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The Salzburger Mills: Georgia's First Successful Enterprises

The Georgia Salzburgers were a tiny fraction of the many Lutherans who left Salzburg in 1731 rather than forsake their Protestant faith. Whereas the bulk of the exiles settled in East Prussia and Lithuania at the invitation of Frederick William, the "Soldier King" of Prussia, many remained behind in the imperial free cities of southern Germany, where they took whatever employment they could find.¹

During the following year a group of philanthropists in London, calling themselves the Trustees for Establishing a Colony in Georgia, made grandiose and idealistic plans for founding a settlement just south of South Carolina as a haven for the poor of England, a bastion against the Spaniards in Florida, and a source of raw materials for the home industries. The new colony was also to be a refuge for persecuted Protestants, because all of Protestant England pitied the exiles from Salzburg.²

To reach the Salzburgers, the trustees consulted Samuel Urlsperger, the senior Lutheran minister in Augsburg, who was himself a descendant of earlier Protestant refugees from Austria. Although the expulsion was practically over by 1733, Urlsperger succeeded in recruiting a few stragglers still passing through Augsburg and other exiles who had settled in nearby Protestant towns. The first group, or "transport," of Salzburgers was organized at Augsburg in August 1733 and put in the charge of Baron Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck, a young Hanoverian nobleman, who conducted them down the Main and Rhine to Rotterdam. There were only fifty-seven souls in this party.³

At Rotterdam the Salzburgers met their pastors, Johann Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau, two instructors from the Francke Foundation in Halle; from Rotterdam they proceeded to Dover and Savannah. The first Salzburger transport arrived in Savannah on 12 March 1733, when the colony of Georgia was just a year old. James Edward Oglethorpe, the chief authority in Georgia, placed the newcomers on a spot some twenty-five miles northwest of Savannah, an

area chosen mainly for military considerations. The spot, named Ebenezer, appeared fertile; and von Reck returned to Europe with glowing reports. Soon a second transport was underway under the conduct of Jean Vat, a Swiss from Biel; but, when they arrived at Ebenezer a year later, they found things in a deplorable condition, the area being sterile, unhealthy, and inaccessible.

By the time von Reck returned to Ebenezer with a third transport, this time mostly religious refugees from Upper Austria and Carinthia, Ebenezer was a disaster: Two crops had failed, sickness and death were rampant, and supplies could be brought up from Savannah only through superhuman effort. Boltzius, who had stood by Oglethorpe's decisions so far, at last agreed with Vat and the Salzburgers that the location was untenable, and, in a personal confrontation, he forced Oglethorpe to let the surviving Salzburgers move to the Red Bluff on the Savannah River.⁴ There, although the third transport had arrived sick and without supplies, progress was made as soon as the land was allotted.⁵ John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, George Whitefield, the great evangelist, and other Englishmen were astounded by the speed at which huts were built and the forests cleared and planted. By 1737 the Salzburgers were producing enough corn for their own needs.

The Gristmills

The first Salzburgers had brought iron hand mills to Ebenezer for grinding their grain. Although there was no crop the first year and woefully little the next, these hand mills scarcely sufficed for the Indian corn the Salzburgers raised or received as rations. After the third transport arrived, the situation became even worse, for they had to share the older settlers' inadequate mills. On 8 May 1736 Boltzius wrote in his journal that the new arrivals were subsisting on salted meat and Indian corn, which they could not grind properly because the wretched iron mills kept breaking.⁶ His journal for that year contains numerous other complaints about the scarcity, inadequacy, and difficulty of repairing these hand mills.

On 28 January 1738 the Salzburgers obtained three iron mills just imported from England, also an iron wheel by which the mills could be driven faster; but, despite the new and faster iron mills, grinding with them was too slow and laborious and did not grind flour fine enough for the sick. As a result, they greatly desired stone mills, even if manually operated. On 4 October 1737 Boltzius reported that, at the request of Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, the Court Chaplain in London, the trustees had donated a fine pair of millstones. He went on to say that there was a skilful carpenter among the Salzburgers, apparently Georg Kogler, who was going to build a compendious stone mill to be driven by two men.

By 20 November 1738 the millstones promised by the trustees had arrived and the mill had been built.⁷ While the flour from it was of excellent quality and adequate for the sick, the grain first had to be ground on the iron hand mills, thus making the process doubly tedious.

