

Seeing the Salzburger in their Books

Abstract

The “Salzburger Collection” now preserved at the Crumley Archives in Columbia, South Carolina, contains 160 books printed between 1615 and 1824 that once belonged to the group of Pietist Lutherans who emigrated from Salzburg, Austria, to Ebenezer, Georgia, in 1734. After a brief history and record of provenance of the collection, this essay focuses on books that demonstrate the collection’s connection to the Pietist center of Halle (in what is now Germany) and devotion to the Pietist forerunner Johann Arndt. The collection was evaluated in light of reports and letters from earliest members of the community and their supporters as well as inscriptions and other unique identifiers, giving preferences to those volumes in the collection most closely tied to earliest members of the community. In so doing, it becomes clear that while sweeping assumptions about a community based upon the presence of a book in such a collection are ill-advised, when proper attention is given to matters of provenance, the contents of a library can reflect the beliefs and practices of a religious community. Furthermore, the archival effort to preserve such a collection provides an excellent backdrop for recounting their communal story.

Who were the Salzburger?

Christianity in many ways promotes a culture of the book. While we do well to use caution in theorizing with limited data, there is arguably something to be learned about any community of Christians based on the books they collect and read — particularly when they preserve those books through tremendous hardships. This essay seeks to provide a glimpse into the Salzburger Pietist community who settled in Ebenezer, Georgia, in 1734, by way of reviewing the recent accession of key works now being preserved in the James R. Crumley Jr. Archives — books that were inherited from the Jerusalem Church in Ebenezer by the Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary during its earliest years.

In 1731, newly elected archbishop Count Leopold A. E. von Firmian (1679-1744) of the Salzburg territory (in what is now Austria) ignored the requests of the weakened Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI and increased persecution of Lutherans in his territories. (Firmian was a staunch supporter of the Counter Reformation efforts of the Jesuits to halt the spread of Protestant ideas in his jurisdiction.) The Treaty of Westphalia, which had ended the Thirty Years’ War in 1648, upheld the idea that the religion of the ruler was the religion of the land in Imperial states and that princes had the right to expel nonconformists. Although the law required that those expelled be given three years to leave, Firmian violated that law by issuing the Edict of Expulsion in 1731, giving propertied Salzburger Lutherans only three months to leave and requiring all other non-conformists to be gone in eight days.

Firmian justified this action by claiming that these were not actually Lutherans but some unrecognized sect. However, those expelled are generally understood to have been Lutheran Pietists, educated by their parents and versed in the Augsburg Confession. As Norman Threinen notes:

This growth [of Protestant faith in the Catholic lands held by Firmian] resulted from a natural alienation of the mountain people from the urbanites in Salzburg, as well as annual treks of rural people seeking seasonal work in the Lutheran territories of the north; returning to their homes for the winter, the migrants brought with them Protestant books which they read throughout the winter months.¹

Whether these emigrants were distinctively Pietists at the outset of their expulsion is uncertain, but their Lutheran faith built on books and centered in homes — rather than around church structure or established clergy —

¹ Norman J. Threinen, “Fredrich Ziegenhagen: The London Connection to India and America,” in *Halle Pietism, Colonial North America, and the Young United States*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Grabbe (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008), 46.

paralleled the usual Pietist focus on the individual spiritual life and small home Bible studies. Their lack of ecclesial structure gave Firmian the grounds for his claims that they were not traditional Lutherans protected by the Treaty of Westphalia.

The hardship of these devout Lutherans garnered the attention and compassionate response of Protestant rulers in various German states, especially Brandenburg-Prussia. There, in 1717, the king had required all Lutheran clergy to study for some time in the Pietist center of Halle. At the time of the expulsion, Frederick William I, self-proclaimed protector of Protestant Christians and ruler of Brandenburg-Prussia, resettled nearly 20,000 Salzburg emigrants in areas of East Prussia and Lithuania. But still more important to the particular group of Salzburger who would settle in Georgia was the positive attention paid by King George II of England.

Although head of the Church of England, George was actually a practicing Lutheran. He and the royal family were also supporters of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), founded to promote Christian knowledge among the poor in Britain and her colonies. George's Lutheran chaplain, Friedrich Zeigenhagen, along with Samuel Urlsperger, senior minister of the Lutheran Ministerium in Augsburg and Pastor of St. Anne's Church, were both considered "Reverend Fathers" by the Salzburger community, and were members of the SPCK. They promoted the cause of the Salzburger in the English court at the behest of the Francke Foundation in Halle. In 1732, Urlsperger agreed to recruit 300 Salzburger emigrants to settle in Georgia, and all English (SPCK) donations for Salzburger resettlement were restricted to the Georgia immigrants from that point onward.

In 1733, a small group of those Salzburger recruited by Urlsperger were joined by Johann Boltzius and Israel Gronau, two Pietist ministers who had served as instructors at the Latin School of the Francke Foundation in Halle. The Francke Foundation has been described as "something like the primordial cell of social-educational reformation in the eighteenth century."² Boltzius and Gronau arrived in Georgia with their congregation in 1734 and were given property near Savannah by James Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony of Georgia. Their settlement was subsequently named Ebenezer. Both men served there until their deaths.

