

THE SAVANNAH RIVER INTELLIGENTSIA: 1734-1780

This article was first titled "The 'Dutch' Intelligentsia of the Savannah River," meaning the "German-speaking Intelligentsia," but the title appeared redundant after it was observed that only German-speaking inhabitants of Georgia actually fulfilled Webster's definition of the intelligentsia as "intellectuals considered as a group or class, especially, as a cultural, social, or political élite."¹

There were, of course, some quite intelligent men in Savannah, such as Col. William Stephens, the secretary of the Trustees of the colony of Georgia, and James Habersham, schoolmaster turned merchant turned President of the Council. These men, however, were pragmatic empire builders who wrote clearly and effectively without flights of fancy or classical allusions, and neither appeared interested in knowledge for knowledge's sake.² Oglethorpe, who had enjoyed a good classical education,³ was merely a visitor to Georgia, not an inhabitant.⁴ One might wish to add John Wesley and George Whitefield to the list of Savannah-River intellectuals because of their voluminous publications, but neither man settled in Georgia and the writings of both were mostly functional, being theological, inspirational, and promotional.

Perhaps the six leading members of the Savannah River intelligentsia, in order of their arrival, were: Johann Martin Boltzius (1734), Christian Gottlieb Prieber (1735), Johann Tobler (1737), Johann Joachim Züblin, later Zubly (1744), Johann Wilhelm Gerhard de Brahm (1751), and Johann Christoph Bornemann (1752).

BOLTZIUS

Johann Martin Boltzius, a teacher at the Orphanage School at Halle, was chosen along with his colleague Christian Israel Gronau to minister to a group of Protestant exiles from Salzburg who settled in Georgia in 1734. After two years in an unfavorable location, the Salzburgers moved their town of Ebenezer to the Red Bluff on the Savannah River just above Purysburg, the new Swiss settlement in South Carolina. Because of hard-

ships exacerbated by removal of the settlement, Boltzius was forced to take on so many secular duties that he became a reluctant Renaissance Man.⁵ First, as ruler of his little theocracy, he had to learn the English law of the land, which he appears to have done quickly and thoroughly. Next he had to read technical manuals, mostly in English, on agriculture, silk raising, mill building, medical practice, and other skills in order to transmit this knowledge to his parishioners.⁶

In addition to keeping a very informative journal throughout most of his thirty-year ministry, Boltzius also maintained an active correspondence with his German and English benefactors, which revealed good insights into the social and economic situation in his new home.⁷ Johann Tobler, of whom we shall hear more, wrote of Boltzius:

I have carried on for some years an edifying correspondence with this gentleman, in which I have encountered only that which is necessary for Christianity.

He is a man who is very useful to this country, and, although he makes no distant journeys into it, he nevertheless, from time to time sends out edifying books, which are very helpful to one's growth in humanity.⁸

Boltzius had an unusual ability to organize his thoughts, as can be seen in his brilliant letter to George Whitefield arguing against the importation of slaves.⁹

As an accomplished musician who could write notes and had founded a **Collegium Musicum** (music club) at Halle,¹⁰ Boltzius worked hard to improve his parishioners' choral singing. He was aided in this task when the new physician, Ernst Thilo, arrived with his good voice and thorough mastery of polyphonic singing. Boltzius keenly wished to have an organ, as Tobler did up the river at New Windsor,¹¹ but this wish was never fulfilled. When Captain Krauss, an artilleryman who had brought the third Swabian transport to Georgia in 1752, was about to return to Europe, some Salzburgers collected money for him to buy an organ there, but nothing came of this; and Boltzius was left with only

his choir. While visiting Ebenezer in 1774, the Lutheran patriarch Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg greatly admired the skill of the choir, which he attributed to Boltzius.¹²

This music was, of course, not made for aesthetic or secular pleasure, but only for glorifying God in heaven: one contrite woman confessed to having used her God-given voice to sing worldly songs. Little boys who wished to join the choir had to promise to bring not only their mouth but also a devout heart.¹³ (Imagine the amazement I felt when, while driving near Metter, Georgia, some sixty miles from Ebenezer in October 1990 and listening to a radio concert by a children's gospel choir, I heard the director remind the children that they should sing not only with their mouths but also with their hearts! Could this precept have been handed down so long?) When Habersham offered Boltzius twenty-four arias by Handel, he accepted them even though they were secular, aware that he could convert them to religious **Parodien**, by which he meant contrafacts.¹⁴

