

THE GEORGIA SALZBURGERS AND SLAVERY

(Protest against, Resignation to, and Participation in)



*Jerusalem Church
Courtesy George F. Jones*

Like the inhabitants of Germantown, who protested against slavery in 1683, the Georgia Salzburgers have long been praised as opponents of that peculiar institution. In 1984, two historians questioned whether or not the Salzburgers were as opposed to slavery as had been popularly believed. In fact, my *Salzburger Saga*, which also appeared in 1984, showed that the view of the Georgia Salzburgers as stalwart opponents of slavery was not entirely tenable. Actually, the two historians were more or less beating a dead horse, one adequately killed in 1938 by Hildegard Binder-Johnson, whose concise and factual contribution, being in German, has not come to the

attention of scholars of Georgia history. Because the two historians used no German sources and my own study was brief and undocumented, a further study of the attitude of the Georgia Salzburgers toward slavery is justified, especially since the present study examines the experience which many of the Germans in Georgia, both Salzburgers and others, had with slavery.¹

The Georgia Salzburgers were a small part of the many Lutherans expelled from Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Salzburg in the year 1731. They were recruited from those exiles who had found temporary refuge in Swabian cities. The first Salzburger transport,

or traveling group, arrived in Georgia in March of 1734 under the conduct of Baron Philip George Friedrich von Reck and was settled at an infertile and inaccessible spot on Ebenezer Creek some twenty-five miles northwest of Savannah. By the time a second and third transport arrived, von Reek's group had determined that the spot chosen initially was infertile, and the settlement was moved to the bank of the Savannah River a few miles away.²

Although the Trustees who founded Georgia had outlawed slavery, Paul Jenys, the Speaker of the House in South Carolina, lent the Salzburger fourteen slaves to help them fell trees and saw boards. Despite the usefulness of these involuntary workers, the Salzburger saw the evils of the system and developed not only a disgust for the evils of a system which could engender such violence, but also a fear of the slaves because of their violence toward each other.³ In fact, they had already seen the evils of slavery in their short sojourn in Charleston, as their pastor, Johann Martin Boltzius, had recorded in his journal.⁴ Christian Israel Gronau, Boltzius assistant pastor, was somewhat inconsistent in his attitude toward Blacks. He often referred to their treachery and thieving; yet he attributed such behavior to the bad treatment they received. He was also lenient when obliged to have an unruly slave punished.⁵

While the Trustees wished to keep Georgia free of slavery, their stand owed less to a moral repugnance against slavery than to a desire to further their goal of developing Georgia into a land of yeoman farmers able to defend their homes. Besides, the Trustees saw the danger of having discontented slaves, whom the Spaniards might tempt to run away to Florida or even to rebel. In addition, slave labor would degrade honest work and corrupt the masterclass, and even those Trustees who personally abhorred slavery probably did not wish to offend their many friends who profited from slavery in the West Indies and South Carolina. The evangelist George Whitefield saw no incongruity in maintaining a slave-operated plantation in South Carolina to support his orphanage in Georgia.

It did not take the Georgians long to discover the difficulty of competing against slave labor. Already on December 14, 1734, Thomas Christie, the recorder in Savannah, wrote that the Carolinians with their slaves could undersell the Georgian's rice and corn; and a man named Robert Parker,⁶ who built a sawmill, found that he could not compete against the Carolinians with their slave labor.⁷ Baron von Reck, the leader of the first Salzburger transport, explained how, in the slave colonies, the slave owners let their more clever slaves learn a profession, while the remainder cultivated the fields. He continues, "Then, because everything is occupied by Negroes who have to work hard and with miserable sustenance day and night and even on Sunday, which is a terrible thing, a white man in these lands, if he cannot buy a slave, must work himself like a slave."⁸

While slavery was still illegal in Georgia, the Salzburger had observed the fourteen Negroes lent them by Jenys. These had been rather primitive people, apparently newly arrived from Africa. One of them stabbed another, one ran away, and a third committed suicide in order that he might return to Africa in spirit.⁹ After that, the Salzburger often saw black rowers on the river, including those of Theobald Kieffer, a good friend in Purysburg, a Swiss settlement downstream from Ebenezer. One of Kieffer's slaves attended church on April 11, 1742, and Boltzius was impressed by his good behavior.¹⁰

