

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Introduction

This book is about a small community in colonial Georgia founded in 1734 by German-speaking mountain folk expelled from their Salzburg homeland. Drawing on published and unpublished sources from both sides of the Atlantic, my study weaves together two narratives. The first, unfolding on a European stage, is the story of the largest religious expulsion in eighteenth-century Europe and the last major paroxysm of religious persecution in the Holy Roman Empire. The second, an episode in European colonial expansion, describes a small group of German-speaking exiles who crossed the Atlantic and settled on the southernmost frontier of Britain's North American empire. Of necessity, then, this book is a transatlantic study bridging the fields of early modern Europe, colonial North America, and what scholars have come to call "the Atlantic World."

First, the European context. The prince-archbishopric of Salzburg was one of the hundreds of semiautonomous principalities comprising the Holy Roman Empire. The well-known formula of *cujus regio, ejus religio* (literally "Whose realm, His religion"), enshrined in the imperial constitution by the peace settlements of Augsburg (1555) and Westphalia (1648), had established that the religion of a prince was the official religion of the territory. Those subjects who could not conform to the prince's religion could choose to emigrate to another territory. Hence Salzburg's prince-archbishop, like other territorial rulers in the empire, wielded both temporal and spiritual power over his subjects. By the standards of the empire, Salzburg was a medium-sized territory. Its population of approximately two hundred thousand inhabitants included the city of Salzburg, with roughly thirteen thousand residents, along with a predominantly alpine hinterland. The latter was bordered variously by the duchy of Bavaria, governed at that time by the Wittelsbach dynasty, and the

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

archduchies of Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria, and Upper Austria, all hereditary possessions of the Habsburg dynasty. The prince-archbishopric retained its semi-independent status up to the Napoleonic era, when it was briefly annexed to Bavaria and then finally absorbed into the Habsburg hereditary lands. Present-day Salzburg is one of the eight federal *Länder* comprising the Republic of Austria, with territorial borders approximating those of its eighteenth-century predecessor.

Today it is Mozart, Salzburg's native prodigy, who dominates the city's carefully preserved baroque façade. But at the time of the composer's birth in 1756, the image of the prince-archbishopric – at least in Protestant Europe – was colored by more ominous associations. These grew out of the draconian Emigration Patent (1731) issued by Salzburg's prince-archbishop, Leopold Anton von Firmian. Dedicated like most rulers of his day to upholding religious uniformity in his lands, Archbishop Firmian had begun his reign (1727–44) by dispatching Jesuit missionaries from outside the territory to investigate pockets of Protestantism that had survived in Salzburg's alpine regions since the Reformation. There is good reason to believe that when Firmian invited the Jesuits to launch their missions, he was unaware of the extent to which clandestine, crypto-Protestant beliefs and practices (chiefly Lutheran) had survived in the mountainous region to the south. In the ensuing years the polarizing presence of the Jesuits, with their well-honed and sometimes aggressive techniques for exposing heresy, revealed just how deeply embedded Protestant attitudes were among the local population. As tensions mounted in the course of the investigations, the archbishop, believing his Protestant subjects were plotting open rebellion, issued his expulsion edict of October 31, 1731.

As we know from Mack Walker's 1992 study, still the best account of the expulsions, Firmian's decree led to the exodus of some twenty thousand Protestants from his territory.¹ The reverberations, as Walker shows in detail, resonated far beyond the archbishopric. The expulsions provoked outrage throughout Protestant Europe, creating one of the most resounding *cause célèbres* of the century. In the forefront of the international campaign waged on the exiles' behalf were clergy associated with the Pietist movement in Halle, the Prussian town where August

¹ Mack Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction: Expulsion and Redemption in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 1992). The standard Austrian account, written from a Protestant point of view, is Gerhard Florey, *Geschichte der Salzburger Protestanten und ihrer Emigration 1731/32*, 2nd ed. (Salzburg, 1986), while Franz Ortner, *Reformation, katholische Reform und Gegenreformation im Erzstift Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1981), 179–262, is written from a Catholic viewpoint.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction*

