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The John Tobler Manuscripts: An Account of German-Swiss Emigrants in South Carolina, 1737

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Source: *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Feb., 1939), pp. 83-97

Published by: [Southern Historical Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2191612>

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# Notes and Documents

THE JOHN TOBLER MANUSCRIPTS:  
AN ACCOUNT OF GERMAN-SWISS EMIGRANTS  
IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1737

*Edited by* CHARLES G. CORDLE

John Tobler, the author of these papers, had been governor (*Landeshauptmann* in the manuscripts) of the Ausser Rhoden portion of the Swiss canton of Appenzell. Being deposed in consequence of the struggle, 1732-1735, between the Zellwegers and the Wetters, or the *Linden* and the *Harten*, he left the country in disgust and, together with one Sebastian Zuberbuehler, led a group of Swiss to Carolina. Many of these emigrants settled near Savannah Town in the township of New Windsor, in what is now the Beech Island section of South Carolina, only a few miles from Augusta, Georgia.<sup>1</sup> They were supposed to be followed by a still greater number; and throughout these papers the author shows much concern for those who were to come later. In 1754 and in later years Tobler published a Carolina almanac, copies of which are preserved by the Charleston Library Society. He died April 19, 1765.<sup>2</sup>

The Tobler manuscripts, comprising a letter of March 18, 1737, and a portion of Tobler's diary, from February 11 to March 18, 1737, and copied by two different hands in German script, are preserved in the archives at Trogen, Canton Appenzell. The editor learned of their existence through Frau Bruckner-Thiersch of Basel, whose nephew works

<sup>1</sup> For further information about this colony, see Gilbert T. Voigt, *The German and German-Swiss Element in South Carolina, 1732-1752*, University of South Carolina Bulletin, No. 113 (Columbia, 1922), 17-18, 19-20, 31-33, 44-51.

<sup>2</sup> *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (Charleston, 1900-), X (1909), 162, quoting records kept by Colonel Isaac Hayne.

in the *Staatsarchiv* there; and he secured photostat copies through the kindness of Herr Ratschreiber Buchmann of St. Gallen. Besides abbreviations and omissions the papers have many archaic and provincial expressions which make translation difficult. Words and phrases which the translators<sup>3</sup> have been unable to render into English have been copied and italicized. In places the word order has been changed for smoothness, and the punctuation has been modernized. Also lengthy sentences have been divided into component parts to make the meaning clear. For lack of space in this article many parts dealing with family matters, greetings, discussion of the weather, and the like have been omitted.

In the letter written from "Carlestown" and addressed to relatives and friends in Switzerland, Tobler stated that the party sailed from Falmouth December 5 and landed in Carolina on February 1; and that of more than two hundred people on board only four persons died during the voyage. With the idea of encouraging emigration to Carolina, he added that there was need for skilled laborers such as carpenters, gunsmiths, and the like. He requested his friends to send him roofing nails and other supplies, and recommended that newcomers should bring linen garments, good muskets, piece goods, whetstones, scythes and sickles, all kinds of seeds, copper vessels, lead, and gunpowder. The letter continued:

A pastor in this land has yearly from the government 500 lb. & a fine estate near the town. He must, however, be ordained in London in the presence of the bishop; and there must be in addition a hundred heads of families. There are already some villages begun with people, but few that have enough heads of families for a benefice. In Orangeburg they would like to have more people in order that there might be a benefice. When you write to me, the place where [I] intend to live is called Savaneton; & [I] can be addressed at Carlestone [his spelling] in care of the German printer "To Mr. Lewis Timothy," which gentleman promised me to send the goods. . . . Whatever else concerns me, I am not sorry that I have traveled hither; but I am sorry that I did not travel four or five years earlier so that I might have overcome the hard beginning that [I] now have before me. . . .

Below Savaneton, whither with the help of God we shall move, there is much

<sup>3</sup> The editor was assisted in making the translation by Mrs. Cordle and by Mr. and Mrs. George Steffan, both natives of Austria. Mrs. Steffan is head of the department of modern languages at Payne College, Augusta, Georgia.

good land; and if you do not come, strangers will take it away, which in future years can no longer be prevented. . . .

Tobler added greetings to friends in Switzerland and gave directions for sending the globes, books, and other articles that he had ordered.

The following fragment of Governor Tobler's diary was dated at "Charlestown," March 18, 1737.

Friday the 11th February . . . to-day the group requested have come to a friendly agreement and arranged to go to Port royal.