Boltzius appears to have had little regard for the visual arts, which were scarcely better than graven images in his eyes. He made exception, however, for religious art; and he distributed to the children little scenes of the life of Jesus that had been engraved and donated by Martin Engelbrecht of Augsburg.¹⁵ Behind the Communion table he mounted a large picture of the **Last Supper** donated by the court chaplain Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen.¹⁶

PRIEBER

By slightly stretching the meaning of "Savannah River" in our tide, we can include the Saxon visionary, Christian Gottlieb Prieber (also written Priber and Pryber), who came to America in 1735 to save the Red Man from European encroachment." Because he dwelled seven years among the Cherokees, he must have spent some of his time on the headwaters of the Savannah River, and thus he belongs on our list.

Like the other germanophone intellectuals of Georgia, Prieber, a doctor of laws, had enjoyed a good Latin training, his doctoral thesis having been in that language.¹⁸ His

secret journal, on the other hand, was kept in French. Prieber petitioned the Trustees to send him to Georgia in 1735 and they agreed;¹⁹ but, instead of waiting, he made his way to South Carolina as a British officer. After taking out a grant for land in Purysburg, which he never developed, he sold his belongings and set out in Indian costume for the Cherokee country in order to organize the Noble Savages into a commonwealth, to be called the Kingdom of Paradise, a communistic state which would resist the British by playing the Spanish and French against them.

Hearing of Prieber's seditious actions, the authorities in South Carolina sent an envoy to ask the Cherokees to extradite him, but his hosts would not surrender their honored guest and tribal member. Foiled in this attempt, the British bribed some Creek Indians to capture him on one of his diplomatic missions to the French and Spaniards, which they did. Prieber was incarcerated in the jail at Frederica, where visitors were astounded by his education and mastery of languages. Even Oglethorpe was impressed by his involuntary guest, being surprised to find a man "who in his dress a perfect Indian, a man of politeness and gentility, who spoke Latin, French, Spanish, and German fluently, and English brokenly."²⁰ The French soldier Antoine Bonnefoy, who had been a prisoner of Prieber's Indian hosts, also attested that Prieber's French was fluent.²¹

Being polylingual, Prieber soon mastered Cherokee, and it was surely he who translated the Lord's Prayer into that language for Ulrich Driessler, the Lutheran minister at Frederica. Ludowick Grant, an Indian trader, said of Prieber:

Being a great Scholar he soon made himself master of their Tongue, and by his insinuating manner Endeavoured to gain their hearts, he trimmed his hair in the Indian manner & painted as they did, going generally naked except for a shirt and a Flap.²²

It is regrettable that Prieber's book did not survive, for it may well have been a trail blazer. To judge by what Bonnefoy, Oglethorpe, and others said of this backwoods philosopher, he may well have preceded Rousseau, his junior by some years, with his

ideas on the Noble Savage, the natural rights of man, the inequality of men, and the social contract. Verner W. Crane recognizes him as "a spiritual descendant of Plato of the Republic, of Sir Thomas More, of Campanella, and a precursor of Rousseau."²³ The similarity between Prieber's and Rousseau's ideas can be explained by the fact that they were following a common sociophilosophical tradition.²⁴ Prieber, a contemporary of Montesquieu, reached America before Rousseau wrote any of his socio-philosophical works.

During Prieber's trial, Oglethorpe sent a long letter, dated April 22, 1743, to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, summarizing the proceedings.²⁵ Most of the letter consists of a paraphrase of Prieber's journal, written in French. Oglethorpe found the journal "a little difficult to understand, the whole being written like dark hints for his Memory only."

Prieber proved himself to be not only a **philosophe**, but also a true philosopher, when a magazine next to his cell exploded and hurled bombs and shells into the air. While others fled in panic, Prieber remained calm and composed despite the explosives raining down around him. Soon after this Prieber died, thus freeing the British of the need to convict him.

