

## THE INDUSTRIOUS IMMIGRANT: GERMAN ARTISTS & ARTISANS IN ANTEBELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA

In 1867, in the wake of unprecedented destruction wrought upon South Carolina by the Civil War, Charleston's German-born mayor and Commissioner of Immigration, John Andreas Wagener, printed a pamphlet entitled *South Carolina: A Home for the Industrious Immigrant*. Wagener courted the immigration of his fellow Germans to assist with Reconstruction, for he and many of his fellow citizens in South Carolina knew the degree to which their industry could aid the state. Indeed, by 1867 South Carolina had benefited from the political and religious engagement,<sup>1</sup> artistic expression, and craftsmanship of its German-American inhabitants for two hundred years. On the coast, sixty-three German families held land grants in and around Charleston by 1674. After John Lederer mapped the mountainous regions of western South Carolina in 1669/70, passage through the Appalachian mountains made "the Great Wagon Road" possible. Those who had emigrated for religious reasons traveled and lived under the guidance of their pastors in the new world, but most were left to fend for themselves, cut off from civilization by days of travel through virgin territory. The state's mid-section, however, was settled chiefly with planned townships and land-grant incentives in the government's effort to defend the frontier against French and Spanish interests and encourage trade with the Indians.<sup>2</sup> Many German immigrants developed a broad range of art in various media and practiced an incredible array of handicrafts. The discussion which follows here presents in broad outline the little-known, but extremely rich artistic legacy

which German immigrants to South Carolina have bequeathed their adoptive state.

A large number of the immigrants from German-speaking areas of Europe were literate. Some had enjoyed superior schooling and brought cherished books and artifacts with them. A small silver box created by Abraham Remshard in Augsburg to commemorate the Salzburger exodus of 1732 contains miniature paintings depicting the event and is still in possession of South Carolina Remshard descendants. The earliest examples of art by the state's inland settlers are colorful *Fraktur*, illuminated documents in old German script which served to commemorate special family events such as the move to a new home or the birth of a child. One of the only remaining artifacts from the township of Purrysburg is such a *Fraktur*.

In 1745, David Züble created a *Fraktur* for his son John Joachim, who had just arrived in the province after completing his study of theology in Europe. John hoped to find a pastorate in South Carolina. His father, aware of the rivalry between the Reverends Zuberbühler and Giessendanner for an available position at Orangeburg, knew that the job search would not be an easy one and advised his son to persevere but be prepared for a lengthy search. The elder Züble was a learned man. His will notes a substantial number of German books, some silver-cased and edged, and a case of geometrical instruments. The *Fraktur* is an adaptation of the proscenium painting for Avancini's Jesuit drama *Pietas victrix*. With its depiction of battle, conflagration, and narrow escape, it is eerily prescient for the career of

John Joachim Zubly. He became the most distinguished early clergyman in the province, received an honorary doctorate from Princeton University, was pastor at Wando Neck, S.C., and at Savannah's Independent Presbyterian Church, served as Georgia's delegate to the Continental Congress, suffered the burning of his books and the destruction of his property during the Revolutionary War, and had to flee to South Carolina toward the end of his life.

The distinctive *Fraktur* of the Dutch Fork<sup>3</sup> and Orangeburg areas by the anonymous "Ehre-Vater"-artist are particularly significant. The few surviving examples of this exquisite South Carolina folk art are today the pride of museums on the eastern seaboard.<sup>4</sup> They document the location and service of some early itinerant pastors in the state. Many shed some light on the origin of

township names and bring life to tales of the remote past. The birth certificate for Johann Herrmann Aal (see Figure 1) establishes that in 1780 Pastor Hochheimer was present in Orangeburg, a township which is supposedly named for the Prince of Orange. It is much more likely, however, that Orangeburg is an Anglicism for Ahrensburg. Immigrants often named settlements after their home towns, leaders, or concepts, as was the case with the South Carolina towns of Hamburg, Sievern, Wagener, and Walhalla. In addition, Ahrensburg and Ahrensböck are well-known cities in Germany, the family name Ahrens appears among early settlers in South Carolina, and South Carolina's earliest church record book, that of the Rev. John Ulrich Giessendanner, spells the township "Arinsburg" as in the Aal *Fraktur*. Given the area's extensive German



Figure 1: "Ehre Vater" Fraktur (anonymous artist)

and Swiss population in the eighteenth century, that may well have been its original name.

The Johann Herrmann Aal of the *Fraktur* is most likely identical with J. Herman Aull,<sup>5</sup> who supplied the pulpits of St. James at Prosperity and Newberry, Dr. O.B. Mayer, nineteenth-century physician-writer and resident chronicler of South Carolina's colorful "Dutch Fork" area, writes that Herman Aull spent a boisterous youth but had a change of heart in his later years and applied to the Lutheran synod for a license to preach.