3

Hermann Francke (1663–1727) had founded his renowned network of schools, orphanages, and missions. Halle Pietists had aimed not just at breathing new life into the established churches of Lutheran Germany; inspired by a millennialist eschatology of universal Christian reform and renewal, they helped sponsor missions to places as distant as Siberia and South India. By the 1730s this missionary ardor had begun to wane as the Pietists grew increasingly preoccupied with purging from their midst real or perceived separatist tendencies. The immediate effect of the Salzburg expulsions was to inject new life into the Pietist movement. In addition to mobilizing financial support for the exiles, Pietist pastors throughout the empire produced a remarkable volume of sermons and pamphlets denouncing the expulsions and depicting with due pathos the courage and piety of the exiles.² They organized welcoming committees to greet the emigrants as they passed through the empire en route to Prussia and other destinations, and lobbied Protestant rulers inside and outside Germany to find a new home for the exiles.

Pietists took particular advantage of their close relationship with the Prussian crown, which welcomed the refugees and by the end of 1734 had settled around ten thousand of them on East Prussian farmsteads. All told, some sixteen thousand would emigrate to Hohenzollern Prussia. For Frederick William I, the Prussian king, they were a valuable asset. Not only did they help repopulate areas of the monarchy stricken by war and pestilence during the previous century, but as Walker shows, the exiles also delivered the Hohenzollerns a major public-relations coup. Throughout Protestant Germany, pamphlets and sermons, poems and iconography celebrated the dynasty's actions on behalf of the persecuted Salzburgers. By serving to legitimate Prussian claims to leadership of the Protestant cause in the *Reich*, such propaganda laid a religious cornerstone for the nationalistic master narrative later associated with the nineteenth-century Prussian Historical School.³

Because Walker's account is exclusively concerned with the significance of the expulsions for German history, it passes over the experiences of a smaller group of exiles who chose to migrate in a different direction. Instead of fleeing north, around 150 of them moved westward, across the Atlantic to the newly founded colony of Georgia. The first transport of Salzburgers landed in Savannah in March 1734, barely a year after

² Walker estimates that more than three hundred titles related to the expulsions were published in sixty-seven different places between 1732 and 1733 alone – *Salzburg Transaction*, 197.

³ Walker, *Salzburg Transaction*, 204–22.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

James Edward Oglethorpe had arrived aboard the *Anne* with the first boatload of English-speaking immigrants to the colony. Inside the span of a few years, the Salzburger settlement at Ebenezer had become a stable and viable frontier community. At a time when disenchanted settlers elsewhere were leaving the new colony in droves, Ebenezer proved one of Georgia's few success stories. Colonists from neighboring South Carolina came to grind their corn there, Ebenezer sawmills supplied large quantities of lumber for export to the West Indies, and the settlement was on its way to becoming one of the largest producers of raw silk in the Lower South. Early visitors like Oglethorpe and the evangelist George Whitefield described Ebenezer in glowing terms, praising the piety, industry, and self-sufficiency of its inhabitants.

But for most historians today – and here we come to the American side of the story – Ebenezer's Salzburgers are best remembered for their role in supporting the Georgia's ban on slavery. At the urging of Oglethorpe and his fellow trustees (the philanthropic corporation to which Parliament had entrusted management of the colony in 1732), the British crown had approved a statute in 1735 prohibiting the importation of slaves into the colony. The ban meant that Georgia, the youngest of the original thirteen colonies, was for fifteen years the only one prohibiting slavery. Opposing the statute was a vocal faction of English-speaking colonists in Savannah who insisted that slavery was essential to the colony's well-being. Proslavery forces ultimately carried the day, when the trustees finally rescinded their ban in 1750. Still, for more than a decade Ebenezer settlers, led by their Pietist pastor Johann Martin Boltzius, were among the colony's staunchest opponents of allowing enslaved Africans into Georgia. Ebenezer's antislavery petition of 1739 was one of the first of its kind in Britain's southern colonies, and its central claim – that the very survival of Ebenezer had demonstrated the capacity of a white yeomanry to subsist without slaves – was repeatedly invoked by the trustees in contesting the claims of the colony's proslavery lobby.