Boltzius considered slavery not only unproductive, but also dangerous, having been alarmed by the bloody uprising at Stono Ferry in South Carolina, which he mentioned on March 13, 1739, and by an attempted rebellion at Santee, which he mentioned on July 14, 1740. He also considered slavery immoral, since the slaves are snatched away from their own country, as he explained on July 19, 1740. Boltzius consistently upheld the Trustees' stand against slavery. In 1741, he would not allow the Kieffers to employ their three slaves in making tar on the Georgia side of the river, as he reported on August 27th of that year; and on December 28th of the following year he remarked that white people could not find

employment in South Carolina where there were enough Negroes. He also thought there could be no blessing in the un-Christian life of slave-holders, as he wrote on February 8, 1743. On December 24, 1745, he wrote Whitefield a long letter refuting, one by one, the latter's arguments in favor of slavery;¹¹ and this letter brought him favorable comments from the Trustees.

On January 2, 1746, Boltzius sent Urlsperger a similar letter of seventeen pages in German brilliantly summarizing all the economic, social, moral, and military arguments against slavery.¹² This letter may well have been the stimulus for Urlsperger's spirited letter of August first of that year to the Trustees

urging them not to introduce slavery into Georgia;¹³ and, according to Ziegenhagen, it was the reason that several wavering Trustees were won back to their stand against slavery.¹⁴ When the land around Parker's Mill was given to the Salzburgers on July 18, 1746, this appeared to be a reward for their opposition to slavery, for Parker had tried to operate the mill with slave labor despite the Trustees' prohibition.

As late as May 6, 1747, Boltzius was still writing persuasively against slavery, which would drive out free labor and present a danger to life and property;¹⁵ and on August 29, 1747, he wrote to the Trustees' secretary, Benjamin Martyn, that many hated him for upholding the Trustees' stand on slavery. In this very long letter, in which he well summarized the Salzburgers' previous hardships, Boltzius assured Martyn that, lest people believe he forced his own will on his parishioners, he had let Ludwig Mayer, the surgeon and justiciary, question them privately, with the result that they expressed unanimous opposition to it.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Boltzius wrote on September 7, 1747, to Gotthilf August Francke, the head of the Francke Foundation in Halle, that he had resolved to say nothing more against slavery, since the Trustees could not settle the colony with industrious white settlers.¹⁷

However, on May 20, 1748, Boltzius wrote an eloquent letter against slavery to his friend and admirer John Dobell, who had fled to

Charleston to escape the wrath of the "Malcontents," a pro-slavery faction in Savannah which had branded both Boltzius and Dobell "mercenary slaves" of the Trustees.¹⁸ In his letter, Boltzius renewed his arguments against slavery and informed Dobell that he was resolved to suffer "heinous reflectance, reviling, and reproaches" rather than "lend the least finger to promote the Introduction of Black Slaves to the apparent destruction of our well situated and fertile Province as an intended Asylum for many poor laboring Protestants." He assures Dobell that he will not waver in his views although he might be in mortal danger from those who look upon him as a stone in their way. He gives no credence at all to certain proposed restrictions on slavery promised, since such restrictions were already being ignored in South Carolina.¹⁹

By 1749 the "Malcontents" in Savannah had so greatly intimidated Boltzius that he thought his life in danger and ceased opposing them. His views, however, were still maintained by many of his fellow Salzburgers. On April 28, 1749, Christian Leimberger, Ruprecht Steiner, Matthias Brandner, Simon Reiter, and Thomas Gschwandl petitioned against slavery and declared they would not have come to Georgia had they known that it would be permitted. They would have preferred to go to Prussia to be among whites and safe from thieving people who would take away their livelihood, and now they were ready to go to any of the King's territories where no slaves were allowed. Agreeing with the petitioners and seeing no other remedy, Boltzius saw their complaint as grounds to petition for the Salzburgers all the land from Abercorn to Mount Pleasant and from Ebenezer to the Ogeechee so that they would have no slave owners as neighbors. On August 24th of the same year he prayed that God would help him to remain steadfast in his opposition to slavery.

