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The Salzburgers and Their Descendants

The Story of the Last Great
Catholic Persecution and the
Martyrs Who Sought Refuge in America

A Thesis Presented to the
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Bachelor of Divinity
by
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Concordia Seminary
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Approved by:

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"Speak, History! who are life's victors?
Unroll thy long annals and say,
Are they those whom the world called the
victors -- who won the success of a day?
The Martyrs, or Nero? The Spartans
who fell at Thermopylae's tryst?
Or the Persians and Xerxes? His judges
or Socrates? Pilate or Christ?"

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Dedication

To the ministry of the Lutheran Church in America, this thesis is respectfully inscribed; with the fervent prayer, that by carefully studying the history of the Salzburgers, and especially the unfeigned devotion and ardent zeal of the first preachers of the Lutheran Church in America, they and their successors may be stimulated to aim at a more elevated standard of piety, and consecrate themselves anew to His service, who hath redeemed us with His blood, and honored us by appointing us His ambassadors, to reconcile the world unto Himself.

Chapter I

The Persecution in Salzburg

"Swish! Swish!" the scythe rang, as it went through the luxuriant, bedewed grass. Martin Hedrich, a farm hand from Grossau, was wielding it. His powerful legs were taut, his wide shirt sleeves flapped in the wind, his muscular body swung rythmically from right to left.

With admiration, Gretchen Kattesch contemplated him while she scattered the broad, straight swaths of hay with her pitchfork. She could hardly keep pace with his mowing. The magnificent man before her, the clear blue sky, and the warm sunshine filled her heart with joy. When she sang, however, it was a plaintive folk song of a little orphan girl.

As Martin stood his scythe on end and wiped the blade with grass, preparatory to whetting it, he laughed cheerfully, almost mockingly.

"The hay is coming fine; the grain is beautiful; you are young and healthy; everything is well! Why must you sing such a sad song, Gretchen?"

"Well," she said, "am I not an orphan, too, in my father's house?"

"I know, I know. Your mother died of the plague seventeen years ago. But you must have forgotten that by this time."

"No, I haven't. Every day I am reminded of it. We have a large household and much ground. My father is sick. Everything depends on me. How gladly I would sometimes have a man in the family, one who would take the burden and work!"

Silently Martin continued his mowing. Having a desire to continue the conversation, Gretchen called him to the noonday meal.

Seated on a heap of hay, they ate their humble food. With pride she watched him, glancing at him shyly as he ate his bread and bacon.

"I don't suppose you have heard as yet," he remarked casually, "that I gave my promise to Johanna Gregor last Sunday."

The startled girl could only stare at him. "To that awkward person? You, the handsomest man in the village? Were there no others of wealth?" she demanded in one breath when she finally recovered.

"Men are few; girls are many," he answered with a complacent smile. "One like me can take whom he pleases. I am weary of this poverty! So I went to her. She has one hundred and thirty acres of land. Few have so much — you,

for instance, have only sixty."

"That's true," she sighed, then remained silent.

Their repast completed, she arose abruptly.

"Finish this mowing here," she directed; "then spread the hay yourself. I must drive home now."

Silently she hitched her small, thin horse and without a word of farewell departed.

Within her heart cold fury raged. Not against Martin -- Martin was acting prudently -- but against the depressing times, the sickness, and the wars from which the young men never returned. Within the village were sixteen eligible maidens and only seven young men to claim them! In other villages it was the same. Was she to remain unwed -- to grow in years and become an old scarecrow? Savagely she struck out at the weak animal which already was straining.

Suddenly sounds of laughter, shouting and music were brought to her ears. Some gypsies had made their camps adjoining the road. Further on, past the vineyards, a whole train of them with horses and wagons approached her. "The whole world must be filled with these tramps today," she thought, and spitefully refusing to alter her course, she drove in among them.

Presently her horse stopped. Laughing men and women, and beggar-children crowded about her.

"Make way!" she demanded haughtily as she drove on her horse.

A strong gypsy suddenly grasped the bridle of her horse. Gretchen let loose upon the nearer gypsies with her horse-whip, but they crowded closer, seized her hand and attempted to pull her from the wagon. Gretchen screamed with fear. With all her strength she fought them off. When she was almost exhausted, the dirty hands of the gypsies were suddenly withdrawn.

"Get back, you miserable wretches!" a strange voice commanded. It was accompanied by the dull thuds of blows on the heads of her attackers.

Gretchen looked up. A tall, well-built man was standing before her. He wore knickerbockers, white stockings and low shoes -- a strange costume indeed.

When the gypsies had gone, the man told her, briefly, and in a peculiar German dialect, that he was a religious exile, that he was on his way to Hermannstadt to meet other exiles, and that his name was Jacob Eckenreiter. From his manner Gretchen discerned that he was an honest, unassuming peasant. Without hesitation she invited him to a seat beside her on the wagon, as her father would wish to meet her rescuer.

The man consented, intimating that he might find work there.

"Goodness knows, we need strong men," Gretchen encouraged.

When Gretchen's father heard of her adventure, he both laughed and cursed. He thanked Jacob and invited him to

remain for the night.

After supper Jacob told his story. His was a picture of stark tragedy. The Protestant faith in Austria was being violently suppressed. His people in Salzburg had remained true to their Lutheran faith. In private homes and in forests they conducted their humble worship. But the authorities pursued them relentlessly. They were captured and imprisoned. When certain German Protestant States interceded for them, they were permitted to emigrate. But this brought more misery! They were compelled by this "cruel mercy" to sacrifice their possessions for a small part of their real value. Finally word came that no children were to leave. This naturally caused many heartbreaks. They could not give up their faith -- so they parted from their dearest ones -- hoping to be able to have them again later, when by the will of God times would change.

Some of them after much suffering had arrived in Transylvania among people of their own faith.

"Where are the other emigrants?" Gretchen asked, when he had finished.

"Many thousands have traveled to Germany. Many have established themselves here in Transylvania, some in Kronstadt, in Neppendorf, and in Grosspold. Others have even emigrated to the new world "America," and have established a colony called Georgia."

"Then perhaps some more will come here too!" exclaimed

old Kattesch. "Tomorrow we will discuss the matter with the magistrate."

"And Jacob can live with us," Gretchen added quickly -- "as a helper," she modified, glancing at him to determine whether he had been offended.

"For the present, as a helper," her father corrected, meaningly. Jacob agreed heartily.

Several days later a great crowd of the Salzburg emigrants, men and women, arrived at Grossau. And young men-- a great many of them! -- New life! They were honest, pious people -- energetic, progressive tillers of the soil. Wherever they settled, the place blossomed forth into new life. The Salzburgers proved a great blessing to Transylvania.

A year later Gretchen and Jacob were married."¹

So began the dispersion and assimilation of the martyrs of Salzburg -- the faithful, pious peasants who were the victims of the last great Catholic persecution. Their story is strange as fiction, dramatic as a news story, inspiring as the trials and triumphs of the apostles themselves. The history of their persecutions, their expulsion from home, their wanderings through Germany, their coming to America, is one of the most romantic and inspiring chapters in church history.² Their story touched the heart of Europe at the

1. Foisel, John, Saxons Through Seventeen Centuries (Cleveland, 1936), p.201 f.

2. Jacobs, H. E., A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States (New York, 1897), p. 150.

time of its happening, and it has furnished pathetic and tragic material for historians and poets since, who have vied with each other in describing the journey of their exile "under God's free sky, as they move along over the roads which His good angels have thrown up for them."³

Christ prophesied that His disciples would be persecuted like Himself, and among the thousands who have lost life or home for His sake, the martyrs of Salzburg are outstanding. However, with the philosophy of expediency so rampant in our world today, it might be well to establish the significance and importance of this study of the historic account of the Salzburgers for us in the tolerant and enlightened Twentieth Century.

We still hear sermons and lectures today in which we are told that we should be willing to offer up our lives for the Truth, that we should always be ready to shed our blood for our faith, etc. But the trouble is that no one believes such a thing to be any longer possible; so such speeches leave us morally listless and unaffected, because we can sit back complacently in the certainty that nothing of the sort is likely to be seriously demanded of us.

So far as we can judge, the time is gone when a man can be called to atone for his faith by the sacrifice of his life. For that we bless God and give honor to the

3. Wolf, E. J., The Lutherans in America (New York, 1889), p. 188.

power of a toleration which has stopped the bloody streams which once flowed so freely on account of religious beliefs. But the saying of our Lord still possesses high significance: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; but whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it." Life is not only the span of time through which we pass in this world. It is not merely the naked existence which ceases with the last breath. But rather we may think of it as a thousand gentle and yet strong threads which bind us to our earthly existence. The more the sum of life's enjoyment increases among men the tougher those bonds usually become, and the cutting of a single thread here and there causes the loss of only a portion of life. Prosperity, convenience, personal relationships, honor and respect, effect us only when one or the other bond is loosed.⁴

Even though we are no longer called upon to ascend the scaffold, or to offer our neck to the axe for the sake of the Gospel, still there are times today when the smallest demands of consecrated Christian living may find us unwilling or unable to sever the slightest thread that binds us to our human existence. But in order that our obligation to God and His Church on earth may be ever before us, and we be left without excuse, history has preserved for us the sanguinary and sorrowful records of martyrdom.

4. Hagenback, K. R., History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries Vol. 1 (New York, 1869), p. 46.

When we read of humble peasants who suffered death for the Truth's sake -- who gave up the conveniences and securities and comforts of life -- who left house and home -- who broke the dearest bonds of friendship in order to serve God according to the dictates of their conscience, we in a world in the travail of revolution must ask ourselves whether, under similar circumstances, we could follow their example.

There, if the study of an historical subject must needs be justified, ^{is} the apologia for this research on "The Salzburger^s and Their Descendants."

The province of Salzburg, in Austria, lies directly east of Bavaria, just north of the Tyrolese Alps.⁵

At the time of the birth of Christ the territory now known as the Province of Salzburg was inhabited by the Norici, a Gallic tribe. During the reign of Augustus it was annexed to the Roman Empire by the campaigns of Claudius Drusus and became known as "Noricum mediterraneum," or "Nordgau," the site of the present city of Salzburg being called "Govanodunum." Under Hadrian a garrison was stationed near the river Igunta, now Salzach, and since they were often called upon to protect the colonists from raiders, the fort which was their headquarters was called "Juvavium;" in German, "Helffenburg;" in English, "City of Help." The Christian religion was introduced from Rome by the early settlers and soldiers, and in

5. Fink, W. J., Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America (Philadelphia, 1913), p. 121.

the beginning of the fifth century Emperor Severinus gave orders that the heathen inhabitants be converted to Christianity.⁶

From the end of the fifth century till the year 577 the land was laid waste and the capital city destroyed by successive waves of Huns, Heruli,⁷ and Goths; Attila leading the Huns, Odoacer the first barbarian ruler of Italy (476-493), and Vidomer, King of the Ostrogoths, who murdered the Roman provincial governor, burned and utterly destroyed the city, and martyred all those who confessed the Christian faith.⁸

In the sixth century the Bavarian dukes took over the land under the leadership of Theodore, and although they were pagan at first, through the work of Rupertus, the Bishop of Worms (known as the Apostle to the Bavarians), and Theodore's marriage to Childeberti, the daughter of the King of France, Christianity was re-introduced to the land and churches built at Alt-Oettingen and Regensburg and Attergau.⁹

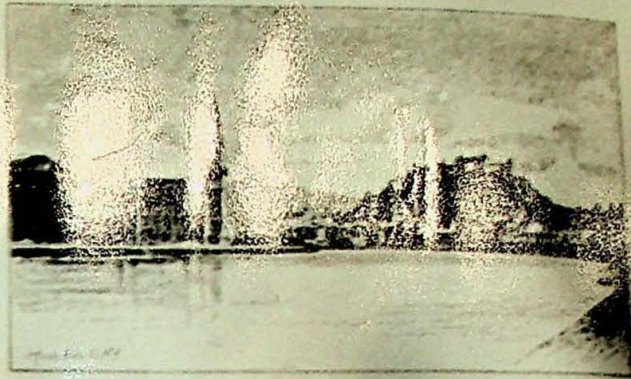
In the year 582 Rupertus built the cloister and church of St. Peter on the ruins of the old city of Juvavium, and as reward for his labor and industry, was appointed bishop by Theodo, the duke of Bavaria, and given land amounting to what is now almost the entire northern section of the province of

6. Goecking, G. G., Vollkommene Emigrations-Geschichte von denen aus dem Erz-Bisstum Salzburg vertriebenen und grosstentheils nach Preussen gegangenen Lutheranern (Franckfurt and Leipzig, 1734) p. 3 f.

7. Thompson, J., and Johnson, E., An Introduction to Medieval Europe (New York, 1937), p. 87.

8. Goecking, op. cit., p. 4.

9. Goecking, op. cit., p. 5.



The Lutheran Church in Norway

"Make way!" she demanded haughtily as she drove on her horse.
A strong gypsy suddenly grasped the bridle of her horse. Gretchen
let loose upon the nearer gypsies with her horse-whip, but they crowded



THE PROTESTANT FAITH WAS VIOLENTLY SUPPRESSED

... seized her hand and attempted to pull her from the
Gretchen screamed with fear. With all her strength she
When she was almost exhausted, the dirty hand

Salzburg. Slowly he built his new city on the ashes of the old and called it, after the salt springs ("Saltz-Brunnen") and the mountain ("Berge"), "Salzburg."¹⁰

The province itself, in the year 1730, measured about eighteen German miles from north to south and from east to west, and was famous for the fertility of its land and the abundance of fish and game. (cf. map for streams, lakes, and principal cities.)