Who were these people? What kind of lives had they led in their alpine homeland, and why did they choose to cross the Atlantic and settle in British America, with its unfamiliar language, climate, and peoples, when they might just have easily have emigrated to Prussia or some other German Protestant principality? Why did Georgia's Salzburgers prove more adept at adjusting to their new environment than their English-speaking counterparts, and how did their experiences compare with those of other German-speaking immigrants to British America? How did a relatively isolated alpine folk respond to peoples with whom

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction*

5

they had had no previous contact, whether European, African, or indigenous? How did they adapt to a new and unfamiliar world where the institution of slavery was taking root with a speed and brutality unprecedented in colonial North America, and how was their adjustment informed by attitudes and experiences they carried from the Old World to the New World? What led them to support the colony's ban on slavery, and once it was repealed, how did they adapt to the new social and economic order?

Answering these questions is difficult, for while Georgia's Salzburgers were a relatively few in number, the historical and geographical stage on which their lives unfolded was vast. Their world was a pattern of concentric circles, simultaneously discrete and connected, local but also global. Atlantic history is rightly criticized as being parochial in its own right for its frequent fixation on Western Europe and the ports of North America's eastern seaboard. Yet there is little question, as David Eltis has observed, that practitioners of the field have done much to illuminate how the Atlantic world connected the local and the global in unprecedented ways.⁴ What makes the Salzburgers an especially fruitful object of inquiry is the rich and diverse body of sources that document their experiences on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. The range of these sources enables the historian, fortuitously and unexpectedly, to reconstruct the transatlantic worlds of simple folk whose humble and obscure lives often resist detailed investigation.

Indispensable for any study of the Georgia Salzburgers are the *Detailed Reports* (*Ausführliche Nachrichten*) of Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius (1703–65), the Halle-educated missionary enlisted by his Pietist superiors in 1733 to accompany the first transport of Georgia-bound Salzburgers.⁵ Boltzius would spend the rest of his life in the colony, helping to found the Ebenezer community and serving most of his remaining years as its spiritual and secular head. His daily journal entries, which he recorded as part of his official pastoral duties, begin with his departure from Halle in November 1733. They continue through December 1760, when Boltzius, his eyesight failing and his physical capacities spent by the rigors of frontier life, submitted his last official entry. His journals,

⁴ On this point see David Eltis, "Atlantic History in Global Perspective," *Itinerario* 23 (1999), 141, and more recently, Philip D. Morgan and Jack P. Greene, "Introduction: The Present State of Atlantic History," in *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford and New York, 2009), 8. For trenchant critiques of Atlantic history for its neglect of other regions, see in the same volume Peter H. Wood, "From Atlantic History to a Continental Approach," 279–98, and Peter A. Coclanis, "Beyond Atlantic History," 337–56.

⁵ The German spelling of his name is Bolzius. I have adopted the alternate spelling because it is the one that most often occurs in English-language sources.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