Boltzius took a primary role as a strong autocratic leader in both religious and secular matters, and he held the community together through many hardships that included recurring bouts of sickness and disease as well as difficulty raising crops. Because the colony's initial location proved to be poor land for farming, Oglethorpe eventually conceded to pressure from Boltzius and allowed the group to move to a better location on a bluff above the Savannah River in 1736. They carried the name Ebenezer to the new location.

Following a difficult period that began with the death of Boltzius in 1765 and continued through internal divisions, deadly disease, and great losses during the American Revolution, the Ebenezer community petitioned the "Reverend Fathers" in Halle for help. A minister named Johann Ernst Bergmann volunteered and came to Ebenezer in December of 1786. His son, Christopher, took up the pastorate in 1824 following the death of his father.

The Salzburger Books

The James R. Crumley, Jr. Archives received the Salzburger book collection, containing 160 books, from the Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary (LTSS) on May 31, 2016. The LTSS library acquired the entire collection in the earliest years of the school's existence and a probable lineage is outlined below. A large number of the books have labels from the "Classical and Theological Seminary, Lexington, S.C." (the location of LTSS from 1834-1856) pasted inside the front or back cover, and nearly thirty of the volumes from the collection are listed in library archives from as early as 1836.

Many of the books have undeniable connections to the Salzburger emigrant community who settled in Ebenezer, Georgia, in 1734. The collection contains many important devotional and song books reflecting the Pietism of the community. Several of the books are mentioned in the letters of their first pastor, Johann Boltzius, with publication dates early enough to have been brought in the first transport of 1734 or sent in response to his requests prior to his death in 1765. For instance, the following volumes from the collection now held at Crumley are noted by Russell C. Kleckley in

² Markus Matthias, "August Hermann Francke (1663-1727)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 100.

Appendix 5 of his translation of Boltzius's letters:³

1. *The portrayal of ideal, diligent students of theology and how they prepare properly for becoming useful servants of the Lord.* by Augustus Hermann Francke (1717).
2. *True Christianity: five spiritually inspiring books on the subjects of salutary penitence, heartfelt contrition, sorrow for sin, and genuine faith.* by Johann Arndt (1722).
3. *An inspiring hymnal with selected spiritual and favorite songs that are both old and new. . . Part One* by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1733).
4. *A harmonized exposition of the holy four gospels with many comments explained and with complete indexes. 14 volumes in 7.* by Paul Anton (1737-1748).
5. *First outline of modern geography for beginners* by Hieronymi Freyer (1741).
6. *Freyer's first introduction to universal history* 5th ed. by Hieronymi Freyer (1741).
7. *The complete passion of Jesus Christ according to a harmonized account of the four gospels, Part 2* by Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky (1753).

At least four more of the books in the collection are inscribed with the signature of Israel Gronau, Boltzius's first associate and dear friend:

1. *Philological & exegetical notations to five hagiographical books of the Old Testament, vol. 1: Psalms & Proverbs* by Johann Heinrich Michaelis & Christian Benedikt Michaelis (1720).
2. *Duties of the evangelical life: A year of sermons based on the appointed Gospel lessons for Sundays and feast days* by Philipp Jakob Spener (1727).
3. *A truthful, detailed history of the Swedish prisoners in Russia and Siberia, who after 1709 in their captivity at Pultaw in the Ukraine met up with other poor souls held by the Russians, some of whom were powerfully awakened to repentance, and in particular what happened at Tobolsky to those who had built a school. . .* by Curt Friedrich von Wreech (1728).
4. *The salt of the earth, which according to Matthew 5:13 is the Christian duty of every teacher and listener, in three parts* by Joachim Justus Breithaupt (1729).

Other volumes are inscribed with the names of subsequent pastors to the community. Two books are inscribed simply with the name Lemke, likely a reference to Gronau's first replacement, Hermann Lemke. Another has the inscription of Hermann's daughter Salome and her husband, and three more have the name of Hermann's son Timothy. One of the Timothy Lemke inscriptions is found in the Wreech book which had belonged to Gronau, and Salome's husband's inscription is also in the Spener book that belonged to Gronau. These both make sense considering that Lemke not only inherited Gronau's position but married his widow and inherited his estate.

The name of a third associate, Rabenhorst, who came to help Boltzius and Lemke not long after Gronau died in 1745, is also inscribed in four of the books. One final and unifying attribute of the collection is that many of the books have the inscriptions either of J. E. Bergmann, who accepted the pastorate of the Jerusalem Church in 1786, or of his son Christopher, who took up his father's mantle until his own death in 1832. This includes several of the texts mentioned above — evidence that the books were handed down with the pastorate.

It is likely that the Salzburger book collection came to the LTSS library by way of Christopher Bergman. In 1824, Rev. John Bachman, chairman of the South Carolina Lutheran Synod, swayed Bergman to take up his father's position at Ebenezer. In the following years the younger Bergman served with Bachman as the secretary to the general synod of South Carolina. He held that office through 1829 — the year in which the synod resolved upon the founding of

³ *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius, Lutheran Pastor in Ebenezer, Georgia: German Pietism in Colonial America, 1733-1765*, ed. Russell C. Kleckley and Jürgen Gröschl (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), 823-31.

a seminary in South Carolina. An 1831 resolution lists Bergman as part of the board of directors for the proposed seminary.