The city of Salzburg, the chief city of the province and the see of the Archbishop, lies on the Salza^{ch} River. According to accounts of the period, the residence of the Archbishop, the summer palace of Duke Mirabell and the community tavern were the most notable buildings of the town. Besides the Cathedral of St. Ruprecht, Salzburg boasted 21 smaller churches and chapels, and a university, founded in 1623 by Archbishop Paris.¹¹

From the year 582 to 1733 Salzburg had ten bishops and sixty archbishops of practically every character and calibre imaginable from the above-mentioned Rupertus to Leopoldus Antonius, the archbishop of the persecution of 1730. The attitude of these nominal representatives of the church of Rome toward Lutheranism ranged from open friendliness to violent hostility. But persecuted or befriended the cause of the true Gospel advanced steadily. Under a mild government

10. Goeking, op. cit., p. 7.

11. Goeking, op. cit., p. 16 f.

it progressed quietly, while under a severer one it was stirred to a vital and mighty, though passive, resistance.

Already in the year 1420 Archbishop Eberhard III had to take steps against the Hussite heresy, which was gaining favor in his territory.¹²

Archbishop Matthew Lang, in 1520, admitted the books of Luther, called Paul Speratus, the exile of Wuerzberg, to be his cathedral preacher, and let Urbanus Rhegius and Wolfgang Russ propogate the Lutheran doctrine in his diocese. John Staupitz, the noble friend of Luther, ended his days in the quiet of a Salzburg monastery and did much to introduce the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism to the valleys and cottages of the region.¹³ However Lang was eventually bribed by Rome to exile Speratus and Stephen Agricola, and before his death in 1540 he beheaded the two peasants who had befriended the Lutheran preachers George Schaerer and Simon Scheichen in 1528 and 1530.¹⁴

Under Archbishop Wolfgang Dieterich von Raitenau (1587-1612) the Lutherans were severely persecuted, robbed of their land, and driven out of the country. But through the interference of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, Dieterich was restrained and spent the last five years of his life in prison.¹⁵

Archbishop Marcus Sittich, in 1614, confiscated the

12. Goecking, op. cit., p. 29.

13. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 47.

14. Dallmann, W., "The Martyrs of Salzburg," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, VI (1934), 97 f.

15. Goecking, op. cit., p. 34.

property of the Lutherans in the province, drove about 2,800 of them out of the land, forced those who stayed to recant at the point of the sword. The refugees hid in the mountains of Dauphine in France, the Swiss Alps, and the Tyrol,¹⁶ and often filtered back into the mountains in the southern part of the province. But the fire of their faith could not be quenched. They hid their Bibles, hymnals, and books of devotion in the attic, in the cellar, in hay and straw, in holes in the ground, read them in secret at the risk of their lives, and taught the catechism to their children.¹⁷ Sittich employed the same means against the Lutheran Salzburgers that were used in the south of France to convert the Huguenots. At first he sent out two Capuchin monks, Michael Angelus and Jacob von Augusta, to preach repentance to the people, and upon their heels the dragoons, in case some of the "burghers" or "bauers" would need a little forcible persuasion.¹⁸

Emigration of individual families began in the early part of the seventeenth century, when about 600 managed to get out of the country. However, many Lutherans were forcibly driven back to their homes, and at the same time into the bosom of the Catholic Church.¹⁹ These faithful people, however poor or persecuted, always tried to bring the true Gospel to others and won hundreds by their instruction and purity of life. One

16. Strobel, P. A., The Salzburgers and Their Descendants (Baltimore, 1855) p. 4.

17. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 98.

18. Goecking, op. cit., p. 91.

19. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 48.

of their ministers, Anthony Brassus, was decapitated, and his head nailed to his pulpit. Many of those who dared to confess their faith were whipped to death, and any minister who ventured to serve them was executed. Laymen were blown up with gunpowder, burned in their homes, and the Lutheran Church all but exterminated. Those who survived settled in the secluded valleys of the Windish-Matrey district near the town of Tefferegg, or Teffereck, near the extreme southern border of the province.²⁰

All through the period of the Thirty Years' War the Salzburger Lutherans enjoyed peace by calmly submitting to all external regulations. The authorities knew little of the private influences that were growing, the worship in cellars and mountain-fastnesses, the careful evangelical training the children were receiving, the Bibles and devotional books that were in circulation.²¹

It wasn't until 1683 that a thoroughly Lutheran congregation was discovered in the Tefferegger-Thal. It had existed for almost fifty years undetected and unmolested. In the depths and darkness of the ravines of the Tyrolese Alps true faith had found a safe retreat. Although the people had no minister, they met at night in the forests or mines for mutual edification, singing and prayer. They read the Scriptures, Luther's and Spangenberg's sermons, the Augsburg Confession,

20. Strobel, op. cit., p. 5.

21. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 151.

the Small Catechism, and many other evangelical writings. They occasionally attended the Catholic church in town to partake of the Lord's Supper, but they were regarded with suspicion by the public authorities and called "Secret Lutherans" by the local priests.²²

During the early part of the regime (1668-1687) of Archbishop Maximilian Gondolph, a Jesuit priest was appointed to the church in Teffereck to keep an eye on the Lutherans in the valleys. True to the general character of his order in those days he was haughty, violent and intolerant, and the people attended church less and less and often arose and left when the pure Christian doctrines were blasphemed.²³

Toward the end of 1684 the Archbishop Maximilian Gondolph issued an edict, driving out of the country, in midwinter,²⁴ all Protestants refusing to be converted, and requiring all fathers and mothers to leave behind them all children under fourteen years of age, that they might be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion.²⁵ About 1,000 men and women were exiled in the severest weather and over 600 children were torn from their parents.²⁶ The exiles met a kind reception in Swabia and Central Germany, especially in the free cities of Nuremberg and Frankfort,²⁷ but the indignation which was

22. Goecking, op. cit., p. 96 f.

23. Strobel, op. cit. p. 5.

24. Goecking, op. cit., p. 36.

25. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 48.

26. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 98.

27. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 48.

generally aroused throughout Europe at this direct violation of the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia²⁸ was answered by the claim that the Salzburgers were neither Lutheran nor Reformed, and therefore could not claim its protection.²⁹

But again, despite the intense and heartless persecutions to which the Salzburg Lutherans were constantly exposed, they remained firm in their faith and bold in their confession. The gay labor songs of former times now gave place to the earnest and devout hymns of Luther. The light of their faith illumined the depths of the Tyrolese mines with the same light with which the son of the Saxon miner had illumined the darkness of the church a century before. Their homes became arsenals of evangelical freedom, and the peculiar jurisdiction of the mining region protected the new believers from priestly inquisition. The German Bible and Luther's writings found their way from the darkness of the mine-pits to the hands of the nobility and the burghers. To keep these holy books from the inquisitive eyes of dragoons and priests, their owners hid them in cellar-vaults and in secret closets in the walls. So it happened that in breaking through a wall in the Castle of Auger, near Klausen, in 1830, all sorts of Lutheran books of the time of the Archduke Ferdinand were discovered.³⁰

In 1865 the miners in the vicinity of Hallein made open

28. Gohdes, C. B., "The Story of the Salzburg Faith" Lutheran Standard, (April 7, 1934), p. 5 f.

29. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 151.

30. Weber, B., Tyrol und die Reformation (Innsbruck, 1841) p. 48.

confession of their evangelical faith under the leadership of one of their own number, Joseph Schaitberger, a poor miner with no education. Archbishop Gandolph immediately cited them to court at Hallein, and on their confession of Luther's doctrines put them in prison and chains without any further trial. After three days' confinement and punishment in Hallein, they were taken to Salzburg for a higher trial, questioned, imprisoned for fifty days and beaten at regular intervals. During their captivity they were visited by two old Capuchin monks who were sent by the Archbishop to convert them, but who were astounded and confounded by the prisoners' apt quotations from Scripture. When all reasonable attempts to get the miners to recant their faith failed, they were tortured and threatened, but all to no avail.³¹

When the archbishop finally asked for a written statement of their doctrines, so he could pass judgement, a formal confession was drawn up by the faithful Joseph Schaitberger. Although the entire document is contained in Goecking's comprehensive account of the Salzburgers, just a few lines should suffice here to give the general gist and tone of this historic document. It begins thus:

"Most noble Prince, our most gracious Lord: Those are truly strong and terrible words, which our Lord Jesus Christ Himself has spoken to hypocritical Christians, who deny their faith before the world, when He says: 'He that is ashamed of Me and denies Me before men, of

31. Strobel, op. cit., p. 6 f.

him will I be ashamed, and will deny him before My Father and the holy angels.' Luke IX, Matt. X. These words, may it please your princely grace, move us not to deny our faith before men, lest we should prove to be hypocrites in the sight of God and of men, which God prevent.*

The confession goes on to say that the prisoners have always been dutiful and loyal subjects of the government, rendering to both Caesar and God their dues, but obeying God rather than man in spiritual matters. Archbishop Gandolf questioned them chiefly on the worship of saints and the Lord's Supper, and their replies to his questions indicate clearly that they held the doctrine of justification by faith alone through the merits of Jesus Christ.³²

The result of Schaitberger's confession was an immediate and universal persecution of all those even suspected of adhering to the Lutheran faith. They were refused employment throughout the province, their property confiscated, their books siezed and burned, and the men put to hard labor on bread and water. Although recantation promised full restoration of all personal and property rights, very few gave in to the inquisitorial demands of the priests that they renounce Lutheranism as a "new and damnable heresy."^{33 34}

More than a thousand of them preferred banishment to the denial of their faith. In the dead of winter they fled with their wives and children, but about 600 of their children were taken from them under pretence of giving them

32. Goecking, op. cit., p. 98 f.

33. Goecking, op. cit., p. 103.

34. Strobel, op. cit., p. 7.

their possessions...



THE PROTESTANTS EMIGRATED

that no child were to leave. This naturally caused many heart-breaks. They did not give up their faith, so they parted from their families to be able to meet them again later, when by the

It was the first wedding of Salzburger and Saxons. The last has not been recorded. The two peoples were gradually fused into one. The new settlers learned to speak Saxon. They were voted into Church and public offices. Gradually they became a part of the land; they felt themselves at home again.



KISSING THE SOIL OF THE NEW HOME LAND

religious instruction.³⁵ Many of the exiles found homes in Swabia and Franconia, in Augsburg, Ulm, Nuernberg, Hohenloischen, Wuerttembergischen and other cities.³⁶ Schaitberger left his wife and two daughters, who were educated to regard him as a heretic, and earned his living in Nuernberg by wood-chopping and wire-pulling.³⁷ As Paul from prison, the noble and courageous Schaitberger sent circular letters, "Send-schreiben," to those who had remained in Salzburg. (These letters, printed and bound together, still function among Evangelical Austrians as devotional literature.³⁸) Three times this "patriarch of the exiles" risked his life to visit and keep alive the embers of the menaced evangelical faith. His activity and the example he set of heroic devotion to truth and duty, more perhaps than any other single factor, served to keep his contemporary fellow-believers true and to inspire the coming generation of exiles to fortitude and endurance.

On February 12, 1685, Friedrich Wilhelm, the Elector of Brandenburg, wrote to the Archbishop of Salzburg, protesting against the persecutions and reminding Gandolph that they were in direct violation of the Treaty of Westphalia. In June of the same year the Corpus Evangelicorum, "Evangelical Representatives," at Regensburg protested and forced

35. Strobel, op. cit. p. 7.

36. Goecking, op. cit., p. 106.

37. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 49.

38. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 14, 1934) p. 8.

the Catholic authorities in Salzburg to restore to the Protestants their children and their property rights.³⁹ (The Corpus Evangelicorum, the Evangelical group in the German parliament, was set up to safeguard the Protestant interests in the courts, whereas the Corpus Catholicorum, or Catholic group, functioned in the interest of the papal element in the realm.⁴⁰) However, when the naively optimistic Teffereckers returned to their once happy valley, they were reviled and beaten, their books taken away and their leaders thrown in prison. Every family was fined 54 florins, stripped of their possessions, wives and children separated and several hundred again banned from the country. They were refused shelter, employment and charity within the borders of Salzburg, and many on reaching a Protestant state died of exhaustion.⁴¹

Through all these severe trials the Salzburg martyrs held fast to their one never-failing source of strength and hope, the Word of God. They held their devotions whenever and wherever possible and sang the hymns which were especially adapted to their sad lot.

Schaitberger himself wrote a marching song that voiced the Salzburg woe and the Salzburg faith as no melody not native to Salzburg blood and history could have done. Written in the homely dialect of the Teffereck district, it was all the better calculated for that reason to strengthen the waning

39. Goeking, op. cit., p. 104 f.

40. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 21, 1934) p. 4.

41. Strobel, op. cit., p. 11.

morale of his own and of coming generations, when, bereft by fanaticism of their entrancing homeland with its clinging memories, the homeless exiles should seek a place on foreign soil where to lay their heads.⁴² Goecking gives fourteen stanzas of the "Exulantenlied" in the original dialect, and of the English translations (Jacobs, Hagenbach, Reynolds) that rendered by Dr. Reynolds, formerly of Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, comes closest to the original text.

1.

I bin ein armer Exulant,
Aso thu i mi schreiba:
Ma thuet ni aus dem Vaterland
Um Gottes Wort vertreiba.

2.

Dass wass i wol, Herr Jesu Christ,
Es ist dir ah so ganga:
Jetzt will i dein Nachfolger seyn,
Herr! machs nach deinem Verlanga.

3.

Ei Pilgram bin i halt numehr,
Mutz rasa fremde Strasa,
Das bitt i di, mein Gott und Herr,
Du wirst mi nit verlosa.

4.

A steh mi bey, du treuer Gott,
I thu mi di ergeba:
Verloss mi nit in dieser Noth,
Wanns kasta solt mein Leba.

5.

Den Globa hob i frey bekennt,
Des dorf i mi nit schaema,
Wen mo mi glei ein Ketzler nennt,
Un thut mirs Leba nehma.

42. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 14, 1934) p. 8.

6.

Ketta un Banda mi mein Ehr,
Um Jesu willa zu dulda,
Un dieses mocht die Glaubens-Lehr,
Un nit mein baes Verschulda.

7.