an account of Boltzius's stewardship over the Salzburgers, supplied his Pietist patrons in Europe with a written record of Ebenezer's spiritual and material progress. For the historian interested in Ebenezer and indeed, the colonial South more broadly, his reports provide a unique glimpse into life on the southern frontier of Britain's North American empire. They recount matters like the first sea passage, the Salzburgers' struggle to adapt to their new environment, Boltzius's efforts to create a model Pietist community in the Georgia wilderness, the settlers' encounters with indigenous peoples, the German-speaking community's relationship with its English-speaking neighbors, the shifting attitudes of Boltzius and his parishioners to African slaves, the changes affecting the community following the introduction of slavery and the arrival of new immigrants from other parts of the Holy Roman Empire – all themes and events that Boltzius, over the span of more than a quarter century, describes in remarkable detail. Boltzius's journals yield valuable insights, not least as a counterweight to the Anglocentrism that continues to pervade American colonial history. His perspective offers a view of the colonial south from its frontier periphery, one, moreover, peopled not by Britons but by German-speaking colonists. His is a salutary reminder that the European settlement of eighteenth-century British America, above all of its frontier regions, was carried out to a large extent by men and women whose native language was not English. Around 84,500 German-speaking immigrants made their way to the thirteen colonies between 1700 and 1775, a number that significantly exceeds both the 35,000 Scots and 73,100 English and Welsh who came over. Only the Irish, with 108,600 immigrants, outpaced their German-speaking counterparts during this period.⁶

Boltzius's reports were edited and published during his lifetime by Samuel Urlsperger, senior Lutheran pastor in the imperial city of Augsburg and a leading Pietist champion of the Salzburgers. Urlsperger brought out his first installment of the reports in 1735; by 1760 a total of twenty-two installments, almost six thousand pages in quarto, had appeared under his

⁶ These figures are taken from Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia, 1996), 2. On comparative dimensions of European migration to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century North America, see also idem, "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution," *Journal of American History* 85 (1998), 43–76, and Marianne Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park, PA, 1999).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Introduction

7

editorship. Through the tireless labors of George Fenwick Jones and his able team of collaborators, an eighteen-volume English edition was published between 1968 and 1995.⁷ Paradoxically the Jones edition, though a translation, is in some respects more faithful to Boltzius's original text than Urlsperger's bowdlerized version. Urlsperger's immediate aim in publishing Boltzius's account was to attract benefactors and future colonists. So as not to discourage donations or deter prospective immigrants, Urlsperger therefore modified or simply deleted passages he feared might cast too grim a light on conditions in Georgia or damage the reputation of Ebenezer and its sponsors. Occasionally he also removed the names of individuals whom Boltzius had criticized, and replaced them with randomly assigned initials.⁸ Jones and his editorial team were able to restore at least part of Boltzius's original text by consulting microfilms of the original manuscripts, and thanks to the work of the late Regina Wilson, one of Jones's former students, the American edition also includes an entire volume of entries that Urlsperger had chosen not to publish.⁹

Jones and his coeditors could not remedy all the shortcomings of Urlsperger's edition. Because no original manuscripts of Boltzius's reports survive after 1745, much of the Jones edition by necessity had to rely on Urlsperger's expurgated version. Publication of the reports

⁷ *Ausführliche Nachricht von der Königlichen Grossbritannischen Kolonie Salzburger Emigranten in America ... herausgegeben von Samuel Urlsperger*, 3 vols. (Halle, 1735–52); continuation as *Amerikanisches Ackerwerk Gottes; oder zuverlässige Nachrichten, den Zustand der amerikanisch englischen und von salzburgischen Emigranten erbauten Pflanzstadt Ebenezer in Georgien betreffend ...*, 4 vols. (Augsburg, 1754–67). The final volume was edited by Samuel Urlsperger's son, Johann August Urlsperger. For the English edition, see George Fenwick Jones et al., *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America ... Edited by Samuel Urlsperger [henceforth DR]*, 18 vols. (Athens, GA, 1968–93); volumes 4–6 were published together with Renate Wilson, with volume 18 (also coedited with Wilson) published by Picton Press in Camden, ME, 1995. Jones, a Germanist by training and a direct descendant of early Georgia settlers, devoted much of his career to editing and translating sources on Ebenezer and its history. These include the correspondence of Henry Newman, secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the philanthropic organization in London that played a key role in arranging and financing the Salzburger's passage to Georgia. See *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks*, transcribed and edited by George Fenwick Jones (Athens, GA, 1966). Jones's works also include *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans along the Savannah* (Athens, GA, 1984), a short survey, and *The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733–1783*, which treats the Salzburgers in the broader context of German migration to colonial Georgia.

