

The Journal of the
Reverend John Joachim Zubly
A. M., D. D.
March 5, 1770 through June 22, 1781



GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS, VOLUME XXI

The Journal of the
Reverend John Joachim Zubly
A. M., D. D.

March 5, 1770 through June 22, 1781

Edited by Lilla Mills Hawes
Director Emeritus
Georgia Historical Society

Lilla Mills Hawes



A Sesquicentennial Publication

Savannah, Georgia
The Georgia Historical Society
1989

For Rita Trotz

With much affection and gratitude for all the help she has given me in preparing this manuscript for publication.

Manuscript Journal of the Revd. John Joachim Zubly
From March 5, 1770 to 9 April 1781
presented to
George Wallace Hunter, March 1828 by Archibald Smith, Jr.,
Grandson of Mr. Zubly—& by G. W. Hunter to the
“Georgia Historical Society”
Savannah, June 3rd, 1839

Inasmuch as Zubly's Journal is being published in 1989 and the manuscript was presented to the Georgia Historical Society at its organizational meeting in 1839 it seems particularly appropriate to designate this publication as a Sesquicentennial Publication.

Acknowledgements

My heartfelt thanks

To Brenda Williams Long, now of Augusta, for her help in proofreading my first typed draft and in assembling the journal in chronological order.

To Lee Alexander who also helped with proofreading. Her sharp eye for detail and her experience in reading manuscripts were of great assistance. She also helped in research for material for footnotes.

To Gordon B. Smith who read the typescript and made many helpful suggestions.

To Rita Trotz who helped me in so many ways it is impossible to delineate them.

To the Rev. Raymond Davis for his help in interpreting many religious symbols.

To Dr. John D. Duncan for the loan of some of his South Carolina books.

And, to the Georgia Historical Society staff for their always cheerful assistance in getting books for me, in photocopying materials and in typing letters and this journal.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iv
Illustrations	vi
Foreward	vii
Preface	viii
The Journal	1
Appendix	102
Bibliography	113
Index	124

ILLUSTRATIONS

Photograph of Zubly's entry for October 24, 1775	xix
Map tracing Zubly's journey from Philadelphia to Savannah	62-63

FOREWORD

It is my hope that the publication of the journal of the Rev. John Joachim Zubly will lay to rest the calumny that he was a traitor or turncoat, when in reality his only offense was loyalty to his King. The legend of his traitorous activities has persisted since his own time and has been many times in print. 'Tis true that some 20th Century historians have written that he was not a traitor but the legend lingers on. It is not at all uncommon that a statement, once it has appeared in print, is thereafter accepted as fact.

It is my belief that the members of the Georgia Provincial Congress, on a hot July 4 afternoon in Savannah, went to sleep or dozed and did not really listen to Zubly's long and rambling "Law of Liberty" sermon. Had they paid close attention to what he was saying he probably never would have been chosen a delegate to the Second Continental Congress.

His place in American history rests chiefly upon his attendance at the Continental Congress and not upon his career as a dissenting minister in Georgia and South Carolina. His journal, I think, puts him in proper perspective. It shows the man as he was—a clear thinker, steadfast in his beliefs, devoted to his God, his church and his family. The political aspect of his career was an accident of history. He should be remembered and respected as the outstanding and good man that he was.

Lilla Mills Hawes
Director Emeritus
Georgia Historical Society

PREFACE

The manuscript journal of the Rev. John Joachim Zubly, March 5, 1770 through June 22, 1781, was given to the Georgia Historical Society by George Wallace Hunter on June 3, 1839.¹ Mr. Hunter had received it as a gift from Archibald Smith in March 1828.² April 9, 1781, is the final date of the journal as given in the presentation inscription. That date is incorrect. The error was probably due to the disordered state of the pages.

In a letter dated March 27, 1853, to Israel K. Tefft, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, Archibald Smith,³ Zubly's great-grandson, expressed surprise that the Society had the journal as he also had a journal and other papers of Zubly's. Mr. Smith's journal would have been of an earlier period. It is presumably lost as Arthur M. Smith,⁴ a descendant of the Archibald Smiths, wrote to Lilla M. Hawes, then Director of the Georgia Historical Society, on October 30, 1953, saying he did not have the journal and did not know of it.

¹George Wallace Hunter was born April 15, 1806, probably in Savannah. He was Assistant Cashier of the Marine and Fire Insurance Bank of Savannah and was one of the founding members of the Georgia Historical Society. At the formal organizational meeting of the Society on June 4, 1839, he was elected treasurer, which position he held until he resigned on September 14, 1840. His gift of the Zubly journal is recorded in the Society's minutes of July 8, 1839. He continued attending meetings of the Society until October 11, 1841, the last time his name appears in the minutes. His exact death date is unknown. The slab on his vault in Colonial Park Cemetery had so badly deteriorated at the time of a cemetery survey in the early 1900s that the death date had disappeared, though the birth and death dates of his wife were still legible. The inscriptions have now completely disappeared. He probably died shortly after September 1843 for that is the last date he is listed in the newspaper indexes. There is no record of him in the vital records or the wills and administrations in the Chatham County Courthouse. *Minutes of the GHS*, Book I, 1839-1868, *passim.*; contemporary newspapers; *Colonial Park Cemetery Paper*, Ms. Coll. #1011, pp. 34-35.

²Archibald Smith married Helena (Nelly) Zubly, daughter of JJZ's son David in 1796. The journal undoubtedly came into his possession through his wife. His will is dated July 21, 1829, probated in 1830. *Georgia Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1796, p. 3, col. 3; *Chatham County Will Book "G"*, 1827-1839, p. 14.

³Archibald Smith, son of Archibald and Helena Zubly Smith, was born in Savannah on March 2, 1801, and died in Roswell, Ga. on Jan. 3, 1886. His father's will referred to him as a planter. *Savannah Morning News*, Jan. 14, 1886, p. 2, col. 5; Cordle, "Will of JJZ," in *GHQ* (1938), XXII:384-390. His letter to Tefft is in the GHS Manuscript Collections, #392, Item 4. It is copied in the Appendix, *supra*.

⁴The letter of Arthur M. Smith is in the correspondence file of the GHS.

The journal is significant because it is, so far as has been ascertained, the only unpublished journal or diary of a delegate to the Continental Congress. It adds very little to the information in published journals of the Congress and personal diaries and accounts by other delegates. It is perhaps more significant because of the glimpses it gives of the Calvinist church in colonial Georgia and South Carolina, the troubles endured by a minister who was a dissenter from the established church,⁵ and who as a Loyalist during the Revolution was banished from Georgia. Bereft of his congregation he preached in various places in lower South Carolina. When he returned to Savannah after his banishment he found that his property and even his church had been vandalized by the people who banished him.

John Joachim Zubly

John Joachim Zubly, son of David and Helena Zubly, was born in St. Gall, Switzerland, August 27, 1724. He was ordained in the German Church (Dutch Reformed) in London on August 19, 1744, at the age of 20.⁶ He was extremely well educated and could read and speak in German, French, Latin, Greek, "Syriak" (Hebrew?). He was later honored by the New Jersey College (Princeton) with a Master's degree in 1770 and again with a D. D. degree in 1774.⁷

A petition by some of the inhabitants of Vernonburg, Acton and adjacent hamlets⁸ to the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia

⁵JJZ, in a letter written in June or July 1773 to an unnamed correspondent, tells of the locations of churches of various denominations in Georgia and points out in some detail the hardships endured by dissenting ministers. He wrote, "it once happened to me that I was oblig'd to speak at my own Child's Grave, because the Rector, whom I had invited & expected, as being my particular friend, did not chose to attend." He also pointed out "the dissenters Indifference to their own principles." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1864-1865, pp. 214-219.

⁶The personal details are from a note by his daughter, Ann Zubly Seagrove, which is in the Appendix *supra*. Other information is from Strickland, *Religion and the State in Ga.*, pp. 116-117.

⁷The title of his doctoral dissertation was *Exercitatio Theologica de Nubis Virginis* (Carlopoli: 1775) (*Dissertation on the Theology of the Virgin Birth* (Charleston: 1775)). Muhlenberg, *Journals*, II:663n.

⁸These hamlets, along with Hampstead, were south of Savannah. They had been settled by Swiss and German immigrants.

dated February 6, 1742, stated "And whereas the Revd John Joachim Zubli of St. Gall in Switzerland—(Son of David Zubli⁹ of Purrisburgh in Carolina) is well known to many of us to be a truly Pious and Prudent, a Learned and Conscientious Man, Orthodox in our Religion and very desirous of coming amongst us; We therefore Humbly pray your Honours to Indulge us in this, even to Appoint the said Revd. John Jochim Zubli, of and now residing in St. Gall in Switzerland to be our Pastor, and to send him to us—The granting of this Request will Sweeten all our Comforts." The petition was presented to the Trustees by Zubly himself on January 16, 1743/4. Zubly again attended the meeting of the Trustees on January 23, 1743/4, at which time he was asked what he requested of them for going to reside in Georgia as minister at Vernonburg and Acton. He proposed £50 per annum and his expenses for going there. This proposal was rejected by the Trustees; they felt they were not able to maintain him and considered him too young and inexperienced.¹⁰

Despite the rejection by the Trustees, Zubly sailed for South Carolina on board the *John* in July 1744¹¹ shortly after his ordination. He was preaching in Georgia at Vernonburg, Acton and Hampstead by July 1745.¹² On December 29, 1746, the Trustees recommended that the Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, Minister at Savannah, make an allowance of £10 per annum to the Rev. Zubly as his assistant for those villages. In addition to the salary he was to receive income from lands set aside for the church.¹³

⁹David Zubly settled in Purrysburg, S. C. in the 1750s. He died there in 1757. Meriwether, *Expansion of S. C.*, p. 39.