TOBLER

Johann Tobler, a **Landeshauptmann** or governor of the half-canton Appenzell-Ausser Rhoden in Switzerland, contracted the **rabies Carolinae** (the Carolina madness) after losing his office.²⁶ Finding himself an exile in 1737, he led a large party of Swiss emigrants to South Carolina and founded New Windsor on the Savannah River, more or less across from Augusta, Georgia. There he established a plantation, built a fort, opened a store, served as justice of the peace, and became relatively prosperous.²⁷

In addition to these mundane pursuits, Tobler continued his hobbies of mathematics, astronomy, and almanac writing. His first almanac was the *South Carolina and Georgia Almanack*, published for many years by James Johnston in Savannah. To compile such a work, one had to understand not only mathematics and astronomy but also other

subjects such as agriculture, commerce, foreign news and the public's craving for moralizing and edifying reading matter. Because of his first success, Tobler also published an almanac in Philadelphia, which gave him a far larger market.²⁸ Because his calculations were fixed to the year 1800, almanacs using his calculations continued to be published, often under his name, in various colonies long after his death in 1765.²⁹

Of interest to South Carolina historians is a description of South Carolina that Tobler published in a Swiss almanac in 1753.³⁰ Although he was obviously writing to encourage immigration to South Carolina, he avoided the exaggerations perpetrated by Jean-Pierre Pury and other promoters. He did, however, tend to overlook some of the hardships of frontier life, such as the danger of the Indians, who were soon to scalp and kill one of his sons.

Besides his mathematical interests, Tobler loved music and owned what seems to have been the only organ in the Savannah River valley.³¹ Tobler must have had an open mind, or else he was a very good diplomat, for, despite his firm Calvinistic faith, he let Boltzius persuade him to question the **absolutum decretum** (predestination), which Boltzius was able to do by lending him a book contradicting this serious error.³²

De BRAHM

Johann Gerhard Wilhelm von Brahm, originally from Koblenz or its surroundings, had been in Imperial service before coming to Georgia with the second Swabian transport of 1751.³³ Von Brahm was from the bourgeoisie and had earned his nobility through his military service, which justified his signing his first American map with the words "William Noble of Brahm." While some noblemen to the manor born may have looked down on the **Verdienst Adel** (merit nobility), the self-made aristocrats were generally socially accepted,³⁴ and it is significant that von Brahm was married to a woman of inherited nobility. It is uncertain whether he left Imperial service because he inclined toward Protestantism or whether he exchanged religions in order to enter British service. The former

seems probable because of his inquisitive religious mind, which eventually caused him to be considered a Quaker and to write mystico-theological treatises.

Upon reaching Georgia, von Brahm set out to find a suitable place for his Swabian settlers. After examining locations on the Ogeechee and Altamaha rivers, he finally placed his party on the Blue Bluff just five miles above Ebenezer, where he founded the settlement Bethany.

Because of de Brahm's industry and careful surveying, Habersham, a good judge of men, stated that "The Trustees... are not mistaken in Mr. von Brahm's abilities: He has been at a great deal of Pains to view the country to fix on a settlement and has taken plans of all the Places he has visited, and I look upon him to be one of the most intelligent men I ever met with, and will I doubt not make a very useful colonist."³⁵ Gov. John Reynolds called von Brahm a "very able Engineer" and a "Gentleman of great Honour and Ingenuity."³⁶ A modern historian, Charles L. Mowat, has described him well in calling him "a man whose versatility of genius went beyond even that of the typical eighteenth-century dilettante: a surveyor, engineer, botanist, astronomer, meteorologist, student of ocean currents, alchemist, sociologist, historian and mystical philosopher."³⁷ Thus we see that almost³⁸ everyone praised this talented man, despite his sometimes obstinate and overbearing behavior.

In addition to founding Bethany, von Brahm, or de Brahm as he soon began calling himself,³⁹ amassed much land in Georgia and served Gov. Glen of South Carolina as a military engineer. Preserving all the "plans" and detailed descriptions of the areas he had surveyed, de Brahm compiled a *General Description of the Province of Georgia*, which followed an earlier *General Description of South Carolina*.⁴⁰ Both of these were included in his "Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America," submitted to the King in 1773. Like Prieber, de Brahm also compiled a Cherokee-English and English-Cherokee dictionary.⁴¹ Subsequently he published navigational aids and performed pio-

neer work in charting the Gulf Stream.⁴² He was also credited with writing the "first history of Georgia."⁴³

As a surveyor and cartographer, de Brahm deserved all the praise heaped upon him. The extensive maps he produced in a few short years were so accurate that they remained standard for half a century. Unfortunately, de Brahm often followed accurate and objective observations with garrulous and, for a modern natural scientist, rather meaningless explanations, in which he seemed to exult in his own verbosity. After describing the grape culture at New Bordeaux, for example, he gives the precise measurements of a building, which, he states categorically, the vintners must have in order to "govern the outward Phlogistic motion through the Bung."⁴⁴ Then follow thirty lines of pedantic and wordy explanation that could make sense, if at all, only to one who believes in the unfailing power of phlogiston. Similarly, his prolix medical diagnoses and remedies reveal more enthusiasm than critical judgment⁴⁵