Wann mi der Satan und die Welt
All mein Vermoega rauba,
Bin i do reich, wanna Herz behaelt
Gott un den rechta Globa.

8.

Gott, wie du wilt, i gil midrein,
Bey di will i verbleiba:
I will mi gern dem Willa dein
Geduldig unterschreiba.

9.

Mutz i glei in das Elend fort,
Will i mi do nit wehra,
So hoff i do, Gott wird mi dort
Och gute Freund beschera.

10.

Muss i glei fort, in Gottes Nam,
Und wird mir alls genomna,
So wass i wal die Himmels Cron
Wer i onmahl bekomma.

11.

So muess i heut von meinem Haus,
Die Kinderl muss i losa,
Mein Gott, es treib mir Zaehrel aus
Zu wandern fremde Strosa.

12.

Mein Gott, fuehr mi in eine Stodt,
Wo i dein Wort kan hoba,
Darin will i mi frueh un spot
In meinen Hertzeln loba.

13.

Soll i in diesem Jommerthol
Noch laenger in Armuth leba,
So hoff i do, Gott wird mi dort
Ein bessre Wohnung geba.

14.

Der dieses Liedel hot gemocht,
Der wird hid nit genennet:
Des Pabstes Lehr hat er verocht,
Und Christum frey bekennet.⁴³

In English:

1.

I am a wretched exile here --
Thus must my name be given --
From native land, and all that's dear,
For God's Word, I am driven.

2.

Full well I know, Lord Jesus Christ,
Thy treatment was no better:
Thy follower I now will be,
To do Thy will I'm debtor.

3.

Henceforth a pilgrim I must be,
In foreign climes must wander;
O Lord! my prayer ascends to Thee,
That Thou my path will ponder.

4.

O faithful God! be Thou my Stay;
I give me to Thy keeping;
Forsake me not in this my day,
Nor when in death I'm sleeping.

5.

Thy faith I freely have confessed:
Dare I deny it? Never!
Not though they call me "heretic,"
And soul and body sever.

43. Goecking, op. cit., p. 612 f.

6.

My ornament, the galling chain;
For Jesus' sake I wear it,
And scarcely feel its weight or pain,
While in His faith I bear it.

7.

Though Satan and the world conspire
To seize each earthly treasure,
If in my heart true faith but dwell,
I'm rich beyond all measure.

8.

Thy will, O God! be done! May I
Still cheerfully obey Thee!
And may Thy arm of power and love
Encompass still, and stay me!

9.

Though I go forth to poverty,
For Christ's sake, I am going,
And see in heaven, reserved for me,
A crown with glory glowing.

10.

Forth from my home I now must go:
My children! Must I leave them?
O God! My tears in anguish flow --
Shall I no more receive them?

11.

My God, conduct me to a place,
Though in some distant nation,
Where I may have Thy glorious Word,
And learn Thy great salvation.

12.

And though in this dark vale of tears
I yet awhile must tarry,
I know that Thou to heaven at length,
My ransomed soul will carry! ⁴⁴

44. Strobels, op. cit.,

Dr. C. B. Gohdes has this to say about this great "Song of the Exiles." "Simple poetry that? It is, But the faith that burns in it defied hell and conquered heaven."⁴⁵

Violent persecution of the Salzburg Lutherans was temporarily halted by the death of Archbishop ⁴Dandolph in 1687.⁴⁶ Under the mild rule of the Archbishops John Ernst and Franciscus Antonius the poor people enjoyed forty years of comparative quiet. By conforming to the outward regulations of the Roman Church, the Protestants remained more or less unmolested and even gained in number.⁴⁷ Deep in the mountain fastnesses at the conjunction of the Norric and Rhetian Alps, south of the broad valley of the Salza^{ch} River, the patient peasants faithfully served their Lord and prayed that the hand of persecution might pass them by.

In bales of merchandise Evangelical books were smuggled into the province over secret mountain paths. Once in a while someone would elude the guards and make his way into the nearest Evangelical country in order to refresh his soul at the Table of the Lord. On isolated farmsteads the faithful gathered to discuss the things that belong to the place of the soul.

But the spies of the archbishops were many. The friars had a keen scent, and the smell of pork roasting in the oven on a Friday meant scourging and prison! The very ability to

45. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 14, 1934) p. 8.

46. Goecking, op. cit., p. 36, 109.

47. Goecking, op. cit., p. 128.

read was a mark of suspicion, for it usually indicated the presence of vernacular Bibles or books of devotion. The premonitory symptoms were there. The storm was due to break.⁴⁸

Leopoldus Antonius Eleutherius von Firmian, "by the grace of God Archbishop of Salzburg and prince of the Holy Roman Empire, perpetual legate of the See of Rome, primate of Germany, descended of the illustrious family of the Barons of Firmian,"⁴⁹ though near his grave, was elected as a dark horse to the Archiepiscopal throne of Salzburg on October 3, 1727.⁵⁰ German by name but a native of the Italian part of the Tyrol, Anton was really half Italian by blood. Educated by the Jesuits at the Collegium Germanum in Rome⁵¹ he possessed considerable learning and showed himself good-natured toward everyone -- except his Lutheran subjects. An interesting picture of this Archbishop of the Persecution is quoted by Dallmann from Baron von Paellnitz, who visited Salzburg in the beginning of April, 1730.⁵² He "found the smug little clerical kingdom in'not disagreeable, though rather mountainous, surroundings.' Poellnitz found the Right Reverend Father in God a rather sour and surly old fellow, but he waxes enthusiastic over the wonderful treasures packed in the 173 luxurious rooms of the splendid palace, and over the stables, far excelling those of Versailles and holding 150 horses in

48. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 14, 1934) p. 8.

49. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 98.

50. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 49.

51. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 100.

52. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 99.

two rows, and over a wonderful open-air riding house, 'lined by very high rocks, in which three rows of seats are very artfully cut for the spectators when there is any carousal or combat of wild beasts.' He describes the archbishop's most princely household with its grand cupbearer, grand steward, grand huntsman, grand marshal, grand chancellor, down through multitudinous gentleman servants, pages, ushers, valets, to the 28 footmen and the 18 cooks."

As a consistent Roman Catholic Anton felt constrained to take some definite action against the Evangelicals, and this compulsion, combined with his greed, fondness for drink, and inordinate devotion to pleasure and sport, made him a latter Herod in the viciousness and thoroughness of his persecutions. His life of luxury had hardened his heart, chronic drunkenness had clouded his mind, and the chase had made him reckless, a second Nimrod.

Hearing one day, when in his cups, new tales of Protestant growth in his dominions, he swore that he would "drive the heretics out of the land, even if their fields overgrew with thorns and thistles."⁵³ He kept his oath -- and his country lost vast numbers of intelligent, frugal, progressive people.

Anton and his chancellor, Hieronymus Christian von Raell, also an Italian Tyrolese, at first used very mild means in their resolve to restore the unity of faith in Salzburg. Jesuit priests were summoned from Austria to present Catholicism in its most beautiful form, and by every

53, Goecking, op. cit., p. 130.

theatrical art to try to attract the erring Evangelicals back to the right path. Those who confessed Lutheran doctrines were to be ferreted out and brought as peaceably as possible back into the Roman fold.⁵⁴

But, almost imperceptibly, cunning passed over into violence. Bibles and devotional books were taken from the Protestants, and in their place were put by force the rosary and the scapulary. Those who objected were treated as rebels.⁵⁵ Lutherans were fined two florins for every absence from the Catholic service without excuse, ten to forty florins for eating meat on Fridays. Prisoners were stripped to their shirts and pricked with ox-goads, so that you could hear their cries in the street. They were beaten "brown and blue" and jammed into prisons, "lying crosswise for want of room".⁵⁶ Hans Lerchener, of Obermais, in the jurisdiction of Radstadt, and Veit Breme of Unterschwabock, in the jurisdiction of Werfen, were put in irons because they would neither deliver up their Bibles nor abjure their faith. Leaving nine immature children to mourn their departure they were driven over the border into Regensburg (Ratisbon), on the upper Danube, the first two of a throng of exiles that was to mount into numbers exceeding thirty thousand.⁵⁷

In January, 1730, these two exiles laid their complaint before the Corpus Evangelicorum convened at Regensburg.⁵⁸

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54. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 49
55. Goecking, op. cit., p. 132 f.
56. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 100.
57. Goecking, op. cit., p. 134 f.
58. Goecking, op. cit., p 134.

These officials of the evangelical estates addressed a letter to Baron von Zillerberg, the plenipotentiary of the archbishop at the Diet, but their grievance was ignored. A letter addressed to the archbishop himself brought results that would have been amusing but for the hypocrisy disclosed. Gohdes has a gem of a paragraph on the reception in Salzburg of the news of the exiles' complaint to the Evangelical Representatives in Regensburg.

"The bishop almost dropped his crozier in astonishment at the very possibility of such a mistake. There was a shrugging of shoulders, an arching of eyebrows, a deprecatory turning up of hands. Lutherans? In Salzburg? Violating the terms of the Peace of Westphalia? Intolerance in the dominions of Herr Baron von Firmian? Cruelty beneath the bishop's crozier? Why, there were no Lutherans in Salzburg; nor a Lutheran Church; nor a Lutheran organization! There had never been anything like the administration of a sacrament after the Lutheran fashion. A mistake, gentlemen of the Corpus Evangelicorum, due to the slanders spread by rebellious, disgruntled Catholic subjects ruled over with fatherly solicitude! To encourage those by false sympathy would be highly injudicious; thoroughly unneighborly in fact! The archbishop was deeply grieved over the unjust suspicion cast upon him by other members of the Realm!"⁵⁹

So the archbishop addressed the Diet at Regensburg. But for his evangelical subjects in Salzburg he played another tune, a dirge of insult, outrage and violence. Persecution was not only continued, but became worse and worse. The Lutherans who refused to adopt the popish greeting, "Gelobet sey Jesus Christus!," which was used in any and every encounter from "Spielhaus" to "Sauffhaus," were scourged, fined, or imprisoned -- or all three.⁶⁰ A certain Simon Ratzemberger

59. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 21, 1934) p. 5.

60. Goecking, op. cit., p. 128 f.

was fined a hundred guilders for eating "Metzelsuppe" (soup made out of sausage meat) on a fast-day. Women as well as men were mercilessly beaten for purchasing or possessing books not authorized by the archbishop.⁶¹

A second cry of protest reached the ears of the authorities at Regensburg, but the dilatory transaction of business there was not calculated to bring speedy relief.⁶² However, Lutheranism could be oppressed, but it could not be suppressed. In fact, it progressed in numbers and determination, so that the Pongau district contained in the first quarter of the eighteenth century twenty-thousand evangelical believers.⁶³

After insult had been carried to the highest possible pitch by the house-searchings and quartering of soldiers among the people, the Protestants felt more than ever the necessity of a close and firm bond, a covenant for life and death. On July 10, 1931 ("im Monat Julio, vierzehn Tage vor Jacobi"⁶⁴), in the early morning twilight, more than three hundred men from every section of the province wended their way over the rocky mountain trails and down to Schwarzach, a market village in the jurisdiction of Goldecker. Michael Gassner, the town-councillor, called on all those who had the desire to boldly confess the Evangelical faith to remain, and all others to leave. Two left. The rest gathered in the inn and surrounded a table on which was placed a vessel of salt. One by one,

61. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 21, 1934) p. 5.

62. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 50.

63. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 21, 1934) p. 5.

64. Goecking, op. cit., p. 156.

each man knelt with bare head in silent prayer, rose, dipped the whetted fingers of his right hand into the salt, and lifting them toward heaven took a solemn oath. To the true, Triune God they swore never to desert the evangelical faith, but to suffer the loss of freedom, goods, country and life rather than deny the Gospel and its Christ. Then they swallowed the salt, according to an ancient country custom, as a kind of sacramental wafer.^{65 66 67 68 69} A scoffer has painted a caricature of this solemn event upon the very table around which it centered,⁷⁰ but history has honored the valiant men who there pledged themselves to freedom of conscience, truth, and the sovereignty of the individual soul.

Three days after the Covenant of Salt the Evangelicals presented their Lutheran Confession to the archbishop's commission. Goecking lists the number of Lutherans who subscribed to the confession by towns and parishes.

Werffen	3100
Bischofshofen	742
St. Johannis	2500
St. Veit)	3100
Goldegg)	
Daxenbach)	6600
Radstadt)	
Wagrain	1436
Gross-Url	500
Gastein	500
Abtenau	200
In der Leagang zu Saalfeld	<u>2000</u>
Total	20678 Persons ⁷¹

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65. Goecking, op. cit., p. 154, f.
 66. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 50.
 67. Wolf, op. cit., p. 189.
 68. Dallmann, op. cit. p. 100.
 69. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 21, 1934) p. 5.
 70. Ibid.
 71. Goecking, op. cit., p. 156.

When the news of the Salt Covenant of Schwarzach came to the ears of the archbishop, he envisioned immediate insurrection, as did the cantonal governors of Switzerland in the previous century when they heard of the Gruetli Covenant. It was rumored through the country that the Protestants had formed a conspiracy at Schwarzach for the murder of all Catholics. "Self-defence" became an immediate necessity. Archbishop Anton appealed to the Emperor Charles VI at Vienna for troops, and on September 22, 1731, over a thousand Austrian foot-soldiers appeared in Salzburg, followed by three regiments of cavalry in October.⁷² Besides the quartering of these troops among evangelical families, the Protestants were denied all rights of burial, marriage and baptism,⁷³ and were forbidden to participate in devotional meetings. Outright murder and the violation of women were forbidden, but beyond that the dragoons had the run of the Lutheran settlements -- scourging, pillaging, burning, plundering.

But again the faith moved forward. Among the soldiers who had once been troopers of Prince Eugene were found many Protestants who, instead of oppressing their brethren in the faith, entered into Christian fellowship with them through the reading of the Bible and prayer. However, these were soon replaced by men more inclined to carry out the archbishop's persecution program. Probably the most dastardly

72. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 51.