However, the books did not come directly from Christopher Bergman himself because he became ill and died in 1832 prior to the full establishment of the seminary. Rather, Appendix B to the minutes of the 1835 meeting of the South Carolina Lutheran Synod states: "The Library [of the Seminary established in Lexington in 1834] has received several valuable additions since last year. From the congregation of Ebenezer we have received several boxes of books."⁴ Based upon these findings it is relatively certain that the entirety of this collection came to the library from the descendants of the emigrant community at Ebenezer during the early years of the seminary. Further corroboration of the collection's journey can be found in the story of seven books that were discovered at Newberry College (where the seminary was located 1885-1903) in Newberry, South Carolina, in 1989 and given to the Salzburg society in Ebenezer in 2012. These books also contained the inscriptions of Rabenhorst and Bergman.⁵

The books themselves are in quite good condition considering that the vast majority of them were published in Europe (many in Halle), carried across the Atlantic Ocean during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and kept in the very humid climates of coastal Georgia and Central South Carolina. Most of these books are in German, some in Latin, and a very few in English or French. The earliest publication date is 1615, found on a German book of church order.

The archival inventory for the collection has been arranged loosely by topic and chronologically within each topical division. There are approximately twenty books that have been listed as "Devotional/Pietist" books because they are works focused on the spiritual life of the individual believer. Among these are Christian Scriver's *The Soul's Treasures* and Johann Arndt's *True Christianity*. However, it should be noted as cautionary evidence against any overly individualized understanding of the Pietism of the community in Ebenezer that many of the books testify to a genuinely communal faith. Nearly fifty volumes are lectionaries, liturgies, catechisms, and hymnals published for the sake of worshipping communities. Of the fifty-one books of theology, doctrine, and biblical studies, the majority are books of pastoral theology or transcripts of sermons, again pointing to the fact that these early Pietists were committed to a deeply communal albeit quite practical faith.

How the Salzburger Built their Library

Documents show that along with financial support and much needed medical supplies, the "Fathers" in Halle were frequently petitioned by Boltzius for books, and as often as possible the petitions were met with generosity. Samuel Urlsperger mentions in an update on the second transport of emigrants:

Since the Pastors who had gone to Georgia on the first transport had written for a number of books, and since the departing colonists had asked for some themselves, a large box was sent along containing large and small Bibles, New Testaments, books of holy verse, catechisms with and without pictures, Arndt's *True Christianity* and *Garden of Paradise*, Briegish and other hymn books, books for the sick, teachings of the cross, history of the passion with and without copper plates, and Schaitberger's letter.⁶

Later, Boltzius wrote to G. A. Francke (the son of Augustus Hermann Francke and the director of the Francke foundation):

After all the gifts from London, Halle, and Augsburg for us and our community were brought to our place and were distributed...my heart has been awakened anew to write to Your Reverence yet a few lines of thanksgiving for such considerable benefactions in books and medicines in two trunks that were sent partly after the departure of Herr Lemke and partly on...October of last year from Halle...The Bibles, the Books on

⁴J. C. Hope, "The second Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the theological Seminary, at Lexington SC to the Twelfth Meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of South Carolina and Adjacent States" (November 14, 1835; Minutes of SC Lutheran Synod, 1834-1849, James R. Crumley Jr. Archives, Columbia, SC).

⁵Vince Exley, "Newberry College returns old books to Ebenezer," *Effingham Herald*, September 14, 2012, accessed August 16, 2017, <http://www.affinghamherald.net/archives/19123/>.

⁶*Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America...Edited by Samuel Urlsperger, Vol. 1, 1733-1734*, ed. George Fenwick Jones, trans. Hermann J. Lacher (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968), 13.

True Christianity of the blessed Arndt, the hymnbooks, Reports from East India and all other books and tracts are very dear to us.⁷

Urlspurger's and Boltzius's lists are not exactly shipping manifests. However, there is one rather specific list of books in Boltzius's letters that reveals what one of the many trunks full of books sent to the emigrants might have held:

- 24 copies of large Canstein Bibles
- 36 copies of small Bibles
- 60 copies of the excerpts of the Freylinghausen hymnbook
- 36 copies ditto in large print
- 60 copies of Luther's Small Catechism
- 60 copies of Freylinghausen's *Ordnung des Heils* [Order of Salvation]
- 60 copies of Bogatzky's *Little Treasure Chest*
- 24 copies of Arndt's *True Christianity*⁸

Overall, the occasional mentions of gifts and requests for books, along with the list, serve as excellent comparisons to the actual collection inventory of the books now housed in the Crumley Archives.⁹

Some Things the Collection Can Tell Us

Several specific works give not only further evidence to the provenance of the Salzburger collection but also insight into the faith and journey of the Ebenezer community.

As noted above, the label "Pietists" should be used carefully when discussing the community that fled persecution in Salzburger and made their way to Ebenezer, Georgia, in 1734. What is known about them is that they were not Roman Catholic, and were loyal enough to a Lutheran heritage to leave everything. However, their benefactors and the pastors who volunteered to join them on the way were clearly Pietists, and the books in the collection inherited from them attest to that fact.