Perhaps de Brahm's greatest weakness was being a perfectionist in an imperfect world, an idealist and dreamer; he often insisted on undertaking what was theoretically best, even if entirely unfeasible. Asked by Gov. Glen to prepare plans for the fortification of Charleston, he produced grandiose schemes for forts that would have done honor to any nation in Europe, but at an expense far beyond the means of the financially strapped colony of South Carolina. The same occurred when he was commissioned to design a fort to block traffic on the Little Tennessee River. There he dreamed of a bastion à la Vauban, one able to repel a Grand Armada. Since only canoes plied the river, a simple stockade would have sufficed.

De Brahm also tended to exaggerate his services to the crown. He claims, for example, to have brought 160 immigrants to Georgia and to have "joined through his means 160 more."⁴⁶ Actually, the immigrants had been recruited by Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior of the Augsburg ministry and "Reverend Father" of the Salzburgers; de Brahm had only conducted the one transport of 1751. When he

described the back settlers of South Carolina as "chiefly consisting of German Protestants,"⁴⁷ he must have been exaggerating, unless the large influx of Scotch Irish occurred after his observation.

BORNEMANN

A year after de Brahm's arrival, Georgia received still another intellectual. Johann Christoph Bornemann was a man of scientific interests and an acquaintance of scholars like the physicist Samuel Christian Hollmann of the University of Göttingen and the scientist-poet Albrecht von Haller. With the support of these two gentlemen, Bornemann took his wife, two children, his parents-in-law, and a maid to Georgia, where he established a plantation that he named New Goettingen in honor of his home town.⁴⁸ On his way from Göttingen to London and from London to Georgia, Bornemann kept a most informative journal. Unfortunately this journal, which so well describes the landscape and agriculture of North Germany, stops when the ship reaches Savannah. All that is stated here about Bornemann and his family is based on the autobiographical preface to this journal and the comments added by his widow after his death.⁴⁹

Bornemann's training had been in surgery, a profession he practiced in the service of Frederick the Great during the First Silesian War. Honorably discharged, he returned to Göttingen. There he was appointed surgeon to the university, at which he studied under Hollmann and von Haller. The avowed purpose of his removal to Georgia was to collect pharmaceutical plants for study at the university. Of his letters back home, only four are known, all written to his benefactor, von Haller, then an **Ammann**, or magistrate, in Bern. These letters, now housed in the Bürgerbibliothek in Bern, describe the flora and fauna of his new home and also describe a chest of specimens and curiosities he sent to his European patrons.⁵⁰

One of Bornemann's letters to von Haller, that of January 7, 1755, is a veritable area study of Georgia's coastal plain in which he describes the terrain, climate, flora, and fauna. He apologizes that he had not studied the

natural sciences as assiduously as he should have, and he confesses that Boltzius has already described most of the important creatures. Bornemann's descriptions are, however, sometimes better.

Boltzius describes the skunk as a kind of black wildcat that sprays water when a person or a dog comes too close. He then describes the nasty stench that penetrates clothing and lasts a long time.⁵¹ Bornemann describes the same animal as being "about as large as a fox, black in color, the tips of the ears and tail are white, otherwise its fur seems to be very precious." In order to investigate the source of the stench, which he compared to a mixture of scorched corn and garlic, he shot one to dissect it, but the unbearable stench prevented him from doing so and the area stank for ten days. Bornemann was more successful in investigating the jaws of an alligator and the fangs of a rattlesnake.

Boltzius had made many references to the cattle disease that afflicted the herds of the Germans around Savannah, but only Bornemann, who had also lost some cattle to it, performed a post mortem on a bovine victim to study its affected organs. He also performed autopsies on apparently healthy hogs and found their kidneys full of tape worms. Like de Brahm, Bornemann was not satisfied with just knowing what but also wished to know how and why. It is surprising, therefore, that he states that honey and wax are softer in Georgia than in Germany, without recognizing Georgia's warmer temperature as the cause.

