZIUS)

1. Psalms 42:5.
2. Isaiah 49:10.
3. *Lass dich nichts zur Freude bringen, ehe dich dein Gott erfreut. Soll ich keinen Trost erblicken, will ich mich damit erquicken, dass ich meines Jesu sey*. From a hymn.
4. 1 Peter 5:6-7.
5. Isaiah 49:10.
6. *Was ich gelebet hab, das decke zu: was ich noch leben soll, regiere du*. From a hymn.
7. Psalms 68:21. The King James version differs considerably.
8. "Daily matters become of no value."
9. Boltzium's teachers at Halle.
10. *Collegia ascetica biblica*. Unidentified.
11. This is one of the few hints that Mrs. Boltzium was running a lively cottage industry in silk.
12. Romans 8:34.
13. Jeremiah 3:12-13.
14. De Brahm's plan of Ebenezer is reproduced in George F. Jones, *Salzburger Saga*. Athens, Ga. 1984, fig. 17. His plan of the plantations is reproduced in DeVorse, p. 142. (See p. 297 n 8).
15. *Fremde Sünden* or *peccata aliena* were the sins of encouraging or not preventing sins by others.
16. *Closter-Bergische Sammlung Nützlicher Materien zur Erbauung im Wahren Christenthum*. Magdeburg and Leipzig, 1745.
17. As Governor Reynolds had observed, Ottolenghe was trying to monopolize the silk industry in Georgia.
18. For the Pietists *Elend* (misery) had much of its original meaning of exile, in this case, alienation from God.
19. See p. 297 n 17.
20. It is unclear what official Boltzium has in mind when he writes *Commissarius*.
21. Luke 1:38.
22. The Rangers, which Oglethorpe established to guard against the Spanish and Indian borders, recruited many Germans. The tailor was Johann Scheraus.
23. See p. 294 n 13.

#### JUNE 1759 (RABENHORST)

1. Following Luther (and the Roman Catholic Church), Rabenhorst numbers the commandment against stealing number seven. In this translation the English numbering is used. These people were guilty of theft, not adultery.
2. *Aus dem Gesetz kommt Erkenntnis der Sünden*, Romans 3:20.
3. The "eldest colleague" always refers to Boltzium.

4. Abercorn Island, across Abercorn Creek from Ebenezer.
5. This was Maria Catharina Bechtle, daughter of Johann Georg and Eva Barbara Bechtle. She died five years later.
6. Ambrosius Wirth, *Beicht- und Abendmahlbüchlein nach dem Zehngebot*.
7. Allusion to the title of this report, *Ackerwerck Gottes*. See introduction, p. x.
8. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg had visited Ebenezer in 1742 on his way from Europe to Pennsylvania.
9. When people sent friends Bible verses for their meditation, they needed to send only the reference, since everyone had scripture on hand.
10. See p. 294 n 13.

### JULY 1759 (RABENHORST)

1. Johann Arnd, *Paradies-Gärtlein*. A popular Pietist work by the author of *Wahres Christenthum*.
2. Allusion to parable about the sower who went forth to sow (Matthew 13:3).
3. Rabenhorst uses the word *Förl*, by which he probably means longleaf pine. The German pine is insignificant in comparison with the Georgia longleaf, now an endangered species.
4. *Mod.* This word is not found in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.
5. This was Henry Ellis, John Reynolds having been recently dismissed.
6. Ottolenghe had been denigrating the Salzburgers' silk so as to keep his monopoly in Savannah.
7. Before marrying the Swiss Johann Altherr of Purysburg and Savannah, Amalia Schiermeister had been a servant in Ebenezer.
8. The word *Epilepsie* designated any paroxysm, regardless of its cause.
9. *Gottes Brunnlein hat Wassers die Fülle*. (Psalms 65:10). The King James version differs greatly.
10. Philipp Jacob Spener (1635-1705), founder of Pietism.

### AUGUST 1759

1. *Eigene Gerechtigkeit* was the sin of trying to achieve salvation on one's own merits rather than through the merits of Jesus.
2. All the pastors used the word "another" in this peculiar way. In this case it means "another person, a man." For Lydia, see Acts 9:32.
3. *Selbst Rechtfertigung*, like *eigene Gerechtigkeit*, was the vain attempt to achieve salvation through one's own merits, rather than to crawl into the wounds of Jesus.
4. This unidentified saddler may have been Friedrich Holtzendorf, the only saddler of any prominence in Georgia.

### SEPTEMBER 1759

1. Anna Catharina Rau was married to Johann Georg Ziegler.
2. This Mrs. Greiner must have been a second wife of Johann Caspar

Greiner, whose first wife was Caroline Magdalene, née Greve, widow of Johann Christoph Bormemann.

3. Rabenhorst had crossed the ocean with the third Swabian transport.
4. Boltzius and Gronau had been ordained at Wernigerode on their way from Halle to Georgia.