Johann Boltzius was a teacher at the school founded in Halle by Augustus Herman Francke. Francke's efforts in Halle to "care for and educate poor children developed into a vast enterprise" by which Pietism at Halle came to be "a social reform movement."¹⁰ As Kleckley has noted, Francke — along with two Pietist theologians, Joachim Justus Breithaupt and Paul Anton — "transformed Halle into a center of Pietist influence and mission."¹¹ Boltzius knew and revered all three of these men, as evinced by frequent requests for their writings as well as a statement in his letter to Gotthilf August Francke dated November 30, 1749: "I regard it [his acquaintance with them in Halle] as the greatest benefactions that God has shown me in my life."¹²

The collection housed in the Crumley Archives substantiates this appreciation. For example, there is extant in good condition a complete fourteen-volume work on the Gospels by Anton published as seven volumes in Halle between 1737-1748. Along with that set, the Salzburger collection contains two copies of Francke's work, *The Portrayal of Ideal, Diligent Students of Theology and How They Prepare Properly for Becoming Useful Servants of The Lord* (1717 and 1723) as well as a book of his sermons from 1746. Crumley holdings also include two collections of Breithaupt's sermons (1724 and 1732) and his commentary on Matthew 5:13 (1729).

⁷ *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius*, 484.

⁸ *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius*, 671.

⁹ See the Appendix for a list of all Salzburger books mentioned in the essay in fuller bibliographic detail.

¹⁰ Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 117.

¹¹ Russell Kleckley, "Introduction" in *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius*, 9.

¹² *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius*, 545-46.

Several books in the Salzburger collection have an even stronger claim to being called formative Pietist works, such as the writings of the radically mystical Gottfried Arnold. The Salzburger accession contains four texts of Arnold's mystical theology and church history, including his German translation of the writings of Macarius of Egypt (1740). However, Boltzius makes only one vague reference to Arnold in his letters and there are no mentions of him in Urlsperger's reports. Furthermore, the books by Arnold have Latin inscriptions that reveal they are a gift from one Johannis G. W. de Brahm to the elder Bergman, so they do not seem indicative of the faith of the earliest pastors or members of the community.

Soul's Treasures by Christian Scriver is another significant Pietist text of which this collection contains three copies (1692, 1719, and 1723). Scriver has been described as a member of "a group of Orthodox Lutheran preachers...remarkable for their reforming energy and ideals."¹³ The oldest copy of this work in the collection belonged to Christian Rabenhorst who was one of two pastors who came to support Boltzius after Gronau died. Of even greater interest is the 1723 copy which belonged to Boltzius. Inside the front cover of this volume archivists found a certificate written in Fraktur that experts determined had been tipped in to the front of the book; it was evidently given as a parting gift. This certificate seems to be a commemorative document presented to Boltzius on his departure for Georgia, and our initial translation indicates that it is a record of a "last monument of love" from the students and faculty of the Latin School in Halle.¹⁴ Still, regardless of the significance of provenance of this particular copy and the fact that there are three copies in the collection, Scriver does not seem on the evidence of the collection to have been as significant an influence on Boltzius and the community as were two key Pietist authors: Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and Johann Arndt (1555-1621).

Spener is often called the father of Pietism. He "initiated" the Lutheran Pietism that Francke eventually "institutionalized" in his introduction to a collection of Arndt's sermons which he later published on its own under the title *Pia Desideria* [*Pious Desires*].¹⁵ Francke was an avid defender of Spener and formed his school on Spener's model of conventicles, and it was upon Spener's recommendation that Francke received his post at Halle.¹⁶ Boltzius makes reverent reference to Spener such as when in a letter dated November 21, 1750, he speaks of concerns that the religious mood of Brandenburg is not good and that people "did not regard the time of the gracious visitation of God through the blessed Spener and other upright teachers."¹⁷

Within the Salzburger collection there are four extant books by Spener. One of these, *Duties of the Evangelical Life*, is mentioned above because it has the distinction of having belonged to Boltzius's first associate minister, Israel Christian Gronau. Another of the four is *The comfort of the evangelical faith: based on the divine benefactions and treasures of salvation in Christ ...* (1727), which has the signature of Lemke, one of Gronau's two replacements sent to help Boltzius. The final two Spener texts in the collection are

1. *Defense of the evidence for the eternal divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of the Father, by the now deceased Philip Jacob Spener (1706).*
2. *Philip Jacob Spener's theological counsels and judgments in Latin: a posthumous collection from his letters selected with special diligence and sincerity, divided into three parts, and made public for use of the church (1709).*

¹³ Shantz, 37.

¹⁴ Dr. Russell Kleckley, email message to author, June 26, 2017. Further investigation has revealed this farewell greeting to be an exciting discovery. A recent response from Jürgen Gröschl, the archivist at the Francke Foundation in Halle, stated, "The farewell greetings for Boltzius are really a surprising discovery, and we have not known of their existence so far, i.e., we do not possess another copy of this document. As it was printed, one could assume that the students of Boltzius' class received a copy, but there is no copy in our archives. Many of these students are in our database as they became teachers or inspectors in the schools of the orphanage themselves and/or pastors in their own communities later."

¹⁵ Samuel C. Smith, *A Cautious Enthusiasm: Mystical Piety and Evangelicalism in Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 11-12.

¹⁶ Peter C. Erb, *Pietists, Protestants, and Mysticism: the Use of Late Medieval Spiritual Texts in the Work of Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714)* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989), 18-19.

¹⁷ *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius*, 581.