Saturday the 12th . . . to-day the 22 persons (but only 5 Appenzellers) left for Portroyal to guard that fortress. The people from Puenden [Graubunden?] have all gone for the reason that they, like others, used up their money on the journey and again hope to earn much, because twelve pounds and rations every week have been promised them *p*<sup>4</sup> They had to swear an oath to consider the present king in England the rightful king, and not the Pretender nor another Catholic king. Hereafter when they come back, they shall be able to go where they desire in the whole land according to their pleasure, and in all things [be] regarded as if they were Englishmen themselves. . . .

Sunday the 13th . . . in the afternoon the shoemaker Bruderer from Gaeiss came and brought news from my father and son, that they [are] both vigorous and healthy and advise me to come to them, because the land [is] very good, and if I do not like it, [I] should plant his land with my servants and then inquire and afterwards go (into) the land where I will. But because there was no longer enough good land for the whole people, and I did not doubt many more people would come later who would like to live among us, for the people's sake [I] did not accept but decided to remain with them, where they and I consider best. . . .

Monday the 14th . . . to-day the people were assembled and decided to inspect three places and then together to choose which place they like best, namely Amelia or the English Sante [*sic*], Gangre [Congaree?] and Savanaton;<sup>5</sup> and [it] is arranged [that] "Mr." Glaser, Schelling from the Rheinthal, Melchior

<sup>4</sup> This symbol *p* appears very frequently in parts of the manuscripts. Since the translators were unable to learn its meaning (it appears to indicate a pause of some kind), they have omitted it elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> Amelia was a township on the Santee River. Congaree was located about the head of the Santee, near the present site of Columbia. Savanaton, or Savannah Town, was a trading post located near the Carolina end of the present-day Sand Bar Ferry Bridge, about four miles from Augusta. There Fort Moore had been erected before 1719 to protect the traders and to guard the frontier. To Savannah Town there was a trail from Charles Town, which was in general followed by the railroad from Charleston to Hamburg and Augusta about a century later. Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York, 1897), 639; *id.*, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1901), 299-300, 639, 703.

Liechertage, Hans Kruese and I [in the manuscript the sentence is not completed; the writer of the original probably said that these men were named as a committee to inspect the three possible sites for a settlement]. It has been further decided that all shall enjoy like privileges, and that no one (if Savanaton is chosen) may join us if the majority does not want him, lest all kinds of people must be received whom we do not like and who would only cause us strife. In addition we promised to hold together; and if one or the other does not care to remain with the company, then he is at liberty [to go], but should afterwards be regarded as a stranger if he proposes to go away.

Tuesday the 15th . . . to-day we informed the "Commissari" of our intention, who said that "Provision" had already been sent to Savanatown for us; and if we wished to inspect the places, it would require several weeks' time, so that we could plant nothing more this year. The people were again assembled and decided that the men should go in a body to Savanaton in order to inspect this place. If they liked this place, they could begin to work and have women, children and baggage follow on the river; if not, [they could] have the privilege like others of going away again to choose another pleasing location. The other 2 points with regard to equality of privileges and reception of strangers were unanimously ratified. Those persons who were not willing to agree to these things [but chose] to go elsewhere are Mr. Giezetanner, Hans Jacob Giger and his sons, as also Abraham Giger.<sup>6</sup>

Wednesday the 16th . . . the Gouverneur was unwilling to let those go who did not want to remain with the company, because [he said] this place was one of the best and was chosen "expresse" for us; consequently it was not advisable to choose something else at great cost and loss of much time, especially since it was already late to plant. In the meantime Mr. Giezedanner and his adherents, however, began a great uproar and asserted they were betrayed because they were not permitted to go where they wished, and [said] if they cultivated the land, they would have to go away again, and told more lies; and although they railed at the pastor [Zuberbuehler] and not at me, yet it is not right to spread such lies. Because a seal and letters are given that (if) the land is allotted, then it is one's property, so that even the king himself can offer no objection. Ten years [one] is exempt [from taxes]; and then one pays yearly on 100 acres no more than 1 florin 30 Kreuzer in your money, which [I have] heard from reliable people. In the evening many determined that they did not want to dwell near Mr. Giezedanner and his adherent, because they had already caused so much strife on the journey, and nothing else [was] to be expected than that they would continue it;

<sup>6</sup> Giezetanner, sometimes Giezedanner, was perhaps John Giessendanner, later prominent in the Orangeburg settlement, whose uncle, John Ulrich Giessendanner, was pastor of the Switzers who in 1735 formed a settlement in Orangeburg Township. In 1742 Abram Giger, Herman Gyger, and Hans Jac. Gyger received grants of land in Saxe-Gotha, or Congaree. Voigt, *German and German-Swiss Element in South Carolina*, 56.

therefore they would rather live without him and in peace. [They said] they now had good reason because he had himself decided to leave us. It might also happen as at Graffentel, when he also declared he would not travel with us and nevertheless remained with us without any persuasion. Besides we knew what a useless man Herman Giger was, how he swore and cursed. They can also do without his father and cousin.