Herman Aull's mother-tongue was undoubtedly German. Mayer reports: "I was young when I for the first time heard him preach, and this "Broken English" was plainly perceptible in his utterance. For instance, such phrases as "The Grace of God," "Come hither, souls," he pronounced, "De crace of Cot," "Come heeder, souls."<sup>6</sup> As he describes the settlement between the Broad and Saluda rivers, Mayer remembers "the pensive emotion excited by the tender persuasiveness" of this pioneer preacher.

Charleston, of course, was the place which attracted serious artists. Settled by 1670 and the state's capital until 1786,<sup>7</sup> the "great port towne" was the center of cultural diversity that boasted the first public library in the colonies (1698), a free school (1710), and a theater (1735). By the nineteenth century Charleston was "owned by the Germans, ruled by the Irish, and enjoyed by the Negroes."<sup>8</sup> In April 1783, the Austrian emperor Joseph II sent a scientific expedition to America consisting of a scientist, a physician, a painter, and two gardeners to select, paint, and collect exotic flora and fauna for the imperial greenhouses and zoo in Vienna. To the chagrin of their sovereign, both the imperial cabinet painter

Bernhard Moll and the physician-botanist Matthias Leopold Stupicz defected from the expedition team and remained in Charleston. Moll opened a drawing academy and quickly made contact with the city's leading citizenry. Several dozen of his silhouettes profile the foremost families of Charleston society, among them the Draytons, Frasers, Heywards, Halls, Middletons, and Purcells.<sup>9</sup> Moll's scissor-cuts show remarkable dexterity and skilled characterization, and are among the best of the genre.

The physician Stupicz treated the aged pastor Christian Theus in 1787 in the practice he had opened in Charleston. Theus and his two brothers, Jeremiah and Simon, had arrived from Switzerland in 1735 with their parents, who settled in Orangeburg. Brothers Jeremiah and Simon soon moved to the Charleston area, but Christian remained in the back country and served several Lutheran churches spread over a large territory. The oldest of the three, Jeremiah Theus, is known today chiefly for his portraits. His approach is similar to that of late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century European provincial artists. Theus' style stresses honest likenesses which convey not only the dignity but often also a ruddy robustness in his sitters. Mrs. Samuel Jones, a healthy- and resolute-looking woman, is the pride of the Charleston Museum's collection, and Mr. James Habersham, a leading merchant, planter, and public servant during Georgia's colonial era, looks well-fed and satisfied in the collection of the Telfair Academy in Savannah.<sup>10</sup>

The work of Jeremiah Theus has been variously described as "wooden," or stiff. Jeremiah himself was said to be "a painter without dash or inspiration or any natural ability," and in similarly deprecatory

terms,<sup>11</sup> yet he was sought after by the wealthy and influential and had a substantial following. The clothes often were not those actually worn by the sitters, but were stylized costumes painted before Theus added the faces. The approach saved time, and the sitters could choose the finery in which they wished to be portrayed. That also explains why the proportions in some of Theus' paintings look wrong. The body is turned the wrong way, the head is too large or too small for the body and seems to be placed on the torso as an afterthought, which it was.

Jeremiah Theus did not paint many children, but those that he did paint were portrayed lovingly. He took great care with his little sitters and often added backgrounds, toys, or their pets to the pictures. In contrast to his brother Christian, who died in poverty, Jeremiah was fairly well-off financially at the end of his life. He was not too proud to do work that many artists would consider demeaning today. He advertised his services not only as portraitist, but also as painter of crests and coats of arms for coaches or chaises. He gilded the globe on the spire of St. Michael's church, copied a plat of the Cherokees, and gilded and painted constable staffs. He also translated German letters for the Commons House of Assembly. Jeremiah Theus worked hard, and in less than fifteen years he was able to support his nine children comfortably. At his death he owned seven slaves, several pieces of property, and a considerable sum of cash. In life he was a charitable and sociable man. Theus was one of three to petition for incorporation of the South Carolina Society, founded to support schools, orphanages, and alms houses. We have no portrait of him. Perhaps—as Picasso once joked about his own work—he

couldn't afford one; but Jeremiah Theus was said to have been a little man with rosy cheeks, who walked briskly and was an extrovert: sociable, enthusiastic, and energetic.

Charleston's German congregations encouraged record-keeping, and today sometimes our only knowledge of artists and artisans is the result of that attempt to preserve history for future generations. Francis C. Hill (1783-1856), son of Paul and Elizabeth Eckhardt Hill, also made his living painting cornices, furniture, coaches, houses, clocks, fences, coats of arms, ships, and signs. Like Jeremiah Theus, but not as successfully, he also painted portraits and landscapes "on moderate terms," as he stated in an advertisement. None of these works survive except the several exterior and interior views of Charleston's first German-language church, St. John's Lutheran, which he painted after his sketch of 1799. The Hills were members of St. John, and the church preserved his depiction of the initial wooden church's architecture and burial ground.<sup>12</sup>