Besides that, it took two men an entire day to grind only one bushel of flour, as Boltzius reported on 3 April 1739. It was clear that the Salzburgers would need a power-driven mill if they were ever to plant European grains such as wheat, rye, oats, and barley, since these hard grains could not be ground profitably by hand. It was precisely the European grains that Oglethorpe wished the Salzburgers to plant, no doubt wheat for his English troops and oats for his horses and Highlanders.

To encourage the planting of corn, rice, and other grains, the trustees had promised a corn-shilling, a subsidy of one shilling on every bushel of grain;⁸ for it was obvious that, for military reasons, the colony had to become self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Boltzius advised Oglethorpe that even the subsidy would not encourage the planting of hard grain unless there were a power-driven mill to grind it; and he assured him that Ebenezer was the correct spot for the mill. Ebenezer was on a navigable river and therefore accessible for all the colony. The Salzburgers also had a trained miller, skilled carpenters, and willing and unspoiled workers. Boltzius gave these and other arguments in a long letter to Oglethorpe dated 3 April 1739, in which he mentioned that the mill would cost only a fraction of what the trustees had invested in the sawmill they had built at Old Ebenezer, which had just been completely destroyed by high water, as Boltzius recorded on 1 Sept. 1739.⁹

During his collection tour of 1740 in England and New England, Whitefield collected £76 for the Salzburgers, more specifically for them to build a church, for which he also brought a bell and hardware.¹⁰ Boltzius, as a Christian divine, knew he should put service to God before service to mammon; as a realist, however, he knew that Georgia and the Salzburgers needed a mill more than a church and that he would ingratiate himself better with Oglethorpe by building the former. Convinced by Boltzius's arguments in favor of a mill, Oglethorpe donated two millstones. On 14 April 1740 Boltzius sent the large boat down to Savannah to fetch them, not at all sure that the boat was strong enough to hold such a heavy cargo. His long entries for 14 April and 1 July show how deeply concerned he was about building the mill and doing it soon, one reason for haste being his fear that the Lord Trustees might decide to rebuild their destroyed sawmill at Old Ebenezer. This may suggest that he was already toying with the idea of building a sawmill as well as a gristmill, but it may just mean that he had been counting on the timber and hardware salvaged from the trustees' ruined mill.

On 24 June 1740 Boltzius wrote that the Salzburgers were willing to work three weeks without pay for the common good but that Kogler was hesitating to give up his farming as long as there was only Oglethorpe's £12 to depend on. Even though the people had expressed a willingness to work without compensation, Boltzius continued to harangue them with both Christian and economic arguments, as recorded on 1 July. A spot had first been chosen on a small creek, as Boltzius mentioned on 3 April 1739, but a better site was found on the farm of Josef Leitner, a Salzburger settled on Abercorn Creek. While inconvenient for the

inhabitants of Ebenezer proper, this location well suited those on the plantations along Abercorn Creek, who were now the chief grain producers. Most important, the navigable stream would make the mill accessible to people living elsewhere in the colony.

Abercorn Creek, henceforth called the *Mühl-Fluß*, or Mill River, had once been a channel of the Savannah River, being separated from the other channel by Abercorn Island just below Ebenezer. In time, the head of Abercorn Creek had nearly silted up, so that the northern tip of Abercorn Island almost touched the mainland. When the Savannah River was low, little water flowed from the main channel into Abercorn Creek, with the result that the creek was usually sluggish. Once the Salzburgers had discovered Abercorn Creek and had removed a few log jams, they could row from Savannah to its mouth with the aid of the flood and then continue the rest of the way on almost still water. This navigational facility was a prime factor in choosing Abercorn Creek and a major reason why, later on, so many planters from both Purysburg and Savannah were pleased to bring their grain there, as Boltzius recorded on 14 January 1741.