Thursday the 17th . . . to-day a place Fridrichsburg<sup>7</sup> was allotted to the people from the Rheinthal (except Felix Riz). Thither they will move tomorrow. This place is located to the north on a river that flows into the Sante but is not open [free from obstructions], so that one can sail only with small craft into the right river. [It] is therefore false, as they yesterday alleged, that one is betrayed who goes there. Mr. Giezedanner, who is left with them as the headman, did not go with them. Our party is glad because almost [all] those have gone whom they gladly bade go, except [that] we should have liked to keep old Schelling. [It] is therefore better [that] they have gone pleasantly than if we had got rid of them otherwise, because they caused us only embarrassment, especially Mr. Giezetanner, who cannot endure the church and the ministry, and [in] the whole matter has been an intriguer against the pastor. As they previously thought, I should go with them; but I choose rather to inspect the place chosen by Mr. Zuberbuehler and then go at will to this or another place, since I, of course, consider not only myself, but I should like to choose a place where not only this company but also those coming later might get good land, as I am minded not to rest until [I have] found such a place. You, however, who have a desire to come in here, guard against all kinds of people whom you do not know. We had people in our ship who were as maliciously angry at all the Appenzellers as I have seen in my whole life. Because, however, they, praise God, [are gone] from us, I shall not name them. If Mr. Vorbuirger goes with you, receive him and his company with joy because he is a Christian and no fighter [and] will also guard against such people who love only quarrel and strife. Should people be with you whom you call Pietists, test them well, for all is not gold that glitters . . . . However, they are not all to be shunned; and here in this place they can hold publicly their teachings and meetings if they [are] according to the Holy Scriptures. We also like them well if they, like others, help to found churches and schools, live according to the word of God as much as is possible, do not scorn the pastor when he teaches according to God's word, also do not always rail in their teachings only against the church and declaim passionately against the people who go in it.

Friday the 18th . . . in the morning we went before the "Commissari" and had to take an oath for so long as we remain in the land, that we respect and regard the present king in England as the legitimate one, also his princes and

<sup>7</sup> Fridrichsburg was a township on the Wateree River, perhaps near the present site of Camden.

princesses as the legitimate successors, and not the Pretender or another Catholic king; also against the pope and invocation of the saints, as also with regard to the Holy Supper, that bread and wine are established symbols and that no transubstantiation takes place. [We] would be permitted to go in the whole land where we pleased, and if we wished, to go out again. The land that is given us is 50 acres a head, for us and our posterity's property. We might sell it, exchange it, in fact dispose of it at will as with our property. We enjoy every right, like born Englishmen. In fact, [he said] in all things there shall be no difference between us and the Englishmen. They give us a certain quantity of provisions for a year, as also implements and cattle; and [we] have to give nothing in return except we must return to the servants the provisions that we [received] for the service years, when their service years are up and they receive their own land. They give us a guide to the place as also expenses above the yearly. Wife, children and baggage will be brought to us afterwards by water as soon as we have declared where we wish to remain. Those coming later are relieved of such trouble; if they only say they want to come to us, they will soon be escorted themselves to that place. To-day at nine o'clock a decreasing eclipse of about 5 inches was seen here through the mist. With you it probably took place in the afternoon.

Saturday the 19th . . . This morning the people from the Rheinthal set out for Fridrichsburg. Their leader was the shoemaker from Gaeiss. The "Commissari" distributed some implements and "Provision" on account and promised to give us on Monday morning a guide to show us the way to Savaneton. . . . Glaser has been persuaded to remain with us and to go with us to Savanaton to inspect that place.

Sunday the 20th . . . a divine service was held by the pastor in the French church, and Cunrad Ouzster's daughter was christened. Yesterday "provision" was given to the people on account; and it amounts for one person above 12 years (below that 2 count as 1) to 350 lb. of meat (the English pound here is 32 half-ounces), 200 lb. of rice, 1 bushel of salt and 8 bushels of corn (1 bushel is not less than 2 quarters with you). 30 head have an iron hand mill; and 3 head have one cow, 1 calf, 1 pig. They also give to a male person over 12 years 2 mattocks and an axe, also in general grindstones and wood saws, according to the size of the company. To-day [I] traveled 6 miles (an English mile is 2000 paces, as [I] myself measured to-day; one must therefore run hard if one wants to run three miles in one hour; it is known that 4 English [miles] make 1 German) into the country and found at first poor land, where only pines [*Fohr*] or Scotch pines [*Daehlen*<sup>s</sup>] grow. The farther, however, one comes from Carlstown, the better land one finds; yet up to this place [I] have