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, several German silversmiths produced beautiful work in Charleston. Among them were C.C.L. Wittich and his brother, and Peter Mood and his son John.<sup>13</sup> A good craftsman was appreciated in Germany, and often such an artisan did not receive permission to emigrate. The son of a Lutheran minister in Hainder-die-Eichen near Frankfurt/Main, Christian Charles Lewis Wittich may have arrived as a Hessian soldier who defected in America. After years of silence, we find him advertising his jeweler's and silversmith business on Broad Street in 1794. By that time he was well established. His coffee urn and wine trolley<sup>14</sup> show the graceful lines and

classic beauty only a skilled craftsman can create. Apparently, however, Wittich was the subject of a powerful nobleman in Hesse who wanted him back. On 27 November 1800, a head hunter in Pennsylvania placed an advertisement Charleston's *City Gazette* offering an attractive reward for information on Wittich, dead or alive.<sup>15</sup> The advertisement claimed that Wittich's "troubled mother and relations can get no account of him, either by letters or otherwise." The silversmith's reply to the *Gazette* was swift. Refuting the claim that it was his mother who was looking for him, he chided the paper for printing the ad. He was well-known in town as a good and hard-working citizen, Wittich said, and showed proof that he had forwarded letters and money to his family in Germany. In 1802 he fetched his brother Frederick from Europe and for several years they worked together until he retired from his business at the end of 1807.<sup>16</sup>

Another important silversmith family in Charleston were the son and grandsons of Johann Peter Muth from Württemberg.<sup>17</sup> Son Peter (1766-1821) was in Charleston by 1785 and anglicized his name to Mood. He opened a shop in fashionable King Street and produced distinctive silver utensils and flatware. A cream pitcher in the Charleston Museum and the exquisite pair of salt cellars in Atlanta's High Museum are good examples of his craft (see Figure 2). Peter Mood's oldest son John (1792-1864), also a silversmith, continued the family business, but left the Lutheran Church of his German ancestors at age sixteen to join a Methodist congregation. In mid-life he became a Methodist clergyman. Four of his sons also followed that calling.<sup>18</sup>

The eighteenth century perceived musicians and composers as craftsmen rather than as creative artists, and many did in fact build, maintain, and repair their instruments. One of these was John Jacob Eckhard (1757-1833), an early organist and

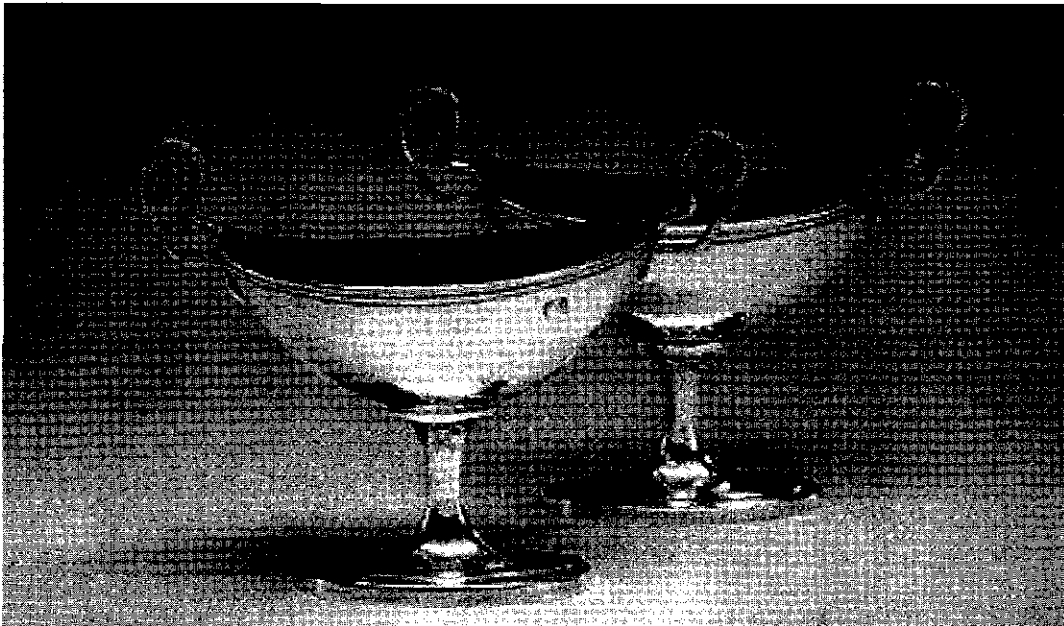


Figure 2: Salt cellars by silversmith Peter Mood

composer at St. John's Church, who is known today as Charleston's "Father of Music," Eckhard was born at Eschwege in Hessen-Kassel, where he began his career as church organist at age twelve. In 1776 the nineteen-year-old was sent to America with the Hessian troops and later settled in Richmond. In 1786 he came to Charleston as St. John's organist and schoolmaster and immersed himself in Charleston's cultural life. In 1789 he became a member of the German Friendly Society; later he served as the organization's president and was the Society's treasurer for thirty-three years. Charleston remembers Eckhard for the benefit concerts he organized for refugees in 1793, and as director of the annual children's concert at the Charleston Orphan House. Among his known compositions are the church anthems in his choir master's book, and at least two patriotic songs. For one of these he won first prize in a national competition.<sup>19</sup> In 1809, Eckhard became organist at St. Michael's Episcopal Church, which had a superior organ, and he served there until his death in 1833, although he maintained membership at St. John's. The church's new organ was built to his specifications and installed in 1823. At St. John's Eckhard also served as vestryman and treasurer and is buried in the church yard there. Two of his sons succeeded him as organists at St. John's.