#### OCTOBER 1759

1. Whereas Ebenezer had two churches, Savannah still had to do with the court house.
2. Surely Georg Lange, who received a grant in 1752.
3. This was probably Jacob Kurz of Vernonburg, who became a Ranger the following year.
4. Urban Buntz, Swabian with the third Swabian transport.
5. *Hilf, dass wir von der Sünde ablassen und fromm zu werden fangen an.* From the hymn *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist*, by Johann Steurlein.
6. Allusion to Zacharias and Elizabeth (Luke 1:6).

#### NOVEMBER 1759

1. Rabenhorst had married the widow of the merchant David Kraft, who had come from Ravensburg.

#### DECEMBER 1759–JANUARY 1760

1. *In Nomine Jesu, Amen.* In the Name of Jesus, Amen.
2. Boltzius is not including himself among the *gute Seelen*. See p. 300 n 2.
3. The word *Threne* is Greek for Lamentations.
4. Boltzius must mean Matthew 9:17, which refers to putting new wine in old bottles.
5. Johann Tobler of New Windsor had been governor of Appenzell ausser Rhoden before being exiled to America.
6. Then studying in Halle.
7. *die sie lieben* could mean either “who love them” or “whom they love.”
8. *Da Schwinge nun mein Geist, dich hin, den Namen selbst zu lesen, da ich dort aufgezeichnet bin schon lang, eh ich gewesen.*
9. Johann Melchior Götze, *Heilsame Betrachtungen des Todes und der Ewigkeit auf alle Tage des Jahres*. Breslau 1767.
10. Margaretha Schweighofer was actually seventy-seven, for she died in 1766 at the age of eighty-three.
11. See p. 293 n 4.
12. See p. 298 n 31; p. 300 n 1.
13. Ziegenhagen’s *Meditation* has a long baroque title.
14. It was customary at the time to translate or nationalize even surnames.
15. German translation: John Leland, *Abriss der deistischen Schriften*. Hannover 1754-56.;
16. Paraphrased from Psalms 118:18.
17. Psalms 68:20. The King James Bible differs greatly.

## FEBRUARY 1760

1. The convoy was necessary because England and France were on opposite sides in the Seven Years War.
2. The German translation of the title is *Köstlicher Honigtropfen aus dem Felsen Christo*.
3. August Hermann Francke, *Unterricht von der Möglichkeit der wahren Bekehrung zu Gott*.
4. This was Lucas Ziegler. There being no ship manifest for the third Swabian transport, it is often difficult to identify its members.
5. For Ft. Loudoun, see p. 297 n 8.
6. Allusion to 1 Corinthians 10:13.
7. Boltzius still seems to think that the top of the skull was taken along with the scalp.
8. "Curing and preserving."
9. *Es steht Gott auf, dass seine Feinde*. Boltzius has not cited this previously.
10. The King James Bible is entirely different.
11. False security trusting in self or other men.
12. In the King James version it is Psalms 8:2. This sentence, consisting of some sixteen lines in the original, is typical of Boltzius' sermonizing style.
13. Allusion to the hymn *Gott wills machen, dass die Sachen*.
14. *Gottes Hände sind ohn Ende, sein Vermögen hat kein Ziel. Ists beschwerlich, scheint gefährlich, deinem Gott ist nichts zu viel*. From a hymn.
15. This means that he recommends it. He is not sending a copy. See p. 300 n 9.
16. Allusion to Judges 7:13-25.
17. The Book of Judith is found in the Apocrypha but not in the King James Bible.
18. Either the rumor must have been false or else Boltzius misunderstood it, for it was surely in Savannah Town, not Savannah, that the people were so frightened.
19. The "Irishmen" may have been Scotch Irish, who were then migrating southward from Pennsylvania, but they may have included Highlanders, whose language was then called "Irish."
20. Maria Kalcher married Martin Rheinländer in 1758.
21. Pastor Sommer's *Centifoliis*. Unidentified. See p. 297 n 10 and p. 298 n 41.
22. See p. 294 n 13.
23. Ursula Birk (also written Birck and Buerck) was the wife of Christian. Their daughter's name was Maria.
24. Psalms 102:17.
25. Surely Peter Hammer.
26. *Gott ist ja kein Bär noch Löwe, der sich nur nach Blute sehnt; sein Herz ist zu lauter Treue und zur Sanftmuth angewöhnt. Gott hat einen Vater Sinn; unser Jammer jammert ihn, etc.* From a song.
27. Psalms 8:2.
28. *den sehr wohl eingerichteten Conspectum der vornehmsten christlichen Glaubens-Artikel mit denen beygefügeten Beweissprüchen*. It is not always possible to determine whether Boltzius is giving a title or merely describing a work.
29. See p. 300 n 1.
30. Johann Georg Hoffmann, *Erklärung des kleinen Catechismus Lutheri nach*

*allen Hauptstücken.* Waysenhaus 1757.

31. Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky, *Christliche Hausschule.* Halle: Weisenhaus 1755.

32. *Was ich gelebet hab, deck in Gnaden zu; Was ich noch leben soll, wirk und regiere Du.* From a hymn.

### MARCH 1760

1. *Andern Kindern zu ihrem mercklichen Zunehmen.*
2. This is Psalms 64:9-10 in the Luther version, which differs from the King James version.
3. Allusion to Ephesians 3:20.
4. Johann Ludwig Weidmann, husband of Anna Eva.
5. Johann Friedrich Lackner.
6. Boltzius consistently writes the name as Reuter, but most records give the name as Reiter.
7. For Pastor Sommer's *A.B.C. Book*, see p. 297 n 10; for *Order of Salvation*, see p. 293 n 4.
8. The word *begeheth* must be a typographical error.
9. Johann August Urlsperger did not publish Rabenhorst's diary for March 1760 but seems to have used Boltzius' informal one as he did for the two previous months.
10. *O das ich dich so spät erkennet*, unidentified.
11. "In the Name of Jesus, Amen."
12. This is the first time that Boltzius clearly admits his wife's silk business.
13. *in seinem Davidish=Salomonischen Licht.* Unidentified.
14. In the King James version this is Psalms 36:7.
15. This is the first time that Boltzius has indicated that he had composed his own Treasure Chest.
16. *Nun so fahre fort und segne, Herr, Herr, deines Dieners Haus, geuss doch deine Fülle aus, und mit Liebes-Strömen regne.*
17. Boltzius is referring to Gotthilf August Francke of Halle and Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg, who together with Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen of London, were the "Reverend Fathers" of the Georgia Salzburgers.
18. *Ihnen* could be third person (they) but the capitalization suggests that Boltzius is addressing his benefactors directly.
19. *Des seligen Herrn Prof. Franken Predigtbüchern* and *des Herrn Frankens Busspredigten* refer to August Hermann Francke, perhaps the most prolific of the Halle Pietists. His *Buss-Predigten. Darin aus verschiedenen Texten H. Schrift deutlich gezeichnet wird* was published at Halle in 1706. The *Postillen des seligen Herrn P. Riegers*, not identified.
20. *Ich bin der allmächtige allgenugsame Gott.* Unidentified.
21. The text reads Weight.
22. August Hermann Francke, *Collegium Pastorale.* Halle: Weisenhaus 1741.
23. Stephan Praetorius, *Geistliche Schatzkammer.* Lüneburg 1699.
24. The German translation bears the title *Wecker der Lehrer, oder Reinigung der Kinder Levi.*
25. Matthew 25:21.
26. Psalms 77:11. The King James version differs greatly.

27. General Superintendent Johann Ludwig Lindhammer, *Commentarium*, Unidentified.
28. Luke 13:24.
29. Allusion to Ephesians 3:20.
30. *In dem sogenannten Augsburgischen wohleingerichteten Schulbüchlein*, unidentified.
31. This passage does not appear applicable. It should probably be Psalms 18:3.
32. *kurzgefasste Passions-Geschichte der Marterwoche*.
33. *Kommt, ihr betrübten, "Kommt her, ihr Armen."*
34. *Thut auf die Herzen zur seligen Freude*. See Appendix p. 291.
35. Jeremiah 31:2. The King James version differs greatly.
36. *welche erbauliche Benennung der Christen Sterben in Gottes Wort habe*. Not clear.
37. Johann Georg Walch, *Einleitung in die Religionsstreitigkeiten in und ausser der Lutherischen Kirche*.
38. A town in Silesia.
39. See note 24 above.
40. "If a lesson when read pleases, it will please when repeated ten times."
41. Christian Thilo, the doctor.

#### APRIL 1760

1. This name may be in error, since it does not appear elsewhere in the records.
2. Lieutenant Governor William Bull.
3. John 11:3.
4. Romans 8:28.
5. John 11:4.
6. See p. 294 n 13.
7. *Agenda Ecclesiastica, Oder: Formen der Handlung der H. Sacramenten ... Augsburg 1718*.
8. The mouth of the Savannah river is further south than Ebenezer or Savannah. The quarantine was on Lazaretto Island.
9. Acton was entirely German speaking, but occupied mostly by Swiss.
10. The name is given as *Hanrietta*.
11. "Swift enough, if done well enough."
12. *Gott will's machen, dass die Sachen* is an allusion to the hymn beginning thus.
13. Boltzius was well aware that this provision was unfair to the people of Ebenezer, since the major profit in silk culture came from the spinning.
14. *Sicherheit* meant false assurance of salvation.
15. Previously the Salzburgers and others had received their land based on maps, with no regard to its quality. As a result, some received cypress swamps and some received pine barrens.
16. Allusion to Matthew 5:5.
17. *Was sind diese Erdengüter? eine Hand voller Sand, Kummer der Gemüther. dort, dort sind die edlen Gaben, da mein Hirt Jesus wird mich laben . . .* From a hymn or a poem.