To get a head of water, the Salzburgers built a dam across Abercorn Creek a short distance from where it flowed out of the Savannah River and at a point where it made a wide semicircular bend. From the dam they dug a millrace straight to the mill and then on to Abercorn Creek again at a point below the bend. The water behind the dam was somewhat higher than the mill and therefore flowed down the millrace with enough momentum to turn the wheel. This mill, like those that followed it, was driven by water passing under, not over, the wheel; for the dam was not high enough to send the water over the wheel.¹¹

Work on the new mill was formally begun on 20 August 1740 with humble prayers for divine help, and on 26 August Boltzius remarked what a joy it was to see his congregation working so loyally. Boltzius was still doing token work on the church to pacify Whitefield, who had to account to his donors; but the major effort was made in throwing up the dam, digging the millrace, and building the mill. When the new mill was struck by high water on 9 September, it withstood the test, even though the soft soil had to be reinforced with branches and Spanish moss, according to Boltzius' report of 8 November. At this time the Salzburgers were also busy building a stamping or pounding mill in order to remove the hard outer husk from their rice and barley and thus make them marketable.¹² The success of the pounding mill greatly pleased the trustees. By 16 December Kogler could grind six bushels of flour in twenty-four hours with even the lowest water. Kogler was the most competent person to serve as miller; but he was soon replaced, his talents as a carpenter being too valuable for such an undemanding task. Struck by Kogler's selfless devotion, Boltzius commended him to the trustees for a compensation.¹³

On 27 April 1741 Harman Verelst, the trustees' accountant, wrote to Boltzius to say that they would donate £77 which, added to Oglethorpe's £12, would cover the £89 costs. Kogler and another skilled carpenter, Stephan Rottenberger, received "Christian" wages; but their

helpers worked without pay in return for future use of the mill, and therefore construction had to be suspended during the planting and harvesting seasons.

Although the mill had been completed in 1740, Boltzius seems to have appreciated its great value only at the beginning of the next year. On 3 January 1741 he wrote that he was "so overwhelmed by the benefaction the Lord had given" to the congregation that he "wrote a long letter to Gen. Oglethorpe about its quality and great usefulness." He further declared that "the mill is now capable of grinding night and day" and that he was sending Oglethorpe a barrel of flour as a sample. This letter well summarized the work as it had been performed the previous year and informed Oglethorpe of the many difficulties that had arisen and how they had been overcome. Boltzius took the promised barrel of flour down as far as Savannah on 7 January yet later discovered that it was still there waiting to be forwarded.

On 14 January 1741 Boltzius also offered to deliver flour to James Habersham, formerly the schoolmaster but now the manager at Bethesda, Whitefield's orphanage just south of Savannah. This flour was to cost only six shillings per hundred pounds, including transportation, whereas people were then paying eight shillings for coarse rye flour brought down from New York. On 16 January Boltzius stated that the Ebenezer mill had caused a sensation in Savannah and had made the people there say that God was with the Salzburgers. Production was soon doubled by the acquisition of sack cloth, as Boltzius wrote on 10 January. This sack cloth was not for making flour sacks, but for use as a sieve. At that very time the Savannah River was overflowing its banks, yet Kogler and his helpers successfully kept the soil of the dam from washing away.

Meanwhile, although expenses had somewhat exceeded the original £89, they were still only a fraction of the £1,000 purportedly squandered on the trustees' sawmill at Old Ebenezer. In his journal entry for 16 January 1741, Boltzius mentioned that further expenses were incurred by unforeseen events, and in his entry for 6 February 1741 he explained the steps taken to remedy the trouble. By 11 March the mill was functioning again despite the high water, and the miller was grinding excellent flour "from the smallest rice (which is called Negro Rice)" and which cost only half as much as regular rice. Leaks continued to appear during the spring of 1741 but were finally stopped.

Martin Hertzog, the servant at the Ebenezer orphanage, had been a miller by trade; yet he hesitated to serve in that capacity because he would have to leave the orphanage, where his soul was safer. In those days millers were suspected and hated everywhere in Europe, where every honest miller was said to have a golden thumb. Popular humor said that the millers had the fattest swine, implying that they stole their clients' grain to feed their own hogs; and Chaucer's dishonest miller Symkyn was no worse than millers of German popular fancy.¹⁴ Some medieval writers saw that the outrageous fees demanded of the peasants were actually forced on the millers by the landlords, who had a monopoly on the milling and could require their peasants to use their

mill regardless of unfair charges. The miller's life was not really a happy one, despite what "the Miller on the Dee" would have us believe. When Hertzog declined the position as miller, Thomas Bichler, a more ambitious man, assumed the position on 14 January 1741. From the Salzburgers he demanded only two quarts of flour per bushel, or only a sixteenth part, which was a far cry from what they had had to pay back in Salzburg. From strangers he demanded four pence per bushel, a price so low that people brought him grain all the way from Augusta and Frederica.