Beyond Charleston the rural "Dutch Fork" area produced its own craftsmanship in wood and textiles. Farming communities didn't create to achieve fame or renown for the artist, but crafted items for practical use. Therefore many are unsigned and the identity of the artisan remains unknown. This is especially true of the women and their beautiful textiles. Often, their name is "anonymous." The Lexington County Museum

owns a large array of textiles which show the many variations of creative stitching and embroidery used by women from the "Dutch Fork" area to beautify their homes. The collection also includes antique textiles, such as the sampler dated 23 June 1830 made by Jane Carolina Corley when she was only thirteen.

Some of the museum's textiles carry specific significance for South Carolina. One is a quilt made around 1850 by women of the Rauch household that features the so-called "South Carolina" pattern. Its name is derived from the fact that it appears only in works from South Carolina and eastern Georgia. Another name for the pattern is "sundew," as the design resembles the blooms of a carnivorous swamp plant by the same name. Of particular significance is the lovely blue indigo dye seen in Susannah Busbee's embroidery thread on a hand-woven cotton coverlet. The indigo plant was grown in South Carolina and became an important cash crop and export article for the state in the eighteenth century. Hand-crafted textiles over a hundred years old are rare because they are fragile and disintegrate easily with extensive use and frequent cleanings. Also, the unpaid work of women was rarely cherished even if it was intricate and beautiful. Often subsequent generations preferred more modern designs and discarded the family heirlooms.

The work of craftsmen using wood or metal is more enduring and survives longer. Still, few of South Carolina's back-country creations survived the ravages of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. Among the treasured items of the Lexington County Museum are a pie safe made about 1820 in the upper Dutch Fork and a pine blanket chest dating to around 1815, both showing a variation of the hex-sign decorations popu-

lar among the Pennsylvania Dutch. The museum's oak reed "parlor organ" with carved embellishments was made about 1910 and belonged to Anna Schneider Harmon, whose grandfather came to Lexington from Germany in 1833. In all, the museum's holdings document the creativity of German settlers in the rural areas of South Carolina from the earliest times. Two such examples are a rocking chair made in 1820 by John Yost Mütze, and a tall case clock made around 1800 in Lexington County that belonged to the Leaphart family. Mütze<sup>20</sup> came to America as a Hessian soldier, deserted the British army during the siege of Charleston, and settled in the Lexington area, where he served as pastor of several churches between 1809 and 1828.<sup>21</sup> The Leaphart clock has a tall pine case and wooden works, which keep surprisingly accurate time in a humid environment. Today, such clocks are prized antiques, one of which graces the vestibule of the famous monastery at Melk, Austria.

The nineteenth century saw a numerically much greater influx of German-speaking settlers into South Carolina. The industrial age had replaced many German factory workers with machines, the labor market had changed, and many who had worked in labor-intensive professions could no longer compete with mass production. At the same time, the new steamships also made travel to America very much faster and safer. Great numbers of Germans were trying their luck in the United States

One of the newcomers was the artist Christian Friedrich Mayr (1803-1851), about whom very little was known until recently.<sup>22</sup> Mayr was born to an artist's family in Nuremberg. He was only seven years old when his father died. He and his younger brother Heinrich became the wards

of Christian Friedrich Fuels, their father's friend and business partner. Fues was a well-known painter and professor at Nuremberg's Royal Art Academy. Mayr studied there and at the Academy of Art in Munich. Christian came to America while his brother Heinrich, who was also an artist, stayed in Europe. Mayr received his citizenship in Charleston in 1838, and it is due to his success as a sought-after portraitist that we have a pictorial record of several of Charleston's German families.

Perhaps Mayr's most famous painting is that of Charleston's firemen which is on display in city hall. Among the firemasters and officers of the city's fire departments it depicts are many of German descent: John Schnierle, chief, and later mayor of Charleston; John A. Wagener, later mayor of Charleston<sup>23</sup> and president of the German Fire Company; Jacob F. Mintzing; J.M. Ostendorff, vice president of the German Fire Company; John Siegling, firemaster; and the artist himself in a cameo appearance.