¹⁰*Col. Recs. Ga.* 1:440-442, 490; V:713; XXXI:8.

¹¹*Ibid.*, XXX:598-599.

¹²Historians W. B. Stevens and P. A. Strobel state that he went first to Frederica on St. Simons Island, Ga. and preached there for several years. Extant records do not bear this out. He probably preached in Frederica occasionally over a period of years. The John Joachim Zubli listed in Strobel as a resident of Ebenezer in 1741 was the uncle of JJZ. Stevens, *Hist. of Ga.*, I:359; Strobel, *The Salzburgers & their descendants*, p. 112.

¹³*Col. Recs. Ga.*, XXXI:104, 106, 107.

Zubly left Georgia for South Carolina in March 1747.¹⁴ He preached for a while in the Lutheran Church in Amelia Township, Orangeburg District, S. C., then accepted a call to the Independent Church at Wando Neck (Wappetaw) in Christ Church Parish, S. C. Two or three times a year he revisited Georgia and preached to his former congregations “to whom he is greatly attached, and they to him.”¹⁵

On November 10, 1746, he married Ann Tobler, daughter of John Tobler, one of the earliest settlers of the Swiss colony in Purrysburg, S. C. By her he had several children, three of whom survived to adulthood. They were David (usually referred to as Jr. because of his uncle of the same name), John and Ann. His wife died on July 29, 1765, and he later married Ann Pye, also of Purrysburg.¹⁶

Zubly received a call to the Independent Church, or Meeting House, in Savannah on April 25, 1758, but he did not become its full-time pastor until 1760.¹⁷ He remained in this charge until his death, though he spent some years in South Carolina during his banishment from Georgia. He returned to Savannah for the last time in April 1781 where he died three months later. His will requested that he be buried “just at the Entrance of the West Door of our Place of Worship and a plain stone to be laid over my Grave or fixd in the Wall with such inscription as will be found among my Papers and which my son will alter, if my Desire be thought improper and bury me near my Children, should it please God that I should die at or

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 186.

¹⁵Howe, *Hist. Presby. Ch. in S. C.*, I:266-267.

¹⁶Ann Pye Zubly died Dec. 14, 1781. David, as a Loyalist, went to East Florida and then to the Bahamas where he died July 14, 1792. John was born July 21, 1754, and died July 15, 1790 in Beaufort, S. C. Unlike his father and brother, he was a Patriot in the Revolution which caused an estrangement in the family. Ann married (1) Peter Bard, physician and merchant in Savannah and later in New York. Peter Bard died late in 1785 and Ann married (2) James Seagrove, Indian Agent. This information comes from contemporary newspapers, wills in Chatham County Courthouse, wills and other records in S. C. and notes of Ann Seagrove in the Appendix *supra*. David Zubly is not listed in Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*.

¹⁷Zubly was this congregation's first pastor. The church was officially named the Independent Presbyterian Church some time after Zubly's period. Axley, *Holding Aloft the Torch*, *passim*.

near Savannah at the Discretion of my Wife and Son..."¹⁸ He was buried in Christ Church Parish Burying Ground (now Colonial Park) in Savannah.¹⁹ There are no stones to any of the Zublys among the surviving stones in that cemetery.

He was highly successful as a minister in Savannah and his congregation became the largest and most popular in Georgia.²⁰ As shown in his journal he preached in English, German and French, depending upon the nature of his congregation. He accumulated a large fortune in land and slaves and derived some income from the public ferry he operated across Savannah River between South Carolina and Georgia.²¹

Dr. Zubly was so highly regarded in Savannah that at the outbreak of the Revolution he was chosen as a delegate to the Provincial Congress from the town and district of Savannah. On its first meeting day, July 4, 1775, the Congress adjourned to Dr. Zubly's Meeting House where he preached a sermon on the "Law of Liberty." Taking as his text James 2:12, "So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty," he defined the law of liberty, discussed at some length the inter-relationship of it and the gospels, saying that it sets conscience above human authority; he cited the causes that gave rise to the formation of the Provincial and Continental Congresses and pointed out the duty to the King and that "our interest lies in perpetual connection with our Mother Country."²²

He did not accept the appointment as a delegate to the Continental Congress until his congregation had given its consent.²³

Zubly arrived in Philadelphia on August 12, 1775, and presented his credentials to the Congress on September 13.²⁴ A

¹⁸The will is given in full with biographical and genealogical notes in C. G. Cordle, "The Will of John Joachim Zubly," in *GHQ* XXII:384-390.

¹⁹See notes of his daughter, Ann Seagrove, *supra*.

²⁰Jones, *Biog. Sketches...*, p. 203.

²¹Many grants of land are recorded in Col. Recs. Ga. His will and letters refer to slaves and other property. See note 46, below, on his ferry.

²²*The Law of Liberty. A Sermon on American Affairs...*

²³Axley, *Holding Aloft the Torch*, p. 12.

²⁴Zubly's attendance and his debates are recorded in *Journals of the Cont. Cong., 1774-1789*, III, *passim*. Zubly's journal also records attendance in Congress and Committee.

few days later he was appointed to the Committee on Claims. He took an active part in the debates of the Congress and was outspoken in his opposition to some of its proposals, especially that for a break with Great Britain.

His opposition to separation is very clear in the Journals of the Congress and in his own journal. His journal entry for September 16 states, "I made a point of it in every Company to contradict & oppose every hint of a desire for Independency or of breaking our connexion with Great Britain." In the Congress on October 6 he declared "I came here with two views; one, to secure the rights of America; second, a reconcillation with Great Britain." On October 24 he wrote, "A Separation from the Parent State I wd dread as one of the greatest evils & should it ever be proposd write pray & fight against it."²⁵ And on November 3 he wrote, "if Breach of peace and Separatn was the Sense of Congress it was time for himself to take himself away."

The Agreement of Secrecy was signed by the delegates (Zubly did not sign) on November 9, 1775, and Zubly left the next morning to return to Georgia. He did not leave abruptly as has been stated in some accounts. He had evidently been planning to leave Philadelphia for he recorded in his journal on October 19 that he bought a horse and carriage, and he noted the purchase of a horse on October 24.

He travelled home by horse and carriage. The journal gives a detailed account of his journey from Philadelphia to Savannah, which he reached on December 15, 1775.

Zubly was taken into custody by the Council of Safety of Georgia in July 1776.²⁶ He refused to take the oath of allegiance; though willing to swear allegiance to Georgia he did not want to swear allegiance to other states which were not bound to support Georgia.²⁷ He was banished and half his estate confiscated.²⁸ He went to South Carolina where he

²⁵This statement has been quoted in several published accounts of JJZ.

²⁶*Rev. Recs. Ga.*, 1:147-148.

²⁷J. J. Zubly. *To the Grand Jury of the County of Chatham...*

²⁸See "Act of Attainder..." in *Rev. Recs. Ga.*, 1:326-347; Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Ga...*, pp. 208-219.

preached in various places, often to the Negroes at Black Swamp which was near his Middlesex home. He returned to Savannah after the city was retaken by the British in December 1778 and while here he preached to his former congregations. He was in Savannah during the siege of and attack on the city by American and French forces in October 1779. In November of that year he was appointed a Justice of the Peace. He went back to Charleston in that month and remained there until his final return to Savannah in April 1781 where he died on July 23.²⁹

Historians have accused him of treason or disloyalty while he was in the Continental Congress. Three delegates who have left records of the proceedings in their journals and diaries did not make any such accusation. They were John Adams of Massachusetts,³⁰ Richard Smith of New Jersey,³¹ and Samuel Ward of Rhode Island.³² Another delegate, Ezra Stiles of Connecticut, on hearsay evidence and after the fact, wrote that "Zubly left the Congress last fall abruptly, because they would not come into his plan of petitioning again, and because he was against Independency which he plainly saw the Congress was resolved on. The Congress fearing that he might do mischief sent one off after him. It is said that Dr. Zubly had been detected in Correspondence with Ld. Campbel, Gov. of So. Carolina, and thereupon was taken into custody."³³

It appears that the Georgia historians were chiefly responsible for the accusations of treason. Hugh McCall, in the first published history of Georgia in 1816, says "...Mr. Zubly, a member from Georgia, was charged with treason by Mr. Chase of Maryland, by having disclosed the subject of deliberation to

²⁹Zubly's movements are from his journal. There is, however, no extant journal for 1776, May 31-Dec. 31, 1778, Jan.-May 1779, Aug.-Mar. 1779-1780. His appointment as Justice of the Peace is in *Col. Recs. Ga.*, XII:464.

³⁰Adams, *Works*, II:421.

³¹Smith, *Diary*, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 1:288ff.