Because of the demands made on the mill, it was clear that it could use a second pair of millstones. In his letter of 3 January 1741 to Oglethorpe, Boltzcius not only related how industriously the Salzburgers had built the two cypress and oak walls to contain the earth of the milldam, but he also indicated that there would be enough water flowing through the millrace to turn another pair of stones, such as the ones then lying idle in Savannah. Boltzcius' hint about the Savannah millstones must have borne fruit, because on 25 March he wrote to Oglethorpe thanking him for them. Apparently other stones were ordered too, for Captain John Lemon of the *Loyal Judith* brought over "one pair Cullen Stones 2 feet 2 inches Diameter for the Corn Mill at New Ebenezer."¹⁵

Captain Lemon also brought the fourth and last transport of Salzburgers, thus increasing both the need and the forces for developing the mills.¹⁶ On 5 December 1744 Boltzcius requested the timber and hardware remaining at the trustees' ruined mill at Old Ebenezer, and by 9 April 1745 Boltzcius could report that a small house had been completed, as well as a pounding mill for rice and barley.¹⁷

In a letter of 2 August 1745 to Verelst, Boltzcius gave a very positive description of the state and usefulness of the mill. He went on to praise the Lord for this benefaction and to invoke His blessing for both the English and German donors who made it possible.¹⁸ Boltzcius next reminded Verelst that the latter had requested an estimate for a pounding mill, and now that it was completed he hoped that the trustees would remit the £50 the Salzburgers still owed and apply it to the new pounding mill. He also mentioned that the waterworks were in such good condition that they could also run a sawmill.¹⁹ The success with the waterworks was due in part to Georg Dressler, a Palatine from Savannah, who was experienced in hydraulic work and was a willing worker.

Although the gristmill sufficed for most of the year, it so happened that the river was usually at its lowest just when the European grains ripened and were brought to the mill for grinding. For this reason Boltzcius desired to build still another mill. He asked the trustees for two new stones, which they provided along with horse collars.²⁰ Before the end of 1747 the Salzburgers had dug a ditch eight feet wide and a thousand feet long to bring additional water from the Savannah River to the mills on Abercorn Creek. At about this time Chrétien von Münch, a wealthy Augsburg banker and benefactor of the Salzburgers, sent Kogler a copy of Leonhard Christoph Sturm's treatise on mill building.²¹

Joseph Avery, the new English surveyor, helped him with his blueprints. By 11 December 1750 he was also receiving expert assistance from Josef Schubdrein, a Palatine from Nassau-Saarbrücken who had arrived the previous year.

Small coins being scarce in the colony, Kogler began issuing scrip, with the mill as backing, which passed as legal tender in Ebenezer and could be converted to regular currency for use elsewhere.²² Because clients arrived without appointments, they often had to spend the night while waiting for their grain to be ground: For example, on 20 December 1749 there were six men from the German and Swiss town of Vernonsburg on the White Bluff just south of Savannah, with a large cargo of grain.²³ To house such strangers, a guesthouse was built and operated by Ruprecht Kalcher, the former manager of the now defunct Ebenezer orphanage.

In 1748 the Salzburger received new millstones. By November 1749 the mills were self-supporting and providing a modest income, even though only one of them could operate all year.²⁴ On 29 November 1750 Boltzius requested some more millstones for a "bolting Flower Mill," which were to be 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, the lower stone 12 inches thick and the upper one 10 inches. Verelst wrote on 27 April 1751 that the request had been granted.²⁵ By 4 September 1750 Boltzius could claim that the Ebenezer mills had encouraged other people to plant the much desired wheat and rye and to bring it to Ebenezer for grinding.²⁶ In October of 1750 a large transport of Swabian immigrants joined the Salzburger at Ebenezer, and they were followed by two more Swabian transports in the next two years. Some of them were settled on the Blue Bluff some five miles upstream from Ebenezer, and by now the Red Bluff, the White Bluff, and the Blue Bluff were all occupied by German-speaking people. Boltzius decided to put the third pair of millstones, received that same year, not on the Blue Bluff as originally planned, but alongside the older two mills and at a lower level so that they could be used even when the river was at its lowest.²⁷

By this time Bichler had died, having become rich and then poor again. He was succeeded in 1752 by Johannes Flerl along with Ruprecht Zimmerebener, two industrious Salzburger.²⁸ After Captain Peter Bogg had brought a shipload of indentured Palatines to Georgia as servants for the Salzburger in 1749, most of the unskilled work at the mill was done by them.²⁹ From this time on the gristmill flourished and remained Ebenezer's most profitable venture until surpassed and even subsidized by the later sawmills.