Mayr also painted personal portraits of several of the individuals who appeared in the group painting of the firemen. The likeness of Jacob F. Mintzing, Charleston's first German-born mayor, is displayed at the meeting hall of the German Friendly Society, where he was president in 1818, 1819, and then again from 1833 to 1841. In the background of Mintzing's portrait, Mayr painted the Society's magnificent old meeting place, which burned on 17 September 1864.<sup>24</sup> The edifice was built on Archdale Street by the master builders John and Henry Horlbeck, sons of John Adam Horlbeck from Germany. Mayr's view of the Society Hall is the only extant picture which corresponds closely to descriptive written records.



**Figure 3:** *Kitchen Ball at White Sulpher Springs* by Christian Friedrich Mayr

Christian Friedrich Mayr spent the winter months of the year in Charleston and arranged exhibits of his work. With the assistance of those Charleston newspapers that provided critical assessments of his paintings, raffles were organized which afforded Mayr some income. Some of the wealthier German families had their families painted by him. The portraits of Johann Michael Schnierle, carpenter from Kuppingen in Germany, and an oil of the wife and children of his son, John Schnierle, are typical of Mayr's portraits. John Schnierle, whom Mayr also included in his firemen's painting, was another of Charleston's German mayors. The elder Schnierle's daughter Mary married John Zacharias Siegling, instrument-maker from Erfurt, Germany, who founded the Siegling music house in Charleston (see Figure 4). Mayr painted his portrait in dress uniform as brigadier commander with the famous

Citadel in the background. In every picture the artist's intent was to include some of his sitters' personal history, some specific feature important to the individuals and the society in which they lived. Only recently discovered was the portrait of Mary Elizabeth Gladden, wife of Colonel Adley Hogan Gladden, commander of the Palmetto Regiment and mayor of Columbia. It is a beautifully executed painting of Mrs. Gladden in her finery and one of only a few Mayr seems to have painted of women.

In 1849, when he became a full member of New York's National Academy of Design, Mayr had to provide a self-portrait. The portrait shows a confident man in his forties who had acquired good skills in portraiture. The medium provided a living for him and his family, but his paintings in today's art museums are so-called genre paintings. A progression in his skills is evident from *Fire Engine No. 1*<sup>25</sup> to the



*Kitchen Ball at White Sulphur Springs*, owned by the North Carolina Museum of Art (see Figure 3). The *Kitchen Ball* earned him the reputation of having been the first to depict African-Americans in their own environment and in a non-patronizing manner. His *First Step in Life*, currently at the Greenville County Museum of Art, shows one of Mayr's many genre paintings that feature scenes from the home life. This one, showing a baby's walk carefully guided by watchful parents and grandfather, has been interpreted as symbolizing the new state of Texas being shown its first steps among the family members of the United States.



**J. SIEGLING,**  
Musical Instrument Maker, Music Seller  
and Importer, Broad-street.

**H**AS constantly on hand, an extensive assortment of elegant London made CABINET and SQUARE PIANO FORTEs; Harp and Single instrument HARPS; Lutes, Lyres, Guitars, patent Flutes from 1 to 8 keys, Clarionets, double and single Flageolats, Drums, Tambourines, patent Kent and Hunting Drums, Concert Horns, and every article of Musical Merchandise. The above instruments are all purposefully ordered, and secured, to stand well in the southern climate, and will be warranted.

A large assortment of Foreign Music, Best Italian Harp, Guitar and Violin Strings.

Piano Forter, Harps, Guitars, &c. for hire, or taken in Exchange. All sorts of Musical Instruments carefully Tuned and Repaired on very moderate terms.

Figure 4: Ad in the Charleston paper by John Siegling, maker of musical instruments

*Reading the News*, presently at the National Academy in New York, is the second painting which Mayr had to submit for full membership in that society. The working-class men huddled over the paper on the steps of a cobbler's shop are typical subjects of his genre paintings, depicting American life at home and in the streets, snapshots of our culture as seen from the immigrant's perspective.

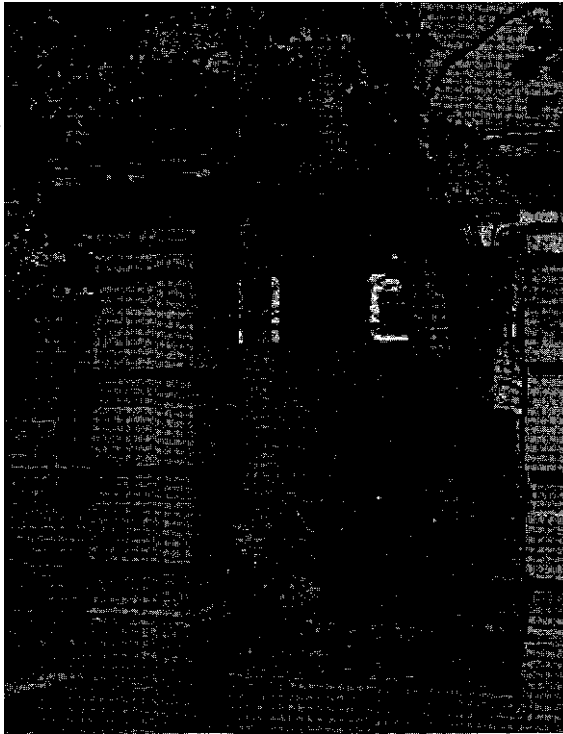
Any excursion through the variety of creative folk art, woodcrafts, textiles, and rural and cosmopolitan arts and crafts by German-speaking settlers in South Carolina is necessarily a reminder that much more has been destroyed than has been saved. Paper and paint, wood and fabric require a level of care for survival that was hardly available under eighteenth-century conditions in the sub-tropical climate of South Carolina's back country. Even many of the most durable of creations, those by workers in stone and iron, by architects and wrought iron artisans, have failed to endure. For example, nothing is left of the work by Christian Senf (ca. 1754-1806), who arrived as a Hessian soldier and became chief engineer to the state of South Carolina. Among other structures, he designed the clubhouse of St. John's Hunting Club, forts, and the old Santee Canal. There is no grave marker on his grave at Rocky Mount, South Carolina.<sup>26</sup>