<sup>s</sup> By *Daehlen* is meant the longleaf pine, to which Tobler gave the name of a European tree.

always found sandy land . . . . To-day I was asked to give 40 lb. for a strong but not fine 8 year old horse and believe that I shall take it to-morrow, because I find it hard to travel 150 miles on foot, and especially because [I] want to take along my daughter and a maid, who cannot walk all the time either. A fine outfit for horseback riding without cloak and boots recently cost me 40 lb.; yet saddle blanket and pistol holsters could not be made so neatly with you. In short, everything here is very high, partly because too many people arrive, the transportation, on the other hand, [is] too great, and the skilled workers [are] too few. Good artisans can here earn their piece of bread and much more besides, as I have myself met some who, because they could not pay their passage over sea, were sold as servants for 4 years and now live in great wealth. There is here a German tailor who himself told me that in one year he can earn 1000 lb., and his bought servants have to do almost all work. Otherwise, everything here is overcrowded with negroes, who as slaves do nearly all [the] work. [They] appear, however, very wild and roguish; and [I] could not believe anything good of them. They bear very many children, who must also serve as slaves their whole lives. According to my way of thinking, they live like cattle. In short, I do not like them, although they do one not the least harm nor dare to because it is forbidden under heavy penalties.

Monday the 21st . . . on this day at 11 o'clock our 25 persons began, in God's name, the journey to Savaneton; and after we had traveled about 15 miles, we remained in the wood over night, where we slept as securely as with you in a closed room, because everywhere [there is] surplus wood to make fire and to sleep around it. Therefore every night we made 2 or 3 big fires the whole night to cook, to warm ourselves (because the nights [are] still cold) and to sleep around.

Tuesday the 22nd . . . we found much good [land] but also poor land near by, which latter was sandy, also briars and bushes here and there, as also fine "plantations" ([they] are country estates) with blooming peach trees. In the morning some came into a house, where they got food and drink for nothing. Noon we came to Dortstetten [Dorchester?], a pretty good place on a navigable stream and only 25 miles from Carlstown. There a town is supposed to be built. There are also many houses there already. The people are indeed friendly; but if one wants to buy something, and they see that one must necessarily have it, they overcharge their goods very much, as we saw [in the case of] two horses, which were overcharged more than half; and yet they rarely haggle about the price of anything. We again remained over night in the forest near a poor plantation.

Wednesday the 23d . . . yesterday evening Jno. Iller and Hs. Naegele got lost in the wood through imprudence and remained over night on a good plantation. Glaser and our guide sought them, and the latter found [them] because they went back where they had been yesterday evening. . . . Afterwards we continued our journey, and soon a snake about 4 feet long was killed by Hans



Kruesti with a small stick. At 1 o'clock we came to the Ediston [Edisto] River to a house, where we not only got provisions for 4 days, but the master of the house gave me and my daughter Elssbeth very good food. We ate bread from maize, which was very good and almost snow white. . . . This river is not so large as the Rhine at Rheinegg. After we swam the horses across the river and carried our goods across, we traveled a mile farther to a plantation and remained in the forest. The man, however, was unwilling to leave me and three other persons in the forest but urged us to come to his house, fed us very well and assigned us beds for sleeping. These were Glaser, Gabriel and my daughter.

Thursday the 24th it began to rain in the night; therefore the people came to us early in the morning, to whom also quarters were given. Because it rained the whole day, we remained there.

Friday the 25th . . . the man in the house still fed us and was very unwilling to let us go, and much less to take money from us. Because we, however, were very eager to finish our journey as quickly as possible, we nevertheless left this place because it seemed as if the rainy weather would stop; and we found now bad, now good land. The *Daehlen* (which [is] a kind of pine), which yield the most wood, are the finest and tallest timber that I [have] seen in my lifetime. . . . There are also genuine pines [*Fohren*], which, however, [have] not such fine timber as the *Daehlen*. . . . The cypresses are still finer, of which [there are] very many. In short, a genuine lover of building does not yet know where to look because Carolina is a continuous forest.

Saturday the 26th . . . the people had to wade at times up to the *hosenband* [garter or belt]. In the evening we came to a hut, where [there was] a plantation, where we could cook, sleep and warm ourselves. There was no one there but two couples of married people, a savage and a negro or slave couple, and a negro child. Almost every day we saw stags. In the evening we ate venison, which the savage furnished us very cheap. . . .

Sunday the 27th . . . at 11 o'clock we set out and under continuous rain came at 3 o'clock 11 miles distant to M[onsieur] Golche's plantation, which is situated by the road on the right. This man is an inn-keeper and is ashamed to sell his goods very high to traveling people. Here is half way between Carls-town and Savaneton.