The Sawmills

As previously noted, Boltzius's letter of 2 August 1745 mentioned the possibility of building a sawmill. At Old Ebenezer one of the Salzburger's most difficult tasks had been to cut boards, since they had decided to build planked huts like those in Savannah rather than log cabins. In this task they were helped somewhat by fourteen Negro sawyers lent to them by Paul Jenys, the speaker of the house in South

Carolina; but the slaves' service had been hardly satisfactory: They had frequently run away, one of them had stabbed another, and another seems to have committed suicide.³⁰ In those days boards were sawed by two men, one above and one below, who strained on a ripsaw. When the Salzburgers abandoned Old Ebenezer in 1736, much against Oglethorpe's will, he required them to leave all boards behind. That meant that the sawing had to start all over again, this time without outside help. Nevertheless, by the time Wesley visited New Ebenezer one year later, enough boards had been sawed, without any Negro help, to build some sixty huts.³¹ Needless to say, the Salzburgers desired a power-driven sawmill.

Boltzius's decision to press for a sawmill may have been furthered by a delayed gift of all the boards remaining from the trustees' defunct sawmill at Old Ebenezer. On 1 August 1745 Verelst promised that the trustees would donate the timber chains from their former sawmill as well. On the following 16 February they so ordered, at which time they also sent cables from England.³² On 12 June they resolved to give the Salzburgers the "six Brasses" from their sawmill, which were then in the storehouse in Savannah, but there is no explanation of what the "Brasses" were.³³ On 11 November of the same year the trustees resolved to remit £50 still owed by the Salzburgers to Oglethorpe for the cornmill, and they also gave the Salzburgers not only the timber from their sawmill but also the iron work, which was already in the Salzburgers' safekeeping. As a result of these gifts, the Salzburgers quickly constructed their sawmill, which was functioning well by 20 January 1746 and could cut one thousand board feet in twenty-four hours. On 18 July 1747 Benjamin Martyn, the trustees' secretary, wrote to Colonel William Stephens, the President of the Council in Georgia, that they were pleased that the Salzburgers had brought their sawmill to perfection and hoped that such an example of industry would impress the other colonists.³⁴

Because the banks of the millrace had now settled, the Salzburgers had far less difficulty with the sawmill than they had had while building their cornmill. However, when the river was very low, there was not enough water to turn the wheel. When the river was too high, the water backed up behind the wheel as high as in front of it, thereby bringing it to a standstill. Consequently, Boltzius thought of the ambitious scheme of digging a ditch some fifteen hundred feet long to raise the water in the millrace by about two feet.³⁵

By 13 April 1747 Martyn had written to Chrétien von Münch that the trustees were going to allow the importation of rum to Georgia from the West Indies in order to gain a market there for the Salzburgers' lumber.³⁶ On 8 October 1748 Boltzius wrote to the president and council in Savannah to remind them how much the trustees desired the Salzburgers to export lumber. In this letter he stated that the greatest obstacle in their way was the lack of a wharf at Savannah. It was an expensive and backbreaking task to carry the lumber up and down the steep bluff, but there was nowhere to store it at the water's edge. That was regrettable, because ships often arrived unexpectedly in need of a

cargo of lumber at just the time that Abercorn Creek was too low to raft it down from the mill. Rafting was a difficult task at best, taking four men four days to raft ten thousand board feet from the mill to Savannah. By 6 July 1749 the trustees had recommended that the council approve the wharf.³⁷

Soon after Boltzius had been granted space for a wharf, he won a contract to supply timber for the new church in Savannah with his low bid of five shillings per hundred board feet. On 29 February 1748 he wrote a long letter to Verelst concerning the lumber cut for that purpose. To lift the lumber up the steep bluff, Boltzius requested that another crane be built at the waterfront like the one operated in Causton's time by the Palatine servants.³⁸ The construction of the church must have been proceeding slowly, for on 22 May 1750 the builder requested a large number of boards. In all this endeavor Boltzius was greatly aided by Habersham, the former manager of Whitefield's orphanage and now an enterprising merchant and assistant president of the council, who was urging the Salzburgers to export lumber rather than be subsistence farmers.³⁹

Because of the success with the sawmill, Boltzius soon desired a second one, as he mentioned frequently in his letters and journal.⁴⁰ Perhaps he expressed the need and possibility of a second sawmill best in his entry for 26 March 1750, which tells much about the mill situation and also sheds light on Boltzius's unusual economic insights. Boltzius explains that a new sawmill would help cover the expenses of maintaining the gristmills in those periods in which they were inoperative. It would be inexpensive to build, because they would not have to pay an outside engineer, as had been the case when they had to call on Joseph Avery, the English surveyor-engineer, to help with the previous mill.