73. Goecking, op. cit., p.157 f.

single act of the Salzburg persecution occurred around Michaelmas, when the persons who were regarded as the leaders of the party were taken from their beds in the dead of night and dragged in chains to Salzburg, where horrible prisons awaited them.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, according to one of the resolutions of the meeting at Schwarzach, a commission was on its way to Ratisbon to ask the evangelical representatives in the German Diet to interfere on behalf of the Lutherans in Salzburg. But their task was none too easy. All the passes were guarded, and emigration was a crime punishable by death. The commission, making its way along the steepest, remotest passes of the Alps, was intercepted. Three of the group who had regular passes were allowed to cross the frontier, but the others were sent back under guard as heretics and rebels. The three men who reached Ratisbon were sorely disappointed, for the representatives of the Evangelical lands and cities were away on furlough. From Ratisbon they went to Frankfort-on-Main, but still with no success.⁷⁵ Finally two of the men, Peter Heldensteiner and Nicholas Forstreuter, reached Hesse-Cassel, where the Swedish King Frederick happened to be sojourning. At Cassel they were received sympathetically, but, unfortunately, not unselfishly. Having heard of the great skill of the Tyrolese in the manufacture of toys and of the ability of the Salzburg miners, King Frederick thought of befriending

74. Hagenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

75. Gohdes, *op. cit.*, (April 21, 1934) p. 6.

these dissenting mountaineers for the purpose of gaining capable workmen as woodcarvers and iron smelters in Sweden. But when he found out that the famous wood-carvers of whom he had heard lived in Berchtesgaden instead of Salzburg, and that mining and iron smelting are different occupations, his zeal and sympathy cooled almost at once. The honor of receiving the expatriated Salzburgers was to fall to another great emperor, Frederick William I, King of Prussia.

On October 23, 1731, King Frederick of Prussia wrote to Archbishop Anton in Salzburg protesting the persecution of the Protestants and threatening stern reprisals on his Catholic subjects,⁷⁶ as did also the King of England and the King of Denmark.⁷⁷ The Kaiser quite pointedly reminded the ecclesiastical governor of Article V of the Peace of Westphalia, under which the Lutherans should have at least been allowed to emigrate. When Heldensteiner and Forstreuter were turned away from Cassel to Berlin, they were received kindly, but cautiously, for rumors of their "heretical tendencies" had preceded them. Frederick William had both the Salzburgers carefully examined by his theologians, Provosts Roloff and Reinbeck,⁷⁸ and only when they were found orthodox and in agreement with the Augsburg Confession did the king promise them assistance and a place of refuge, provided they should be driven out of their own country.

76. Goecking, op. cit., p. 164.

77. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 100

78. Goecking, op. cit., p. 166 f.

However, before this news was promulgated, the Archbishop in Salzburg issued a document which is known as the Emigration Patent of 1731. Winter had already set in on the highlands of the province of Salzburg when the Patent was signed and sealed -- on October 31, Reformation Day.⁷⁹ Ten days later, on the anniversary of the birth of the great Reformer, the resources of the realm were mobilized to carry into effect the most terrible and thorough persecution the Protestants ever suffered at the hands of the Roman Catholics.

C. B. Gohdes gives a very good English translation of the main points of the Patent.⁸⁰ The archbishop decreed:

1. "That all who are devoted to the Evangelical religion shall emigrate and henceforth avoid the archiepiscopal See of Salzburg, under penalty of confiscation of property or even death;

2. "That all inhabitants not possessed of real estate shall leave the country within one week or incur condign punishment, without any hope of mercy whatever;

3. "That all our (Evangelical) subjects employed in mines, saltworks, lumber camps, smelters or elsewhere, are to be dismissed forthwith and leave the country;

4. "That all Evangelical burgers and craftsmen in cities and market-towns shall be considered guilty of perjury, be deprived of their rights as citizens and members of guilds and, likewise, leave the country;

5. "That all Evangelical landed proprietors shall emigrate, with the proviso that a period of from one to three months, according to the amount of land they own, shall be granted them for the purpose of disposing of their property, one tenth of the proceeds to be paid into the state treasury as a fee."

79. Goecking, op. cit., p. 210 f.

80. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 28, 1934) p. 4.

Only those who within fifteen days should repent of their errors and abjure them, and should formally return to the Church of Rome, were offered mercy.⁸¹

The reaction to this expulsion decree throughout Protestant Europe was immediate and outspoken. But even the protests and threats of the evangelical representatives at Regensburg were ignored.⁸² The archbishop maintained that these people were rebels, and that as such he had the right to expel them. His one concession was to permit really permanent residents to remain through the hardest part of the winter, fixing St. George's Day of 1732 as the absolute limit of their stay.⁸³

But in the meanwhile, to impress those who were not excepted, he called in two squadrons of dragoons, and on November 24 these soldiers of fortune dashed through the Lutheran settlements and drove out whole villages, tearing wives from their husbands and children from their mothers.⁸⁴ Bibles were burned, and the poor peasants were taken to the archbishop's palace and confined in the cruelest prisons before being allowed to leave the country.

From December, 1731, to November, 1732, more than 30,000 exiles left Salzburg at various intervals and in numerous companies. During the severest months of the year the martyrs

81. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 53.

82. Das Neueste von denen Salzburgerischen Migrations-Actis (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1732) p. 2 f.

83. Goecking, op. cit., p. 227 f.

84. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 101.

braved outrage, barbarity and oppression, gave up all but the most necessary earthly possessions, to be free of a despotism that kept them from worshipping their God in sincerity and truth. Column by column the exiles marched through the high passes of the Alps, singing the great Lutheran hymns that had sprung from the darkness of poverty and the throes of persecution in previous centuries. Schaitberger's "Exulantenlied," Luther's "Mighty Fortress" and the famous Reformation hymn, "Lord, Keep Us in Thy Word and Work," echoed from the snow-covered hillsides on the Salzburgers' march to freedom. Under God's free sky the exiles moved along over the roads which His good angels threw open for them. From the beloved fatherland that had become a land of horror and oppression for them they wended their way ever towards fairer climes, where they could at least breathe the free air of liberty and worship their God in the simplicity and sincerity of their hearts.

Chapter II

The Dispersion and Emigration to America

Colorful King Frederick William I of Prussia proved to be the best friend the Salzburg exiles had in all Europe. He himself, Reformed -- his wife, Lutheran¹ -- he rendered the homeless Christians of Salzburg a service truly worthy of royalty. As soon as he had the necessary facts and information, he countered the "emmigration patent" of the archbishop of Salzburg with an "immigration patent" of his own.

On February 2, 1732, he wrote to the distressed Salzburgers that, "from royal Christian pity and heart-felt sympathy he would reach them a loving hand, and receive them into his country." Every thoroughfare of his kingdom should be open to them, and all princes and states whose countries they might touch in passing should be entreated to aid them in their journey. Every man should have for his daily expenses four groschens, every woman and maiden three groschens, and every child two, to be paid out of the king's exchequer. They were to enjoy, if they settled, all the privileges and

1. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 28, 1934) p. 5.

rights which belonged to other colonists, among which non-liability to taxation and other favors were especially understood.^{2 3} At the same time he sent a duly accredited special commissioner, John Goebel, to Regensburg, to receive the emigrants and conduct them into Prussia. He particularly invited the exiles to settle in Lithuania, Tilsit, and the Memel region, where the Teutsch Ritters had been ruined in the great battle of Tannenberg.⁴ Denmark, Sweden, and the Republic of Holland, as well as other Protestant countries, also opened their doors wide to the exiles and donated considerable sums for their relief until they should find permanent homes.

Goecking lists the chief contributions:⁵

	<u>Gulden</u>
1) Se. Koenigl. Majestaet von Gross-Britannien	3,000
2) Se. Koenigl. Majestaet von Schweden	6,000
3) Die Stadt Hamburg	18,333
4) Die Stadt Regensburg	2,773
5) Die Collecte in dasiger Hollaendische Kirche	338
6) Franckfurt am Mayn auf Abschlag	2,000
7) Die Stadt Worms	600
8) Die Stadt Wetzlar	484
9) Die Stadt Speyer	160
10) Ein ungenannter Freund	150
11) Schwartzburg-Sondershausen	75
12) Herr Wichelhausen in Bremen	<u>24</u>
Summa	33,938

Once the permission of tresspass of neighboring countries was obtained, the Salzburgers marched forth in search of homes. To keep the record straight we shall list first the four different routes as they were followed by the four major groups

2. Goecking, op. cit., p. 262 f.
 3. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 54.
 4. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 101.
 5. Goecking, op. cit., p. 292 f.

of emigrants, and then take note of some of the more important or interesting incidents that befell them on the way. Goecking gives minute details of the respective expeditions, but unfortunately space permits only the mention of a few of the more outstanding events.

The first and largest troop of exiles, 800 souls, left Salzburg on November 30, 1731. They gathered at Dittmaningen, Wagingen and Teisendorf,⁶ passed through Bavaria with much difficulty, and began their march through Germany, touching at the following cities: Kauffbeuern, Kempten, Memmingen, Augsburg, Noerdlingen, Aurach, Duenckelspiel, Im Oettingischen, Im Anspohischen, Nuernberg, Thuernau, Im Margrafthum Bayreuth, Schweinfurt, Asch, Coburg, Hildburghausen, Darmstadt, Franckfurt, Giessen, Wesel, Plauen, Zwickau, Schlaitz, Gera, Altenburg, Saalfeld, Rudelstadt, Borne, Chemnitz, Freyberg, Dresden, Meissen, Zeitz, Jena, Erfurt, Weimar, Arnstadt, Gotha, Weisenfels, Merseburg, Eisenach, Naumburg, Querfurt, Eisleben, Artern, Leipzig, Zoerbig, Dieskau, Kagun, Guedenberg, Schlessen, Delitsch, Bitterfeld, Waldenburg, Penick, Rochlitz, Grimm, Wurtzen, Brettin, Halle, Langenfaltza, Sondershausen, Nordhausen, Wittenberg, Quedlinburg, Wernigerada, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Coethen, Zerbst, Coswic, Roslau, Waltermienburg, Bernburg, Barby, Wettin, Rosenberg, Breitenhagen, Alsleben, Klein Zerbst, Acken, Ratenau, Nauen, Lohburg, Zigeser, Goertzke, Beltzig, Treuenbrietzen, Greiffenhayngen, Belitz, Closter

6. Goecking, op. cit., p. 219.

Leitzkau, Brandenburg, Burg, Tremmen, Genthin, Wurstermarck, Spandau, Potsdam, Stendal, Tangermuende, Franckfurt, Berlin.

The first group arrived in Berlin on April 30, 1732. By April 15, 1733, 17,038 Salzburg exiles had arrived in Berlin.⁷

The second large body of exiles started from Goldegg on February 3, 1732. Their itinerary was as follows: Goldegg, Salzburg, Teisendorff, Bayrischen Graentze, Memmingen, Ulm, Aurach, Heidelberg, Darmstadt, Franckfurt am Main, Friedeberg, Butsbach, Giessen, Marburg, Cassel im Hessen-Lande, Wernigerode, Halberstadt, Madgeburg, Potsdam, Berlin.⁸

On the sixteenth of May, the third group, consisting of about 400 persons, started from Werffen. They journeyed by way of Golling, Hallein, Salzburg, Waging, Altenmarck, Wasserburg, Pfaffenhofen, Freysing, Rain, Schwaebische, Donawerth, Harburg, Oettingen, Wassertruedingen, Anspach, Nuernberg, Erlangen, Bamberg, Culmbach, Hof, Neustadt, Jena, Naumberg, Merseburg, Halle, Roslau, Potsdam, to Berlin.⁹

The fourth large body of emigrants left St. Veit on July 25, 1732, and passed through the following cities: Werffen, Hallein, Salzburg, Teisendorff, Druchting, Pruthing, Aibling, Frissenhann, Stoeffling, Landsberg, Mindelheim, Memmingen, Weilheim, Steinheim, Leiza, Noerdlingen, Duerckelspiel, Breitenau, Deslau, Fransheim, Schauerhein, Obersteinbach, Wasserleben, Abtschwind, Schweinfurt, Keinigsberg, Roemhild

7. Goecking, op. cit., p. 310 f.

8. Goecking, op. cit., p. 300 f.

9. Goecking, op. cit., p. 303 f.

in Francken, Meiningen, Wassinger, Schmalcalden, Salzungen, Eisenach, Langensaltz, Muelhausen, Dorffam Coellen, Northausen, Werningerode, Halberstadt, Oschersleben, Neuenhaltensleben, Stendal, Ratenau, Nauen, Spandau and Berlin.¹⁰

Bancroft has a classic paragraph describing the march of the first group of exiles from Salzburg. "They were indeed a noble army of martyrs going forth in the strength of God, and triumphing in the faith of the Gospel, under the severest hardships and the most rigorous persecutions. They were marshalled under no banners, save that of the cross, and were preceded by no leaders save their spiritual teachers and the great Captain of their salvation."¹¹

As we can very well imagine, the Salzburger did not meet with the same reception all along the line of their march. But the opposition and insult which they experienced while passing through Catholic territory was more than equalled by the kindness and sympathy shown them everywhere by their Lutheran brethren. Although Archbishop Anton had besought the Roman Catholic cities and countries through which the exiles might pass not to hinder their progress, they still met here and there with opposition. Passing through Bavaria they were ridiculed, insulted, embarrassed and delayed, and some of the poor people were even herded into concentration camps.¹²

The Catholic portion of the city of Augsburg especially

10. Goeking, op. cit., p. 309.

11. Strobel, op. cit., p. 40.

12. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 28, 1934) p. 5.

distinguished itself for its hardness. When the exiles drew near to the gates of the city in whose castle the first confession of Protestant Christendom was proclaimed, the Catholic council and mayor ordered the massive outer gates shut immediately, as if the little band of 200 exiles had been a hostile army.¹³ However, the Evangelical City Council and influential Lutheran citizens forced the Catholic officials to admit the martyrs, and pastors, princes, professors and students vied with each other in doing honor to these eighteenth century martyrs.¹⁴ We shall hear more of Augsburg later.