Nevertheless, during the same year the people of Savannah heaped "so much heinous reflectance" on Boltzius for his fight against slavery that he began to question his stance and actually besought the Trustees to disregard his previous petitions against slav-

ery and to allow the introduction of black slaves, but only "under such wise restrictions that it be not a discouragement but rather an encouragement to poor white Industrious people to settle and live in this happy Climate."²⁰ In October of that year Boltzius attended the Assembly in Savannah that designed the new slave code and was able to affect the development of the law to provide for the slaves' welfare.²¹ Boltzius' change of heart may help explain why the Trustees, who still opposed slavery, arranged to have one Palatine and three Swabian transports recruited for Ebenezer during the next five years.

Boltzius' anti-slavery stance was also weakened by his dear friend James Habersham, who had come to Georgia with Whitefield to serve as a teacher but was soon manager of Whitefield's orphanage, Bethesda. There he learned the skills necessary to become a successful merchant; and as such he wished the Salzburgers to develop staple exports such as lumber, which would be advanced by slave labor. In 1750, when Habersham offered to supply the Salzburgers with slaves on credit, Boltzius decided not to stand in the way. Indeed, it is ironic that Christian Leimberger, who had argued so ardently against slavery, was the first to acquire a slave. Boltzius was, however, always sympathetic toward the slaves; and he preached against cruel treatment. On May 17, 1742, Boltzius reports his shock at hearing that a slave was tortured with a thumbscrew, although conceivably the incident occurred across the river, in the area beyond his control.²²

Boltzius' change of heart was further facilitated by a letter of July 11, 1750, from Samuel Urlsperger, the Salzburgers' "Reverend Father" in Augsburg, which stated:

If need is such that one can do nothing else, then one may take slaves in faith and for the purposes of leading them to Christ. Then such a deed will not be a sin, but rather it may lead to a blessing.²³

When, on April 19, 1751, at the Council in Savannah, Boltzius revealed his scruples against buying and selling slaves, he was assured that the slaves had already been

slaves in Africa under tyrannical conditions and had been sold and bought legally. Therefore Christians should feel no more scruples than the patriarchs, or even Philemon, to whom St. Paul returned the slave Onesimus. Moreover, the slaves would now have a chance to become Christians. Despite these assurances, Boltzius expressed his scruples on August 23rd and still again on September 18th.

Once slavery was legalized, Boltzius resigned himself to it. Backed up by Urlsperger's letter, he told his flock that it was permissible to keep slaves if one looked out for both their bodies and their souls, as he wrote in his journal on April 3, 1751. By October 1752, Boltzius admitted that one could accomplish more with black slaves than with white indentured servants;²⁴ and only a few years later, on January 3, 1753, he justified slavery again when he needed labor for his uncultivated lands. However, Boltzius always insisted on good treatment, which would not spoil the slaves but would make them loyal, since they would not run away from kind masters. Whatever maliciousness they had was due to brutal treatment.²⁵ On the other hand, on November 12th and August 3, 1752, Boltzius complained that his parishioners were giving their slaves too much freedom on Sundays.

No sooner had Boltzius withdrawn his objections to slavery than the Salzburgers began to buy slaves. However, as Muhlenberg observed on his journey through South Carolina,²⁶ many Germans considered it unprofitable to keep slaves. As seen in the comparison of free and bonded white servants, those work best who work for themselves. We may assume that many small German farmers in Georgia would have agreed with Philip Eisenmann of Old Indian Swamp fifty miles from Charleston. According to Muhlenberg, Eisenmann and his wife worked their plantation by the sweat of their brows, and this proved that one could live and find food without slaves, provided, as Muhlenberg added, "one is godly and contented and does not desire to take out of this world more than he brought into it."²⁷

For years Theobald Kieffer of Purysburg

insisted that he was just about to move to Ebenezer to be nearer Jerusalem Church; yet something held him back. It is easy to suppose that he remained in South Carolina in order to profit from the use of slaves, even though he was constantly complaining of their uselessness. On March 30, 1747, Boltzius recorded that one of Kieffer's slaves committed suicide, one of them died, and one tried to run away but was caught. His feet must have been bound too tightly, for both of them had to be amputated, thus greatly lessening his value so that he was sold for a cow, which died. Surely the wretch suffered a "Negro-cure" at the hands of Jean Bourquin, the Purysburg surgeon.