In his entry Boltzius explained that, because the new site was at the water's edge under a bluff, the wagons could go up the hill empty and bring their loads downhill to the mill. When the river was high, the finished lumber could be rafted down to Savannah. Boltzius assured his readers that the Salzburgers would have no difficulty in selling all the boards they could produce because of their high quality. He then gave details about the prices the lumber fetched and the wages the workers and rafters could earn. In addition, the sawmill would not deplete the forests, because unlimited forests were found along the Savannah River.

Boltzius was unable to sell his cypress at Port Royal, where the price was high, because South Carolina passed a tariff against Georgia lumber.⁴¹ Despite that disappointment, work continued on the new mill, being helped by the trustees' gift of hardware, which Boltzius considered enough for three sawmills. By 26 April 1751 he could write Martyn that the new mill had been completed and that the mill dam, which was two hundred feet long and had cost nearly £100, furnished a good road along the way from Ebenezer to Goshen, the most recent of Ebenezer's dependencies. Boltzius's success was owed in part to his exporting only the heart wood, the slabs and the outside boards being sold locally at a cheaper rate.⁴² As in the case of the gristmills, the sawmills depended partly on indentured labor, such as that of Johann

Heinle and his wife, who had arrived on the *Charles Town Galley* in 1749. Indeed, since so many of the original Salzburgers had died, the success of the mills depended on the addition of the Palatine servants of 1749 and the three Swabian transports of 1750, 1751, and 1752.

Perhaps the greatest detriment to the sawmill operation was not inundation or Carolina tariffs, but human deceit. During the timber boom a con-artist named Jacob Friedrich Curtius moved to Ebenezer, a persuasive man who boasted of wealthy relatives in Philadelphia and who wished to invest in the lumber business. Boltzius does not tell what tactics this man used against his honest but gullible partners: We merely learn that he soon departed with the cash while leaving considerable debts. Much chagrined, Boltzius mentioned this theft numerous times in his journal and in his correspondence, until the trustees at last made good the loss. Curtius, or Kurtz as he called himself less formally, turned up later in Philadelphia as a wealthy newlander and wine importer sporting silk clothes and silver buckles but disinclined to pay his debts. Boltzius sent affidavits for his arrest, but there is no record that they were effective. This was a major reason that Bichler had died as a poor man.

By this time von Münch, who had been elected a Georgia trustee, had become engaged in the lumber business in Ebenezer, where he and his three sons and his son-in-law had each received a grant of five hundred acres.⁴³ Von Münch's commercial optimism is surprising in view of England's strict mercantilistic policies which he apparently hoped to circumvent. In any case, he seems to have lent, at no interest, some £200 worth of merchandize, which was to be sold at a shop next to the mill, the proceeds to be applied to the construction of the mill. This public shop was run by Johann Georg Meyer, with the help of an indentured Palatine servant named Johann Adam Treutlen, who later became Georgia's first elected governor.⁴⁴

When the trustees were accounting on 12 June 1752 to their successors, the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, about the state of the colony they were surrendering to the Crown, they reported that a "Considerable Trade for Lumber is now carried on with the West Indies, to the great Benefit of the Province in General, and in particular of the Saltburghers who have two good mills at Ebenezer."⁴⁵ For the next seventeen years the mills, particularly the sawmills, remained the glory of Ebenezer and of Georgia. It is ironic, therefore, that they also contributed to Ebenezer's downfall.

When Boltzius died in 1765, his first assistant, Hermann Heinrich Lemke, was failing fast. The sponsors in Germany saw that the widespread and growing ministry was too heavy a burden for the third pastor, Christian Rabenhorst, who had arrived in the 1752 with the third Swabian transport. Consequently, they sent Christian Friedrich Triebner to share the load. Triebner, a vain and ambitious man, had erroneously assumed that he was to be Boltzius's successor and therefore first in command, although this had been neither said nor even intended. To establish himself politically, the new minister married a daughter of the late Pastor Gronau and thus became a brother-in-law of Johann Caspar

Wertsch, who had married another of Gronau's daughters. Wertsch had arrived in 1749 as an indentured servant. Like Treutlen, he had served his time as schoolmaster and storekeeper until becoming the other leading inhabitant of Ebenezer.