At Donauworth, a city entirely under a Catholic government, the Salzburger were threatened with hanging and burning as heretical dogs,¹⁵ and chased by night beyond the city limits.

In Anspach the joy at the arrival of the exiled brothers in the faith was so great that bells were rung throughout the town, and "nothing was heard but a peal of welcome from far and near."¹⁶

The Bishop of Bamberg refused to let the emigrants pass through his territory.¹⁷

At Erlangen the Serene Dowager took fifty of the Salzburger into her own house, and wealthy burghers took care of twelve, fifteen and eighteen. They were given clothing, and attempts were even made to adopt some of the children.¹⁸

13. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 55.

14. Strobel, op. cit., p. 41.

15. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 101.

16. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 101

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid. p. 102.

In Klein-Noerdlingen the buckets atop the wells were hidden lest they be defiled by quenching "heretic" thirst.¹⁹

In the cold of February, 1732, Noerdlingen in Bavaria, received 331 needy Salzburgers. Two chief pastors, the teacher and his pupils, and several hundred citizens escorted them into the town and arranged for their lodgings. For the first three days each one received a ration of a half pound of meat, bread, and a measure of beer -- thereafter bread and six kreutzers. Besides the supplies from the city, the citizens sent them food daily or dined them at home in parties of four or five. On Sunday they were given special sermons, and the collection for them amounted to no less than 800 gulden.²⁰

The bishop of Wuerzburg forbade his subjects to take Salzburgers in, and for merely lying on the ground or taking a cup of water they had to pay a toll.²¹

At Baireuth they went in a body to church on Good Friday, and were afterwards invited to the palace and other large homes for dinner, and given much money and other gifts.²²

Very often even Protestants regarded the Salzburg movement distrustfully, because everywhere reports had been circulated that the exiles were a stubborn, head-strong, radical lot, who regarded no authority and were resolved to do just as they pleased. Even the Lutheran Superintendent Cyprian, of Gotha, doubted whether or not they ought to be received

19. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 28, 1934) p. 6.

20. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 102.

21. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 28, 1934) p. 6.

22. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 102.

and permitted to enjoy public benefits.²³

"But this fog of prejudice soon scattered. Men came to honor in them the martyrs of the truth, the instruments of God who were called again to awaken a dead Christianity. They were regarded as a leaven which should again move and inspire the sluggish mass of evangelical Protestantism. The more favorable were the reports respecting the patience with which they bore their fate, the beautiful, quiet order of their marches, their exemplary deportment in the cities and in their quarters, and concerning the evangelical spirit which they everywhere displayed, the higher rose the common enthusiasm for them, and the stronger became the desire to provide for them and do them good. Their march through Germany assumed more and more the form of a triumphal procession."²⁴

One particularly interesting episode occurred near Oettingen, and later became the theme for Goethe's immortal epic, "Hermann and Dorothea." It is typical of the human interest incidents in which the history of the Salzburger is so rich. Hagenbach's literal translation of Goecking's²⁵ account preserves much of the quaintness of the original story.

"The wonderful dealings of God with a Salzburg maiden, who, for religion's sake, left father and mother, and was so strangely married on her journey.... This maiden went with her fellow-countrymen without knowing how it would go with her, or whither God would lead her. As she journeyed through Oettingen, the son of a rich citizen of Altmuehl approached her, and asked her how she liked the country. Her answer was, 'Very well, sir.'

23. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 55.

24. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 55.

25. Goecking, op. cit., p. 671.

He further asked her how she would like to enter the service of his father. She answered, 'Quite well, she would be faithful and industrious if allowed to enter his service.' Thereupon she recounted to him what farm work she understood. She could feed the cattle, milk the cows, work in the field, make hay, and perform all similar work. Now, this young man's father had often advised him to marry, but he had never been able to bring himself to a conclusion about the matter. But when the emigrants passed through, and he saw this maiden, she suited him. He went at once to his father and reminded him how often he had advised him to marry, and informed him that he had now selected a bride. He begged that his father would allow him to take her. His father asked who she was. He replied that she was a Salzburg maiden who pleased him well, and if he could not be allowed to have her, he was resolved never to marry at all. When his father and his friends, together with the preacher, who had been called in, had labored in vain to get the notion out of his head, his wish was at last yielded to, and he brought the maiden and presented her to his father. The girl knew naught of anything save the talk of engaging her as a servant, and hence she went with the young man to his father's house. The father, however, supposed that the young man had already opened his heart to the maiden. He therefore asked her how his son suited her, and whether she was willing to marry him. Knowing nothing of this, she supposed they were ridiculing her. She began, thereupon, to say that she would not be mocked; she had been sought as a servant, and with that understanding she had followed his son to his house. If they wished her in that capacity she would show herself faithful and industrious, and earn her bread, but she would not allow herself to be derided. The father, however, stuck to it that he meant what he said, and the son told her his true reason for bringing her to his father's house, namely, that he had an earnest wish to marry her. The maiden looked at him, stood still for a little while, and finally said, that if he was in earnest and wished really to have her, she was content, and would regard him as the eye in her head. The son then handed her a marriage pledge. She, however, reached into her bosom and drew out a purse containing 200 ducats, saying, she would also present him with a trifle. The betrothment was thus completed."²⁶

Rather than attempt a minute account of the reception of the Salzburg exiles in all the cities through which they marched, we shall present a reliable description of one city that

26. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 57 f.

is more or less typical of the rest. World-famous Leipzig was particularly kind to the Salzburger, and deserves to be remembered for its benevolence.

We take our account from "Geistliche Fama" (Vol VII, p. 58 ff.) as translated by Hagenbach.²⁷ The report was written from Freiburg in the Wetterau and speaks of the group of about 800 who arrived at Leipzig on June 13, 1732.²⁸

"During the present week two hundred and fifty of the Salzburg emigrants have passed through this place. They are mostly young people, from sixteen, eighteen, and twenty years and upward, the greater part of them servants; a simple, honest people, longing for, and seeking after, God from the heart; among whom a true, practical Christianity was to be seen, heard, and felt, although but few of them could either read or write. The desire among them to read, however, is most intense; they care more for an A-B-C book than most others for a whole library. Simplicity, honesty, and unfeigned fear of God shine out from their eyes and from all their conduct. They are very modest, decent, thankful, and uncommonly temperate; eat and drink but little, and take nothing beyond their necessities; they are happy, contented, and quiet. Though only servants among oxen, horses and cattle, they conduct themselves more becomingly than many who set themselves up for moralists. To their elders, who can read, they are very obedient, and without their permission will neither pledge themselves to anything, nor receive, nor spend a single heller. The greatest general cannot boast of so obedient a command, and their elders are all unconscious of their own power, because everything is done in love. Their clothing is very poor. The men wear short jackets of the coarsest stuff, wide linen breeches, mostly green or blue stockings, and shoes fastened with strings. The women dress in short coats reaching down no further than the knee; their headgear consists universally of a green bonnet. In stature they are about of middle size. Of the old people among them it was observed that, for the most part, they were continually groaning and praying, and that in church they wept copiously though silently. They esteem themselves unworthy of the great kindness they receive, and praise God with uncommon heartiness

27, Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 62 f.

28. Goecking, op. cit., p. 415 f.

for His gracious care and mercy. They say that if their countrymen at home knew how well they are faring here, more than half the country, Catholics as well as others, would rise up and follow them. They were told that the men would all be sent to the galleys, and that the women would be drowned. My view of the matter is, that these people are called once more to awaken our dead Christianity to practical religion before the Lord shall bring upon it the ruin which the intelligent among them expect in what they call the year '34, which, with them, passes "pro anno revalorio."

"God has also made for Himself a great name among them by the miracles and deliverances He has wrought. While they wandered about, lost in the wilderness, and for eight days had nothing to eat, God brought them to trees on which they found bread. With one voice they all agree, that, before they left their own country they frequently found sugar growing on the trees. It is quite remarkable that in all places the Jews contributed great aid to them. I talked with a woman among them who gave such an evidence of knowledge in divine things as astonished me, and who was observed to pay great attention in Church. It is a pity that no one has carefully ascertained her history. She was especially inquired of how she felt toward the authorities of her country, and she answered: 'The prince knew very little of their treatment; they prayed diligently for him and for the whole country. Love your enemies; God willed it so; and they had done her people more good than ill.' In short, they are practical theologians. In the houses they sang and prayed earnestly, as all will bear witness, and only talked so far as to answer questions. They warmly expressed their thanks for the favors they received, though some of them were quite indifferent to things of this sort. For the rest, they exhibited a spirit of joy and cheerfulness. In this place they were received with great distinction. The bells were rung, and they were conducted into the city by two deputies on horseback, sent by the magistrates, and accompanied by the whole school, the clergy, and the clerical candidates. They entered, two by two, in perfect order, singing, men and women apart, and were welcomed by an address. Through the city, the people sang Luther's Hymn, 'A Strong Tower is our God.' In church, which began at two o'clock in the afternoon, they sang, 'Now is Salvation Hither come.' The text was: 'Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you for righteousness sake.' I allowed all my family to go to church, but remained at home for meditation, and afterward conversed with them. After the sermon, the congregation sang, 'Uphold us, Lord, by Thine Own Word.' After service, a collection was taken for them, amounting to two hundred florins, besides what each one gave in his own house.

The citizens then gathered round their beloved guests, and would not hear of separation, but took them by the hand, led them home, and set before them the very best food. But they seem to have eaten but sparingly, and to have preferred the coarser kind of food, cheese and the like, to roast meat. The whole city was moved and excited as though it had been celebrating a great festival. The next day, in the City Hall, the collection was divided; it amounted to fifty kreutzers for each person; and the women decorated them all with bouquets. After this, the magistrates in their black robes, accompanied by the clergy, appeared in the street; a circle was formed and protected by guards, in which a place was provided for the emigrants, each sex being kept by itself. This out-door assemblage was opened by singing, 'O, with Thy Mercy Stay,' etc. The chief of the clergy then delivered, from Acts XX:32, a sermon appropriate to their departure, and gave them a benediction. They then formed their procession, two and two, and, accompanied by the school, the clergy, and the deputies, they were conducted forth amid the pealing of the bells and the singing of the hymn, 'To Thee Alone, Thou Savior, Lord,' etc. At the bridge, another farewell discourse was pronounced by the youngest of the clergy, followed by the hymn, 'Now let all Thank God,' whereupon, the emigrants, among themselves, and to a tune of their own, sang, 'I Will Not Leave My God.' Thus they took their leave, under the protection of God, and moved toward Berlin, where the citizens met them with bread, wine, and beer, and having refreshed them, led them to the church. The love and kindness of the Lutherans for these poor people was only equaled by the abuse of the Catholics, whose territory they therefore avoided. These denounced them as perjurers, as blasphemers of the Savior; denied that they had any religion at all; said that they were villainous Pietists; and more of the same sort.....

"No solemn occasion has ever been to me so noteworthy as this. These good people are all on their way to Prussia. The intelligent among them believe that for Salzburg, Bavaria, Austria, etc., a fatal period may be at the door. This is clearly the finger of God. At night they come together, and those who can, read to the others out of the New Testament and other religious books, and sing; for all these the people show an ardent desire. Where can our highly-educated theologians for hundreds of miles around exhibit such grace? Here the Holy Spirit has taught and preached. These people have a remarkably just view of their own depravity, and freely confess that they are unprofitable servants, while our theologians are full of high pretensions. O, what a difference between a merely learned and a practically experienced Christianity! These good people seem to have come out from an apostolical

school and doctrine!"

It is no wonder that the Salzburger had friends and supporters throughout Europe. In order to give to other Protestants through whose cities they did not pass an opportunity to assist the exiles, a treasury was established at Regensburg, to which offerings were freely made, so that at last the fund reached the sum of 888,381 guildens.²⁹

Berlin had been chosen as the place of general rendezvous of the emigrants, and into the capitol city of Prussia marched the first band on April 30, 1732.³⁰ Their reception by the ruler to whom most of them were to owe allegiance was most friendly and cheering. Frederick the Great himself drove to the neighboring village of Zehlendorf to greet the Salzburger with these words: "You shall have it good, children; you shall have it good!"³¹ A deputation of ministers, theological students, and school children met the emigrants at the Sheep Bridge, formed a circle with them, and all sang "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" with such effect that strong men wept. Pastor Kamp welcomed them on behalf of the Lutheran Church of Prussia, and fifty New Testaments, presented to the exiles, brought forth the cry: "How different it is here from our home, where they took the Word of God from us!" Within the city the pathetic, but orderly, group was the center of attraction. Presents were thrown to them from the windows,

29. Ibid. p. 66.

30. Goecking, op. cit., p. 500.

31. Gohdes, op. cit., (April 28, 1934) p. 6.

and the wealthy burghers literally distributed peck measures of money among the needy. The queen herself entertained the refugees in the Castle gardens at Monbijou, made them presents of Bibles and money, and had the artist Pesne paint the portrait of a pretty "Salzburgerin" in her Tyrolese hat.³²

As other bands came in, one after another, they were joyfully greeted and well provided for, both temporally and spiritually. The Berlin clergy made themselves especially useful to the strangers, tested them on their orthodoxy, and gave them daily sermons and religious instruction. Two theological students from Halle attached themselves to the Salzburgers as their catechists, and the king ordained four young candidates as their pastors.³³ Provost Reinbeck especially directed their attention to the moral dangers to which the fickleness and vanity of the human heart rendered them liable. "Stand nobly firm in what is good," he told them. "Do not become proud because you have left something for the sake of Christ, and because you may have excited the admiration and praise of some. You have now escaped the power of your enemies, and in the country of our king you have no similar persecution to fear; but do not dream that hereafter you are to have, therefore, only pleasant and quiet days. The precious cross is found everywhere, if not in one form, it will be in another. Opportunity will never be wanting to you to exhibit faith, patience, and self-denial. Therefore be not weary,

32. Dallmann, op. cit. p. 106 f.

33. Ibid. p. 107.

but pray to God daily for new strength from His Holy Spirit, that you may do all things well and obtain the victory."³⁴

The same sentiment was expressed by one of the Salzburger: "We are getting too much kindness shown us. We must thank God and ask Him to keep us in the grace wherein we stand. We are praised far too much, and people do not remember our sins enough. All this is not good for the young folks."³⁵

From Berlin the Salzburger moved on to Stettin Pomerania, and on the 22nd of May, 1732,³⁶ a favorable wind carried the first group out of the harbor on their rough voyage to Koenigsberg, where they were to gather before their final settlement in Prussia and adjoining territories. There they were received by the Minister Von Goerne, who was to accompany them to Lithuania.³⁷ Between May, 1732 and May, 1733 a total of 20,694 exiles reached Koenigsburg.³⁸ The majority of them settled in Lithuania, where they found a beautiful, level, fruitful country, rich pastures, plenty of wood, and streams abounding with fish. Here the king built houses, schools, and churches for them. Here men of all occupations found a place, in possession of civil rights and freedom of trade. Here harvests were speedy, rich and abundant. Of his colonization project in Lithuania Crown Prince Frederick the Great could write boastfully to Voltaire in 1739: "Now, in these fertile regions, abundance reigns more than it ever did,....more wealth and more productiveness than in any other part of Germany.