Monday the 28th . . . the "Commissari" in Carlston directed us to take here "Provision" [to last] to Savaneton because [he said] nothing more was to be had up to that place. But this man did not respect the "Commissari's" writing and would furnish us nothing except very dear and for our money. We had to take it as a favor that he had given the people for 4 lb. a steer that was cut 4 days before and was nothing but blue flesh and bone under the skin, and to Gabriel and me a good little pig (which [was] not high-priced) for 3 lb., and a bushel of corn or peas for 2 lb., a bottle of rum for 12½ shillings. At Carls-town one can get more than 4 for that price; and if one buys much, one can get

better at 10 shillings a pail [gallon] (is 4 bottles), which is about 4 St. Gallen quarts. To be sure, we might still have had quarters to remain there; but nevertheless in the evening at 5 o'clock we traveled 4 or 5 miles more into the forest to spend the night there, where we rested better than in the house.

Tuesday the 1st March . . . [we] traveled over much good land. There was so much dried up grass to be found in the woods that [it was] easy to conclude that in many places here in the woods more grass grows than in the best fields with you. This grass is often set on fire by the travelers and savages in the spring in order not only to check the insect pests, but so that new grass should grow for the cattle and the travelers' horses. . . . In this land everybody travels on horseback (even the slaves), which also [is] best and costs the least because one can soon come far and easily across the streams because [there are] yet few dry and good wide roads. [They] are, however, to be made up to Savanetown, as already there is such a road up to 50 miles, which [is] at least 3 wagons wide and straight as a line, so that one can see through the forest very far behind and before him. . . .

Wednesday the 2nd . . . after we had traveled a mile or two, we came to a wretched plantation, where there was only a single man. Also there was little cleared land there. Yesterday & to-day we saw very large whitish gray birds (larger than geese). We found much burnt off grass, which had come out again beautifully green & was very good for the horses. In the afternoon the land became at first mountainlike, which [was] gradually rising upward, then level, & again gradually sloping downward, then again level. For the most part, however, the valleys are spongy with water, especially at this time, because this week there has been a high water. This afternoon for the first time we found swamps, so that the horses in places could not easily get through, as I then drowned my shoes while riding not in the water but in the swamp.

Thursday the 3d the land became even more mountainlike & now and then very poor & sandy. This day we found very many nut trees, which, however, were sharp cornered and *grueblicht* [pitted?], which I suppose comes because the trees are not tended, for they appear very wild. . . . After 10 miles we came to a 3 branched body of water, which came up on the horses as far as the saddles. Afterwards we found no more water at all for 10 miles but only burning grass in the woods. Afterwards we again found an equally deep [stream]. There we rested & ate dinner rather late. Afterwards we traveled 11 more miles and arrived very happily in Savaneton at 7 o'clock in the evening, without the guide, because a part of the people could not follow, so we left them in the morning with the guide, & by degrees continued our journey. We came to the house of a merchant, who fed us and gave us quarters for sleeping.

Friday the 4th . . . we asked for a man who might show us the land that Mr. Zuberbuehler chose for the people from Appenzell; but because the water was so high this week that many cattle & swine were drowned in the swamp, they post-

poned the matter until to-morrow, because there was a body of water in between, that one could not readily pass through with the horses. This, however, was above Savaneton. The merchant assigned us two houses to live in. At twelve o'clock noon came the people, who were quartered in the one house. The Savana River passes by near this place & is about as large as the Rhine at Rheineck. It is said, in fact, to have many fish; [I] have, however, not seen any, although [I] stood by the river. Moreover, Savaneton is located on high ground; indeed, in places the bank is almost as high as a church tower. There is a fort<sup>9</sup> here with 14 men, where there are also 20 to 30 little houses built. [As for] trees, [I] have seen none here but peachtrees, which [are] very thick with blooms. As I wrote this, the king of the savages, beside 4 others, stood beside me. They looked at me very sharply, also showed the treaty of peace which they had made with the king in England; and after they had shown other signs of friendship and love from themselves, they bowed, offered me their hands & took a courteous leave. They painted themselves strangely with red color. The king wore a beautiful brass breastpiece over his heart. Besides, the people here are very friendly & do whatever they can to please us.