While Spener and his writings clearly hold significance for understanding the faith of the Salzburger, there is likely no work more important to the early Pietism of their leaders and community than Arndt's *True Christianity*. Arndt has also been considered the father of Lutheran Pietism. While such a label is anachronistic, the importance of his work should not be underestimated. Despite the fact that "today in Germany one can find only a few who recognize Arndt's name,"¹⁸ the frequent lauding of Arndt's writing by Urlsperger and Boltzius would seem to support the importance of *True Christianity*. Wellman claims that, "In the history of Protestantism there is no book, apart from the Bible, that has had such a circulation."¹⁹

A casual perusal of Urlsperger's reports and Boltzius's letters reveals multiple references to Arndt for every single mention of Spener, most frequently in the context of a reference to *True Christianity*. Other than the Bible, *True Christianity* appears to be the book most frequently mentioned by name in either requests for books or in gratitude for gifts. Urlsperger says of the first group of emigrants, "those who could read were supplied with Bibles, hymn books, catechisms, Arndt's *True Christianity*, and other edifying materials."²⁰ Furthermore, Boltzius and Urlsperger describe the use of the book much like one would imagine the use of a religious tract or even the Bible itself. For instance, in the early travel diaries he reports:

The 21st of April [1734]. An Englishman in our shelter is dangerously sick. Since there is no preacher here and we are not yet able to preach the Gospel in the English language, we sent the schoolmaster Ortmann to him after first giving him instructions as to what he should impress upon him and which chapter he should read him in English from Arndt's *True Christianity*.²¹

Elsewhere, as in a December 1763 letter to Francke, Boltzius quotes Arndt almost as he would quote scripture: "The blessed Arndt in the 29th chapter of the 2nd book..."²²

Francke and his followers had learned to love Arndt from Spener, who held Arndt in near equal respect to Luther. This devotion served as part of the conflict between Spener and those more scholastic teachers now considered "Orthodox Lutherans." Still, whatever may be said of Spener's contention with "Orthodox Lutherans" over the latter's tendency to make Luther a "thirteenth apostle,"²³ it would appear that by the time of the Salzburger expulsion, Spener's movement had elevated Arndt to a level not merely equal to Luther in importance but superior.

With four extant copies from various printings, no other text is represented by as many copies in the collection as *True Christianity*. The publication dates of the preserved copies of Arndt's quintessential book range from well before the first transport to after the American Revolution (1722, 1743, 1744, and 1779). The collection also contains one copy of his *Garden of paradise filled with Christian prayers about virtue* (1741).

Very few other authors show up as often in the inventory of the Salzburger holdings. As seen above, there are also four books authored by Spener. Of the writings of Boltzius's beloved mentors and associates from Halle only the works of Anton, Urlsperger, Freylinghausen, Bogatzky, and Moser are more numerous. Of those, Anton's and Urlsperger's books are well-preserved multi-volume sets of one work each, and the other three are predominately listed as the authors or editors of hymnals, catechisms, liturgical aids, and prayer books; they are not represented by one consistently venerated title.

The institutional Pietism so nurtured by Arndt's quintessential work, which Boltzius brought to the Ebenezer community of immigrants, was a continuation of the work that had been done by the Franke Foundation and its partners for decades. Even the use of Arndt's *True Christianity* to indoctrinate Lutheran emigrants receiving aid as they fled persecution was standard procedure, at least for those bound for the American colonies by way of England. Anton Wilhelm Boehm,

¹⁸ Johannes Wellmann, "Johann Arndt (1555-1621)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, 22.

¹⁹ Wellmann., 21.

²⁰ *Detailed Reports*, 7.

²¹ *Detailed Reports*, 78.

²² *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius*, 747.

²³ K. James Stein, "Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, 85.

chaplain to Queen Anne and later King George I, gave aid to this earlier generation of emigrants and, “accordingly supplied them, by the aid of certain like-minded friends, with German Bibles and Hymn Books, and also with German copies of Arndt’s ‘True Christianity,’ as well as with other books of devotion.”²⁴

Furthermore, while it is true that during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the English church had its own conflicts between the established church and various separatist groups, Boehm was still able to make way for the partnership between the Franke Foundation and the Anglican Church embodied by the SPCK in part because these Pietists were in many ways unlike English separatists.

The separatists distrusted by the English establishment tended to reject the importance of ordained ministers and repudiate the Book of Common Prayer. The closest German counterpart to such radical separatists within the sphere of Halle Pietists would likely be Nikolaus von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), and even that comparison is only partially accurate. Zinzendorf had been expelled from the Franke Foundation and was roundly criticized by Boltzius precisely for his “disparagement of theological systems, his lower estimation of the role of clergy, and his heightened appreciation of emotional experience.”²⁵

The Pietism taught by Boltzius continued in the tradition of Franke’s friend and associate, Boehm, who became the chaplain to the Royal Chapel of Prince George of Denmark (Lutheran Consort of Queen Anne): “George wanted to incorporate the *Book of Common Prayer* in his chapel services, but the Lutheran chaplain he had brought along with him from Denmark...was not well versed in English.”²⁶ At the time of the Salzburger transport to Georgia, Boehm’s replacement, Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, “took special responsibility for the spiritual care of the Salzburgers,” and “shared with them the Worship Agenda of the German Court Chaplain in London.”²⁷ This “Worship Agenda” was the outcome of Boehm’s incorporation of Lutheran elements with the *Book of Common Prayer*, which Strobel’s history of the Salzburgers references as “the London Liturgy.”²⁸ Of it Boltzius is quoted as reporting, “In our public services and pastoral acts we use the London church order as our guide in all respects.”²⁹ The collection in the Crumley archives seems to contain two examples of this liturgical development:

1. *The book of common prayer: how the holy sacraments and other ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies are administered according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalms of David and how they should be sung or read in the churches, and finally the articles of religion, . . . all produced at the behest of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales (1718).*
2. *A prayer book compiled partly from English liturgy, partly from other spiritual prayer books; for use in the Royal German Lutheran court chapel at St. James... (1757).*

Whether these two works are different copies of the same order of worship or show a development over time has not yet been determined. However, both of these books were accompanied by notes from the earlier work done on the collection by Dr. Richard Fritz who served as Librarian of the LTSS Library for forty years starting in 1947, as well as archivist for the Lutheran Synod of South Carolina (1945-1962). The majority of Dr. Fritz’s work on the Salzburger books appears to have been regrettably lost over the years since his retirement, but his notes point to the idea that the 1757 copy was indeed a copy of the Church Agenda used by Boltzius.

²⁴ Charles F. Schaeffer, “Introduction by the American Editor,” in Johann Arndt, *True Christianity: A Treatise On Sincere Repentance, True Faith, The Holy Walk of the True Christian, Etc.*, trans. A. W. Boehm (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1868), 34.

²⁵ *The Letters of Johann Martin Boltzius*, 72.

²⁶ Brijraj Singh. “One Soul, tho not one Soyl’?: International Protestantism and Ecumenism at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century,” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 31, no. 1 (2002): 63. [doi:10.1353/sec.2010.0004](https://doi.org/10.1353/sec.2010.0004).

²⁷ Norman J. Threinen, “Fredrich Ziegenhagen: The London Connection to India and America,” in *Halle Pietism*, 125.

²⁸ P. A. Strobel, *The Salzburgers and their Descendants* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1953), 175.

²⁹ E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 65.

In the end, even if neither book contains the exact liturgy of which Boltzius speaks, they serve as telling artifacts of a community whose life of faith was indelibly tied to their books. Furthermore, given that nearly one third of the 160 books remaining from what was reportedly a large library at Ebenezer are prayer books, catechisms, church ordinals, sermon collections, and hymnals, these two are exemplary volumes amidst a collection of treasures that point to church practice rooted in the journey of a people nurtured on books and aided by the institutional pietism of Halle and supported by the royal piety of the English crown.

Obviously, there remains much work to do on the Salzburger collection. The project thus far has drawn the attention of scholars in Halle, Germany, as well as various people in the US who share an interest in the development and spread of Lutheran Pietism. It offers tangible support for much of what is understood about early German-speaking immigrants to the colony of Georgia and their impact on Protestant Christianity in the US. Some of the finds have the potential to deepen our understanding of how worship was conducted by these early immigrants. Finally, this process of establishing provenance illustrates how the archivist's efforts to document preservation work provides an excellent backdrop for telling the story of a community in such a way as to garner the interest of a broader constituency.

Appendix

Salzburger books of note with German titles, listed by order of mention in the essay

- Francke, Augustus Hermann (1717). *Idea Studiosi Theologiae, oder Abbildung eines der Theologie Beflissenen, Wie derselbe sich zum Gebrauch und Dienst des Herrn, und zu allem guten Werck, gehöriger Massen bereitet: benebst einem Anhang, Bestehend in einer Ansprache an die Studiosos Theologiae zu Halle.* [The portrayal of ideal, diligent students of theology and how they prepare properly for becoming useful servants of the Lord.]
- Arndt, Johann (1722). *Des Hoherleuchteten Sel. Johann Arndts ... Fünff Geistreiche Bücher Vom wahren Christenthum: Welche handeln Von heilsamer Busse, hertzlicher Reue und Leid über die Sünde, und wahren Glauben Welchen noch beygefüget Drey andere kleine Bücher, Welche zu Des sel. Johann Arndts wahren Christenthum gehörig. 1. Die Wiederholung und Verantwortung der Lehre vom wahren Christenthum.* [True Christianity: five spiritually inspiring books on the subjects of salutary penitence, heartfelt contrition, sorrow for sin, and genuine faith.]
- Freylinghausen, Johann Anastasius (1733). *Geistreiches Gesang-Buch, auserlesene, so alte als neue, geistliche und liebliche Lieder, nebst den Roten der unbekanntnen Melodeyen, in sich haltend, zur Erweckung heiliger Andacht und Erbauung im Glauben und gottseligen Wesen, herausgegeben von Joh. Anastas. Freylinghausen ... [Del 2] Anderer Theil.* [An inspiring hymnal with selected spiritual and favorite songs that are both old and new. . . Part One.]
- Anton, Paul (1737-1748). *Harmonische erklärung der heiligen vier evangelisten, mit vielen anmerckungen erläutert nebst vollständigen registern hrsg. von Johann August Majer.* [A harmonized exposition of the holy four gospels with many comments explained and with complete indexes. 14 volumes in 7.]
- Freyer, Hieronymi (1741). *Erster abriß der Geographie nach der nuen zeit fur die anfangende Iugend.* [First outline of modern geography for beginners.]
- Freyer, Hieronymi (1741). *Nahere Einleitung zur Universal historie. Vierte Auflage.* [Freyer's first introduction to universal history 5th ed.]
- Von Bogatzky, Carl Heinrich (1753). *Das ganze Leiden Jesu Christi, nach der harmonischen Beschreibung der vier Evangelisten, in erbaulichen Betrachtungen und Gebeten erwogen und nebst einer in der Vorrede enthaltenen kurzen Einleitung und nöthigem Register hrsg. 2. Theil.* [The complete passion of Jesus Christ according to a harmonized account of the four gospels, Part 2.]
- Michaelis, Johann Heinrich & Christian Benedikt Michaelis (1720). *Vberiorvm adnotationvm philologico-exegeticarvm in hagiographos Vet. Testamenti libros / Vol. primum, adnotationes D. Io. Henrici Michaelis, ... in Psalmos, et Christiani Ben. Michaelis, ... in proverbia Salomonis.* [Philological & exegetical notations to five hagiographical books of the Old Testament, vol. 1: Psalms & Proverbs.]