By January 27, 1750, Habersham was arguing persuasively that the Salzburger should buy slaves and that Boltzius should use some at the mill, for otherwise the poor Salzburger would be unable to live long without them. By July 17, 1750, not only Christian Leimberger but other Salzburger as well had earned enough money through lumbering to buy black labor to help them with their work. Some time before January 14, 1751, the shoemaker Matthias Zettler bought a black woman to help his wife in her silk business, and they christened her child Sulamith and reared it in a Christian way along with their own. However, in March 1751, when they wished to get rid of its surely mother yet keep the child, Boltzius read them the law that parents and children were not to be separated. On May 12th of that year Zetder was still complaining of his uncontrollable slave women. Boltzius said that slaves on the block in Charleston often warned would-be purchasers that they would run away.

On September 27, 1750, Jacob Caspar Walther requested a grant for 400 acres "setting forth that his Father had enabled Him to cultivate and improve the same" by giving him £30 for a slave.²⁸ The grant system greatly stimulated the purchase of slaves. First, the grantee had land, but no slaves. Then he bought a slave on credit, giving his improved land as collateral. Having a slave, he could request more land; and then, having more land, he could get credit for another slave.

One thinks of the child who needs more jam because it has some bread left and then needs more bread because it has some jam left. It was probably by this method that Peter Salterman (Schlectermann), a poor little orphan at Fort Argyle, later acquired six hundred acres and two Negroes by August 1771.²⁹

Habersham remained the chief source of slaves for the Salzburger, in part because he let them buy on credit, a failing they had learned from the other colonists despite Boltzius' warning. The number of slaves owned by the Georgia Germans in 1767 to 1769 is revealed in their petitions for land, in which they had to state how much labor they could command.³⁰ In April of 1753, when Habersham brought a shipload of twenty-six Blacks from St. Kitts and St. Christopher and fattened them for sale, Boltzius attended the auction and bought five slaves for £145. One of these bondsmen, a Catholic man named Thomas, could speak excellent English; but Boltzius saw little hope of converting the others. He was especially pleased with their performance when they rowed him back to Ebenezer. Six years later he and Rabenhorst, the fourth minister to serve at Ebenezer, bought a youth for £35, who would have brought £40 if he had not been so emaciated.³¹ The following year a group of Salzburger went down to Savannah and bought nine or ten more slaves.³²

One of the first large German slave owners in Georgia was Johann Hamm, an immigrant from the West Indies, who brought slaves from St. Christopher and proceeded to the slave colony of South Carolina. Hamm bought five more slaves in Savannah on October 18, 1755 and sold fourteen four days later. Subsequently, having become a "Gentlemen," Hamm requested 500 acres of land with the Germans at Black Creek near Paster Lemke, Gronau's successor. He also requested a lot in Savannah, which was granted on August 6, 1755; yet two years later his 500 acres had not yet been run out. In 1755 Hamm served as collector and assessor for Abercorn and Goshen, two German settlements near Ebenezer, and also as surveyor of the highways.³³ Some of the indentured Palatines in

Savannah also rose to the rank of "planter," which term was gradually restricted to those farmers whose work was done by slaves. For example, Jacob Ihle had twelve slaves by 1771 and the tavern-keeper Solomon Schad left a legacy including "1 Negerow thom" valued at £15.5 and "1 Negerow wench Selvey with a boy 3 years old" valued at £35.0.0.

Among the slave-holders, one might be surprised to find the Swiss physician, Jean Francois Regnier, who had been with the Moravians in Georgia. After returning to Europe in 1738, when most of the Moravians left Georgia, he had gone to Surinam in South America and then to Pennsylvania, where he feuded with the Moravians.³⁵ On June 6, 1769, he returned to Georgia with a wife and child and three Negroes and received a grant for two hundred acres.³⁶ By now Regnier seemed to have recovered from his religious zeal and insanity, for which his host, Conrad Beissel of Ephrata, had had to confine him soon after his first arrival in America." During the Revolution, slaves were a major form of booty, as mentioned by Col. Friedrich von Porbeck, the Hessian commander at Savannah.³⁸ The Hessians, who felt little prejudice against the blacks, recruited many of them into their service, mostly as drummers but also as packmen and grenadiers.³⁹ The labor of four hundred slaves was crucial in the successful defense of Savannah by the British in 1779. Like other slave owners, the Salzburgers had to furnish slave labor for whichever government was in power during the Revolution. Because Johann Joachim Zubly was a clergyman, his slaves were exempted from work on the roads; but Matthias Ash (Aschbergh, Eichberger) had to give over his slaves for public works in 1782.⁴⁰