Saturday the 5th . . . [I] was supposed to go to the fort for breakfast; but because I intended to inspect the land, [I] excused myself; & at 10 o'clock there came 2 guides, one of whom spoke German. With them we traveled several miles above [Savaneton] toward the north. There, to be sure, we looked at pretty good land but not yet pleasing to us & too far from the river. [We] said therefore that we did not like it; & if no better land & [land] by the river [was] to be found, [we] would go back again to other places. Because, however, they were not willing to let us go, they traveled with us below Savaneton (the people on foot could not follow). As soon as we were 3 or 4 miles from the river, we were already seeing better land; and soon it appeared good enough to us. It was almost nothing but wood with leaves of oak and nut trees, & only a few pines near the river. Far from it there are enough of them all right. Beside them are very many wild grape vines, which gives us hope of planting there good grape vines. There are also blooming peachtrees there. Indeed, without doubt all kinds of fruit-bearing trees would thrive well there if one only had stones and kernels of all kinds of fine fruits. The guide informed us that there is such good land down the river for 30 miles and up on the other side for 12 miles, which is also credible because, so far as we have seen, we have seen nothing but good land. Therefore [there is] land enough for some 100 persons by a beautiful navigable river. The land is not very level, but at first a little sloping & mountainlike, but by far not as above Savaneton, where it is almost as mountainous (but not so high) as in Switzerland. Here are good grasses; & because the land [is] high, the air appears healthy to me. Indeed, it is at or on the

<sup>9</sup> Fort Moore.

sources of the mountains, so that above [is] mountain & below plain. The inclement weather has hindered us from investigating the matter further; only we have not forgotten to observe that in places the bank [is] pretty high & gradually rises the farther one goes from the river. There are still some poor huts there, which I suppose the savages formerly made, now, however, abandoned. [It] may be also that the Christians come and either die or otherwise abandon them. But they may be made by whom they will, this great tract of land belongs to us & those following, because only one person has had land apportioned there, so that consequently we are the first except for him. [We] wish only that those who have a desire to come here should not delay long, lest strangers be before them, as people are always arriving who are eager for good land, especially if people are already there, for much good land in one tract by beautiful navigable rivers is beginning therefore to become scarce. [I] advise you therefore if you indeed wish to join us, not to travel so late as we, because this year we are almost too late for planting. This place is situated in north latitude  $33\frac{1}{2}$  degrees & is situated  $81\frac{1}{2}$  degrees to the west of London (15 degrees make one hour; therefore day [comes] 5 hours 26 minutes later than at London in England, and from London to Switzerland [one] finds also about 50 minutes [difference]). As this was revealed to those people who waited in Savaneton, they thanked God & unanimously determined to remain there, which delighted the people of Savaneton; and [they] promised to give the people "provision." [I] ate 2 or 3 times at a gentleman's house with several persons & was supposed to go to several places but had no time; & yet they would take nothing for it but gave us more bread for the way; & one offered & requested [me] to leave my daughter at his house until I came back, which [I] left to my daughter's choice. . . .

Sunday the 6th . . . because now those who showed us the way to Savaneton wanted to travel to Orangeburg, we decided (because I wanted besides to go to my father's) to go along. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon we set out on the journey in the name of God; & after we traveled 11 miles, we came again to that body of water passed on Thursday, & after 10 miles to the 3 branched [stream], all of which came up to the saddles of the horses, after 3 miles to another, where we remained over night. It was a very cold wind and bright. This day the savages brought the merchant in Savaneton buffalo, bear & deer hides very cheaply, in fact, even a leather boat, which can be folded up & carried easily, & afterwards 4 or 5 persons can travel in it across the rivers. Indeed they bring those people meat of all kinds of game & of most beautiful birds for a very low price.

Monday the 7th . . . after we had traveled 11 miles, we arrived at a new plantation by the road on the right. The man gave us something to eat. We arrived there at 9 o'clock & saw in front of the house about a half target shot away 6 wild cocks or Indian [birds, turkeys]. The man shot at one; and although he was close by, yet he missed it. We saw them almost every day, &

indeed many, especially on the return journey. After about 2 hours we left; and because our guide's horse could no longer go well, we had to remain at 4 o'clock in the evening at a wretched plantation. There were 3 persons present, who, however, did not all belong here, because on the journey from Charleston only one man [was] there. [We] had met one man & the woman at "Mr." Golcher's as people traveling to Savaneton.

Tuesday the 8th we had to wait until 7 o'clock & still set out without the guide. They told us that 5 or 6 miles more a little road went to the left, & we should take it. As we had now traveled so far, we looked for the road a long time, rode back & forth, but could not find any. They themselves did not know it, because we afterwards learned that 10 or 11 miles more, & not 5 or 6 miles more, a road went to the left. Because we now had hope of finding from Mons. Golcher a way to Orangeburg, we traveled there with all earnestness & arrived there fresh & remained there over night, who received us honorably. [He] told us that there was indeed a road to that place but at this time [there was] too much water, so that we could not get through. We must, however, [he said] go back only 11 miles; there a road to the right would appear, which would bring us to the Ediston River.