³²Ward, *Diary*, in "Mag. of Amer. Hist.", 1:438ff.

³³Stiles, *Literary Diary* II:10. Stiles' statement is partly true. The one sent after Zubly is alleged to have been John Houstoun of Georgia. This could not be true for the Journals of the Congress show that he was attending up to December 1775.

Governor Wright of Georgia, in a letter. Zubly denied the charge of treason, and demanded the evidence on which he was accused. While Chase was collecting the proofs, Zubly disappeared.”³⁴ This accusation has been used with some variations by later historians; e.g., George White,³⁵ W. B. Stevens,³⁶ C. C. Jones,³⁷ down to the present time. Extant records do not support the charge of treason. George White added this intriguing embellishment, that after Zubly returned to Savannah he “to avoid the indignation of the people, for some time lay concealed in the cellar of a Whig lady, Mrs. Smith, the grandmother of A. Smith, Esq., of Roswell.” Zubly’s own house in Savannah had been vandalized and what would be more natural than that he should stay in the home of his own granddaughter, Helena Zubly Smith? She was, by the way, the mother, not grandmother, of Archibald Smith of Roswell.

No description of Zubly’s appearance has come down to us and the only known portrait was destroyed by fire many years ago.³⁸ There are occasional flashes of wry humor in his journal, and Henry Muhlenberg noted “his usual lively cheerfulness.”³⁹

His last years were very sad. Racked by illness, pain, despair and separation from his beloved family for many of these years, he became dependent upon ever increasing doses of laudanum. But he never lost his steadfast faith in his God and he prayed often for the release he was certain death would bring him, free at last to go to his “Eternal Home.”

Zubly is memorialized in Savannah by a tablet in the Independent Presbyterian Church; St. Gall Ward was named for his native town (most of his property was in this ward), and Joachim, Zubly, and Anne Streets in St. Gall Ward were named for him and his wife.

³⁴McCall, *Hist. of Ga.*, II:88-89. Note that he says Governor Wright of Georgia and not Governor Campbell of South Carolina. Other accusers also mention Wright.

³⁵White, *Hist. Colls. Ga.* II:88-89.

³⁶Stevens, *Hist. of Ga.*, II:120.

³⁷Jones, *Hist. of Ga.*, II:204, and *Biog. sketches...*, pp. 203-211.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Muhlenberg, *Journals*, II:595.

Description of the Journal and Editorial Problems

Largely because it is so difficult to read, the journal has never been published, though excerpts relating to Zubly's attendance at the Continental Congress have been quoted in some publications. German was his native tongue, and though the journal is largely in English, his Germanic script makes it extremely difficult to decipher. Some passages are in German or Latin with a scattering of French. He used his own abbreviations and symbols for many words.

The journal is a small vellum bound book. The pages measure 3-7/8" by 5-5/8" and most of them are written on both sides. Due to the brittleness of the paper most of the pages are loose and many of the corners and top lines have been broken off and lost. There are, however, a few pages that are still stitched together. Because of careless handling of the loose pages the arrangement became haphazard and the journal was not in chronological order when this transcript was begun.

There are gaps in the journal, years or months missing, which are more probably due to the fact that Zubly was not always diligent in entering his daily activities, rather than that the pages have been lost. What is extant fills the binding. The gaps are noted in the transcription.

Fortunately Zubly used some year dates and more often the names of the months, but the most helpful device in rearranging the journal in chronological order was his use of astronomical signs for the days of the week. With these signs and the aid of a perpetual calendar⁴⁰ it was possible to rearrange the pages in order. As few printers have typefaces for these signs, and also to help the reader, these signs are herein designated as Sun., Mon., Tues., and so on in angle brackets, < >. He used the Greek letter psi for Psalms; this symbol is spelled out and enclosed in angle brackets. His unique symbols for "the" and "etc." and his abbreviation "Lue" for "Luke" have been spelled out without brackets as they would clutter the pages unnecessarily. Words where he used a dash over a letter such as "m"

⁴⁰*Clark's Famous 250 Year Perpetual Calendar*. Astronomical signs can be found in *Webster's International Dictionary* and in books of signs and symbols.

or “n” to indicate a double letter have been spelled out. He almost always placed a period after a numeral. All supplied information is within square brackets, []. The passages within parentheses, (), and slashes, //, are as Zubly wrote them. Punctuation, spelling and capitalization are as in the original. In some abbreviated words, however, omissions have been supplied in square brackets for clarification.

Zubly’s recording of baptism is confusing; he made no distinction between names of children and parents except an occasional dash or /. Sometimes a given name is repeated in the line. In such cases only has “children of ?”, “son of ?”, “daughter of ?” been supplied in brackets. Other entries have not been modified.

All Bible references have been checked to be certain they were transcribed correctly.

An attempt was made to identify all of the persons mentioned by Zubly, but many of them could not be found. Places mentioned as stops on his journey from Philadelphia to Savannah have been identified by state in the index listing. Some obscure places in South Carolina have been more fully identified for many of them are found only on old and rare maps, in old gazetteers and in contemporary accounts.

Transcribing the journal has been a challenging task. I had to put it aside many times due to the pressure of work. The transcription still contains too many gaps due to illegible words. Despite the gaps, the journal as it now stands presents a coherent story of the man and his career in the last years of his life. No one has yet been found who can translate the German and Latin phrases in toto. The handwriting is the main obstacle, 18th century German is another. A couple of years ago the German passages were shown to Consistorialrat Dr. Herman Wende of Goslitze DDR when he visited Ebenezer, Georgia. He said the passages are religious in nature—hymns and religious philosophy. This is understandable as many of the English passages are also religious philosophy.

Only the resources of the Georgia Historical Society’s library and a few books in private collections in Savannah were

used for information in the footnotes. Perhaps, had I gone afield I could have identified more of them.

Appendix

The Georgia Historical Society has copies of some of Zubly's letters and other letters pertaining to his family and to his journal. These papers are included in this publication as an appendix.

L. M. H.

Feb 2. By the Assembly being adjourned,
I did yesterday as usual, & I intended
to see Mr. Bellinger.

Mr. Knight also
I should be glad of Mr. Lambeth's
on this subject. See H. S.

write to me in England
No Separation from the Parents. I do
dread as one of the greatest evils, it should it
ever be proposed into any of the Kingdoms.
Some good men may suppose that
good men is not always true, but they are
abundant. I have more than a little thought
in this matter, seeing some of the
Commonwealth should not be unacquainted
with republicanism. God's hand will never be
so strong when the people shall be ought to
separate themselves, & agitated, & the
Mind are all given, & the
against us were pernicious in the highest
degree. I should rather enlarge than

<Mon.> **March 5, 1770.** [Remainder of line torn off]

Set out for Charlestown the designs of my Journey: To do the needful for Mr Jacob Waldburgers⁴¹ Estate in taking out a dedimus to prove his Will—an Administration on the Estate of Geo HouseKnecht⁴²—& to sell a tract of Land in order to discharge my Carolina debts & to avoid any further uneasiness with Dr Cuthbert⁴³—the hopes of seeing many friends & of being through Grace of some Use to them makes every other Intention less disagreeable—

got to P[urrysburg]⁴⁴ by Way of McKay's Creek⁴⁵—

<Tues.> Went to my ferry⁴⁶—found the river falling though still very high—The ferry will be very easily made on the Carolina side—the Road to the King's Road⁴⁷ need not exceed

⁴¹Jacob Waldburger of St. Peter's Parish, Granville County, S. C. was born in Switzerland. His will was dated January 9, 1769 and probated on March 22, 1770. JJZ was one of the executors. Moore, *Abs. Wills S. C.*, II:129. He also preached the funeral sermon: *The Christian's Gain in Death*...1770.

⁴²George Houseknecht lived in the Purrysburg area of S. C. He died in 1770 and JJZ bought some of his property.

⁴³Dr. James Cuthbert owned property on the north side of the Altamaha River in Georgia. He died in October 1770. *Colls. GHS VI:91; Col. Recs. Ga.*, XI:32.

⁴⁴Purrysburg is on the Savannah River in Beaufort District, S. C., opposite Cloy, Ga. It was settled by Swiss under Jean Pierre Pury in 1733. It is now a "dead" town, though the old cemetery is at the site. A marker was placed on the river bluff by the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. Though named for Pury, Purrysburg is the accepted spelling for the town. It appears on several old maps.

⁴⁵De Braham's map shows property of Patrick Mackay between Ebenezer and Savannah, but does not name this creek.

⁴⁶Zubly's Ferry was operated on the Savannah River between sites near Ebenezer, Ga., and Purrysburg, S. C. It connected with the present Union Road near Purrysburg.

On February 12, 1770, JJZ petitioned the Georgia Commons House of Assembly for permission to operate a ferry between Georgia and South Carolina on his property which he named Middlesex Island. In his petition he said he had built a bridge over a large creek, established a boat and wanted it to become a public ferry. The petition set forth the rates and described the operation. It was passed by the House on January 24, 1771. An Act establishing a public road to Middlesex Island Ferry was passed on September 29, 1773. *Col. Recs. Ga.*, XV:274-275; XIX:, pt. 1:258.