Charles F. Reichardt was not much luckier. He came to Charleston in 1836 and designed a number of imposing structures, including the new theater in 1837, the magnificent Charleston Hotel at 200 Meeting Street in 1838, a Mariner's Church, the grandstand at the Washington Race Course, and the Guard House. Of the latter, its spectacular wrought-iron "Sword Gates" by C. Carl Werner were saved (see Figure 5). The

columns of a new bank building replacing the old Charleston Hotel are but a small reminder of the former's grandeur.

Destroyed and forgotten is also the work of Charles Theodore Pachelbel (1690-1750), who arrived in Charleston in 1736 and gave his first concert at the Dock Street Theater on 22 November 1737. Pachelbel was organist at St. Philip's church until his death in 1750. Of his compositions there remains only a "Magnificat," most likely created while he was still in Germany.<sup>27</sup>

Still, despite the ravages of time and the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, some memorials to the past creativity of South Carolina's German-speaking settlers have survived. Frederick Wesner (1788-1848), son of one of the original members of the German Fusiliers who fought in the Revolutionary War, was the architect for the present St. John's Lutheran Church constructed in 1815-1817, and also held the contract for the woodwork. Among other structures, Wesner designed the portico added to the South Carolina Society hall in 1825. He was a member of that Society and of the German Friendly Society. In 1827 Wesner designed the Medical College which stood at Queen and Back Streets.



**Figure 5:** Sword gates by Christopher Carl Werner

Charleston's Military Academy, the old Citadel—now remodeled as a hotel—was also designed by him and still stands on Marion Square. However, the commemorative brass tablet honoring Wesner as the architect has disappeared from the former entrance of the Citadel and is lost. Frederick Wesner held a number of civic positions in Charleston and was instrumental in the capture of "Denmark" Vesey, leader of the ill-fated insurrection of black slaves which led to the erection of the Citadel.<sup>28</sup>

Among South Carolina's German builders and architects the Horlbeck family is very well-known. Brothers Peter and John Adam Horlbeck came to Charleston from Saxony in 1764. They were stone masons who occasionally also drew their own plans. Perhaps their most famous building is Charleston's Exchange<sup>29</sup> on East Bay Street, which still stands, although with alterations. Some of the material, such as the slate and Perbeck stone, was personally procured in England by the Horlbecks, but the heart pine and cypress came from the headwaters of the Ashley river on which Charleston is situated. On 23 November 1769 the South Carolina Gazette noted, "In the Snow Chatty, arrived this week from

Poole, are come about 60 Tons of Stone for our new Exchange: which is raising with great Dispatch." The brothers received £44,016 5s 7d for their work, which was somewhat more than their contract provided. John also built a synagogue on Hasell Street (1792), which was destroyed in the fire of 1838. Among the Charleston houses built by the brothers were the Laurens home on East Bay and the house on 54 Broad Street.

John Horlbeck, Jr. and his brother Henry, the sons of John Adam Horlbeck, formed a partnership much as their father and uncle had done. They worked together for thirty-five years, from about 1801 to 1836. They received the contract for the masonry work of the new St. John's Lutheran Church and also built the German Friendly Society Hall on Archdale Street, depicted in the Mintzing portrait by Mayr. Both John and Henry Horlbeck were the presidents of the Society several times and served in other charitable and civic functions. The Horlbecks established one of the first (and the largest) commercial pecan groves at their Boone Hall plantation and also built a large brick and tile factory there. An area of 513 acres with extraordinary clay soil became the production center for colonial Charleston's building needs. At its peak in the 1840s, the brickyard produced 4,000,000 bricks annually. Parts of the plantation house as well as the still-existing original slave cabins of Boone Hall are constructed with Horlbeck brick, and the massive smokestack of the brickyard's steam boiler is the focal point of the new "Brickyard Plantation" subdivision near Boone Hall Plantation.