18. Ephrata and Bethlehem were also the names of German religious settlements in Pennsylvania. Huntington was named for Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, a patroness of Bethesda.

19. This engraving of Tomochichi and his nephew serves as the fontispiece to Vol. Six of the *Detailed Reports*.

20. These were the unfortunate Arcadians expelled by the British.

#### M A Y 1 7 6 0

1. My barely legible copy seems to say the 126th Psalm, but this does not appear appropriate. The quotation is from Psalms 2:12.

2. Margaretha, first wife of Johann Adam Treutlen.

3. An allusion to Hebrews 13:5.

4. Tobit 4:22. Tobit is found in the Apocrypha and Luther but not in the King James version.

5. Lamentations 3:22.

6. *Gott ist Herr in seinem Haus, wie er will, so theilt er aus. Alles kommt, mein Gott, von dir.* From a hymn.

7. *Warum sollt ich mich denn grämen? hab ich doch Christum noch, wer will mir den nehmen?* See list of hymns in Appendix, p. 291.

8. Peter Hammer of Chemnitz in Saxony.

9. In Pietistic parlance “ignorant” (*unwissend*) meant not well instructed in Pietistic dogma, and “honest” (*ehrlich*) meant willing to learn.

10. The word *Haushalt* (household) is the entire family economy, including house, farm, and all domestic activities.

11. *Herr wende unser Gefängniß, wie du die Wasser gegen Mittag trocknet.* Psalms 126:4.

12. This was Anna Rosina Hammer, wife of Peter Hammer of Chemnitz in Saxony.

13. Probably Ludwig Weitmann or Waidmann.

14. From Schwarzburg, town near Saalfeld in East Germany.

15. Peter Hammer.

16. This Reformed minister has not been identified. Possibly the new Pastor Abraham Immer?

17. I.e., recognition of Pietist dogma.

18. An ailment often mentioned but never identified.

19. *Anfechtungen* were the temptation to doubt that Christ, through His merits, can save poor sinners like us.

20. Boltzius uses the word *Kindschaft*, which appears to be a legal term.

21. This reference hardly seems pertinent.

22. Psalms 10:17.

23. Psalms 38:9.

24. Probably the same as *Ich bin der Herr, dein Arzt* (Exodus 15:26).

25. John 16:27.

26. *Vest, fein vest, dich angehalten an die starke Jesus Treu*, etc. From the hymn *Auf hinauf*. See Appendix, p. 287. *Ein hinnen in Gottes Kammer, die dir Jesus aufgethan; klag ihm deinen Jammer*, etc. Unidentified.

27. Hymn by Johann Georg Albinus.

28. Romans 14:8.

29. *Dieweil ich lebe bin ich dein; im Tod kan ich kein Fremder seyn.* From a hymn.
30. See p. 294 n 14.
31. *Glaub nur veste das das beste über dir beschlossen sey.* From the hymn *Gott wills machen.* See Appendix, p. 288.
32. *Bleichsucht*, chlorosis or green sickness.
33. Boltzius used the forms *Reinländer* and *Rheinländer*, whereas the family itself, and most of their presentday descendants, used the Swiss form *Rhylander*.
34. *Rothe Friesel* and *weisse Friesel* are often mentioned but never described adequately. They are sometimes called “military disease.”
35. Pastor Sommer in his *A.B.C. Book.* See next paragraph and p. 297 n 10.
36. Not to be confused with Bogatzky’s *Schatz-Kästlein.* See p. 294 n 13.
37. See p. 293 n 4.
38. Not to be confused with Bogatzky’s *Schatz-Kästlein.* See p. 294 n 13.
39. *Allenthalben ist Gefahr, drum nim deine Seeln wahr,* from a hymn. Sirach is in the Luther translation, but not in the King James.
40. The name appears mostly as *Garbut* and *Garbet.*
41. 2 Timothy 2:19.
42. See pp. 119, 302 n 2.
43. Stephan Prätorius, *Geistliche Schatzkammer der Gläubigen.* Lüneburg, 1695.
44. *Ein Töpfer ist vergnügt, wenn er sein Handwerk treibet, dass der gelinde Thon nur immer stille hält: darum, mein Schöpfer, dir mein Herze stille bleibt; mach ohne meine Kraft aus mir, was dir gefällt; ja wirke selbst in mir die dir beliebte Stille, etc.* From a hymn.
45. *Sey vergnügt mit deinem Gott; hast du Gott, so hats nicht Noth. Meine Sel ist stille zu Gott, dessen Wille mir zu helfen steht.* Probably from a hymn.
46. Anna Schiele, wife of Johann Schiele.
47. If this statement is true, this was a remarkable ride considering the poor state of the roads and the lack of bridges.
48. See p. 293 n 11.
49. Psalms 46:7.
50. The Zion Church.
51. Proverbs 18:10.
52. *Herr, wenn ich bedenke, wie du von der Welt her (in Gnaden und Zorn) gerichtet hast, so werde ich getröstet.* Psalms 119:52.
53. *dass Er nicht umkäme.* The *Er* is in bold type, the meaning not clear.
54. See p. 293 n 4.
55. Carl Heinrich Bogatzky, *Christliche Hausschule,* Halle 1755.
56. *aus D. Luthers Speners und Prätori Schatzkammer der Gläubigen.* See note 43 above.