ZUBLY

Upon finishing his schooling at the lycée in St. Gall, Johann Joachim Züblin (later Zubly)⁵² went to London to petition the Trustees for a ministerial post in Georgia. His request was denied because of his youth and the high salary he demanded. Despite this setback, Zubly had himself ordained there in the German Reformed Church and then proceeded on his own to Purysburg, the Swiss settlement on the Savannah River, where his "wealthy"⁵³ father David lived.⁵⁴ Although unauthorized, Zubly began preaching to his countrymen in and around Savannah, partic-

ularly in Acton and Vernonburg, two new German-Swiss settlements just south of the city. There he was greatly admired, as William Stephens noted, for his "Volubility of Speech."⁵⁵

The Anglican minister in Savannah, Bartholomäus Zouberbühler,⁵⁶ was a Swiss from St. Gall and could therefore preach to his compatriots in their own tongue, but they would have none of him because he had deserted their "Calvinistical Principles" by taking Anglican orders. Consequently, they wrote a strong petition in favor of Zubly,⁵⁷ but the Trustees would only agree that Zouberbühler should give him £10 per annum from his own salary, which was deemed unsatisfactory to both of the divines.⁵⁸ Zubly then preached in several parishes in South Carolina, during which time he married Tobler's daughter Anna.

In 1760 Zubly received a call to the Independent Presbyterian Church in Savannah, where he attracted the largest congregation in the colony. On the edge of the city he established a plantation, which he named St. Gall in honor of his native city. He also amassed a relatively large fortune and operated a ferry across the river in the area of Ebenezer. Having mastered the English language, Zubly entered politics and championed the Dissenters against the Anglicans, whose church had become the established church when the Trustees surrendered the colony to the crown. In defense of the Dissenters' rights, Zubly wrote a scathing rebuke to Samuel Frink, the rector of the Anglican church, titled *Letters to the Reverend Samuel Frink*.⁵⁹

Being a dissenter from the established church, Zubly also championed the rights of the colonies against the arbitrary rule of Parliament. This champion of the American cause was appointed to the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, where he impressed all the dignitaries and consorted with such men as Benjamin Rush and John Adams, the latter of whom called him a "warm and zealous spirit."⁶⁰ However, since Zubly refused to favor a complete break with Great Britain, he was accused of treason. Upon returning to Savannah, he found himself

exiled with half of his fortune confiscated; he was unable to return to his church and congregation until 1779, after the British had captured the city.

Zubly's fame was due to a series of sermons on freedom, which the more down-to-earth Habersham declared to be "mere Sophistry, and a jingle of Words without meaning, unless to puzzle and blind the Minds of the People, who are not capable of Judging the Subject."⁶¹ These pamphlet-sermons were "The Stamp Act Repealed," "An Humble Enquiry, Calm and Respectful Thoughts," and "The Law of Liberty."⁶² This last was written in 1775 and was no doubt a major reason that Zubly was sent to the Second Continental Congress of that year.

LIBRARIES

In praising Georgia, de Brahm claimed that within thirty years there were:

three fine Libraries in the City of Savannah; the fourth at Ebenezer, and a fifth 96 miles from the sea upon the Stream of Savannah. In these Libraries could be had books wrote in the Caldaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Siriac, Coptic, Malabar, Greek, Latin, French, German, Dutch, Spanish, besides the English, **vide**, in thirteen Languages.⁶³

The library at Ebenezer belonged to the Salzburgers, the one up the river was owned by Tobler. Concerning the latter, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Lutheran patriarch, who was not given to exaggeration, said:

Dr. Zubly has a fine collection of old and new books, the like of which I have seldom seen in America. The external appearance of his library and study is hardly inferior to that of the most famous in Europe.⁶⁴

Of the two remaining libraries in Savannah, one surely belonged to Zouberbühler, who had both the means and the need to collect books. In any case, it would appear that the majority of Georgia's libraries were German, even though, as de Brahm claimed, they contained volumes in Caldaic, Arabic, Siriac, Coptic, and Malabar.⁶⁵ The only luggage Prieber carried with him was a chest of books, and we may rest assured that they were profound and mostly in French.