Spectacular work was done by some German craftsmen in wrought iron. Carl Werner, born in Münster, Westphalia,

opened a large foundry in Charleston in 1839.<sup>30</sup> The "sword gates" that originally were on Reichardt's Guard House are his work. They are now incorporated into the enclosure of a private property at 32 Legare Street and are one of Charleston's main tourist attractions. Werner also crafted the railing of the College of Charleston with its beautiful entry gate as well as numerous other ornamental enclosures in the city. His most impressive creation is the monument to the Palmetto Regiment on the Columbia State House grounds. The life-sized Palmetto tree is missing a few of its original fronds, but it survived Sherman's attack.

Not much is known about J.A.W. Iusti, who arrived in Charleston in 1820 from Germany. His most famous work, the gates to the church yard of St. Michael's Episcopal Church, consists of scroll work of such thin and delicate filigree that he has been called the greatest of the artists in enduring iron. Justifiably proud of the gates, Iusti signed them in cast letters on the over-throw. Also signed by him are the ornamental gates to the Hayne burial lot in the churchyard of St. Michael's.

As mentioned earlier, St. John's Lutheran Church in Charleston gave most of its contracts for the new building on Archdale and Clifford Streets to ethnic Germans. The architect was Frederick Wesner, the builders were John and Henry Horlbeck, and the gates were completed by Jacob F. Roh in 1822. Their intricate scroll work rivals that of Iusti's at St. Michael's, and the church has preserved its German heritage in other ways as well. The ornamental pipes and organ case were installed in 1823 by Henry Erben; the donor of the mahogany for the original pulpit was Jacob Sass, well-known cabinet maker and one of the early presidents of the German Friendly

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Society; the balcony pews were made with wood from the original wooden church; and the stained glass window in the recessed chancel was designed by the Reverend E.T. Horn.

The significant influence exerted on South Carolina's culture by German-speaking immigrants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is one of our country's best-kept secrets. The engagement with a German enemy in two world wars resulted both in the destruction of historic German-language books, journals, and newspapers in America, and in the reluctance of German-American families to acknowledge their heritage. Senator Fritz Hollings severed all

ties with his German family members; many others anglicized their German names; and the historic German Friendly Society of Charleston (founded in 1766) dropped the word "German" from its name and restored it only in 1965. Yet South Carolina's German-speaking immigrants provided political and economic leadership as senators and representatives, mayors and cabinet members, inventors and businessmen. They founded cities and built their edifices. They fought on the Union and Confederate sides, built churches and canals, wrote South Carolina's history and taught her young. Here we have explored a small but colorful part of their cultural contributions to this Southern state.<sup>31</sup>

— Helene Kastlinger Riley  
Clemson University

## NOTES

All figures reprinted with permission from the exhibit "Cultural Contributions of German-speaking Settlers in South Carolina," conceived and designed by Helene M. Riley.

1. In his otherwise excellent book *Hopeful Journeys. German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), Aaron Spencer Fogleman makes scant reference to South Carolina's German immigration through the port of Charleston since the 1660s. He also fails to note the extensive political engagement by South Carolina's German-speaking settlers.
2. Among these townships, the "Saltketchers" on the upper Salkehatchie (1730-40), the Savannah River settlements of Purrysburg (1732), Ebenezer (1734), and New Windsor (1737), the central townships of Orangeburg and Amelia (1735), Saxe-Gotha (1737), the Dutch Fork area (1760), and Londonderry on Hard Labor Creek (1764) were chiefly settled by German-speaking immigrants professionally recruited in Switzerland, Austria, and Germany.
3. The name "Dutch Fork" is a mispronunciation of "Deutsch[es] Volk." By 1760 around 2,000 Germans had settled in the large fork between the Broad and Saluda Rivers as they converge near Columbia to form the Congaree. Some of the settlers spilled over from Saxe-Gotha, others came overland from Pennsylvania down the great valley road.
4. In July 2001, an Ehre-Vater-Fraktur sold for \$46,000 at auction in Winston-Salem, NC.
5. The family name is spelled variously Aal (for the original immigrants from Unterauerbach, now part of Mindelheim), also All and Aull. The given name Herrmann or Hermann is also written Harmon. A chronicle in the city archive of Mindelheim provides graphic examples of the tortured lives which the 140-150 citizens of Unterauerbach endured in the seventeenth and eighteenth century before emigrating. Cf. *Ortschronik oder Beschreibung der Merkwürdigkeiten und Ereignisse der Pfarrgemeinde Unteraurbach*, 1855.
6. John A. Chapman, *The Annals of Newberry* (Newberry, SC: Aull & Houseal, 1892; reprint 1949), 660.
7. Although the vote to move the capitol to Columbia was in 1786, actual removal did not occur until 1790.
8. In *South Carolina. The WPA Guide to the Palmetto State* (U. of SC Press, 1988), 188-189.
9. Helene M. Kastinger Riley, "Charleston's Drawing Master Bernard Albrecht Moll and the South Carolina Expedition of Emperor Joseph II of Austria," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, 21, 1 (Summer 1995): 5-88. The article is illustrated with dozens of Moll's silhouettes. The originals are in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.
10. Habersham came to the colony in 1738 and collaborated with the Rev. Whitefield in the founding of Bethesda orphanage, which was inspired by the Salzburgers' orphanage at Ebenezer.
11. Margaret Simons Middleton, *Jeremiah Theus. Colonial Artist of Charles Town* (U. of SC Press, 1991), 5-6.
12. Francis C. Hill's oil painting of the first wooden church of St. John's Lutheran is located in the church offices on Clifford Street. Several of his sketches of architectural subjects are kept at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts in Winston-Salem, NC (MESDA), and two now lost paintings are referred to under the titles "The Cottage" and "Love Scene" in the *Charleston Courier* of 13 September 1843. Anna Wells Rutledge, *Artists in the Life of Charleston* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949) is a good source book for Hill and other forgotten artists.
13. E. Milby Burton, *South Carolina Silversmiths 1690-1860* (Charleston, SC: The Charleston Museum, 1991), 101-103.
14. MESDA owns these and other examples of Wittich's work.
15. *City-Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 18, 4143 (27 November 1800): p. 7, col. 2. The same ad also asks for information on John Nix, formerly in the service of the Prince of Uffenburgh, who shipped to America with the Hessian Hanover Yeagers and evidently also defected.
16. Records on Wittich are sparse thereafter, but he was still alive in April 1816, when he resigned