⁸ On this point see Jones's introduction to the first volume of *DR* 1:xii–xiii.

⁹ These were Boltzius's entries from 1744–5. On the circumstances surrounding the lapse in publication during those years, see Renate Wilson, "Public Works and Piety: The Missing Salzburger Diaries for 1744–1745," *GHQ* 77 (1993), 336–66.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

ceased altogether between 1755 and 1759, and because there are no surviving manuscripts for these years, they are also missing from the American edition. The Georgia section of the *Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen* in Halle, which houses more than a thousand letters and reports from British America and Europe related to Ebenezer's founding and development,¹⁰ helps fill some of the gaps in Boltzius's account. These documents include a substantial number of Boltzius's private letters, more than 150 of which were recently edited and translated by Russell C. Kleckley in a two-volume English edition.¹¹ Not only do the pastor's letters shed light on years absent from extant versions of Boltzius's reports, but they were also an occasion to write more freely about conditions in the community, since the letters were not crafted with an eye toward publication.

Like others who have written about the Salzburger in Georgia,¹² then, I have relied extensively on Boltzius's testimony. Yet in one respect he provides little insight into a basic question that sparked my original interest in this project: Who were the Salzburger before they became "the Salzburger"? That is to say: What kinds of lives did they lead before they fled their alpine valleys and became a transatlantic cause célèbre? What were their social backgrounds, and what kinds of occupations had they practiced? What do we know about their religious behavior and beliefs, and how did these occasion their expulsion? Historians of immigration have been insisting for decades that the movement and settlement of peoples is as much about the places they leave as it is about their destinations. This assumption, in fact, has guided much of the recent scholarship on German migration to

¹⁰ A detailed and helpful guide to the Georgia section is *Salzburg-Halle-North America: A Bilingual Catalog with Summaries of the Georgia Manuscripts in the Francke Foundations*, ed. Thomas J. Müller-Bahlke and Jürgen Gröschl (Halle and Tübingen, 1999).

¹¹ *Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius, Lutheran Pastor in Ebenezer, Georgia*, ed. and trans. Russell C. Kleckley in collaboration with Jürgen Gröschl (Lewiston, NY, 2009). The edition also includes letters found in the collection of Francke's papers (the Francke Nachlass) located in the Berlin State Library, microfilmed versions of which are housed in the archives of the Francke Foundations.

¹² Hermann Winde, "Die Frühgeschichte der lutheranischen Kirche in Georgia. Dargestellt nach den Archivalien der Franckeschen Stiftungen in Halle und der Universitätsbibliothek in Tübingen" (PhD diss., Martin-Luther-Universität Halle Wittenberg, 1960); Renate Wilson, "Halle and Ebenezer: Pietism, Agriculture, and Commerce in Colonial Georgia" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1988); Jones, *The Salzburger Saga*; Charlotte E. Haver, *Von Salzburg nach Amerika: Mobilität und Kultur einer Gruppe religiöser Emigranten im 18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 2011), a revised version of the author's 1991 Dortmund *Habilitationsschrift*.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Introduction

9

British America.¹³ Here, however, Boltzius's letters and reports can take us only so far, for they rarely include much information about the lives of his beloved Salzburger prior to expulsion. This silence has much to do with the Pietist outlook that frames his reports. Much like a Pietist conversion narrative, these describe the Salzburger migration as a passage from darkness to light, from sin to redemption, from spiritual despair to assurance of salvation. For Boltzius, the Salzburger's lives before exile were built on hypocrisy and deceit, the story of men and women accustomed to avoiding persecution by hiding their true beliefs and feigning false ones. That was a past life, one that migration to the colonies, with its attendant hope of redemption, promised to erase and supplant. The real life of a Salzburger began *after* Salzburg, and if, on occasion, Boltzius alludes to a parishioner's life before exile, the glimpses he offers are fleeting and often formulaic.