While the extensive library at Ebenezer consisted primarily of theological works of

Pietist persuasion, it also included technical books such as a treatise on mill-building. As Tobler attested, the Ebenezer collection served as a lending library for all the Savannah valley, and Boltzius and his successors sent books as far as Charleston, Orangeburg, and Saxe Gotha.⁶⁶

LANGUAGE

Most of the Georgia intelligentsia had studied some Greek, and all them had learned much Latin, in which they wrote their dissertations.⁶⁷ Like many other Germans of his time, including Leibnitz and Frederick the Great, Prieber preferred French to German as the language of philosophy. It has been noted that Prieber, de Brahm, and Zubly impressed people with the many languages they spoke and that Prieber and de Brahm were the only intellectuals in Georgia to master an Indian language. To judge by the English written by most of the traders, we may be sure that, even if they had a functional use of the Indian languages, they had no understanding of their grammar and nuances. Because the German intellectuals could speak English, they were never referred to as "Dutch," except in the case of de Brahm among the Indians.⁶⁸

INTELLECTUAL CURIOSITY

All the Georgia intelligentsia thought creatively, and an author in the *South Carolina Gazette* did well in mentioning Prieber's "Flights full of Invention."⁶⁹ Boltzius constantly performed agricultural experiments and theorized wisely on the economics of a colonial economy. All of our subjects showed exceptional intellectual curiosity. They were not satisfied with just observing phenomena but wished to discover why they were the way they were. Bornemann could have had practical reasons for investigating the diseases afflicting his cattle and hogs, but it was intellectual curiosity that made him describe and theorize about the arrowheads and shards of Indian pottery he plowed up. We have seen that only the unbearable stench of a skunk prevented Bornemann from dissecting it to see how it produced its overwhelming excretion.

COLLEGIALITY

Because they read the same or similar books, often in foreign languages, intellectuals tend to be members of an international fraternity who appreciate a foreign **savant** more than a domestic businessman. This was certainly true of the Georgia intelligentsia; and their learned correspondence, much of it with European intellectuals, somewhat compensated for their life in what Randall M. Miller so rightly calls "the barren intellectual desert of Georgia."⁷⁰ It is understandable that, after years among the savages and the uncultivated traders, Prieber seemed to flourish when he received intellectual visitors like Oglethorpe in his cell at Frederica.

Except for a feud between Boltzius and de Brahm, Georgia's intelligentsia enjoyed cordial relations.⁷¹ Johann Tobler, who gave his daughter Anna to Joachim Zubly, was also an admirer of Boltzius. Of the two ministers then at Ebenezer, he wrote:

One of them, who is my esteemed friend, is named Martin Boltzius. He spares no pains to make the people there happy both in this world and in the next. There are, to be sure, people who claim that he meddles too much in secular matters, but who can please everybody?⁷²

Bornemann also praised Boltzius and gave him credit for Ebenezer's useful institutions such as the mills, silk filatures, and mulberry groves.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we see that the German-speaking inhabitants of Georgia were not all dirt farmers or indentured servants: some few were better educated, more scholarly, and more intellectually curious than the leaders of the English-speaking element; and it is regrettable that we do not know more about them.

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NOTES

Abbreviations

- CGHS** = *The Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.*
- CRG** - *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen D. Candler. Atlanta, 1904 ff.
- DR** = *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants...*, ed. George F. Jones. Athens, GA., 1968 ff.
- GHQ** = *Georgia Historical Quarterly*
- SCHM** = *South (Mrolina Historical Magazine*

¹Although the word **intelligentsia** first appeared in nineteenth-century Russia, it is the best word for describing a class of educated people with philosophical, literary, scientific, or artistic interests enjoyed for their own sake.

²Stephens' witty and informative journal was edited and published by E. Merton Coulter in his *The Journal of William Stephens, 1741-1745* (Athens, GA., 1958-59), and by Allen D. Candler as supplement to Vol. IV of his **CRG**. Some of Habersham's many letters are published in **CGHQ**, Vol. VI, and many of his and of Stephens' appear throughout the **CRG**. Habersham's views are well expressed by the disgust he felt that at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) his son Joseph had stuffed his head with "useless Criticisms on Phrases and Words in Latin and Greek (**CGHS**, VI, 67)".

³See Oglethorpe's learned preface to his *Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for Establishing Colonys in America*, ed. Rodney Baine and Phinizy Spaulding (Athens, GA., 1990), pp. 3-10. Oglethorpe had even composed a Latin panegyric as a youth (**GHQ**, 32 [1948], 29-31). He appears to have been quoting a Latin edition of Columella's *Scriptures rei rusticae* when he advised the Salzburgers to plant their wheat in such a way to enjoy "duos soles" (**DR**, 11:35). Richard C. Boys has shown that Oglethorpe was a close friend of Boswell and consorted freely with the Johnson circle in London ("General Oglethorpe and the Muses," **GHQ**, 31 [1927], 19-29).

⁴Oglethorpe owned a barony near New Windsor, but never resided there.