## JUNE 1760

1. Boltzius is alluding here to Jeremiah 17:9, which differs markedly from the King James version: *Es ist das Herz ein trotzig und verzagt Ding: wer kann es ergründen.*
2. This passage gave birth to the pious legend that the Salzburgers had erected a stone at Ebenezer, an impossibility in a region entirely without stones.
3. An exclamatory sentence or striking comment concluding a discourse.

4. The *Beylagen* were the financial accounts listing the donations collected for the Georgia Salzburgers. These assured the donors that their gifts had been properly distributed.
5. Theobald Kiefer, captain in the militia, was called "Master" because he was a boat builder. See his letter of 17 June 1750 to Francke asking whether his son Gotthilf Israel could study at Halle to become a minister. (*Georgia Historical Quarterly* 62 [1972] 54).
6. A reverend benefactor of the Georgia Salzburgers, whose first name is never given.
7. Hebrews 2:13.
8. Psalms 10:17.
9. A jubaku word formed from "whooping cough" and *Keuchhusten*.
10. Boltzius is alluding not to the rich young man in Luke 18:18-23, but to the rich man and Lazarus in Luke 16:19-31.
11. Psalms 55:19.
12. Lucia, daughter of Matthias Seckinger and his wife Anna Catharina.
13. *Der so viel thut, dessen Herz und Muth kans nimmer böse meinen*. From a hymn.
14. Matthew 18:20.
15. This would appear to be the pious Capt. Kiefer.
16. Her name was Maria.
17. Johann Martin Paulitsch.
18. Boltzius and the Reverend Fathers were planning to establish a retreat for supernannuated Lutheran ministers from various colonies.
19. Galatians 6:7.
20. Johann Georg, son of Johann Georg Niess and his wife Catharina.
21. *Nim hin das Kindlein, und säuge mirs, ich will dir lohnen*. Exodus 2:9.
22. Psalms 136:1 ff.
23. *Jesus Christus gestern und heute, und derselbe in Ewigkeit*. Hebrews 13:8.
24. *Er ist doch immer einerley, gerecht und fromm und ewig treu; und wie er unter Schmach und Leyden, so ist er auf dem Thron der Freuden, den Sündern liebeich zugehan. Mein Heiland nimt die Sünder an*. From a hymn by L.F.F. Lehr beginning with these last six words.
25. Lydia, daughter of Conrad Rahn and his wife Anna Barbara.
26. The King James version differs greatly.
27. *Zuckerstadt*. Not identified.
28. See p. 297 n 11.
29. Her name was Wilhelmina Ernestina Michler.
30. Boltzius is citing from memory. Luther gives *Herr gedenke mein nach der Gnade, die du deinem Volke verheissen hast*. The King James version says, "Remember me."
31. Psalms 100:5.
32. *Wenn schien alles zu zerrinnen, ward doch deiner Hülf ich innen; Was langsam schleicht, fasst man gewisser; und was verzeucht, ist desto süsser. Gib dich zufrieden*. From hymns.
33. Josua. The Jerusalem Church records give the surname correctly as Taescher (purse maker).
34. See p. 306 n 34.
35. Romans 8:28.
36. Ebenezer was understood to mean "so far hath the Lord helped us."

37. Psalms 81:11.  
38. Acts 10:33.

### JULY 1760

1. Boltzius had previously referred to the Swiss Reformed minister as Johann Joachim Zieblin or Zübli. The name was anglicized as Zubly. He was then the pastor of the Reformed (Calvinistic) Swiss and Germans around Ver-nonburg and Acton as well as in Savannah. Bartholomäus Zouberbuhler (origi-nally Zuberbilller), also a Swiss, was the head of the English Church.

2. In 1754 the widow Altherr, formerly Boltzius' servant Amalia Schiermeister, had married the Swiss widower Johann Altherr of Puryzburg, a successful butcher. Zouberbuhler remained in Georgia and amassed a fortune.

3. The entry says *bis zum 21. hujus* but must refer to the month of the jour-nal, namely June.

4. It is hard to translate the word *Sinn*, which seems to include plan, inten-tion, mind, etc.

5. Johannes Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom Wahrem Christenthum*, 1695 ff. in many printings, was the most popular of all Pietistic devotional works.

6. *O Jesulein, dein frommer Sinn, macht, dass ich so voll Trostes bin; Hallelujah.* From an unidentified hymn.