Politically secure, Triebner denounced Rabenhorst and accused him of trying to misappropriate the mills. His letters to Germany took effect, and orders came for him to take charge of the mills. Being better informed than the patrons in Germany, the millboard in Ebenezer knew that Rabenhorst had acted correctly, and they refused to obey the command. The grants and donations for the mills had been assigned to Boltzius to facilitate surveillance by the trustees. When he felt too old for the responsibility of operating the mills, he passed their possession on to Lemke, who later passed it on to Rabenhorst.⁴⁶

This rift between the two pastors probably reflected the growing rivalry then developing between Wertsch and Treutlen. The congregation was soon divided into two factions, each led by a pastor and an influential citizen. The struggle became so bitter that Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the venerable patriarch of the Pennsylvania Lutherans, had to visit Savannah to reconcile the two feuding parties. After careful investigation and many emotional meetings he judged in favor of Rabenhorst, and the mills were rented out to a tenant against Triebner's objections. This situation continued into the Revolution, after the Whig Party had taken over the colonial government without resistance from the British authorities.

Triebner's turn came when Colonel Archibald Campbell recaptured Savannah from the rebels at the end of 1777, causing Treutlen and the other rebels to flee from Ebenezer. Triebner welcomed the conquerors and dined at the colonel's table. Yet, despite his loyalty to the Crown, he could not prevent the British from cutting through the milldam so as to bring their boats closer to Ebenezer. Thus both the gristmills and the sawmills were left to deteriorate. By the time the war ended, they were too far gone to be revived, and thus ended the Salzburgers' two major industries.

Some may be amazed that Boltzius, as a man of the cloth, could perform so well economically while putting his spiritual duties first. This can be explained by the fact that he was a faithful student of the Francke Foundation, a charitable institution that recognized the needs of the body and attempted, as far as possible, to be economically self-sufficient. To gain self-sufficiency, the foundation operated a printing press, an apothecary, and other enterprises, all of which had repercussions in Ebenezer. In fact, Renate Wilson has convincingly shown that the economy of Ebenezer, centered at first around the orphanage, was designed as a replica of the Halle institutions.⁴⁷ Because of Ebenezer's economic success, the English in Savannah knew that the Lord was with the Salzburgers.

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Notes

Abbreviations:

AN = *Ausführliche Nachrichten von den Salzburgerischen Emigranten . . .* (Halle, 1745ff.).

CR = *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen D. Candler, vols. 1-19, 21-26 (Atlanta, 1904-13), vols. 20, 27-39 in typescript at Ga. Dept. of Archives, now being republished by University of Georgia Press. Already published, vols. 20 and 27 (1977), 28 (1976), 30 (1985).

DR = *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants . . .*, ed. George F. Jones, et al. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1968ff.).

¹ The story of the expulsion is well told in Gerhard Florey, *Bischöfe, Ketzer, Emigranten: Der Protestantismus im Lande Salzburg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Graz: Böhlau, 1967).

² For founding of Georgia, see Kenneth Coleman, *Colonial Georgia* (New York: Scribner, 1976).

³ For details about the Georgia Salzburgers, see George F. Jones, *Salzburger Saga* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984).

⁴ See George F. Jones, "The Secret Diary of Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969): 78-110.

⁵ Their supplies had been inadvertently sent to Frederica instead of to Ebenezer.

⁶ To minimize documentation, dates have been substituted as far as possible for footnotes. All facts dated from 1734 to 1750 but not otherwise documented are found in AN and DR under the pertinent date. DR also includes matter deleted from AN by Urlsperger.

⁷ For a description of mill, see DR 4:237, note 185.

⁸ Three years later the Salzburgers finally received £169 for their 1739 crops.

⁹ CR 30:333.

¹⁰ CR 22 II:298, 420.

¹¹ See fig B in AN 3:74, reproduced in *Salzburger Saga*, plate 16 (see note 3). This picture was engraved by Tobias Conrad Lotter of Augsburg.

¹² CR 22 II:420, CR 31:7.