Wednesday the 9th we again traveled back in order to come to Orangeburg if possible; & after we had traveled about 11 miles, we found a road to the right, & after about 20 miles on this road a plantation near the river, & indeed near the western arm of Ediston. As we arrived, it began to rain very hard; & after we had given the horses peas which had been presented to us, we wanted to go across the river. It rained as hard as [I have] ever seen; & yet because we feared the river might swell still more after the hard rain, we did not want to miss the time to cross if possible; but the river ran so strongly that we could not bring a horse across, but they hastened with all their might back toward us. For the people it was bad also because the big tree that was felled across it was far under water on the other side, so that we were forced this night to remain over night on this plantation in a little wretched hut. Here is still much good land.

Thursday the 10th we decided to go straightway to Charleston & not to strive against a higher power, because we had not reached our goal these 2 days, since we [were] just as far from Charleston as on Tuesday morning & about 20 miles from Orangeburg. . . . We [were] therefore again at dinner at "Mr." Golcher's, who again made the account good. After we had traveled 11 more miles, we arrived again at the plantation where on the previous journey there were only savages & "Negres." This time "Mr." Kelly himself was there together with 3 other Englishmen, who soon gave us something to eat. We also desired to buy corn for the horses. [He] said, however, that he had little & none to sell. [He] gave some to us, however, for nothing. This was the tallest man that [I have] seen in Carolina; elsewhere also [I have seen] few his equals. He was a good shot & brought home 2 turkeys.

Friday morning the 11th we wanted very much to travel early. Because, however, the latter [Kelly] together with another wanted to travel with us, we had to eat breakfast first. After 8 o'clock we departed & came at 11 o'clock to an old abandoned plantation, 10 miles from the night's quarters. Soon we came to a road that led us to the right to a new road to Charleston. At 1 o'clock we found as good land as [I had] seen. At 2 o'clock we arrived at the plantation of the one who traveled with us. He gave us food & drink & was so kind to us that we were persuaded to remain at his place over night. He has many "Negres" who work, & there is in this place very good but wet land for rice planting. This day we found very much water, which sometimes came on the horses up to the saddles (the little [streams] one pays no attention to) and elsewhere wet enough. The man's name is "Mr." Johann Rieth. . . .

Saturday morning the 12th at 6 o'clock we left the place & at 9½ o'clock came to the Ediston River, where [there is] a ferry for people & cattle. Because, however, others were before us, we had to wait a long time until the others were ferried over; & after we [were] across, we took the new cut road, which [is] 3 wagons wide & so straight that one can see far before & behind him. This road goes to Charleston. We found, however, very much water & mud, so that the horses had very much to do. Today we traveled over much good but low & damp land, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon across a navigable body of water over a bridge. Here we had over 20 miles more, which took the hope from us of coming to Charleston this day. Nevertheless, we came at 6 o'clock to a navigable river by the "ferre," where also there was a ferry, & only 12 miles to Charleston. Therefore we continued the journey with such earnestness that at 10 o'clock in the evening we arrived healthy and happy in Charleston. We left the horses 6 miles outside with the one who had furnished me my horse. . . . The 8 March [a proclamation] was read out that only this year should "Provision" be given to the people, but no longer in the future, which ought to be noted by those who have a desire to come here, that they do not fail to arrive, if possible, this very year.

[I] met here also my son Ulric,<sup>10</sup> who already speaks English well & has grown considerably. . . .

Sunday the 13th a divine service was held by the pastor. I informed the people of my journey & land, who [were] content. Soon, however, [they] would have become homesick if [I] had not come soon, because the Germans here spread all kinds of lies, so that one does not know what to believe until one has seen it himself. [I] gave Glaser 25 lb. in the name of the whole people because he journeyed with us. In the afternoon Glaser departed for Orangeburg, & with him my son to buy cattle & then bring my father along to Savane-

<sup>10</sup> While riding from his father's to Fort Moore on February 15, 1760, Ulric Tobler, then a captain of militia, was slain and scalped by a Cherokee Indian. *Charleston South Carolina Gazette*, February 23, 1760.

ton. There are 80 miles from Orangeburg to Savaneton, & from Orangeburg to Carleston the far & better way 120, the other, however, 80.

Monday the 14th it was still good weather, as yesterday also. Tuesday nothing important happened because the "Commissari" was not here. Moreover I bought to-day much food of peas, flour, rice, cider, rum, sugar & bread. To-day the Zueblins<sup>11</sup> departed for Purisburg.

Tuesday the 15th . . . the "Commissari" has not yet come; therefore we do not know yet when we can depart.