7. Boltzius and Lemke had married the sisters Gertraut and Catharina Kröhr, daughters of a Salzburger exile named Barbara Rohrmoser.

8. *Ich hoffe darauf, dass du so gnädig bist; mein Herz freuet sich, dass du so gerne hilffest. Ich will dem Herrn singen, dass er so wohl, so wohl an mir tut.* Psalms 13:6.

9. See p. 307 n 18.

10. The mother was (Anna) Margaretha Schubdrein (1685-1764), wife of Daniel Schubdrein (1682) from Weiher in Nassau-Saabrücken.

11. See p. 300 n 8.

12. Boltzius was well imbued with his countryman Leibniz's theodicy. Since God is omnipotent, omniscient, and all-loving, everything He does is for our good, even if some of His actions surpass our human understanding.

13. *Cöthen Gesang Buch* or *die Cöthenischen Lieder zum Lobe des Dreyeinigen Gottes.*

14. *Pfleger aller Himmelsgaben! auch Abtrinniger sollen haben von dem, was dein Herz besitzt. Sauer ward dir das Erwerben; geben kostet dir kein Sterben. Gib, was mir, doch dir nichts nützt.* From a hymn.

15. See p. 297 n 10.

16. This was Christian Philip Greiner.

17. Johann Christoph Bornemann, a surgeon from Göttingen, had founded a plantation named New Goettingen near Briar Creek.

18. The child was Esther. All these deaths are recorded in the *Jerusalem Church Records*, ed. George F. Jones and Sheryl Exley, Baltimore 1991.

19. See p. 305 n 19.

20. See note 4 above.

21. *Die Macht Gottes an kleinen Kindern.* Unidentified.

22. Boltzius renders *Hussar* as "Ranger."

23. This song contrasts the law of the Old Testament with the grace of the New Testament.

24. Mr. Samuel Lloyd, a Georgia Trustee interested in silk culture.

25. See p. 297 n 17.
26. The persecutions are actually described in vv. 1-3.
27. August Hermann Francke, *Collegium paraneticum*. Halle: Weisenhaus 1724.
28. Boltzius does not make it clear whether the *ihnen* refers to the colleagues or to the parishioners, but the former seems more logical.
29. This last quote is in rhyme.
30. Lydia, daughter of Jacob Caspar Waldhauer and his wife Agnesia.
31. Genesis 15:1.
32. Apparently Boltzius failed to indicate, or Urlsperger deleted the fact, that Johann Georg Mayer was no longer in Ebenezer.
33. See p. 306 n 34.
34. The child, Maria Judith, was the daughter of Johann Christoph Heintz and his wife Barbara.
35. Clay eating was a symptom, not a cause, of hookworm disease.
36. See note 5 above.
37. See p. 300 n 9.
38. Psalms 37:4-5.
39. This is James 1:2.
40. All three had studied in Halle. For the use of “other” see p. 300 n 2.
41. This appears in Luther’s translation as Romans 11:33, but it does not appear in the King James version.
42. Maria, the wife of Johann Georg Niess.

## AUGUST 1760

1. See p. 294 n 13.
2. See p. 297 n 10.
3. “Hope does not cause disgrace.”
4. This ailment, often mentioned, is never described.
5. It is surprising that Boltzius does not mention that one of the Greiner children died on the flight to Ebenezer.
6. This marriage is not recorded in the Jerusalem Church Records.
7. Governor James Wright, the most popular of the colonial governors, did not arrive until October.
8. In the 18th Century it was not unusual to translate personal names.
9. This was a rather early reference to the Indians’ use of rifles. Braddock should have learned his lesson.
10. Johann Porst, *Compendium Theologiae Viatorum & Regeneratorum Practicae, oder die Göttliche Führung der Seelen...* Halle 1723.
11. Margaretha Schweighoffer, one of the first Salzburgers, died six years later at the age of eighty-three. The son-in-law was Johann Martin Paulitsch.
12. *Wer alles fahren lässt, und Jesum bey sich trägt, der hat den besten Grund im Christenthum gelegt.* From a hymn. The peculiar word *Klaue* “claw” is an allusion to Exodus 10:26, where it means a cloven hoof. It is rendered as “hoof” in the King James Bible.
13. This death was not recorded in the Jerusalem Church Records.
14. For the Pietist meaning of “temptations” see p. 305 n 19.
15. This is a good description of *Anfechtungen*.

16. See note 10 above.
17. Translated as *Geistliche Anfechtungen*.
18. Peter Arnsdorf, see entries of August 2 and 9.
19. Acts 21:14.
20. See p. 294 n 13.
21. John 1:29.
22. Johann Tauler was a medieval German mystic. The D. E. in question seems to be Mrs. David Eischberger.
23. *Gevatterbrief*. In 1526 Luther sent a letter to all Christian Readers outlining the duties of sponsors in baptism.
24. *Tabula Oeconomica* or *Tischreden*. Conversations between Luther and his disciples at dinner.
25. Ziegenbalg was a Lutheran missionary in East India. See p. 297 n 17.
26. Such long and rambling sentences are typical of sermons. They reveal feeling rather than intellect.
27. Named Conrad.
28. Jeremiah 5:3.