It has been mentioned that the Kieffers, as residents of South Carolina, owned slaves before slavery was permitted in Georgia. To their credit, it should be said that they truly tried to convert their slaves, as shown when one of the sons borrowed a primer from Boltzius on May 14, 1739, to try to teach his slave enough German to understand the catechism. On April 11, 1742, the young Kieffer came to church with his slave, who paid close

attention even though he did not understand the language well. Surely it was asking too much of a heathen to learn Swiss German just to get to heaven.

In his journal entry for October 17, 1742, Boltzius repeated a discussion he had had with a blasphemous slave owner in which he gave reasons why it was the man's Christian duty to convert his slaves. The slave owner could merely repeat the standard arguments: the slaves could not comprehend Christianity, it would corrupt them, etc. Boltzius never doubted the Negro's basic intelligence. In his often quoted *Questionnaire* of 1751 he wrote:

To be sure, people have often told me that you cannot teach the Negroes anything, that they are stupid and disinclined to learn and that they take advantage of Christian and gentle treatment. But I consider all this a fiction of those people who take no trouble with the souls of these black people and do not wish to keep them in a Christian way with regard to food, clothing, and work. They are intelligent enough and can learn arts and crafts and even writing and mathematics, as is known of some in Carolina. It is also known that many Negro men and women of Christian and righteous masters have achieved the Christian religion and a righteous behavior in Christ⁴¹

In his journal entry for December 3, 1752, Boltzius still contended that blacks are just as intelligent as whites; and on November 3rd of that year he advocated teaching the slaves German for their proper religious instruction.⁴² Seven years later, he repeated his conviction that blacks are just as intelligent as whites and he regretted that they could speak neither English nor German. The English they acquired, which we now call "Gullah," made it hard to convert them. The Salzburgers fulfilled their duty to convert their slaves and provide them with Christian nurture, for Negro baptisms are recorded right along with those of white children, as Lothar Tresp has shown and as it evident in the *Ebenezer Church Records*.⁴⁴

It would appear that the first Negro child baptized in Georgia was baptized by Boltzius, not by Bartholomaeus Zouberbuhler, the Anglican minister, as is usually believed. It was a child belonging to Theobald Kieffer, Jr.,

which was baptized on March 30, 1747. This was probably the same child who later took catechism instruction from Boltzius along with his master's children. When Muhlenberg visited Rabenhorst in 1774, he noted that the old minister's slave children came to his house every evening to pray with him.⁴⁵ According to Boltzius, the Rabenhorsts, who were childless, loved their slave twins as if they were their own children.⁴⁶ In 1760, Boltzius baptized two black girls and three black boys; and by 1764 the number had risen to four girls and four boys.⁴⁷ When Boltzius baptized the child of a slave woman at the mill on August 21, 1760, he reminded the congregation that by nature black children were just as good as white children,⁴⁸ and it was his policy that slave owners had to stand as Godparents to their slave children and give them a Christian education. As a result, the Kieffers' black child attended Sunday School along with their white children.⁴⁹ Just as the Blacks received the same baptism as the whites, they also merited identical funeral rites, as we see when Lemke held the funeral ceremony for Capt. Kieffer's slave child on June 10, 1760.