Zubly's Ferry is shown on Campbells map (1780) and on a map of the Revolutionary period in South Carolina in Pruitt, *Rev. War Pension Applicants S.C.* It appears as Beck's Ferry in Mills, *Atlas of S.C.* (1825).

Middlesex Island was separated from the mainland by the large creek Zubly mentioned. It is not in the main stream of the river and appears on maps as a point of land. The name Middlesex Island was peculiar to Zubly; it is not on any of the old maps or in the old atlases.

⁴⁷The Kings Road was probably the Union Road of the present time.

a mile & a half.—got to Mr Pelot's⁴⁸ by dinner time and by a new but round about road—

7. parting with Mr P he said something about Mr A[li]son⁴⁹ which I must Speak to him about—we should not harbour hard thoughts against one another—without taking pains to clear up what is wrong—got to Mr Simpson's⁵⁰ by dinner—he informed me of the intention of [top of page torn and parts illegible] to form a N York Synod—which I hope will have good Effect perhaps also have [one illegible word]

reachd Mr J's Jordans⁵¹—

8. Spent the Evg agreeably with Mr Maltby⁵² who appears comfortably settled & I hope to the Advantage of his people—

With these 3 friends I had much to talk about Bethesda⁵³ who all advise [me] to bear my testimony—

⁴⁸There were too many Pelots in this area of South Carolina to make a positive identification.

⁴⁹Hugh Alison (d. 1781), Presbyterian minister. He was Chaplain at Fort Pitt in 1760, graduated from Princeton, 1762, and taught in Charlestown, S. C. for a time. He was minister at Williamsburg, S. C., 1761-1766, at Salem Church, Sumter District, S. C., 1769, and James Island, S. C., 1768-1781. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 71.

⁵⁰Archibald Simpson, Presbyterian minister, was born in Scotland in 1734/35. He came to South Carolina in 1753 and served at Willtown, Stoney Creek, Beaufort, Saltketcher (Salkehatchee), Colleton County, successively, 1754-1772. He returned to Scotland in 1772. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵¹James Jordan was a planter and a member of the Willtown Presbyterian Church. He died in 1772. A James Jordan appears on the muster roll of the 6th Co. Chehaw Dist., St. Bartholomew's Parish. *S.C. Hist. Mag.*, LXII:47, 70, 237.

⁵²John Maltby, Presbyterian minister, was born in New Haven, Conn. in 1727. He graduated from Yale in 1747, was a tutor at Princeton, 1749-1752. He received the A. M. degree at Princeton and was ordained at Elizabethtown, N. J. in 1751. He served on Bermuda, 1752-1768 and at Willtown, Colleton County, S. C., 1768-1771. He died in Hanover, N. H. in September 1771. Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁵³Bethesda Orphan House was founded by the Rev. George Whitefield in 1740. It was located near Savannah on the same site as the present Bethesda Home for Boys. On September 18, 1764, Whitefield submitted a memorial to the Governor and Council of Georgia suggesting that the Orphan House be enlarged as a school for boys of the upper class; it was to be modelled on Princeton. Such a school would alleviate the problem of having to send Georgia boys to the North for their education. The Governor and Council approved the memorial with its sanctions before the Lords Commissioners of Trade. He presented another memorial to Privy Council. These proposals were referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Whitefield's death on Septmeber 30, 1770, and the almost total destruction of the Orphan House by fire in 1773, prevented the plan from becoming a reality. Jones, *Hist. of Ga.*, 1:408-413.

In the James Habersham Papers, Ms. Coll. #337, Folder 4, in the Georgia Historical Society there is a 4-page fragment of the comments of an unidentified person on Whitefield's charter for the proposed college.

9. got to Chtown before dinner but greatly fatigued—

Mrs Moody something better—Mr Gadsden⁵⁴ wd Speak about Bethesda—I can't but hope my Memorial has been of Service—

expounded Heb 5. with the fever upon me—

10. Mr Gadsden explains Mr W's [George Whitefield]⁵⁵ Intentions—an Act to be passed in Georgia on the most Catholic plan—& exceedg unexceptionable I thank God for it, whatever may have brought this Alteration, for an Alteration it most certainly is—may God so Speed it as the original design is arrivd at & promoted—I shall with great pleasure promote Measures, the reverse of those I had thought my duty to oppose—

offerd my Land to Mrs [Messrs] Midleton⁵⁶ & Rutledge,⁵⁷ the last to bid for me as far as £4.

Thos' Bonds promissary Note put into Mr Parker's⁵⁸ hands

Whitefield referred to Bethesda as the Orphan House Academy in his will.

⁵⁴Christopher Gadsden (1724-1805), Charleston merchant. Served for many years in the South Carolina House of Representatives and in the Continental Congress, 1774-1776. He left the Congress to take command as Senior Colonel in the newly organized South Carolina forces. He became a Brigadier General in the Continental Army but resigned his command in 1778. *DAB*, IV:82-83.

⁵⁵George Whitefield (1714-1770), minister of the Church of England, arrived in Savannah on May 7, 1737, to succeed John Wesley as Minister at Savannah. He had been told by Wesley of the great need for an orphan house in Georgia so in 1740 he established Bethesda Orphan House on land granted him by the Georgia Trustees. In the following years he became an itinerant minister, preaching in many places in America and raising money for Bethesda. Four times he went back to England for extended stays. In 1764 he proposed that the Orphan House be changed to an academy or college for young men but did not live to see this plan carried out. He died in Newbury Port, Mass. on Sept. 30, 1770. Information from various biographies and sketches of George Whitefield.

⁵⁶Probably Arthur Middleton (1742-1787), son of Henry Middleton (1717-1784). He was born at Middleton Place on the Ashley River near Charleston, educated in England and read law at the Middle Temple. He was a prominent political and Revolutionary leader and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence. During the Siege of Charleston in 1780 he was taken prisoner and exchanged in 1781. He was re-elected to the Continental Congress in 1782. *DAB*, VI:599.

⁵⁷Edward Rutledge (1749-1800), Signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of South Carolina. He studied law in England. He was a member of the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, 1775-1776, and a member of the 1st and 2nd Continental Congresses, 1774-1776. Earlier he had served in the S. C. Commons House of Assembly. At the fall of Charleston in 1780 he was taken prisoner and later exchanged. After the Revolution he continued to take a prominent part in politics and in the courts of South Carolina. *Ibid.*, VIII:258.

⁵⁸Probably John Parker of St. James Goose Creek Parish, S. C. (1736-1802). He was prominent in South Carolina politics. Reynolds and Faunt, *Biog. Dir. of Sen. S. C.*, p. 286.

[Top of page mutilated]

Mr T Savidge [Savage]⁵⁹ desires I would leave all the papers relating to Middlesex ferry in his hand & he makes no doubt of obtaining £700 but hopes £1000 will be given—

Some germans apply to me to administer the Lords Supper.

11. preachd for Mr Thomas⁶⁰ on Rom 8:2, for Mr Hart⁶¹ Rom 7:24 and a Lecture on the Gospel of peace Eph 6:15. Blessed be God for attentive hearers & his gracious Assistance—

wrote a Letter to Geo W[hitefield] which I shewed Mr Gadsden; he approv'd it greatly—but in the Evg thought I better not send it—I am told everything is right. it makes me unhappy that I think I ha[ve] too much Cause against tacitly acquiescing

I now learn

that Mr E[ccles]⁶² is not to be President will only teach English

that Mr W[right]⁶³ is to be only at the Expence of materials but that the workmen have begd him to let them build it and they would charge nothing for their Work—

that all the profits [remainder of sentence missing] are to go to [remainder of sentence missing]

That Mr W[hitefield] designs the number of trustees shall be equally or nearly made up of church people & dissenters—

⁵⁹Thomas Savage (1738-1786), was born in Bermuda. He migrated to S. C. and became a successful merchant and large landowner in S. C. and Ga. He held many offices, both public and militia. Edgar and Bailey, *Biog. dir. S. C. H. of Reps.*, pp. 596-597.

⁶⁰John Thomas (1746-1771), Presbyterian minister, born in Wales. He preached in the Independent Presbyterian Church in Charleston, S. C., 1767-1771. Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁶¹Oliver Hart (1723-1795), Presbyterian minister. He preached in Charleston, 1749-1780, and Hopewell, N. J., 1780-1795. He occasionally preached at Midway, Ga. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶²Edward Eccles was Chaplain at Bethesda in 1773. He apparently moved elsewhere after the Orphan House burned in that year; no further information has been found on him. *Colls. GHS*, VI:223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 231. The given name comes from the index to Savannah newspapers, 1763-1799.

⁶³Mr. Wright was one of three brothers, Ambrose, Robert and Jacob, all of whom were connected with the building of two wings at Bethesda in 1769-1770. Most probably it was Ambrose who was long associated with the Orphan House. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

Number about 40.

That he will give £1200 more toward it—& that he has the Promise of the Govr⁶⁴ if a Majority in the house favor the passing of such an Act.