⁵Boltzius constantly complained that his secular duties were distracting him from his more important ministerial duties, yet he seems to show satisfaction with his secular accomplishments. During the Middle Ages and into the eighteenth century the church offered almost the only opportunity for poor boys to achieve an education, and many took orders in order to satisfy their intellectual rather than spiritual needs.

⁶Jethro Tull, *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry* (London 1733); Thomas Boreman, *Compendious Account of the Silk Worm* (London 1732); Leonhard Sturm, *Vollständige Mühlen Baukunst*—(Augsburg 1718).

⁷His journal and much of his correspondence were published, badly bowdlerized, by Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior of the Lutheran Ministry in Augsburg, in his *Ausführliche Nachrichten* (Halle, 1735 ff.). The journal has been, and is being, translated in the **DR**.

⁸Walter L. Robbins, "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina," **SCHM**, 71 (1970), 141-161.

⁹**CRG**, 24:434-444. He wrote a similar refutation to Urlsperger (*Ausführliche Nachrichten*, 3:30-46).

¹⁰For examples of notation, see **DR**, 5:310, **DR**, 11:150. For **Collegium Musicum**, see Hermann Winde, "Die Frühgeschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Georgia," unpublished dissertation, Martin-Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, 1960, p.159.

¹¹**DR**, 7:44.

¹²Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds.,

The Journals of Henry Melchior Mühlberg (Philadelphia 1942-48), Vol. II, p. 646.

¹³**DR**, 6:309.

¹⁴**DR**, 12:116

¹⁵**DR**, 7:44.

¹⁶**DR**, 14:192.

¹⁷Verner W. Crane, "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier," *Sewanee Review*, 27 (1919), 48-61; "Historical Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant...", **SCHM**, 10 (1909), pp. 58-61; Mellon Knox, Jr., "Christian Prieber's Cherokee Kingdom of Paradise," **GHQ**, 57 (1973), 319-331. See also Mellon Knox, Jr., "Christian Prieber and the Jesuit Myth," **SCGM**, 61 (1960), 75-81; Newton Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), pp. 239-240, 246-250; and Samuel Williams, *Early Travels in Tennessee* (Johnson City, TN., 1928), 149-160.

¹⁸*Usu Doctrinae Juris Romani de Ignorantia Juris in Foro Germaniae*, Erfurt 1722.

¹⁹**CRG**, 1:218.

²⁰Knox, "Chr. Prieber," p. 327. Mereness, p. 248 (see note 17).

²¹Bonnefoy called him Pierre Albert (Mereness, p. 247, see note 17).

²²**SCHM**, 10 (1919), p. 59.

²³Crane, p. 50 (see note 17).

²⁴Crane (p. 51) lists several enlightened French writers who were Prieber's spiritual kin (see note 17).

²⁵British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers,

Class 5, 655 II 171-171 v. Published in **GHQ**, 44 (1940), 100-101, and reproduced in **CR**, 36:129-131 (unpublished).

²⁶The following account is based mainly on Robbins (see note 8).

²⁷For a list of his properties, see Leo Scheiben, *Einführung in die Schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, Zurich, 1976, pp. 332-335.

²⁸*The Pennsylvania Town and Country-Man's Almanack*, published by Sower in Philadelphia.

²⁹There are nine clusters of almanac titles under Tobler's name in the bibliographical database **RLIN**.

³⁰This almanac, whose many-lined baroque tide begins *Alterund verbesserterSchreib-Calendar*, was published in St. Gall by Hans Jacob Hochreutiner. For the full title, see Robbins, p. 141 (see note 7).

³¹Mentioned by Boltzius, **DR**, 7:44.

³²**DR**, 12:5-6, also 32. This was Joachim Lange, *Evangelische Lehre der allgemeinen Gnade or de Gratia universali wider Electionem ex Absolute Decreto*.

³³For an excellent account of de Brahm, see Louis De Vorsey, Jr., ed., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*, Columbia, SC., 1967.

³⁴Historians are wrong in sometimes referring to Johann von Kalb as the "so-called baron" or the "self-styled baron." Friedrich von Porbeck, the Hessian commander in Savannah during the Revolution, was also a merit nobleman.

³⁵**CR**, 26:319.

³⁶**CR**, 27:103 (new ed by Kenneth Coleman, Athens GA., 1977).

³⁷Charles L. Mowat, "That 'Odd Being,' De Brahm", *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 20 (1942), p. 323.