#### SEPTEMBER 1760

1. *Verzeichniss der fürnehmsten Gaben und Wohlthaten Gottes nach den drey Artikeln des christlichen Glaubens Eingerichtet*.
2. Christian Israel Gronau, the late second minister at Ebenezer.
3. Philipp Jacob Spener, *Die Lautere Milch des Evangelii*.
4. 1 Corinthians 2:12. Boltzius is not following Luther exactly.
5. Young Paul Demere had just relieved his brother Raymond, who had squabbled with the obstinate and irascible engineer Wilhelm Gerhard de Brahm, the builder of the fort. As a result, it was Paul who was put to the torture by the Indians.
6. *Rothlauf*, any disease, like erypilis, that causes the patient to turn red.
7. Psalms 143:10.
8. "Misery" (*Elend*), here and elsewhere, means sin in Pietist parlance.
9. Catharina, daughter of Jacob Metzger (Metzcher) and his wife Margaretha.
10. The chills and fever of malaria.
11. Allusion to Ephesians 3:20.
12. These were probably (Anna) Maria, née Heinrich, widow of Paulus Zittrauer, who died in 1758, and Pieta Clara, widow Haefner, wife of Adam Straube, who died in 1757.
13. Error for James Wright.
14. The Fort Loudon massacre is related in Louis De Vorsey, Jr., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*, Columbia, S.C. 1967.
15. See p. 294 n 13.
16. See p. 297 n 10.
17. *Wernigerodische Lieder Sammlung*.
18. See p. 308 n 13.
19. Psalms 145:18.
20. Another name of Saxe Gotha, a German settlement on the Congarees River.

21. The Protestant exiles from Upper Austria had resided for some time in Regensburg, the seat of the Diet, in hopes of recovering their young children, who had been held back by the Catholic authorities.

22. John 1:47.

23. Having spoken scores of languages along a thousand mile coast of Africa, the slaves had no common language and had to communicate with the words they heard from their masters, albeit using their previous speech patterns to some extent. This patois, called Gullah, has lasted to the present on the coastal islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

24. Genesis 32:10.

25. Lamentations 3:22.

26. Sirach 50:24. This book is included in the Luther translation but not in the King James version.

27. Acts 14:22.

28. Obviously the widow Zittrauer. See entry for 16 Sept. It is unknown whether Boltzius omitted the name or Urlsperger deleted it.

29. Psalms 68:19.

30. Psalms 68:19-21. The King James Bible differs greatly from the Luther translation.

31. Boltzius is paraphrasing Ephesians 3:20.

32. *Ay, so fass, o Christenherz, alle deine Schmerzen, wirf sie fröhlich hinterwärts; lass des Trostes Kerzen dich entzündend mehr und mehr; gib dem grossen Namen deines Gottes Preis und Ehr: Er wird helfen Amen!*, from the hymn *Schwung dich auf zu deinem Gott*, by Paul Gerhardt.

#### OCTOBER 1760

1. *Sicherheit* meant the false assurance that one can achieve salvation on one's own merits rather than those of Jesus.

2. In the church records this name appears as both Paulitsch and Paulus.

3. See p. 300 n 8.

4. i.e., Zion Church.

5. *Wenn du mich demütigst, machst du mich gross*. The King James version differs greatly.

6. Anton Wilhelm Böhme, predecessor of Ziegenhagen as Royal Chaplain of the court chapel.

7. *Geh die wahre Demuth ein, wilt du recht geehret sein*. From a hymn.

8. Gottlieb, son of Johannes Rentz and his wife Barbara. He lived only seven months.

9. This must be a typographical error for *Febriticanten*, meaning persons suffering from fever.

10. *Lass, dir, Seele, doch vor allen Deinen JEsum wohl gefallen*, from a hymn.

11. In the Luther Bible it is verse 12.

12. Sirach 50:22 (see p. 306 n 39). Luther's translation says "Now thank."

13. August Hermann Francke, *Idea studiosi Theologia oder Abbildung eines der Theologie beflissenen...* Halle: Waysenhaus 1712; *Nicodemus Oder Tractätlein von der Menschenfurcht...* Halle: Waisenhaus 1726.