- Spener, Philipp Jakob (1727). *Die evangelische Lebens-Pflichten: in einem Jahrgang der Predigten bey den Sonn- und Fest-Täglichen ordentlichen Evangelien*. [Duties of the evangelical life: A year of sermons based on the appointed Gospel lessons for Sundays and feast days.]
- Von Wreech, Curt Friedrich (1728). *Wahrhafte und umständliche Historie von denen Schwedischen Gefangenen in Russland und Siberien: Welchergestalt dieselbe nach dem A. 1709. bey Pultawa in der Ukraine mit denen Rußen gehaltenen unglücklichen Treffen, in ihrer Gefangenschafft, zum Theil von Gott kräftig zur Buße erwecket worden, und was sich insonderheit bey der, von einigen unter ihnen angerichteten Schule, zu Tobolsky ... begeben hat, mitgetheilet, ...* [A truthful, detailed history of the Swedish prisoners in Russia and Siberia, who after 1709 in their captivity at Pultaw in the Ukraine met up with other poor souls held by the Russians, some of whom were powerfully awakened to repentance, and in particular what happened at Tobolsky to those who had built a school . . .]
- Breithaupt, Joachim Justus (1729). *Das saltz der erden, das ist, nach Matth. V, 13. Die Christliche schuldigkeit der lehrer und zuhörer: in drei theilen, nemlich/ 1) VII. Betrachtungen; 2) LXXXIII. Hallischen Ordinations-reden: erkläret*. [The salt of the earth, which according to Matthew 5:13 is the Christian duty of every teacher and listener, in three parts.]
- Church order (1615). *Kirchen Ordnung, Unnser von Gottes Genaden, Julii, Hertzogen zu Braunschweig vnd Lüneburg, etc. Wie es mit Lehr vnd Ceremonien vnser Fürstenthumbs Braunschweig, Wolffenbütlischen Theils ... gehalten werden soll*. [The Church Order (constitution) of our blessed Duke Julius of Braunschweig and Lüneburg containing the doctrine and rubrics to be followed in Braunschweig and Wolfenbüttel.]
- Francke, Augustus (1717, 1723). *Idea Studiosi Theologiae, oder Abbildung eines der Theologie Beflissenen, Wie derselbe sich zum Gebrauch und Dienst des Herrn, und zu allem guten Werck, gehöriger Massen bereitet: benebst einem Anhang, Bestehend in einer Ansprache an die Studiosos Theologiae zu Halle*. [The portrayal of ideal, diligent students of theology and how they prepare properly for becoming useful servants of the Lord.]
- Francke, Augustus (1746). *August Hermann Franckens Sonn-, Fest- und Apostel-Tags-Predigten: darinnen die zum wahren Christenthum gehörige nöthigste und vornehmste Materien abgehandelt sind; nebst. Registern*. [August Hermann Francke's sermons for Sunday, feast days and apostles' days, which contain the noblest materials pertinent and necessary to true Christianity.]
- Breithaupt, Joachim Justus (1724). *Joach. Just Breithaupts ... Drey Creutz-Predigten: In welchen Das Gehei, mniß des Creutzes/ als der einige Grund des Wahren Christenthums, nach Anleitung der Heil. Paßion erbaulich vorgetragen wird; Gehalten im Jahr Christi 1697 ... Mit dazu kommenden Fünff Erläuterungs-Predigten ...* [Three sermons on the cross: secrets of the cross and true Christianity according to the instruction of salvation . . .]
- Breithaupt, Joachim Justus and Christophorus Sucro (1732). *D. Ioach. Iust. Breithaupts, gewesenen Abts zu Closter-Berge, Gen. Sup. und des Magdeb. Consistorii, wie auch Hall. Univ. und Theol. F. Sen. Acht Closter-Bergische Char-Freytags-Predigten, über Auserlesene Sprüche H. Schrifft: nebst einer Vorrede*. [Breithaupt's sermons.]
- Breithaupt, Joachim Just (1729). *Das saltz der erden, das ist, nach Matth. V, 13. Die Christliche schuldigkeit der lehrer und zuhörer: in drei theilen, nemlich/ 1) VII. Betrachtungen; 2) LXXXIII. Hallischen Ordinations-reden: erkläret*. [The salt of the earth which according to Matthew 5:13. The Christian duty of every teacher and listener, in three volumes.]
- Arnold, Gottfried, Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten, and Macarius Egyptiern, helgon. (1740). *Gottfried Arnolds Denckmahl des alten Christenthums oder des heil. Macarii und anderer hochehrleuchteten Männer aus der alten Kirche auserlesene Schriften; Mit einer Vorrede Siegmund Jacob Baumgartens ... Vierte Auflage*. [Arnold's memorial of ancient Christianity: Writings of Macarius (of Egypt) and other enlightened men of the early church.]
- Scriver, Christian (1692, 1719, and 1723). *Seelen-Schatz*. [Soul's Treasures.]
- Spener, Philip Jacob (1727). *Der evangelische Glaubens-Trost: aus den göttlichen Wohlthaten und Schätzen der Seligkeit in Christo, in einem Jahr-Gang der Predigten über die ordentliche Sonn-und Fest-tägliche Evangelia, in der Furcht*