12. rainy morning. Mrs Berel desirous to return to G[eor-
gia] offered to advance her Passage.

tried Amman's⁶⁵ method of teaching the dumb to speak upon a child of Mr T. Screven about 8 yrs. old—she became sensible of the Conexion between A. & the sound A & nearly uttered it, but too childish yet—

Spent the Evg with Dr Garden⁶⁶ [2 words that look like queen guard] Academy Bethesda, Me cum sentire depre-
hendo—

13. Mr Laurens⁶⁷ kindly presented my Memorial⁶⁸ & a Com-
mittee was appointed on the same immediately

Mr Laurens desired to be informed of particulars tomorrow
mornng

my Land was put up & sold to Mr Andrew Lord⁶⁹ for £4
[per] acre to be resurveyd and paid for according to the Quan-
tity it contains—

preachd in the Evening on Rom 3:17. & spent the remain-
der with Mr John Scott jun⁷⁰ very agreeably. a Gentn present,
Valton⁷¹, related of Dean Lynch⁷² who had considerable church

⁶⁴Governor Sir James Wright (1716-1785), 1st baronet, third and last royal governor of Georgia. *DNB*, XXI:1022-1024; Abbot, *Roy. Govs. Ga.*, pp. 84-183.

⁶⁵John Conrad Amman (1669-c. 1730), Swiss physician. One of the earliest writers on instruction of deaf mutes. *Encyc. Brit.*(1958), 1:815.

⁶⁶Dr. Alexander Garden (c. 1730-1791), naturalist and physician, son of the Rev. Alexander Garden (1726-1748); born and educated in medicine in Scotland; came to Prince William Parish, S. C., ca. 1753; Loyalist in the Revolution; member of the Royal Society of London. The flower, gardenia, was named for him. *DAB*, IV:132-133.

⁶⁷Henry Laurens (1724-1792), leading merchant of Charlestown and a planter. He took a prominent part in the affairs of South Carolina, serving at various times in the Provincial Congresses, Councils of Safety, House of Representatives, etc. He was also a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1777-1779 and was its president, 1777-1778. He had been a Lt. Colonel of militia against the Cherokees in 1761 and was often referred to as "Colonel." He retired from politics in 1785. *DAB*, VI:32-35.

⁶⁸This was probably JJZ's memorial for the South Carolina side of Middlesex Ferry.

⁶⁹Andrew Lord, merchant of Savannahh, died in May 1781. *Roy. Gaz.*, 5/31, 1781, p. 1 col. 3.

⁷⁰John Scott, Jr. was a merchant in Charlestown. *SCH Mag.*, LXXIV:210, 255.

⁷¹Probably Peter Valton of Charlestown, son-in-law of Peter Timothy, the printer. He was a member of the S. C. House of Commons. Edgar and Bailey, *Biog. Dir. S. C. H. of Reps.*, 11:675, 721.

⁷²John Lynch, Dean of Canterbury. *Acct. SPCK*, p. 17.

Revenues that when he reckond ["counted" written over "reckond"] the Money as he receivd it he would always say "The best constituted church in the World the best <etc.> he had golden proof of it [""]

14. waited on Col Laurens; he does not seem to expect that the Assembly will give any money & I told him unless assisted to do the Work I should not choose to have a Law—visited by Mr Calhoun⁷³—in the Assembly room saw the new map of S. Carolina (3. miles to an Inch) the division of parishes being in agitation⁷⁴—The Comittee on my Bill Mr Laurens Col Thompson⁷⁵ Mr Williamson⁷⁶ Mr Calhoun Mr Drayton⁷⁷

preachd in the Evg to the germans on Tit 2.11-12.

Mr Lord it seems bought my Land for himself gave Mr Ellis⁷⁸ my Bond for £280 for flow⁷⁹ payable on Jan'y 1. 1771.

Communicated Orphanage titles to Dr A Garden who thinks with the author.

Terms of my Sale. The titles to be made for 750 Acres more or less, but the Land to be exactly surveyd & to be paid for

⁷³Patrick Calhoun (1727-1796), father of John Caldwell Calhoun. He was born in Ireland and migrated with his parents first to Virginia then to Granville County, S. C. in 1756. He served in the Royal Assembly from Prince William's Parish, 1769-1771, in the 1st and 2nd Provincial Congresses, 1775-1776, and in the General Assembly, 1776-1788. Edgar and Bailey, *Biog. dir. S. C. H. of Reps.*, II:133-135.

⁷⁴Probably "A Map of South Carolina from an actual survey to the Hble. Peter Manigault, Esq. and the Hble. the Commons House of Assembly...By Tacitus Gaillard [and] James Cook, Feby. 1770." Cumming, *S. E. in early maps*, p. 389.

⁷⁵William Thomson (Tompson) (1727-1796), of St. Matthew's Parish; member of the Royal Assembly, 1765-1771, of the 1st Provincial Congress, 1775, of the General Assembly, 1776-1777, State Senator from St. Mathew's Parish, 1779-1780, 1782; Colonel of the 3rd Regt. of S. C. Continental forces. Edgar and Bailey *op. cit.*, pp. 669-671, *DAB*, IX:489.

⁷⁶William Williamson, member of the S. C. House of Assembly, 1760-1785, son-in-law of Peter Timothy, the printer. Edgar and Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 720-721.

⁷⁷There were several Draytons who were active in S. C. politics at this time. Stephen Drayton (1736-1810) of Granville County was the only one who was a member of the S. C. Commons House of Assembly in March 1770. He served there from 1769-1771, then moved to St. John's Parish, Ga. where he was a road commissioner in 1773. He became a member of the Georgia Council of Safety in 1775 and went into the Continental Army in that year with the rank of Captain. By 1778 he was a Major and Aide de Camp to Gen Nathanael Greene. He was appointed Deputy Quartermaster of the Southern Department with the rank of Colonel. After the Revolution he became involved in the Citizen Genet controversy in 1793. He died in Charleston. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

⁷⁸Possibly William Ellis, merchant. Warren, *S. C. Jury Lists*, p. 53.

⁷⁹Flow: a small amount. Now obsolete.

according to its full Quantity of Acres, the Seller warranting all within the Lines—Interest to begin in a Month from the day of Sale—£50 to be paid with Interest in 3 Months & remaindr Jan. 1. 1771 giving good Security. The Property not to be altered till the Conditions are complied with

15. dind with Mr D L'Egare⁸⁰—promisd Correct Copy of Acts[Accounts]—agreed with Mr Lord that Savoury shall own the Land—

a fire Broke out in Mr Crossly's house but was soon subdued—

preached for Mr Hart on Eph 1:13.

16. dind with Col Laurens—the Committee on my Memorial altered the name and made it a petition have not yet made their Report—but 'tis probable will require an Estimate of the Expençe—

expounded in Mrs Moody's room on Job 5: [blank] fin—
Spent the Evg with Dr Garden—

17. Govr. Bull⁸¹ chose to confine the dedimus to Mr Giroud⁸²—Canot dispose of a Bill upon London—

preachd a preparation Sermon to a few germans, on Luke 22:19 it seems the germans were willg I should preach in their church but one Man opposd it—

an Alarm of fire which proves false and in a few Minutes another which proved true but at some distance from the town Gate—I walkd there & now feel myself unable to study write or think—

how easily & strongly does a certn irregularity beset me—
Lord make me free indeed—& may I be engagd in thy Services

⁸⁰Daniel Legare' (L'Egare') (1711-1791), planter of Christ Church Parish, S. C. *Trans. Hug. Soc. S. C.*, #46:72-81.

⁸¹William Bull (1710-1791), colonial Governor of S. C., son of Lt. Governor William Bull who aided James Oglethorpe and the colonists in the settlement of Savannah. He studied medicine at Leyden and was the first native born American to receive the M. D. degree. He did not practice medicine but became active in agriculture and politics. He served in the S. C. Commons House of Assembly and was twice elected Speaker. He was appointed to Council in 1759 and was chosen Lt. Governor in that year. He was a Loyalist in the Revolution but was replaced as Governor by Lord Campbell in 1775. He left S. C. with the British troops in 1782 and spent the rest of his life in London. *DAB*, 11:252-253.

⁸²Daniel Giroud (b. between 1744 and 1750, died after 1789), shipwright. He was a prominent citizen of Purrysburg. *Trans. Hug. Soc. S.C.*, #48:38-39. References in Savannah newspapers indicated that he also built ships in Georgia.

at all times & assisted tomorrow to do my Work faithfully & under the Smiles of my God

18. hoarse—preachd to the germans & administered the Lords Supper to 21. persons—they heard with great Attention & the rest I must leave with God, who has sometimes afore years made me find a blessing where it had been least expected.

heard Mr Thos pray and preach on Matt 20:1-14 & knew no room for Complaint—

preachd p.m. for him on Rom 12:1 & a Lecture in the Evening to a large audience on 2 Pet 3:9.

Now blessed be God for all his goodness to me in this place—for many opportunities to preach, & many friends that express a very kind regard—

Under many fierce assaults of the Enemy this has been a good day for my own soul—I trust God will deliver me also from every evil & receive me into his heavenly Kingdom & before that I never desire to be at home.

[Top corner of page torn off and one or two words are missing.] Mr H Perroneau⁸³—I find here also people are left to think that Bethesda is Mr Whf private property—

A Majority of the Assembly it seems have promis'd to vote for Mr W[']s] Academy & the Govr. promis'd his Consent with a securing Clause.