14. See p. 309 n 35.

15. In the King James Bible this is Psalms 12:12.

16. August Hermann Francke, *Christus in uns*.
17. Chlorosis and cachexie both denote "green sickness" or anemia.
18. *Sternkraut* (*asteraceae*). A stellate flower.
19. *Hammerschlag* (iron oxide).
20. The University of Georgia Press does *not* endorse this remedy.
21. I John 1:7.
22. *Im Himmel ist gut wohnen, hinauf steht mein Begier: da wird Gott ewig lohnen dem, der ihm dient allhier*. From the hymn *Valet will ich dir geben*, by Valerius Herrberger.
23. Psalms 81:10.
24. *Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfassen*. The opening line of a hymn by Martin Luther. See Appendix, p. 290.
25. Although the English paid for scalps, they were always highly indignant when their own people or Indian allies were scalped. We are not told how this Indian proved whose scalps he had brought.
26. It was reported that he was put to the *petit feu*, with pine splinters thrust into his flesh and then ignited and allowed to burn slowly.
27. This must have been upland rice, since there is no fresh water in the area of Bethesda.
28. The College of New Jersey, later renamed Princeton.
29. See p. 301 n 1.
30. Psalms 119:92.
31. See p. 305 n 19.
32. Allusion to Luke 7:6-10.
33. He is referring to the *Imitation of Christ*, a popular medieval text by Thomas à Kempis.

#### NOVEMBER 1760

1. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the charitable organization in London that supported the pastors and teachers in Ebenezer.
2. *Wollten sie sich aber zum Ziel legen*.
3. Psalms 106:1.
4. Psalms 34:8.
5. Wisdom of Solomon 11:16. This book is found in the Apocrypha and Luther, but not in the King James version.
6. Matthew 7:2.
7. George Washington, as a Virginian, understood this, General Braddock did not.
8. Surely an error for White.
9. Revelations 3:11.
10. *Ihr habt Gnade gefunden, und die kan euch bey allen innerlichen und äusserlichen Creutz genutz seyn*. Cf Genesis 18:3, Exodus 33:12, Luke 1:30. 2 Corinthians 4:10-11.
11. The late Dr. Paul Anton, one of Boltzius' mentors at Halle.
12. Carl Heinrich Bogatzky, *Die Uebung der Gottseligkeit in allerlei Geistlichen Liedern*. Halle 1750.
13. *Unterhirten*. Apparently the subordinate clergymen.
14. *Führ, o Hirte deiner Heerden, Schaaf und Lämmer aus und ein: lass die (da) Un-*

*Feinde Schnauben: O Herr, gib nur glauben, mach uns munter, stark und frisch; und lass der Unwürdigen lobendes Lallen, dem Vater durch deine Vermittlung gefallen.* From a hymn.

15. See note 33 above.

16. Boltzius calls the schoolmaster both Paulitsch and Paulus.

17. It is not clear how, if there were no children from the two marriages, the woman still had the smallest child from the first marriage, unless Boltzius meant she had no grown male children.

18. These are not listed in the Ebenezer Church records.

19. Those who believe that Jesus will come down in person and rule the world.

20. *des seligen Herrn D. Langens Unterricht von der Kindertaufe in seiner Mittelstrase.* This refers to Joachim Lange, *Die richtige Mittel-Strasse, zwischen den Abwegen der Absonderung von der euserlichen Gemeinschaft der Kirchen.* . . . Halle, 1712.

21. See p. 294 n 10.

22. Boltzius seems to be combining Zechariah 9:9 with Matthew 21:5.

23. *Welche nun gefänglich eingezogen sind.*

24. The word is clearly printed *aufrecken*.

25. Abigail, daughter of Johann Georg Gnann and his wife Anna.

#### DECEMBER 1760

1. Because the Luther translation says, "Wer Ohren hat," Boltzius adds (*Gr. ein Ohr*).

2. *Christliche Freundschaft und geistliche Verwandtschaft.*

3. August Hermann Francke, Abbot Breithaupt, and Paul Anton.

4. Inspector and Pastor Schütte. Unidentified.

5. Gotthilf Israel Boltzius, then a student at Halle.

6. Superiors, magistrates, overseers, in this case, his ecclesiastical superiors.

7. Here "misery" (*Elend*) means sinfulness, and "own justification" (*eigene Gerechtigkeit*) means "self-justification," the sin of thinking oneself able to achieve salvation through one's own merits.

8. *Doch er will nicht viel Zungen haben: nur eins ist, das sein Herz kan laben: ein Herz, dass ihn nur liebt allein. Das wollst du, O Jesu schenken; so will ich stets bey mir gedenken: Mein Hirt ist mein, und ich bin sein.* This is quoted from a hymn.

9. Tobit 12:20 says, "And now give thanks to God, for I am ascending to him who sent me. Write in a book everything that has happened." Tobit is in the Apocrypha and in Luther, but not in the King James version.

10. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

11. *denn wir haben eine veste Stadtmauren und Wehre sind Heil.* Boltzius means that they have a mighty fortress and defense (in God).

12. Medications prepared by Dr. Christian Friedrich Richter, professor at Halle.

13. Allusion to the hymn *Er hat alles wohl gemacht.*

14. See p. 300 n 8.

15. See p. 303 n 32.



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 Pal = Palatine, s = son,  
 Salz = Salzburger, w = wife,  
 wid = widow)

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