## INDUSTRIOUS IMMIGRANT, NOTES

- his membership in the German Friendly Society, today perhaps the oldest still functioning historic and charitable organization in the United States.
17. Details about this family of silversmiths in *South Carolina Silversmiths 1690-1860*, 68-72.
  18. Some insight into this important family, which includes physicians and civil servants, is offered by C.C. Cody, *The Life and Labors of Francis Asbury Mood, D.D., Founder and first Regent of Southwestern University* (Chicago: F.H.Revell, 1886).
  19. *Jacob Eckkard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809*. A facsimile with introduction and notes by George W. Williams (Columbia, SC: U. of S.C. Press, 1971).
  20. The name appears most often in the anglicized version of "Meetze." The family is still prominent in the Lexington and Dutch Fork area.
  21. Details about this interesting personality are found in: *A History of the Lutheran Church in South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: R.L. Bryan Co., 1971), 880 (biography), and throughout.
  22. Helene M. Riley: "Christian Friedrich Mayr," *The Magazine Antiques* (November 1998): 688-695 (richly illustrated).
  23. Wagener was the founder of numerous organizations in Charleston as well as the town of Walhalla, SC. He was also the state's Commissioner of Immigration..
  24. The report of Society's historian: "During the devastation of the city from shell fire during the war the hall of the German Friendly Society in Archdale Street was seriously damaged, and during the great fire in Charleston it was almost entirely destroyed." George J. Gongaware, Adolph C. Lesemann, Jr., Kellinger R. Cotton, Jr., *The History of The German Friendly Society of Charleston, South Carolina* (Spartanburg: The Reprint Company, 1999), 189.
  25. The painting was once owned by the Brooklyn Historical Society and is now missing.
  26. Beatrice St. Julien Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston* (Columbia, SC: U. of S.C. Press, 1992), 87-89. South Carolina. The WPA Guide to the Palmetto State, 355-356.
  27. Furman University in Greenville, SC, has an old LP recording of this work.
  28. Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston*, 137-146. Vesey, a free African, "organized the most elaborate and well-planned slave insurrection in the history of the United States" in the summer of 1822. Thousands of armed slaves were to arise at midnight in Charleston and kill their white masters on command. The rebellion was betrayed by black informers and on 2 July 1822, Vesey was hanged with five of his co-conspirators. See David M. Robertson, *Denmark Vesey* (New York: Knopf, 1999).
  29. Ravenel. *Architects of Charleston*, 41-48. William Rigby Naylor signed the architectural plans, but the question remains whether he was the architect or just the draftsman. Elizabeth A. Poyas published a biography of the Horlbeck brothers as: *Our Forefathers: Their Homes and their Churches* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Co., 1860).
  30. John Andreas Wagener provides the most comprehensive information on his contemporary Werner in his article "Carl Werner, der deutsche Tubal-Kain," *Der deutsche Pionier*, 4 (1872-73): 291-293. Wagener, who was well acquainted with Werner and his work, refers to him by the given name "Carl." Current studies substitute the name "Christopher." Mention of Werner is also made by Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston*, and by Charles N. Bayless, *Charleston Ironwork. A Photographic Study* (Orangeburg, SC: Sandlapper Publishing Co., 1987).
  31. "Art and the Artisan. South Carolina German-American Artists of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries," a pictorial survey of South Carolina's arts and craftson videotape funded by the South Carolina Humanities Commission, was produced by Helene M. Riley in 1997.