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34. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 67.
35. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 107.
36. Goecking, op. cit. II, p. 126.
37. Hagenbach, op. cit., p. 68.
38. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 114.

And all this that I tell you of is due to the king alone."³⁹

And the emperor did even more for his new subjects. With much difficulty and diplomacy he obtained 4,000,000 gulden for damages to the 2,000 farms they had left a thousand miles behind in Salzburg. It has been estimated that, all-told, his enterprise cost him about \$1,000,000.⁴⁰

Interesting in connection with the settlement of the Salzburger in Lithuania is the "Salzburg Capsule," a hollow silver medal, with a bust of Frederick William on the front, a relief depicting the expulsion from Salzburg on the rear, and in the interior a map of the Duchy of Lithuania and the Archbishopric of Salzburg, and seventeen miniature paintings joined by ribbons, each picture representing a bit of history connected with the expulsion of the Lutherans from Salzburg.⁴¹

Some of the Salzburg exiles settled in Holland,⁴² some went as far as Sweden and England,⁴³ but we shall here confine ourselves to those who found their way to America and built the colony of Ebenezer on the banks of the Savannah in Georgia. They were part of the first group of emigrants to leave Salzburg, and they travelled the farthest in their quest for a land where they could commune with their God in the simplicity and sincerity of their faith.

39. Dallmann, op. cit., p. 109.

40. Ibid. p. 107

41. The American-German Review, (February, 1943), p. 10 f.

42. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 492 f.

43. Wolf, op. cit., p. 193.

The first group of exiles had knocked at the gates of Augsburg on December 31, 1731, only to be refused admittance. When, after five months of weary waiting, they were finally permitted to enter the city, they were bounteously befriended by the Rev. Samuel Urlsperger, the Senior Lutheran pastor of the Church of Saint Ann.⁴⁴ He himself had been a sufferer for conscience' sake, and the martyrdom of the still-surviving Joseph Schaitberger had moved him considerably.⁴⁵ He arranged for food and shelter for the exiles, distributed Bibles, hymnals, catechisms and other devotional books to the heads of families, appointed teachers for the children as long as they were in his city, and held special daily services for the needy exiles. On Sts. Simon and Jude Day he held a Communion and examination service for the emigrants, and in his sermon warned them against Count Zinzendorf's "New Method" and sectarianism in general.⁴⁶

< From the moment the Salzburgers had left their native land, Urlsperger had exerted himself on their behalf. He wrote everywhere for help. Among his correspondents was "The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts," headquarters in London. By his contacts with them, and with the help of G. A. Francke of Halle and Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen of London, Urlsperger not only succeeded in bringing the Salzburg exiles of 1732 across the Atlantic, but by

44. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 531 f.

45. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 157.

46. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 2.

his endeavors became the instrument of God in helping to found the Lutheran Church in America.⁴⁷

On June 9, 1732, Hanoverian King George II of England, German to the core,⁴⁸ granted a charter to twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen of England "to establish the colony of Georgia in America," to provide a home and means of subsistence for "indigent inhabitants of Great Britain" and "a refuge for the distressed Salzburgers and other Protestants."⁴⁹ At the same time he called for a collection in all Protestant countries for the persecuted Lutherans, and over 900,000 gulden was raised, 33,000 pounds of it in London,⁵⁰ "to enable the Trustees to carry out their generous designs for the Salzburgers."

On October 12, 1732, "The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge" applied to the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia for permission to settle a number of the Salzburg exiles in America. Through their correspondence with Urlsperger and other prominent preachers in Germany they had learned that there were hundreds of persecuted Protestants who were not only willing, but eager to emigrate to the New World. Two months later the Trustees sent word that fifty "sound, godly, industrious" families of Salzburgers would be welcomed in Georgia, and "The Society" immediately offered to pay the group's

47. Wolf, op. cit., p. 194.

48. Gohdes, op. cit., (May 5, 1934), p. 7.

49. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 528 f.

50. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 1.

expenses from Augsburg to Rotterdam, support a pastor and catechist for them, and send whatever clothing, etc., they would need for their journey.⁵¹

The terms of the Trustees to the prospective colonists were generous, to say the least. They offered to pay the passage and furnish the necessary sea-stores for their voyage from England to America. In Georgia each family was to receive three lots, "one for a house and yard within the town, one for a garden near the town, and one for tillage at a short distance from the town (the whole embracing 50 acres), said lands to be a freehold to them and to their heirs forever." The Trustees further agreed to furnish provisions until the land could support its own, provided the settlers obeyed the Trustees in civil matters and became citizens of Georgia.⁵²

One of the Trustees, James Oglethorpe, of whom we shall hear more later, left the peaceful, comfortable life of his estate, and, in the good ship "Anne," took thirty-five English families, sailed to the mouth of the Savannah River, bought land from the Indians, and on January 20, 1733, officially opened the colony of Georgia by founding the city of Savannah.⁵³

A free passage to America, provisions in Georgia for a whole season, land for themselves and their children, the privileges of native Englishmen, freedom of worship -- these were the promises made to the destitute and homeless Salzburgers,

51. Strobel, op. cit., p. 45.

52. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 534 f.

53. Dallmann, op. cit., II, p. 2.

and it is no wonder the poor exiles were eager to take advantage of them.

Of the 247 families who applied for the privilege of settling in America, forty-two, 78 persons in all, were finally chosen. The final arrangements for their transportation to Georgia having been completed by the Rev. Uralsperger, the small band left Augsburg for Rotterdam on October 31, 1733.⁵⁴ Well supplied with Bibles, hymn-books, catechisms and books of devotion, they set out for the Main in three carts, one for their baggage, the other two for the old women and small children. Behind them they left a much more devout and consecrated Augsburg than they had found -- timeless testimony to the power of exemplary Christian living.

A Hanoverian nobleman, name of Baron Georg Philipp Friedrich von Reck, had charge of the temporal welfare of the little band of pilgrims. He accompanied them all the way to America, and, when he had seen his Salzburgers safely settled, returned to Halle to attend the Theological and Ascetic College Lectures.⁵⁵

Travelling overland by way of Donauwerth, Ebermechen, Harburg, Duenchelspiel, Marckbarend, Marckt Stefft, and Wertheim, they arrived at Frankfurt on the Main on November 13. After a hearty welcome by the burghers and the citizenry, they marched two by two into the city, singing a hymn of faith. At the Nuernberger Inn in the city, each man was given 1½

54. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 541 f.

55. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 2 f.

gulden, each woman 1 gulden, each child $\frac{1}{2}$ gulden. On the following day, Saturday, Pastor Walther spoke to them on Col. 1:9 in the Barefooter Church, and on Sunday the senior pastor, Dr. Nuenden, preached to them in the Church of St. Catherine. Their chaplain, Candidate Schuhmacher, gave them daily discourses on Galatians, Thessalonians and John's First Epistle.⁵⁶

After a few days rest in Frankfurt, they embarked for Rotterdam. As they floated down the Main, and between the castled crags, the vineyards, and the rich cities along the Rhine, their conversation, amid hymns and prayers, was of justification and sanctification and of standing fast in the Lord.

On their arrival in Rotterdam on November 27, almost a four week journey from Augsburg, they were met by the two men whom Francke and Urlsperger had chosen to be their pastors in the New World.⁵⁷ They were both young men of sterling spiritual character, and later proved themselves excellently adapted for the hard work they were called to perform. The leader of the two, John Martin Bolzius, was destined to be their guide and shepherd for 32 years. He had been Inspector Vicarius, or Superintendent, of the Latin school in the orphan house at Glaucha near Halle. The second, Israel Christian Gronau, had been a tutor at the Halle orphan house.⁵⁸

Detained for a week by adverse winds, the Salzburgers

56. Ibid.

57. Wolf, op. cit., p. 195.

58. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 3.

finally left the Rotterdam harbor on December 8 and set sail for Dover, in England, from where they were to embark for America.⁵⁹ (Variations in the chronology of these transitional events are accounted for by the fact that the German calendar was ten days in advance of the English calendar at this time. Germany had adopted the new calendar in 1700, but England continued to use the old till 1752.)⁶⁰ Upon their arrival in Dover on December 23 they were met by one of the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia, and by Court-preacher Butienter, who brought them a letter from Ziegenhagen and official permission to worship according to the Augsburg Confession.⁶¹

December 28 was set as the day of departure,⁶² and the days of waiting were spent by the pastors in teaching the people things temporal and spiritual, preparing them for the trials of the journey that lay before them. The people were given many gifts of money, and the pastors were presented with goods for preaching gowns, an altar cloth, a chalice, and other church goods.⁶³ On Christmas Eve Butienter instructed them in the use of the church agenda of the Royal German Court Chapel, suggesting how they might arrange their order of service.⁶⁴ While in Dover the Salzburgers became British subjects

59. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 544 f.

60. W. J. Finck, Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America, (Philadelphia, 1913) p. 124.

61. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 4.

62. Strobel, op. cit., p. 50.

63. Goecking, op. cit., II, p. 545 f.

64. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 4.

by taking the oath of allegiance to the crown and an additional oath of strict piety, loyalty, and fidelity to the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia.

Finally on January 20, 1734,⁶⁵ after a sermon by the Rev. Bolzius on Isaiah xlix:10, "He that hath mercy on them will lead them,"⁶⁶ the group of 90 exiles set sail for America in the "Purisberg," under Captain Coram.⁶⁷ On board ship the pastors held daily services for the passengers every morning and evening of the perilous passage of 104 days⁶⁸ unless prevented by storms.

Bancroft again has a beautifully descriptive paragraph on the voyage of the Salzburgers to their new homeland.

"The majesty of the ocean quickened their sense of God's omnipotence and wisdom; and, as they lost sight of land, they broke out into a hymn to His glory. The setting sun, after a calm, so kindled the sea and the sky, that words could not express their rapture, and they cried out, 'How lovely the creation! How infinitely lovely the Creator!' When the wind was adverse they prayed; and, as it changed, one opened his mind to the other on the power of prayer, even the prayer 'of a man subject to like passions such as we are.' A devout listener confessed himself to be an unconverted man; and they reminded him of the promise to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at the Word. As they sailed pleasantly with a favoring breeze, at the hour of evening prayer they made a covenant with each other, like Jacob of old, and resolved by the grace of Christ to cast all strange gods into the depths of the sea. In February a storm grew so high that not a sail could be set; and they raised their voices in prayer and song amid the tempest, for to love the Lord Jesus as a brother gave consolation."⁶⁹

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65. Goeking, op. cit., II, p. 547.
66. Strobel, op. cit., p. 52.
67. Finck, op. cit., p. 124.
68. Strobel, op. cit., p. 57.
69. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 158 f.

Chapter III

The Settlement in Georgia

On Tuesday, March 5, land was sighted from the masthead of the "Purisburg," and on the following Thursday Pastor Bolzius was carried to Charlestown in a sloop. It so happened that General Oglethorpe was there on his way to England, but when he heard of the arrival of the long-awaited Salzburg emigrants, he postponed his trip in order to see the new colonists safely settled.¹ An indication of the benevolence with which he was so often to favor the Salzburger was his gift of "a large quantity of fresh beef, two butts of wine, two tunns of spring-water, cabbages, turnips, radishes, fruit, etc.," which he sent on board at Charlestown.²

On shore Bolzius was dined by the governor and introduced to several German Lutherans in the community, who promised to come to the Salzburger settlement for the purpose of receiving the Lord's Supper. After a few days at Charlestown the "Purisburg" again set sail, and on Sunday, March 10, the exiles from Salzburg in Austria first came in sight of the

1. Finck, op. cit., p. 124 f.

2. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 4.

common apprehensions in the year 1734
"defraying the charges of carrying 1736
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From the engraving in the Salisbury



From the engraving in the Salisbury
Oglebury



A Virginia House

green outlines of Georgia.³

The Rev. Bolzius wrote in his Journal: "While we lay off the banks of our dear Georgia, in a very lovely calm, and heard the birds singing sweetly, all was cheerful on Board. It was really edifying to us that we came to the borders of the Promised Land this day, Reminiscere, when, as we are taught by its lesson from the Gospel, Jesus came to the sea-coast after He had suffered persecution and rejection by His countrymen."⁴ In like manner the Salzburg emigrants had left their home weary of persecution, and were now about to touch the shores of a strange land.