Some of the Germans who could not afford slaves profited from slavery by serving as overseers or slave-drivers. On September 18, 1737, Boltzius mentioned a German overseer from South Carolina who came to Ebenezer to attend Holy Communion; and on February 10, 1738 he reported that a Salzburger named Hans Michael Muggitzer had engaged himself as a slave driver and that his crony Stephan Riedelsperger probably had too. The renegade Ruprecht Zittrauer also became a slave-driver, as Boltzius wrote on May 24, 1748. On December 15, 1751, Boltzius reported that Ebenezer had just received a soap boiler from Stuttgart who had served as a slave driver in South Carolina; and on August 15, 1759, the widow of Carpenter Hirsch married a slave driver from South Carolina named Johann Christoph Heinz.⁵⁰ Conrad Fabre (no doubt Faber) and Matthias Zophi, who served Henry Laurens as overseers in 1769, were clearly German or Swiss; and the slave driver Joseph Weatherly, who is mentioned by Betty Wood,⁵¹ may well have been a member of the

Vetterli family that came over on the *Europa*. On February 10, 1739, while still supporting the Trustees in their stand against slavery, Boltzius expressed his view that overseeing slaves is a very evil profession. Ordinarily, "only such people are used for this task as can be quite merciless with these poor slaves."

Even though German slave-drivers were available, the widow Rabenhorst preferred to do without one. This seems amazing in view of the allegation that a slave woman had tried to poison her and her husband.⁵² Perhaps the threat of employing a slave-driver was sufficient to persuade her slaves to serve faithfully. On September 26, 1777, she wrote to Muhlenberg that:

My Negroes have behaved very well, and have been orderly and diligent. I have a good harvest of all fruit, also a great deal of cotton for Negro clothing. That also was done by the Lord. I was a little afraid on account of them, but he has guided their hearts. I often wondered about it quietly; I will not be forced to hire a white man if they continue this way.⁵³

She ends her letter saying that she had told her slaves that she has written Muhlenberg that they loved her and that they promised to behave well and be diligent in the future and that they sent him their love. After her death two years later the slaves were sold, we hope as a group and to a good master. However, even if they remained on the plantation for a while, they were probably scattered during the Revolution, when strong young slaves were taken as booty while the old and helpless were left behind.

To judge from surviving documents, it is evident that the Salzburgers, through their spokesman Boltzius, resisted the introduction of slavery as long as possible. When resistance proved useless, they resigned themselves to it reluctantly, and participated through necessity. Except for the strong stance taken initially by Boltzius, the Georgia Germans acted much as their compatriots did in Pennsylvania and Maryland, as related by Leroy Hopkins.⁵⁴

Only a few Salzburgers acquired slaves, and then in small numbers, usually just enough to replace the labor of their lost children. As a result, Effingham County, where the Salz-

burgers dwelled, remained largely a land of white yeoman farmers, who were not driven out by slave labor as was the case in most surrounding areas such as Bryan County. To

the Salzburgers' credit it can be said they did not doubt the Negroes' native intelligence or their right to share in the Kingdom of God.

NOTES

Tides Abbreviated in Notes

AG = *Americanisches Ackerwerck Gottes*, ed. Samuel Urlsperger. Halle, 1754 ff.

AN = *Ausführliche Nachrichten von den Salzburgerischen Emigranten...*, ed. Samuel Urlsperger. Halle, 1735 ff.

CR = *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, Allen D. Candler. Atlanta, 1904 ff.

DR = *Detailed Reports on the Georgia Salzburgers*, ed. George F. Jones. Athens, GA., 1968 ff.

CO = Public Records Office, Colonial Officer Papers, Class 5.

GHQ^m = *Georgia Historical Quarterly*.

SCHM = *South Carolina Historical Magazine*.

¹Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia* (Athens, GA, 1984); William L. Withhuhn, "Salzburgers and Slavery: A Problem of Mentality," GHQ68 (1984), 173-192; George F. Jones, *Salzburger Saga* (Athens: U. of Ga. Press, 1983); Hildegard Binder-Johnson, "Die Haltung der Salzburger in Georgia zur Sklaverei (1734-1750)," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburgerische Landeskunde* 78 (1938), 183-196.

²For details on the Georgia Salzburgers, see *Salzburger Saga* (note 1).

³DR 1: 69,73,76,79,87,95,96 (For DR see abbreviations above).

⁴DR 1: 57.

⁵DR 1: 76,87,96.

⁶CR 2: 0414-415 (For CR see abbreviations above). According to Boltzius, who was usually correct, Parker was really a Swede named Purker.

⁷OR 5: 143.

⁸George F. Jones, "Commissary von Reek's Report on Georgia," GHQ47 (1963), 94-110.

⁹DR 1:104,106./CR 20: 169.