[August 1770 begins in the middle of a page without a break from preceding paragraph]

<Mon.> 13. Mr. D^r LEgare arrivd & brought me News from my dr family—my daughter had been very sick and Dr Meyers⁸⁴ children imported in a very troublesome distemper.

Sat off about 1. P.M. accompanied by Revd. Mr Hart & reachd Mr Maltby's After Night—taken with the fever & a violent Cold continues—

19. preached at Wiltown⁸⁵ meeting on Eph. 4:30.

reachd Mr Js Jordans in good time—

⁸³Henry Perroneau (1729/1730-1813/1814), Charleston merchant, Commissioner and Justice of the Peace, Member of the Royal House of Assembly, Public Treasurer, 1770-1776; *Loyalist. Ibid.*, #89, p. 56.

⁸⁴Dr. Frederick Meyer who lived in the Middlesex-Purrysburg area.

⁸⁵Wiltown (Wiltown) was in Beaufort District, just east of Pon Pon River. Mills, *Atlas of S. C.* (1825).

20. dind at Mr Pelots & got to Pburg about Sunset.

21. the River being still high and the Wind blowing hard at W[illtown] did not go over my ferry—

qualified as Extr to Mr J W before Daniel Giroud Esq. the Widow took the oath at the same time.

Messrs L[egare] & Meyer made some proposals about their dispute with Waldburger—but I canot think they will persist in what they pretend—

Could not prevail at Mr Burkes to get a boat for Mr Bullocks⁸⁶—so was obligd to go to Abercorn⁸⁷—we were 1-1/2 hours going up the Creek—got home after seven—

Blessed be my God for the Mercies of the Journey, & the blessing of a house—May I always visit my habitation & not sin—Lord fit & help me for the Remainder of my race & receive me in thy own time with all mine & thine to an everlasting home—

[**August 27**] My Birthday very dully kept. no muster except 2 Companies, the officers havg taken disgust at the promotion of a person contrary to their choice—find some persons misinformed in affairs between me & my Br[other]⁸⁸

humbly blessed be thy name my fath[er] & God for all the Mercies & blessgs that attended my stay in this place—forgive all my sins & follies

I hear the Roads are very bad & all the Rivers overflown—

Guide me O father & at last receive me

<**Wed.**> 5. Sat off from Charlestown—dind with Mr Rantowle⁸⁹—great & general Complaints thro the province of the Loss of Crops by excessive rains—with difficulty passd at Par-

⁸⁶Archibald Bulloch (1729/30-1777), 1st president of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, lawyer and planter. He was born in Charleston; his family moved to Georgia ca. 1750. He was active in Georgia politics before and at the beginning of the American Revolution. He had a plantation on the Savannah River. *DAB*, 11:257.

⁸⁷Abercorn was a colonial settlement on the Savannah River a few miles above Savannah. It is now recalled as one of Georgia's "dead towns."

⁸⁸This could be either of JJZ's brothers, David or John.

⁸⁹Probably Alexander Rantowle (d. 1780), of Stono, one of the owners of the schooner *Stono* built on James Island in 1753. *SCH Mag.*, 74:269; Webber, *Death notices*, p. 161.

There is a settlement called Rantowles on U. S. Highway 17 between Savannah and Charleston.

kers ferry⁹⁰—Ponpon⁹¹ impassable—reachd Mr Ellingtons⁹² Parsonage but did not find him at home—Mr Lambert⁹³ talks of removing to Georgia—

<Thurs.> 7.⁹⁴ Spent the Evg agreeably with Mr Pelot—

<Fri.> 8. found the River very high at the ferry got home in health & except the Cattle found all my family well

Bless the Lord O my soul! [This is the end of a page. The next page begins with May 1771.]

May 25. 1771. Chtown.

Sat out last <Tues.> 21. from Savannah to Charlestown to settle for Land I sold to Mr Lord, do some business for W Estate, & hope to have a heart & opportunity to be employed in my ministry, got to Pburg.

22. visited my Sister⁹⁵ at the ferry—River still high—gave her an ordr for every necessary to fit out of the house, which I am to be repaid for—Brick layers begun the chimney of the house—

got to Mr Pelots—

23. dind with Mr Simpson—great rains p.m. but got to Mr Ellingtons with whom I had much cautious talk about Mr W[’s] Will with which he did not approve but said it was written in hurry & without perhaps being read over after writing. Mr E. determind if the Bps [Baptists] say anything to him to say something to the Bps—insist Mr W Tabernacle was not licensd but conceivd at.

⁹⁰Parker’s Ferry is a settlement on U. S. Highway 17 between Savannah and Charleston.

⁹¹Pon Pon is a settlement on U. S. Highway 17 between Savannah and Charleston.

⁹²Edward Ellington (1745-1795), Episcopal minister, was born in England and sent to America as a missionary by the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was in Augusta, Ga., 1767-1770; St. Bartholomew’s Parish, Colleton County, S. C., 1770-1772; St. Helena’s, Beaufort, S. C., 1772; St. James’s Parish, Berkeley County, S. C. and at Goose Creek, 1775-1793. He went to Savannah in 1793 and died there in November 1795. He was buried in Christ Church Burying Ground (now Colonial Park). Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 90; *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 76.

⁹³John Lambert, Presbyterian minister, then living in St. Paul’s Parish (Richmond County, Ga.) He removed to Newport in Liberty County, Ga., where he spent the rest of his life. He left his estate there to trustees for religious and charitable purposes. Howe, *Hist. Presby. Ch. S. C.*, I:468-469.

⁹⁴The symbol for this day and the next are incorrect. Sept. 7 and 8, 1770, were on Friday and Saturday.

⁹⁵This could be Mary Zubly Nail or Helen Zubly Tobler Bell. *GHQ*, 22:384-389.

24. reachd Cht. invited by Mr Gadsden & Edwards⁹⁶ to lodge with them but Mr D.L.Egare claimed a prior promise. [6 or 7 Latin words follow]

25. Spent the day among many friends Surprizd at an attempt to bring Mr Caldwell⁹⁷ into our meeting in which he was far from being passive & which I pray God may not still cause a division [etc.]

In Mr debrahms⁹⁸ plan I observd that the mouth of S May [St. Marys ?] is in Latitude [blank] the River there runs N[orth] [blank] & then turns of[f] South to the Latitude of [blank]

26. visited Luke hinds a Criminal under Sentence reprieved till the 29.—professing his Innocence extrememly unconcerned—

preachd for Mr Hart John 21:17.

The Criminal being brought to meeting on Job 3:18-b he requested to hear it again in the Evening but that being impractical I promised to preach a [illegible symbol] before his⁹⁹ Execution which Mr Pinckney¹⁰⁰ kindly consented to—

dined with Mr Edwards with one Mr Sadler¹⁰¹ & recd many useful Informations especially about Mr Mauduit who has lately wrote to me

Mr Whf Will & proceedings was mentioned—[3 Latin words follow] preachd a Lecture on Job 3:18.a.

a very rainy day.

⁹⁶Probably John Edwards, Jr., merchant in the Beaufort District. Edgar and Bailey, *Biog. Dir. S. C. H. of Reps.*, II:215.

⁹⁷James Caldwell (1734-1781), Presbyterian minister, born in Cubb Creek, Virginia, graduated at Princeton, ordained in 1761 and settled in the Parish of Elizabethtown, N. J. He was an ardent supporter of the American cause in the Revolution and became a Chaplain of a N. J. Brigade. When the British offered a large reward for his capture he removed to Conn. He was appointed Asst. Commissary General. He fled at the approach of British forces in 1781, leaving his wife behind. She was murdered by a British soldier; he was shot by a sentinel of N. J. militia at Elizabethtown Point, Nov. 24, 1781. Headly, *Chaplains*, pp. 217-232.

⁹⁸*A Map of South Carolina and a Portion of Georgia...* comp. by William De Brahm. London, T. Jeffreys, 1757.

⁹⁹This symbol appears to be a chrismon but it could not be positively identified.

¹⁰⁰Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1745/46-1825), soldier, statesman, diplomat, lawyer; served in the Senate and House of Assembly of S. C., Chief Justice of S. C. 1789-1791. *DAB*, VII:1789-1791.

¹⁰¹There was a John Sadler in Capt. William Gaston's Company of Horse in 1775 in the Catawba-Broad River area; also a John Sadler on the pay roll of Capt. Joseph Warley's Company in the 3rd Regt., Aug.-Oct. 1779. *SCH Mag.*, II:8; V:149.

27. visited the Criminal who seemd not quite insensible

28. dined with Mr Holmes¹⁰²—asked whether I thought Mr C[aldwell] sound replied I believe he doesnt think me so

Spoke to Mr A. P.¹⁰³ about E. H. who very chearfully offered his house if J. Z. [John Zubly ?] should think propr to visit [etc.] & his approbation if they 2. could make it out—

It havg rained very hard put off the Lecture to <Thurs.> Eveng by which more are disappointed.

29. preachd to Luke Hinds—not altogether unconcerned but not confessing the fact—on Act 8:22-29.

invited to preach in the lutheran Church on friday—

30. wrote to Mr Caldwell—

“I am now in Cht where you are respectfully remembered by many friends it seems you have discoverd some Inclination to setle here but as you did not choose to mention any thing of it to Mrs [Messrs] Gadsd[en] or Thomas perhaps that may be a mistake. I canot think you could be active in such a Scheme behind the Back of the pastor of the Congregation at a time when you are fixd in an importt charge yourself—such a Step I dare say wd be attendd with trouble to yourself & perhaps very bad Consequ[en]ces to the peace of the Congregation I am afraid the bare mentioning of it has been of no service to you nor the people.[”]

preachd for Mr Hart on Job 21:17.b.