Early in the morning of the 10th, the "Purisburg" grounded on a sand-bar in the mouth of the Savannah, but about ten o'clock in the evening, with the help of both wind and tide, the boat floated off into the deep waters of the river. There the pilot anchored until Tuesday morning, when with great joy the colonists sailed up the Savannah to the city which Oglethorpe had founded the year before. Savannah was at the time a mere hamlet with a few tents in a cluster of pines as the nucleus of the future city, but the inhabitants gave the new settlers a right cordial welcome.

Again Bolzius writes: "At the place of our landing almost all the inhabitants of Savannah were gathered. They fired off some canons, and cried 'Huzza!' which was answered by some sailors and other English people on our ship in the same manner.

3. Finck, op. cit., p. 125.

4. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 4.

A good dinner was prepared for us. We, the commissary, and Dr. Zwifler, our physician, were lodged in the house of the Rev. Mr. Quincy, the English missionary."⁵

Baron von Reck, the manager of the temporal affairs of the Salzburgers, made the following entry in his Journal: "The citizens returned our salute of five guns with three; and all the magistrates, the citizens, and the Indians came to the riverside. The two preachers, Bolzius and Gronau, Mr. Dunbar, some others, and myself went ashore in a boat. We were received with all possible demonstrations of joy, friendship, and civility. The Indians also reached their hands to me as a testimony of their joy at our arrival. The Salzburgers came on shore after us, and we at once pitched a tent for them in the square of the town."⁶ That same day the Salzburg Lutherans began to hold services, and among their most devout listeners were some Jews who had been smuggled into the colony.

On the 14th Oglethorpe returned from Charlestown and immediately began to help the immigrants with advice and supplies. "The next day he urged us to learn the Indian language, being very anxious that the poor Indians should come to know God. He warned us very earnestly against a certain sweet-tasting brandy from Jamaica, called 'room,' it having brought death to many. On the 16th an English military chaplain from Port Royal attended our service, was very pleased with us and our hearers, assured us of his constant friendship, and

5. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 5.

6. Ibid., p. 5.

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James Oglethorpe

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promised to see to it that our preaching-gowns were made."⁷

In addition to all these overtures of good will, the general offered the colonists any unappropriated lands in his territory they might prefer.

The actual colonization was under the supervision of the aforementioned Baron Philip George Frederick von Reck, the special commissioner appointed by George II of England. He was then only 23 years old, but of deep religious character and thorough understanding.⁸

Soon after their arrival in Savannah, the Salzburgers set up a "Corps of Observation" to select a site for the proposed settlement. The body was made up of "Father" Oglethorpe, Paul Jenys, Esq., Speaker of the South Carolina House of Assembly, Baron von Reck, Pastor Gronau, Dr. Twiffler, their physician, one of the Lutheran elders, and some Indians.⁹

At nine o'clock on the morning of March 17, 1734, the little group arrived at their future home. It was a plot of sterile and unattractive land about 25 miles northwest of Savannah, but to eyes weary of the sea and persecution, it seemed like paradise.¹⁰

The land they had chosen for their proposed colony lay along a little creek about four or five miles south of the present city of Springfield in a district later called St.

7. Ibid.

8. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 160.

9. Strobel, op. cit., p. 78.

10. Charles C. Jones, The Dead Towns of Georgia,
(Savannah 1878) p. 11.

Matthew's Parish, now Effingham County after the lord who defended the colonists in Parliament in 1775 and resigned from the army when his regiment was ordered to America to enforce the demands of King George III.¹¹ It bordered on the possessions of the Uchee Indians, with whom the colonists always maintained most friendly relations.

As soon as they had picked the site of their colony the "Corps of Observation" invoked divine protection and blessing, broke the silence of the wilderness with a psalm of praise, set up a stone monument to the glory of God, and named the place Ebenezer, "Hitherto the Lord Hath Helped Us."¹²

General Oglethorpe himself laid out the town and on his return to Savannah sent up workmen to help clear the land and build tents and sheds. A trail was built from Abercorn to Ebenezer to facilitate the transport of materials and supplies, and on April 7 the rest of the colonists arrived and helped with the work on bridges, shanties and trails.¹³ But even in the travail of settling 50 families in the wilderness the pious Salzburgers never neglected their spiritual life. Daily services of devotion were held, and very often some of the neighboring Indians were present. The devout example of the new colonists so impressed the old settlers roundabout that the citizens of Carolina presented the newcomers with 30 cattle, and even the Indians brought gifts of deer, wild

11. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 5.

12. Strobel, op. cit., p. 80.

13. Jones, op. cit., p. 12.

honey, fruits, etc.¹⁴

On May 1 lots were drawn for sites within the town, and each colonist was given three plots of ground, one in the town for a home, another beyond the town for a garden, and a third for more extensive agricultural purposes -- fifty acres in all. Cows and calves were sent by the magistrates of Savannah at Mr. Oglethorpe's order, and around the same time ten casks of seed arrived for the spring planting.¹⁵ The scarcity of even the most essential tools and materials was a constant hindrance to all building operations. There were very few mechanics among the Salzburgers; they had no boats or wagons of their own; they had to depend entirely on the government for the conveyance of supplies, and very often had to carry provisions on the backs the 25 miles from Savannah. Sicknes^s prevailed as a result of exposure, excessive fatigue and the warm climate, and Bolzius' journal records a high mortality in the first few months at Ebenezer. With the money left by one of the elders, Mr. Lackner, a "Box for the Poor" was started, and the first structure of a public nature that was erected was a shed for school purposes. In this same building the devout settlers also gathered for their daily and Sunday services.¹⁶

But the Salzburgers' new home was not quite all they had hoped it would be. In fact, it was about as different from

14. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 6.

15. Jones, op. cit., p. 13.

16. Strobel, op. cit., p. 81.

their homes in the Noric Alps as could be. "For rugged mountains los stretches with pines, pines, pines! A sluggish creek, with ominous clouds of mosquitoes rising when twilight fell! In the lowlands the cypress, festooned with Spanish moss, and on the ridges occasional live-oaks with dark, fadeless, glossy foliage. For miles upon miles of space fragrant, sobbing, swaying pines and rigid, fan-like palmettoes, on the edge of the swamps' ooze. No nightingales, as in the old home, in the summer night with their wistful plaint, but the strident whippoorwill at sunset and, throughout the southern night, the glorious song of the mockingbird!"¹⁷ But the weary pilgrims had found a place where they could worship their God unmolested, so they found all other things added unto them.

By Monday, May 13, the colony was fairly well organized, and a Day of Thanksgiving was declared. The Rev. Bolzius preached on the text, Gen. 32:10. That same spring the Salzburger received a chalice of solid gold with this inscription: "Such wishes to the dear Salzburger in Ebenezer, at every time they partake of the Holy Communion; by George Matthias Kiderlin, a young man in Noerdlingen, who thought of them shortly before his end.... Whoever sits down to the table of the Lord with us and our faith, he will be refreshed with the blood of the Lamb of God and trust in His salvation."¹⁸ By industry, thrift, the able management of their senior pastor,

17. Gohdes, op. cit., (May 5, 1934) p. 8.

18. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 6.

and, above all, the blessing of the Lord, the colony prospered, and the settlers enjoyed the fulfillment of the promise of the "hundredfold" to those who for Christ's name leave all that they have.

But the emigrants who arrived on the "Parisburg" on March 11, 1734, were only the advance-guard. A second party of 57 persons left England in November, 1734, on the "Prince of Wales" and reached Georgia in the early part of 1735 under the leadership of Mr. Vatt. At first they had difficulty in finding food and lodging in Ebenezer, but the mechanics and carpenters among them proved a real asset to the community. Their greatest contribution was the construction of a large wooden tent to serve as a house of worship and a residence for the two pastors.¹⁹

"Here in the wilderness of Georgia, on the very borders of an Indian tribe, far from the abodes of civilization, a Christian community was established, in which the pure doctrines of the Gospel were taught and God was worshipped in the simplicity and sincerity which characterized the first ages of the Church."²⁰

In July, 1735, another invitation was sent out by the Trustees of Georgia, and about 80 Salzburgers in the city of Ratisbon applied for transportation to America. This group, under Baron von Reck and Captain Hermsdorf formed the nucleus of the "Great Embarkation" of October 20, 1735. The ships "Symond" (220 tons, Capt. Joseph Cornish) and "London Merchant" (220 tons, Capt. John Thomas) were chartered to carry 227

19. Strobel, op. cit., p. 83.

20. Ibid.



St. James Church, Savannah, Georgia



John Adam Trevelin

First governor of Georgia, who in 1732 during the Revolutionary War, courageously gave his life for the rights and liberties of the oppressed people.

colonists to the New World. Besides the Salzburgers, there were 27 Moravians with Bishop David Nitschmann, 130 Highlanders with Pastor John MacLeod, and John and Charles Wesley and the Rev. Ingham to serve the settlers and convert the Indians. General Oglethorpe himself accompanied the expedition on his return from a visit and report to Parliament.²¹

The crossing was a very stormy one, but we are told that the Wesley brothers were deeply impressed throughout the voyage with the calm piety and fearlessness of the Salzburgers. On one Sunday, when a violent storm arose during the morning worship, Wesley asked one of the men, "Are you not afraid?" He replied, "I thank God, no."..... "But are not your women and childred afraid?"...."No, our women and children are not afraid to die."²² By the faithful example of these exiles Wesley learned what he had never realized before, the groundlessness of his religious hopes and his destitution of that religious faith which is necessary to justify the sinner and impart perfect peace to the mind. In the Salzburgers he beheld a practical illustration of the happy influence of genuine piety upon the disposition, affections and general deportment of those who have experienced it.²³

On February 5, 1736, the two ships docked at Peeper Island, where Oglethorpe tried to persuade the colonists to go on down to Frederica on St. Simon's Island to help develop the

21. Ibid., p. 85.

22. Dallmann, op. cit., VII, p. 8.

23. Strobel, op. cit., p. 86.

town and fort. A few did settle at the fort under Captain Hermsdorf and became the nucleus for a Lutheran Church, organized in 1735 under the Rev. Ulrich Driesler, a German missionary sent over and supported by the Trustees. However, the majority feared persecution and begged for permission to live at Ebenezer. This granted, the number of Salzburgers to be settled at Ebenezer between March 12, 1734, and February 8, 1736, reached a total of about 200 souls.²⁴

But the Pilgrim flock of Salzburg was not destined to stay long on a site that had been selected without knowledge of its possibilities. Since transportation had to be mainly by water, the young colony was greatly hindered by the difficulty of transportation involved in the long distance from Savannah. Although only six miles from Savannah as the crow flies, the town was twenty-two miles away by water, and the creek along which they had settled was neither dependable nor navigable. In addition, the soil was cold, damp, sour and barren, and absolutely unsuitable for the raising of crops. Worst of all the stagnant water in the surrounding swamps bred the malarial mosquito in great numbers, and bloody flux became a general affliction. Before long the pine forest had to yield lumber for the manufacture of homely coffins, and the winding processions to Burial Hill became all too frequent.²⁵

Toward the end of January, 1736, Bolzius and Gronau were sent to Savannah to see General Oglethorpe about changing the

24. Jones, op. cit., p. 15.

25. Gohdes, op. cit., (May 5, 1934), p. 8.

site of the colony to a more favorable location. On February 9 the general himself set out for a tour of inspection, and in spite of the many inconveniences and disadvantages of Old Ebenezer he advised the Salzburgers not to move, lest they lose everything they had gained by their prayers and labor. But he agreed to give his charges all possible help if they were determined to make a change.²⁶ In his report to the Trustees on February 13, Oglethorpe said: "The people at Ebenezer are very discontented, and Mr. Reck and they that come with him refuse to settle to the Southward. I was forced to go to Ebenezer to quiet things there and have taken all the proceedings in writing. Finding the people were only ignorant and obstinate, but without any ill intention, I consented to the changing of their town. They leave a sweet place where they had made great improvements, to go into a wood."²⁷

Despite Oglethorpe's advice to the contrary, the Salzburgers, after only two years at Old Ebenezer, decided to move to a high ridge, "Red Bluff," about six miles east on the banks of the Savannah. With much labor and many hardships over a period of about two years, the weary exiles re-established themselves in their new home, which with unchanging gratitude they called New Ebenezer.²⁸

Regarding the subsequent history of Old Ebenezer, Charles C. Jones in his "Dead Towns of Georgia" offers this information:²⁹

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26. Strobel, op. cit., p. 88.
 27. Jones, op. cit., p. 18.
 28. Finck, op. cit., p. 127.
 29. Jones, op. cit., p. 20.

By June, 1738, Old Ebenezer was a cowpen minded only by a Joseph Barker. In 1737 John Wesley wrote: "Old Ebenezer, where the Salzburgers settled at first, lies 25 miles west of Savannah. A small creek runs by the town down to the river, and many small brooks run between the little hills. But the soil is a hungry, barren sand, and upon any sudden shower the brooks rise several feet perpendicular and overflow whatever is near to them....The land is good for nothing, and the creek is of little use" By June, 1738, the old town was a hangout for Indian traders and isolated sick men. It's life of trials and sorrow, of ill-founded hope and sure disappointment, was measured by scarcely more than two years, and its frail memories were speedily lost amid the sighs and the shadows of the monotonous pines which environed the place.

The site of NewEbenezer was very romantic, but at the same time very practical. To the east of the new town was the Savannah River, broad, smooth and majestic, and lined with the most beautiful scenery. To the south was a stream, then known as "Little Creek," later called "Lockner's Creek," and a large lake, called "Weidlinger's Sea" after a Salzburg family. To the north was another brook, called Ebenezer Creek after the settlement. The country itself was undulating with good trees and beautiful, rich foliage. But here again swamps bordered the colony on three sides, and epidemics of chills and fevers caused by the clouds of mosquitoes were not uncommon.^{30 31}

30. Ibid.

31. Gohdes, op. cit., (May 5, 1934), p. 8.

New Ebenezer was a quarter of a mile square and laid out very regularly. There were three wide streets running from east to west and four from north to south. At regular intervals within the town were four small squares for market places and four public parks and promenade grounds.³² Two-thirds of one square was reserved for a Church, parsonage and academy, and two-thirds of another for an orphan asylum and public storehouse. The cemetery was located a short distance to the east of the town. There were large pastures for the cattle on the north and east, and one on the south for sheep and goats. The settlers' 50 acre farms were beyond Little Creek and Mill Creek to the south. All in all the town was laid out on a substantial and thoroughly practical scale, well calculated to assure its future prosperity.³³

And prosper the town did. A visit to the town by Benjamin Martyn, Secretary of the Trustees, brought forth this description of the Ebenezer of 1738-9.