¹⁰Any event dated but not documented can be found in AN(1734-March 1751) or AG(April 1751-1760). The period 1734-1752 also appears in DR, Vols. 1-14.

¹¹CO 5 641 II519-526; CR 24:433-444 (For CO and CR see abbreviations above).

¹²ANS: 30-46 (For AN see abbreviations above).

¹³CO 5 642,32-33.

¹⁴AN3:71.

¹⁵CO 5 642, p. 83.

¹⁶CO 5 642, p. 106.

¹⁷CO 5 642, p. 110.

¹⁸CR 25:282-285. Without Boltzius' permission or knowledge, Dobell sent a copy of this letter to the Trustees, with the result that it has survived.

¹⁹CR 25: 289. When, on 17 Oct. 49, Boltzius wrote to James Vernon, one of the Trustees, that "Black Faces of Negroes are disagreeable to most of our inhabitants," he

was not so much referring to their physiognomies as to objecting to unfree labor competition. CR 25: 425

²⁰Missionsarchiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen (Halle). D 24a fol. 239-332.

²¹AG 195 (For AG see abbreviations above). For the restrictions preventing maltreatment of slaves, see CR 25: 347-350.

²²AGp. 195.

²³Recorded on 3 April 1751 by Boltzius. See also his retractions of 29 Aug. 1747 to Martyn and of 3 May 1748 to Vereist (CR 25: 200, 205, 289).

²⁴AG 252-253.

²⁵AG IV159.

²⁶*The Journals of Henry Melchor Muhlenberg*, ed. T. G. Tappert & J. W. Doberstein, Philadelphia, 194248, p. 637.

²⁷*ibid*, p. 586.

This enabled Walthour to acquire a grant of 250 acres in 1770 (English Crown Grants in St. Matthews Parish in Georgia, 1755-1775, ed. Pat Bryant. Atlanta 1982,186)

²⁹CR12: 10.

³⁰These are listed in CR Vol. 10.

³¹AGIV63.

³²AG 360-363. See 469,488 / AG IV 269.

³³*Attracts of Georgia Colonial Book J, 1755-1762*, ed. George F. Walker. Atlanta: R. J. Taylor, Jr. Foundation, 1978, 30-31; CR6:443; *Abstracts of Georgia Colonial Conveyance Book C-1, 1754-1761*, ed. Frances H. Beckemeyer, Atlanta, 1962,159; CR7:230,791; C/S:69,88.

³⁴CR12:36; *Book E. Colonial Estates Inventories 1754-1770, Record Group 49, Series 6*. Georgia State Archives.

³⁵*Die Mission der Brüdergemeinde in Surinam*, ed. F. Staehelin. Hermhut/Paramaribo, n.d., 113-114.

³⁶CR 10: 777; Fries 214; CR 15: 456 and 19 11:417.

³⁷See E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune* (Pittsburg: U. of Pa. Press, 1985), 59-60,71,152-153.

³⁸George F. Jones, "Georgia's German-Language Proclamation," *Report* 39 (1984), 21-31.

³⁹George F. Jones, "The Black Hessians," *SCHM* 83 (1983), 287-302.

⁴⁰Robert S. Davis, Jr., *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers of the American Revolution* Easley, S.C., 1979,74; CR 19 I: 255.

⁴¹AN 3: 974-975. See also AG TV 250.

⁴²AG 252-254,257,268.

⁴³AG IV 249-250.

⁴⁴Lothar L. Tresp, "Early Negro Baptisms in Colonial Georgia by the Salzburgers at Ebenezer." *Americana-Asuriaca* 3 (1974), 194-234; C. A. Linn, ed., *Ebenezer Record Book* (Savannah, Ga., 1929).

⁴⁵Muhlenberg, 645. See AG 406.

⁴⁶AGIV2,8.

⁴⁷AGIV2,20.

⁴⁸AGIV214.

⁴⁹AGIV267.

⁵⁰AG IV62.

⁵¹Betty Wood, p. 140.

⁵²Muhlenberg, pp. 650,585.

⁵³Andrew W. Lewis, "Henry Muhlenberg's
Georgia
Correspondence." *GHQ49* (1965), 431,432.

⁵⁴Leroy T. Hopkins, "The Germantown Protest: Origins of Abolitionism among the German Residents of Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 28 (1988), 19-30.