des Herrn gezeigt und vorgetragen ... [The comfort of the evangelical faith: based on the divine benefactions and treasures of salvation in Christ ...]

- Spener (1706). *Verteidigung des Zeugnisses von der ewigen Gottheit unsers Herrn Jesu Christi: als des eingebornen Sohns vom Vater ...* [Defense of the evidence for the eternal divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of the Father, by the now deceased Philip Jacob Spener.]
- Spener (1709). *D. Philippi Jacobi Speneri ... Consilia et judicia theologica Latina: opus posthumum, ex ejusdem litteris singulari industria ac fide collectum, et in tres partes divisum, nunc in usum ecclesiae publicatum ...* [Philip Jacob Spener's theological counsels and judgments in Latin: a posthumous collection from his letters selected with special diligence and sincerity, divided into three parts, and made public for use of the church.]
- Arndt, Johann (1722). *Des Hoherleuchteten Sel. Johann Arndts ... Fünff Geistreiche Bücher Vom wahren Christenthum: Welche handeln Von heilsamer Busse, hertzlicher Reue und Leid über die Sünde, und wahren Glauben Welchen noch beygefüget Drey andere kleine Bücher, Welche zu Des sel. Johann Arndts wahren Christenthum gehörig. 1. Die Wiederholung und Verantwortung der Lehre vom wahren Christenthum.* [True Christianity: five spiritually inspiring books on the subjects of salutary penitence, heartfelt contrition, sorrow for sin, and genuine faith.]
- Arndt, Johann (1743). *Johann Arndts ... sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum: nebst desselben Paradies-Gärtlein und den Gebeten so in grössern Editionen iedem Capitel beygefüget sind.* [Johann Arndt's six books of true Christianity along with his garden of paradise and its prayers.]
- Arndt (1744) *Johann Arndts, Weiland General Superintendentens des Fürstenthums Lüneburg, Vier Bucher Vom Wahren Christenthum, Das Von heilsamer Busse, herßlicher Reue und Leid über die Sünde, und wahren Glauben, auch heiligen Leben und Wandel der rechten wahren Christen, Nebst desselben Paradies Gärtlein. Aufs neue mit Fleiß durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Gotthilf August Francke.* [Johann Arndt's...four books of true Christianity...alongside his garden of paradise.]
- Arndt (1779). *Johann Arndts ... Vier Bücher Vom Wahren Christenthum: Das ist Von heilsamer Busse, hertzlicher Reue und Leid über die Sünde, und wahren Glauben, auch heiligem Leben und Wandel der rechten wahren Christen.* [Johann Arndt's True Christianity in four books...also treating the holy life and dealings of the genuinely true Christian.]
- Arndt (1741). *Johann Arndts, des gottseeligen und hoch-erleuchteten Lehrers, Paradies-Gärtlein, welches voller christlichen Tugend-Gebete erfüllet.* [Johann Arndt's... garden of paradise filled with Christian prayers about virtue.]
- Prayer Book (1718). *Das allgemeine Gebet-Buch: Wie auch die Administration der h. Sacramenten und anderer kirchl. Ritus und Ceremonien nach dem Gebrauch der Kirchen von England. Mit den Psalmen Davids. Wie solche in den Kirchen gesungen oder gelesen werden sollen. Samt den Religions-Articulen, die durch ihre königlichen Hoheit der Princess von Wallis gottseligen Eyffer für die Ehre Gottes und seine Kirche fortgesetzt und auff dero gnädigsten Befehl verfertigt.* [The book of common prayer: how the holy sacraments and other ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies are administered according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalms of David and how they should be sung or read in the churches, and finally the articles of religion, . . . all produced at the behest of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.]
- Prayer Book (1757). *Ein Gebet-Büchlein: theils aus der Englischen Liturgie, theils aus andern geistreichen Gebet-Büchern zusammengetragen; und zum Gebrauch der Königlichen Deutschen Lutherischen Hof-Capelle zu St. James eingerichtet. Nebst den Formularen der Heiligen Tauffe, des Heil. Abendmahls, der Trauung und Confirmation, wie auch der Passions-Geschichte unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, aus den vier Evangelisten des Herrn zusammen gezogen. F.P.* [A prayer book compiled partly from English liturgy, partly from other spiritual prayer books; for use in the Royal German Lutheran court chapel at St. James...]