"Fifteen miles from Purysburg on the Georgia side is Ebenezer, where the Salzburgers are situated. Their houses are neat and regularly set out in streets, and the whole economy of their town, under the influence of their ministers, Mess. Bolzius and Gronau, is very exemplary. For the benefit of their milch-cattle, a herdsman is appointed to attend them in the woods all the day and bring them home in the evening. Their stock of outlying cattle is also under the care of two other herdsmen, who attend them in their feeding in the day and drive them into cow-pens at night. This secures the owners from any loss, and the herdsmen are paid by a small contribution among the people. These are very

32. Samuel Urlsperger, Die Salzburgerische Emigranten, Waysenhauser, 1745, p. 2270.

33. Strobel, op. cit., p. 90.

industrious and subsist comfortably by their labor. Though there is no regular court of justice, as they live in sobriety, they maintain great order and decency. In case of any differences the minister calls three or four of the most prudent elders together, who in some way hear and determine as they think just, and the parties always acquiesce with content in their judgment. They are very regular in their public worship, which is on week-days in the evening after their work, and in the forenoon and evening on Sundays. They have built a large and convenient house for the reception of orphans and other poor children, who are maintained by benefactors among the people, are well taken care of and taught to work according as their age and ability will permit. The number computed by Mr. Bolzius in June, 1738, whereof his congregation consisted, was 146, and some more have since been settled among them. They are all in general so well pleased with their condition that not one of their people has abandoned the settlement."³⁴

Perhaps the most unique project of these pious pioneers was the aforementioned orphan house, patterned after the great Halle institutions. Early on the morning of November 14, 1737, ground was broken for the home, and when it was done a few months later, the Salzburgers had a public building 45 feet wide and 15 feet deep, two stories high. Each floor was divided into three rooms, and to the rear of the building were a kitchen, bake oven, stable, hennery and other smaller buildings. It was dedicated with much joy and thanksgiving on January 10, 1738, the first Protestant orphanage built in the colonies. The superintendent, Ruprecht Kalcher, had the home in operation two and one half years Bethesda, Whitefield's orphanage near Savannah, opened its doors.³⁵

At the time of Whitefield's visit in 1738 the "orphan house"

34. An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia, London, 1741, p. 47.

35. Finck, op. cit., p. 128.

was taking care of seventeen children and one widow. In addition to these, the sick were received, aged mothers were cared for, and the destitute given a refuge.³⁶ In 1740 Whitefield supplied the colony with an English teacher for their school and offered to educate two of their pupils for future Salzburg pastors.³⁷

Regarding the state of the colony, Bolzius wrote in a letter dated February 13, 1738:

"With great satisfaction we perceive, that, through the grace of God, general contentment prevails among our people. The longer they are here the better they are pleased; and their utmost wishes will be gratified when they shall be able to live by their own industry. They are satisfied because they are enjoying the privileges which they had long sought in vain -- to have the Word of God in its purity. Our heavenly Father will perhaps provide the means for building a house of worship. At present we worship in the orphan-house, and feel that God is with us."³⁸

And for the final word on the situation of the Salzburgers in their new settlement, we have a letter written by a Mr. Thomas Jones on September 18, 1740.

"Thirty miles distant from this place (Savannah) is Ebenezer, a town on the Savannah river, inhabited by Salzburgers and other Germans, under the pastoral care of Mr. Bolzius and Mr. Gronau, who are discreet, worthy men; they consist of fifty families and upwards. The town is neatly built, the location exceedingly pleasant; the people live in the greatest harmony with their ministers and with one another, as one family. They have no drunken, idle, or profligate people among them, but are industrious, and many have grown wealthy. Their industry has been blessed with remarkable and uncommon success, to the envy of their neighbors, having great plenty

36. Ibid.

37. Strobel, op. cit., n. 109.

38. Strobel, op. cit., p. 109.

of all necessary conveniences for life (except clothing) within themselves; and supply Savannah with bread, beef, veal, pork, poultry, etc."³⁹

So the Salzburg colony in America was established.

Another group of weary pilgrims had found rest for their bodies and peace for their souls in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Their future was to be one of severe trials and temptations to apostasy and compromise, but in all the years the very name of their little town was to be constant reminder to hope and trust and faithfulness -- "Ebenezer," "hitherto the Lord hath helped us."

End of B. D. Thesis⁴⁰

39. Ibid., p. 111.

40. The subsequent history of the Salzburgers in America, the development of the colony, their spiritual life, their contacts with other religious bodies, and their final disintegration and its causes, is to be covered in a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology.

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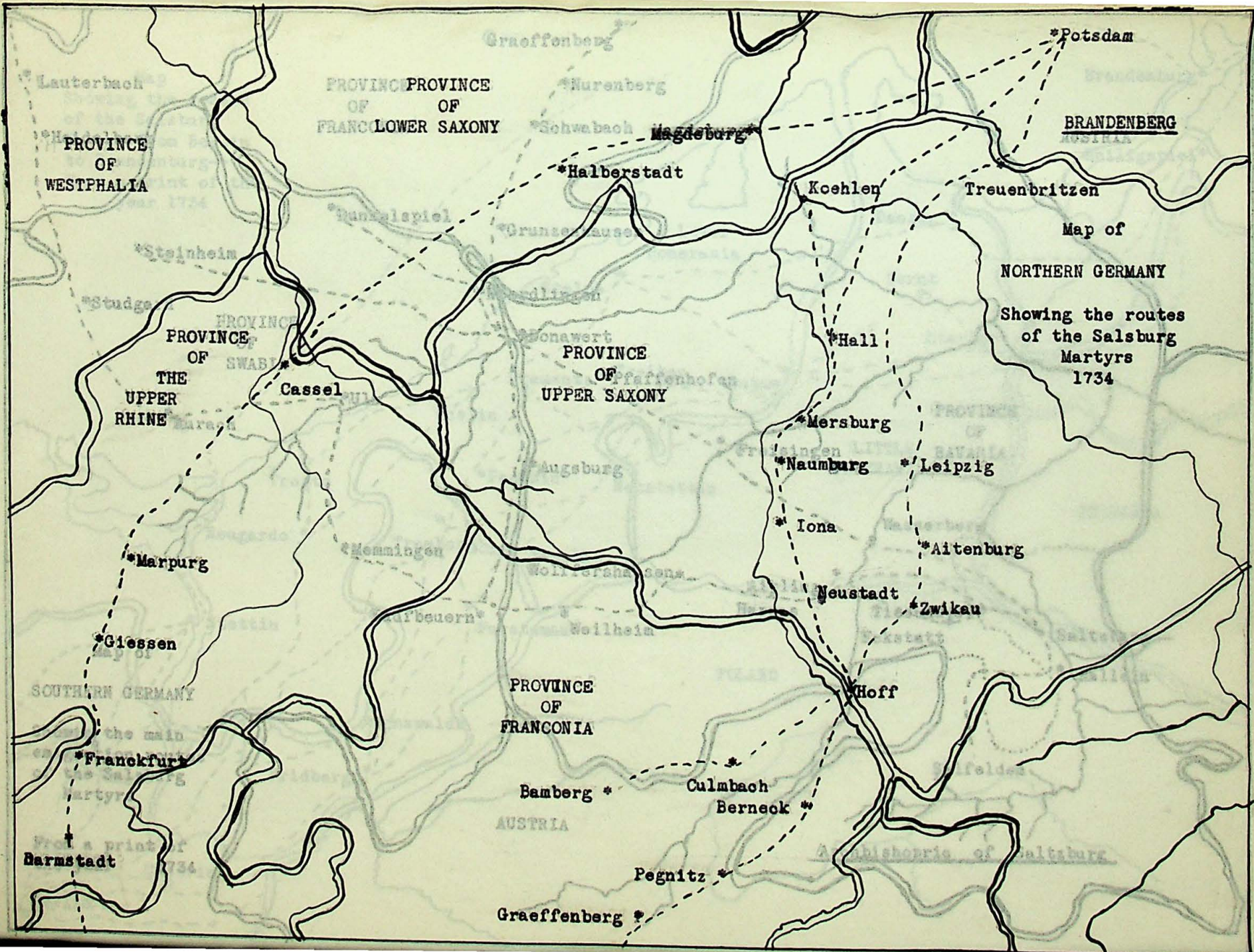
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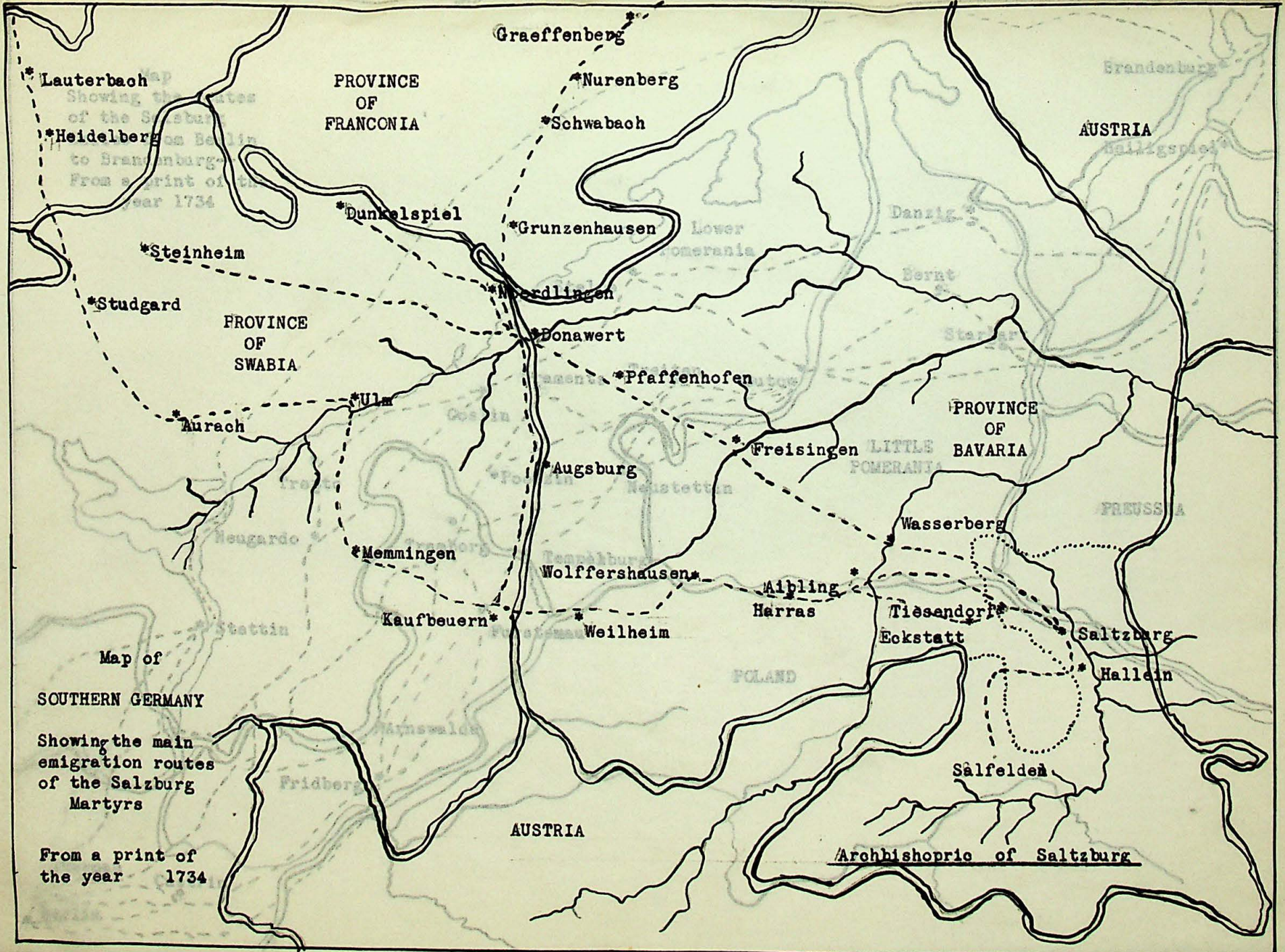
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Map of
NORTHERN GERMANY
Showing the routes
of the Salzburg
Martyrs
1734



Map of
SOUTHERN GERMANY
 Showing the main
 emigration routes
 of the Salzburg
 Martyrs
 From a print of
 the year 1734

PROVINCE
 OF
 FRANCONIA

PROVINCE
 OF
 SWABIA

PROVINCE
 OF
 BAVARIA

Archbishopric of Salzburg

Graeffenberg

*Nuremberg

*Schwabach

*Grunzenhausen

*Nardlingen

*Donawert

*Pfaffenhofen

*Freisingen

*Augsburg

Wasserberg

*Memmingen

Wolffershausen

*Aibling

Harras

*Tiesendorf

*Salzburg

*Kaufbeuern

*Weilheim

Eckstatt

*Hallein

Salfelden

AUSTRIA

AUSTRIA

Brandenburg

Lower
 Pomerania

Danzig

Bernt

Stark

LITTLE
 POMERANIA

PREUSSIA

POLAND

*Lauterbach
 *Heidelberg

*Steinheim

*Studgard

*Aurach

*Ulm

Stettin

Fridberg

Showing the routes
 of the Salzburg
 Martyrs
 From a print of the
 year 1734

Map
 Showing the routes
 of the Salzburg
 Exiles from Berlin
 to Brandenburg--
 From a print of the
 year 1734