³⁸An exception was Boltzius, with whom he appears to have had a feud so bad that George Whitefield was called upon to reconcile them (Alan Gallay, *The Formation of a Planter Elite*, Athens, GA., 1989, p. 40). Another exception was Raymond Demere, the commander at Ft. Loudon, with whom he clashed (De Vorsey, p. 20).

³⁹The tide **de**, being French, was not only more elegant but also more intelligible, since the British were familiar with it through ancient Norman names.

⁴⁰Both published in De Vorsey, pp. 3-114; 72-166.

⁴¹De Vorsey, pp. 115-131.

⁴²*Atlantic Pilot* (London 1772).

⁴³De Brahm's report on Georgia was published in 1849 in forty-eight copies by George Wymberley-Jones at Wormsloe (Savannah) with the title *History of Georgia*.

⁴⁴De Vorsey, p. 71. Phlogiston was the component of flammable materials released by combustion. Conjectured mostly by German scholars, this substance enjoyed almost universal credance until discredited by Lavoisier some two decades after de Brahm wrote this passage.

⁴⁵Typical of his style is the footnote in De Vorsey, p. 86. See also p. 143.

⁴⁶De Vorsey p. 141.

⁴⁷De Vorsey, p. 70.

⁴⁸The major source of information about Bornemann and his family is an unpublished journal of his journey from Göttingen to London, and then on to Savannah. The manuscript is in the possession of a descendant, Andrew Burney of Brooklet, Georgia, who has promised to donate it to the Library of Congress.

⁴⁹A xerox copy of this journal, together with a translation by Gertha Reinert, is stored at the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah.

⁵⁰These letters, housed in the Bürgerbibliothek in Bern, are forthcoming in the **GHQ**.

⁵¹**DR**, 10:107.

⁵²Boltzius rendered the name both as Zieblin and Züblin (**DR**, 4:60,213).

⁵³Boltzius complained that the wealthy David would not help his poor brothers Ambrosius and Johann Jacob (**DR**, 5:29, 6:174, 7:126).

⁵⁴Much of the following is indebted to Randall M. Miller, *A Warm and Zealous Spirit*, Macon, GA., 1982; see also Roger A. Martin, "Zubly comes to America." **GHQ**, 61 (1977), pp. 125-139; Lilla Hawes, ed. *The Journal of the Reverend John Joachim Zubly...*, Savannah, GA., 1989. Other works about Zubly are given in Miller (p. 7, see note 10) and Hawes (pp. 113-123).

⁵⁵E. Merton Coulter, ed., *The Journal of William Stephens 1743-1745*, Athens, GA., 1959, Vol. II, pp. 199-200. See also pp. 204, 214, 216, 222, 224, 237.

⁵⁶His father in Purysburg spelled his name Zoberbüller or Zoberbiller (**DR**, 4:61, 69).

⁵⁷**CR**, 23:483-485; Coulter, Vol. II, pp. 199-200 (see note 44).

⁵⁸**CR**, 25:95,125; **CR**, 31:52-55, 75,89 (new ed. by Kenneth Coleman, Athens, GA., 1986).

⁵⁹Published in Miller, pp. 83-94 (see note 54).

⁶⁰Cited from Miller, p. 21 (see note 54).

⁶¹CGHS, 6:185.

⁶²Published in Miller, pp. 31-51, 95-121 (see note 54).

⁶³De Vorsey, p. 144.

⁶⁴Tappert 2:596 (see note 12).

⁶⁵The "Malabar" books may have been suggested by the East Indian reports sent back to Halle by the Lutheran ministers in Malabar, copies of which were found in the Ebenezer library (*Der königlichen Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte*, Halle 1735 ff.

⁶⁶**DR**, 12:6.

⁶⁷Of our subjects, we know the tides of the dissertation of Prieber (see note 18) and Zubly, who wrote an *Exerdatio Theologica deNubis Virginis* (Charleston, SC., 1775).

⁶⁸De Brahm relates that the Cherokees called him Shaeegunsta Dutchee (Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country 1540-1800*. Johnson City, TN., 1928, p. 193).

⁶⁹Crane, p. 48 (see note 17).

⁷⁰Miller, p. 9 (see note 54).

⁷¹It is noticeable that Boltzius is the only one of de Brahm's acquaintances that did not lavish praise upon him. Gallay (*The Formation of a Planter Elite*, Athens, GA., 1989, p. 40), says that they feuded and that George Whitefield was asked to try to reconcile them.

⁷²Robbins, p. 148 (see note 8).