Wednesday the 16th . . . we have not yet been able to locate the "Commissari." His wife conjectures he might have become sick on his plantation. Now he has come & has promised to expedite the matter as quickly as possible.

Thursday the 17th . . . a son was very safely born to Hs. Ulric Frey. Friday 18th [I] traveled 20 miles into the country. . . . This day & Saturday the 19th were summer days. Yesterday [I] stopped at the Gouverneur's on the trip [to see] about suitable land for the construction of a saw mill, & to-day 150 acres have been granted me. . . . As for Carolina, I have myself found thus: that it is a continuous forest of many kinds of fine timber, as the diary shows. In most places, however, the timber does not stand thick because the burnt off grass weakens the young timber & sets fire to much large timber, so that it either dries up & then is again set on fire the next year or is thrown down by the wind, as then many thousand trees lie everywhere & rot, & some burn with the grass. Much is set on fire too by the savages & travelers, so that the timber rather decreases than increases. Except in damp places, where nothing can be set on fire, there stands much very large leafy timber of oaks, also whole patches of cypresses. There is the best rice land, but very hard to clear. Besides, the land is flat far & wide. If one comes far from the sea, it often has little mountains, which are, however, not so steep & high as with you. [I] suppose, however, if one comes still farther from the sea than [I] have been, the mountains will become still higher, as then the description inform[s] that Carolina is separated from New France & florida by high mountains. Besides, the land is well supplied with fine navigable rivers & very many tributaries which flow into the large ones. The water in them is very light & good & does nothing to one however much one drinks, except heed be taken that it would purge if much were drunk. The low places near the sea have bad & unhealthy water. [I] cannot praise them either for healthy air, especially here, which, however, almost all seaports commonly have. The people in general are not so healthy here as they were on the sea. Some of them are, however, themselves to blame because they love the rum, wine & beer too much, which [are] all stronger than with you. They think too the belly must always be full, while newcomers would do

<sup>11</sup> These were three brothers from St. Gallen. David Zueblin (the name was later shortened to Zubly), one of the brothers, was the father of John Joachim Zubly, who migrated to America in 1744, and who was later a famous Savannah preacher and a member of the Continental Congress.

much better if they ate and drank moderately, because they do no work. For my part, [I] can write, praise God, that on the whole journey up to this hour [I have] had no sick hour, have used no medicines either except some just for sick people, & nevertheless drunk now and then a little rum, beer, wine & "ponsch" but not in abundance, but a little as a medicine, while others often fill themselves, so that they suffer injury to their health.

As for the land, whether it be poor or good, [I] have met [it] everywhere & have divided it into 4 parts, while [I have] found a rather small part that is good for nothing but timber growing & a little grass because there [is] too much sand. On this part the finest timber does not grow, but [is] short & crooked; however, there is also fine [timber] among it. The second part I consider as good as if with you one cuts down forests on level ground & then plants, which must be somewhat manured. On this part grows very much grass & fine timber. The third part [I] consider just as good as if you should turn over & then sow your best fields, which at first needs no manuring but in a few years is needed. On this kind of ground there is fine corn 2 or 3 years without any manuring; & afterwards they fence it in, & then they drive the cattle only to spend the night on it, & then it is again as good as in the beginning. On this part very much grass grows; & if it were mown, if it were previously burnt off so that no old [grass] were among it, very good feed could be made for the cattle; & if old [grass] were among it, very good litter could be made, & one could have as much of it as one desired. In these three parts cattle raising could be put on a very good footing if plow land were made out of the fallow ground as with you, & then feed were made for the cattle for about 2 or 3 months, & they were put into the shed. Then they would give milk as well as with you, especially at somewhat elevated places. Indeed, the people say milk & butter are even more delicious than with you. If nothing, however, is given them to eat in the wintertime, they can give nothing. As then with you around [St.] Gall's day, also some days later not much could be expected from the cattle if you would not give them anything nor put them in the shed, as winters here well remind me how it is with you between [St.] Gall's day & St. Martin's day.<sup>12</sup>

The fourth part of the land, which [is] not the smallest but by far the best, has no similarity with your land. It yields for many years without cultivation what is necessary for human life & maintenance, & very richly at that, is, however, hard to cultivate because much large timber of oaks & other kinds of hardwood stands on it. One part is damp & produces very much rice. One part is dry & produces what one desires. But without planting no harvest must be expected, & the splendid fruits which you hope to enjoy here do not grow in forests but on planted places. [It] is therefore a pity that [there are] not industrious people here who would profit by this knowledge, as the Englishmen are nothing for that purpose at all but only for idleness. *p. p.* [and so forth?]

<sup>12</sup> St. Gall's day is October 16; St. Martin's day, November 11.