<Friday> 31. preachd in the lutheran church on Matt 16:26. They expressd their desire I shd preach there whenever in town—read their Prayers—

observd there were baptizd last year in that Congregation 15 boys 19 girls—died Men 18. women 19. children [blank] married 7 couples.

visited Mr Da Costa¹⁰⁴ who kindly thankd me for my Letter

¹⁰²John Holmes (1745-1795), Episcopal minister, educated at Oxford; came to Georgia in 1773 and was in St. George's Parish, 1773-1777. He returned to England as rector of St. Mary Whitechapel, London, where he died. Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 90.

¹⁰³A. P. was probably Arthur Perrnoeau (early 1700s-1774), merchant of Charleston, brother of Henry with whom he had a business partnership. *Trans. Hug. Soc. S. C.*, #89, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴Isaac Da Costa (1721/22-1781), born in London and came to Charleston in 1750 where he became a prominent merchant. During the Revolution he was an outstanding patriot. In Charleston he established a trust for a Jewish community cemetery. Stern, *First Amer. Jewish families*, p. 44; *Americans of Jewish Descent*, p. 34; Levy, *Savannah's Old Jewish Community Cemeteries*, p. 7.

& Jachiel¹⁰⁵—sd what Jachiel saw was sufft to convince him but not another—that a Man must be convincd eith by reason or [two or three illegible words] manner—that himsf had constantly attendd on [one illegible word] objected to the athanasian Creed—could not conceive how 3. & 1 [illegible word]. wd not make 3 Gods but allowd that the Godhead was inexplicable that the Jews as a Nation were not now guilty of greater Sins than formerly neith could he support that they were guilty of greater Sin as individuals—which I pressd in hopes of overcomg the obj[ection] that Sin [illegible word] the Com[in]g of Messias—

preachd a preparation sermon on 1 Cor 11:31.

visited Mr Thomas—shewed driggers Case to Mr Lambol¹⁰⁶—

visited Miss Haynes in distress which she will not disclose

Spent the Evg with Mr Edwards where I carefully abstained from speak about late Mr W[illegible], here tho Mr Sadler made some remarks which I could not but admitt

Pon Pon <Friday> Oct. 4. 1771

At the Request of the church under the Care of my Dr Br the Revd J Thomas, I set out on <Tues.> 1. Oct. to supply in his place in his absence & more especially at their desire to administer the sacred ord of S[acra] C[oen]a¹⁰⁷—but greatly allarmed at the News [by] Mr Smith yesterday that Mr Thomas is dead—this appeard probable & asserted with equal Confidence as the deaths of Mssrs Turking [Turquand]¹⁰⁸ of St Andrews—Poore¹⁰⁹ of Beaufort—and by the same account Mr Simpson was also given over—what a dying World—& I am Spard—determind not to give the least Encouragement to any

¹⁰⁵The reference is to JJZ's pamphlet, *An Account of the Remarkable Conversion of Jachiel Hirshel*, 1770.

¹⁰⁶Probably Thomas Lamboll (1694-1774) of Charleston, prominent merchant and active in colonial government. He was an amateur horticulturist and correspondent of John Bartram, as was his wife, Elizabeth Pitts Lamboll. Edgar and Bailey, *Biog. Dir. S. C. H. of Reps.*, II:387-388.

¹⁰⁷Hereinafter this sacrament will be transcribed S. C. as Zubly wrote it.

¹⁰⁸Paul Turquand (1735-1786), Lutheran minister. He preached in St. Matthew's Parish (Berkeley County, S. C.), 1768-1786. *Trans. Hug. Soc. S. C. #38*, pp. 33-36; Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁹Possibly J. W. Poore who came from Barbados to S. C. Neuffer, *Names in S. C.*, XI: item 54.

app[ea]l that might be made to me to quitt the town immediately if any probability should appear of being applied to to [illegible word]

found Mr Rabenhorst¹¹⁰ sick tho not dangerous—

got Safe over Midlesex fery tho by the wrong direction of the Negro got wet to my midle just by the house—

<Wed.> 2. Could not sett off till P.m. reach Mr Pelots in good time—& happily found the news of Mr Th[omas's] Death not confirmed—

<Thurs.> 3. happy in meeting Mr Simpson riding out—he had been sick well nigh unto death but after 17 days God rebukd the fever—he is still low—mentiond that Mr Edwards had actually been thought dead but was now recovering, & that useful Man Mr Richardson¹¹¹ of the Waxhaws,¹¹² his mental powers it seems had been declining but he was never confined to his bed or room, on his dying day he had Company & argued freely—when they expected him to dinner & he did not come one of the Company opend the door & found him on his knees holdg to a chair with one hand stretched out, in an ordinary posture—stiff dead—they that were in the room below not perceiving the least of any disaster

swift was his flight & short his road

he closd his eyes & saw his Lord—

[7 Latin words follow]

My Successor it seems had some business affair which well nigh parted him and his Congregation—and of which when I get to Cht I would neither speak nor hear—

visited Mr Ammon to give his some friendly hint—find the road very long—overtaken by rain & right thankfully acknowl-

¹¹⁰Christian Rabenhorst, Lutheran minister, ordained at St. Anne's Church, Augsburg. He was one of the pastors at Ebenezer and became involved in a dispute with Pastor John Christian Triebner over church affairs. The Rev. Henry Muhlenberg came to Ebenezer in 1774 to settle this dispute. Rabenhorst died at Ebenezer in 1777. Jones, *Salz. Saga*, pp. 121-122.

¹¹¹William Richardson (1729-1771), Presbyterian minister, born in England, educated at the University of Glasgow, came to Philadelphia in 1750. He was a missionary to the Cherokees, 1750-1758. He settled at the Waxhaw Church, Lancaster County, S. C. and also preached at Fishing Creek and Rocky Creek, 1759-1771. Weis, *Col. Churches and Clergy of Mid. and Sou. Cols.*, p. 89.

¹¹²Waxhaws was a Scotch-Irish settlement in Lancaster County, S. C., near the North Carolina border. McCrady, *Hist. S.C.* II:313-318; III:519.

edge the goodss of God in getting safe to Ashepoo¹¹³ & to a publick house—

<Fri.> 4. a very boisterous & blowing rainy morning—& in all the mire had a Bridge to mend which in the night could be fatal to any Passenger—

Crops every where very backward.

reachd Mr Jos Bee's¹¹⁴

<Sat.> 5. thro the kindness of him who maketh his sun to shine got to charlestown—about 1—happy to hear Mr Thomas better of[f] which accounts have been receivd this very afternoon—may he be restord to perfect health & great usefulness—& while so many have been visited with Sickness & some are gone may I be humbly sensible of unmerited health & that my Life has been graciously preservd—

and now may my God graciously keep me that my Soul may never go astray that my eyes may not wander & that I sin not with my tongue—may I be zealous in his Cause & successful in his service—& to return home in peace & meet mine with Comfort—my Lord & my God make use of me where thou will & as thou will only let me be thine & thine forever.

<Sun.> 6. preach in a temporary Pulpit the Meeting being much altered from Heb 11:6 P.m. on Matt 11:28 & in the Evening for Mr Hart on Job 11:20.

baptizd Daniel Jos Sar L'Egare

<Mon.> 7. prayd applied to to administer S.C. to germans which I promisd—

<Tues.> 8. preachd at Mr Hart 2 P 2:16. Surprizd by an account of the death of Revd Mr Frink¹¹⁵ whom I had left in florid health & who died 4. inst. May I who have been Spard

¹¹³Ashepoo, a post village in Colleton County, S. C., 35 miles west of Charleston. It is on the Ashepoo River.

¹¹⁴Joseph Bee (1746-ca. Dec. 1799), a resident of St. Paul's Parish, Colleton County, S. C. He served in the S. C. Senate from St. Paul's Parish, 1781-1782. Reynolds and Faunt, *Biog. Dir. Sen. of S. C.*, p. 179.

¹¹⁵Samuel Frink (1735-1771), Episcopal minister. He served in Augusta, Ga., 1765-1766, and in Savannah, 1767 until his death in Oct. 1771. Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 90.

JJZ had difficulties with Mr. Frink as evidenced by his remark and by his publication: *A Letter to the Reverend Samuel Frink, A. M., Rector of Christ Church Parish in Georgia*, 1770.

so much longer & have outlived most Ministers in the 2 provinces be so much more in earnest & do what I have to do with all my might—may his place be supplied with one that preacheth the strict truth as it is in Jesus!

9 Oct.

at Mr Bee's table it was mentiond that 60 of the N.C. regulators¹¹⁶ were killd by Govr tryon¹¹⁷—some also on the Governors side & some officers. they offerd to disperse it seems, but the Govr. insisted on their delivering up the ringleaders—Col Wadel¹¹⁸ was surrounded by them.