¹³ CR 22 II:465. On 27 April the trustees asked how he might best be aided (CR 30:337).

¹⁴ See George F. Jones, "Chaucer and the Medieval Miller," *Modern Language Quarterly* 16 (1955): 3-15.

¹⁵ CR 30:380.

¹⁶ See George F. Jones, "The Fourth Transport of Georgia Salzburgers," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 56 (1983): 3-26, 52-64.

¹⁷ CR 24:223. By "small house" Boltzius is probably referring to fig. C in illustration mentioned in note 11.

¹⁸ CR 24:373.

¹⁹ CR 24:219, 374.

²⁰ AN 3:259-60; CR 2:481.

²¹ AN 3:259-60; AN 317:561. Its title was *Vollständige Mühlen Baukunst . . .* (Augsburg, 1718), AN 3:11, 18; AN 3:855.

²² AN 3:150.

²³ AN 3:609. Vernonburg had the only other operative mill in Georgia, a rice stamping mill built by the Swiss settler Michael Burckhalter from Lützelflüh in Canton Bern (*The Journal of William Stephens, 1743-45*, ed. E. Merton Coulter [Athens, GA, 1959], 60), AN 3:793, 833.

²⁴ CR 3:276; AN 3:662.

²⁵ CR 31:487; CR 26:74; CR 31:487. See also 26:54.

²⁶ CR 26:53, 261.

²⁷ CR 26:261. It is not clear why the stones, and not just the millwheel, had to be lower.

²⁸ Samuel Urlsperger, *Americanisches Ackerwerck Gottes* (Augsburg, 1755), 190, 205.

²⁹ Jacob Kaup and his wife and Johann Balthasar Zoller were the first mill servants (CR 26:50). Zoller soon absconded to the Congarees in South Carolina (CR 26:311).

³⁰ See DR 1, index under "Negroes."

³¹ DR 4:xii.

³² CR 31:7. This mill had two sets of saws (CR 25:118). See CR 24:219, 220, 374 and also CR 2:469.

³³ CR 1:488.

³⁴ CR 1:488, 31:74. AN 3:47, CR 31:74. On 24 March 1746 Verelst wrote to Stephens, "You did well to assist Mr. Boltzius with the Timber Chain he wanted, and you cannot recommend your Selves more to the Trustees Favour, than by encouraging and countenancing him and the Saltburghers under his Care, who are become an Example of Industry worthy of Imitation of every Inhabitant of Georgia" (CR 31:152).

³⁵ See Boltzius's letter of 5 Jan. 1748 to Vernon (CR 25:255).

³⁶ CR 31:157.

³⁷ CR 25:322; AN 3:654. See note 7 and CR 25:385.

³⁸ CR 25:273, 338; CR 25:275, CR 25:259.

³⁹ AN 3:679. See his letters of 19 Dec. 1750 and 2 Jan. (OS) to Martyn (CR 26:102, 115).

⁴⁰ He mentioned it no less than eighteen times in his journal between 1744 and 1751 (AN 3:9, 11, 18, 19, 21, 27, 47, 52, 168, 259, 371, 561, 562, 596, 662, 849, 855, 944).

⁴¹ CR 26:75; AN 3:856.

⁴² CR 26:197; CR 26:199; CR 26:74. In 1739 there were 168 survivors from the first three transports, who are listed in DR 6:325-34. During the building of the mills, the number of inhabitants rose from 249 to about 1,000. See chapter 3 of Renate Wilson, "Halle and Ebenezer: Pietism, Agriculture and Commerce in Colonial Georgia," Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1988.

⁴³ CR 1:489, 31:80. See his letter of acceptance with his account of his merchandizing (CR 25:261-64, CR 1:567, 2:518).

⁴⁴ CR 1:489, CR 25:14, 224. Boltzius later asked the trustees to compensate him (CR 25:273, CR 26:73). Meyer had arrived in 1750 with the first Swabian transport. See George F. Jones, "Johann Adam Treutlen . . ." in *Forty Years of Diversity: Essays on Colonial Georgia*, ed. Harvey H. Jackson and Phinizy Spalding (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 217-28.

⁴⁵ CR 33:581.

⁴⁶ A copy of this letter is reproduced in Mühlenberg's detailed account of the Triebner-Treutlen struggle, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (Philadelphia, 1942-48), 2:584-686.

⁴⁷ See note 42.