Modern accounts, relying as they do on Boltzius's testimony, are not much more informative. They begin with a brief and general account of the expulsions, drawn mainly from the secondary literature, and then quickly recount the events leading up to the Georgia migrations. The narrative then moves on to the founding of Ebenezer, and it is there, as it was for Boltzius, where the real story of the Salzburger begins. The recent study by Charlotte E. Haver is slightly more attentive to the European context, and unlike the studies by Jones, Wilson, and Winde, hers consults sources in Salzburg archives. Yet Haver makes no attempt to use these materials to reconstruct the lives of individual exiles before their emigration. As a result – much as in Boltzius's account – the Salzburger prior to expulsion figure largely as an abstraction; indeed, their names rarely appear at all in Haver's study, whether the context is European or American.

One purpose of this book has been to give the exiles a history, one that begins not on the frontier of British America but in the rugged

¹³ See Nancy L. Green, "The Politics of Exit: Reversing the Immigration Paradigm," *Journal of Modern History* 77 (2005), 263–89. On German migration to colonial North America, see the pioneering study by A. G. Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore and London, 1993). See also Roeber's programmatic statement in "In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 44 (1987), 750–74. For more recent examples of works in the field that are similarly attentive to the question of origins, see Rosalind J. Beiler, *Immigrant and Entrepreneur: The Transatlantic World of Caspar Wistar, 1650–1750* (University Park, PA, 2008); Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2007); idem, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775* (Philadelphia, 1996).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-06328-0 - Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier

James Van Horn Melton

Excerpt

[More information](#)

mountains and remote hollows of their alpine homeland. However distant this world may seem at first glance, the voluminous documentation spawned by the expulsion campaign of the 1730s has made it surprisingly accessible. The investigations launched by Archbishop Firmian to root out the remnants of Salzburg Protestantism yielded thousands of interrogations, more than seventy cartons of which survive today in Salzburg archives.¹⁴ Conducted variously by local clergy, officials, and outside missionaries, the inquisitions included a standard set of questions designed to elicit information about the background, activities, and attitudes of the local population. Because Salzburg Protestants were famously adroit at concealing their religious beliefs and practices, investigators took considerable pains to find concrete, verifiable evidence of heterodoxy. Interrogations were often accompanied by house searches aimed at uncovering clandestine caches of Protestant Bibles, hymnbooks, and devotional manuals. As persecution intensified, investigators also relied on denunciations to elicit evidence of heterodoxy. Taken together and in conjunction with other sources, such as parish registers and visitation reports, these records serve to illuminate what Boltzius largely passed over: the lives of Salzburger exiles before they made their way across Europe and the Atlantic. From their testimony we learn about the exiles' families and occupations, the illicit books they may have owned or bartered, the hymns they sang at their underground conventicles, the incriminating conversations they were alleged to have had with neighbors or chance acquaintances. One also sees the diverse ways they responded to the insistent queries of their interrogators – at times evasive and argumentative, at other times fearful and submissive, occasionally cheeky and defiant.

At various points in this book I have mined these and other sources to tell the story of one exile in particular. Thomas Geschwandel (1693–1761) was a miner from a secluded alpine valley some hundred kilometers south of the city of Salzburg. He, along with his wife, daughter, sister-in-law, and twelve natives of their valley, would ultimately join the first transport of exiles to the Georgia colony following their expulsion in 1733.¹⁵ Thomas was interrogated on several occasions during

¹⁴ *Salzburger Landesarchiv*, Emigrationsakten, Nr. 1–66. Complementing these are the archbishopric's consistorial records, which include other interrogations as well as visitation reports. They are located in the *Konsistorialarchiv Salzburg*.

¹⁵ The spelling of Thomas's surname varies in the sources (e.g., Geschwandner, Gschwäntl, Gschwandel, Geswondel), especially in the British colonial records. I have arbitrarily chosen "Geschwandel" as the more Anglicized form.