Thus the Govr. has a palace¹¹⁹ built with blood for the tax laid for this sumptuous needless building is these peoples' pretence & Grievance

at Mr Da Costa's saw the picture of his Grfather to whom the King of Spain gave the title of Tasp[illegible] & the 6 G[illegible] of oran for his service in preserving oran agst the Moors

Mr Da Costa showed me some letters wrote by a Jew more sensible than any thing I ever saw from a Jew. he wanted to find a letter on Isa 13 but could not however he showed me one on Isa 7:14 which amounted to no more than that Almah signifies any young woman & that the Prophecy was given as a present Sign & consequently must be & was fulfilled then he excused himself from giving a copy. he saith Bethulah is the propr word for Virgin which I thought the diminutive of Beth; he seems open to Conviction¹²⁰

¹¹⁶The reference is to the Battle of Alamance, N. C. in May 1771 between forces of Gov. Tryon and the N. C. Regulators which was the culmination of the opposition to Gov. Tryon between 1768 and 1771 because of real and alleged abuses of government. The Regulators were met at Alamance by forces of Gov. Tryon and repulsed. Wheeler, *Hist. Sketches N. C.*, 1:59, 11:16.

¹¹⁷William Tryon (1729-1780) was appointed Lt. Gov. of N. C. in 1764 and Gov. in 1765. He became Gov. of New York shortly after the Alamance affair. *DAB*, X:25-26.

¹¹⁸Col. John Waddell of Brunswick County, N. C. He took part in the Stamp Act revolt of 1765 and served also in 1788-1789. Wheeler, *Hist. Sketches N. C.*, 1:51; Davis, *Ga. citizens and sols. of the Rev.*, p. 222.

¹¹⁹Gov. Tryon's palace, completed in 1770, was called the most beautiful building in colonial America.

¹²⁰JJZ wrote a letter to Da Costa commenting on this letter written by his Jewish correspondent. In his letter JJZ refutes what he considered a false interpretation of the prophecy of Isaiah on the Virgin birth. A copy of JJZ's letter to Da Costa is in the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg papers in the Lutheran Archives Center in Philadelphia. Muhlenberg, *Journals*, 11:685.

<Thurs.> 10. preachd at Mr Harts on Ap [Apocalypse; i.e., Revelation] 6:17. & greatly disturbed by rude Behavior of some out of doors—

<Fri.> 11. begun the Instructions of some young persons desirous to partake of the Sacrament—

preachd the preparation Sermon <Psalms> 119:132.

<Sat.> 12. a Report spread about Letters passd between Mr Bullman¹²¹ & me, tho I never sent him a Letter I indeed wrote on his behavr at Meeting Mr Purcel¹²² a very prophane man proposd to go to Georgia & succeed revd Frink.

preachd to the germans in the luth meeting Act 16:30.

<Sun.> 13. Bless the Lord O my Soul—this day I hope to speak in the name of my God—to celebrate the dying Love of my Redeemer. O that it may be with a blessing to myself & to all that shall hear [Latin words follow]

We wait for the promise of the father & that this may indeed prove one of the days of the Son of Man—

preachd on Job 13:1. & administerd S.C. P.M. on Jer 38:17 & in the Evening at Mr Harts on Ap 6:17.b.

<Mon.> 14. Sorry to hear of uneasiness in Mr Simp[son]s Congregation abt his courting—how melancholy is it to hear of so many uneasinesses in Congregations—Give me O my God to walk wisely in all things—

<Tues.> 15. felt myself indisposed but preachd a Lecture at Mr Harts on I Cor 15:57 with some fever hanging about me—

<Wed.> 16. Wednesday Evening my fever returned & <Thursday> appeard in the shape of a abukle [?] tertian—which I had <Friday> night pretty greatly & seemd to turn to a quotidian on <Saturday>—but on <Sunday> I missd it & have ever since till now <Wednesday> 23 been on the Recovery

The Georgia Historical Society obtained a copy of JJZ's letter to Da Costa from the Lutheran Archives Center and this copy is now filed with the Society's Zubly papers.

¹²¹John Bullman, Episcopal minister, came to S. C. ca. 1770 as assistant rector at St. Michael's Church in Charleston where he served until 1774. He was dismissed as a Tory and returned to England in 1775. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 73.

¹²²Probably Robert Purcell (b. 1732), Episcopal minister, who came to S. C. in 1769 and served at St. Philip's Church, Charleston, until he returned to England in 1775. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

I bless God for the Comfort of his Love the Kindness of my friends & his blessing on the means prescribed by Dr. Garden—

Accounts come from every where of the melancholy Effects of the rain on <Saturday> last & all bridges being carried away & the roads impracticable I am confined here till Providence will open a way.

<Sat.> **26.** my friends persuade me not to preach Spent the week visiting & bless God for many friends who interested themselves in my health when the Dr forbid my receiving any Company—

dismal accounts from all the Country—Waters of Stono & Ashley joined

This week Session one Irvin found guilty of a very cruel murder on his wife—

& this day Dr Haly's¹²³ Tryal came on—the Crowd was too great to see or hear any thing—the Tryal began in the Morning & I hear the Judge is now (near 8 p m) giving his charge.

Jury being out but a few minutes brought Dr Haly in guilty of manslaughter

<Sun.> **27.** Thro the goodness of God preachd again Matt 11:28.b. baptizd Cath. John E fullerton <Psalms> 23:25-26¹²⁴
a Lecture at Mr Harts I Joh 2:28

& now blessd be God for all his Mercies—tomorrow I hope to go homeward—what I have been enabled to Speak in the name of God I Committ to his mercy—my God forgive all my sins lead me in the right way & receive me to heaven at last—

[Gap in the diary between Oct. 1771 and June 1772]

<Sat.> **20 June [1772]**

To consider the Practicality of printing
[German sentence]

<Sun.> **2. [August 1772]** preachd for Mr Thomas on I John 3:16. Spoke about trouble.

¹²³Dr. John Haly (Haley) of Charleston killed Peter DeLancy in a duel on August 22, 1771. He was found guilty of manslaughter in October 1771, but eventually acquitted. Waring, *Hist. of medicine in S. C.*, p. 241; *Trans. Hug. Soc. S. C.*, #90, pp. 72-76.

¹²⁴This Biblical reference is given as it appears to be in the manuscript. However, Psalms 23 has only 6 verses, Psalms 25 has 22 verses and Psalms 21 has 24 verses.

dind with Rev Mr Smith who mentiond to me Expressions of Mr Caldwell which ascribe very much to the power of Mary I believe he will hardly ever get into our meeting tho it seems he took more pains for that purpose than I should have expected.

Mr Jas Smith¹²⁵ will not send his son to Bethesda but carries him himself to Elizabethtown.

preachd for Mr Hart on Hos 13:14: I will redeem them from death; & a Lecture for Mr Thomas on Tit 2:13. to what numbers has a Chtown minister an opptty to be useful by preachg Evening Lectures—

* on <Saturday> answered Mr Martins address to the dissenters of which I do not expect to see any great Effect—neither can I hear of any that are hearty to join him in it.

<Mon.> 3. breakfasted with Mr Holmes—Mr D[illegible] had some hint or suspected what passd between me & A. P. (I sd in them you will leave this family to repent) but proposd to them that he & Mr Holmes wd be glad of such a Conexion <etc.> for I had open [illegible words]

Mr Bee thinks Mr W[’s] Extors may safely sell under the Will

<Tues.> 4. Mr Rutledge not having made out the titles detaind me this whole day

pressd Mr Th’s [Thomas] to the puttg on his gown again the puttg it of[f] which affrontd the giver

[The next page of the diary is entirely in German. It is headed 9 a.m. Toward the bottom the dates <Wed.> 9 and <Thurs.> 10 are clear.]

<Sat.> 14 Nov. 1772. I am now thro divine Mercy at N[ew] W[indsor]¹²⁶ in the house of my own Brother & recd among my friends with warmth—my greatest—my only Cause of Complaint is within myself—alas how unworthy & how unfit for any good work—how dull how lifeless how dissipated & unaffected—In such a frame & dispostion I think of the Work that is before me tomorrow preachers of difft kinds in abundce visit

¹²⁵James Smith of Beaufort District. There were so many James Smiths at the time that it is impossible to make a positive identification.

¹²⁶New Windsor, S. C., was a Swiss settlement on the S. C. side of the Savannah River. It was in the New Windsor District.

this place. O my God look on me & these people in Mercy—
make me faithful in thy Cause & Look on my Soul & pity me—

<Sun.> 15. preachd in german in the morning Luke 19:41.
engl. where fort Moore¹²⁷ formerly stood in the afternoon

[Top of page torn off; one line and first part of second line
missing]

Mr Seymour¹²⁸ Minister of St Paul's was my bearer & sd he
wd have given notice in his Church had he known it—

baptizd [blank]

16. baptizd

...tha [Martha ? Jephtha ?] John Daniel childr of John &
Mary Hicks—a grown Daughter of his (being uninstructed [])
I prevaled with him to let her be instructed first

baptizd David Else [?] John [blank] Potter [?]

preachd in german Luke 13: [blank]

baptizd David Val [Vol ?] [blank] Rivers [?]

Emma John [one illegible name]

17. preachd a funeral sermon for Daniel Nail on Jer 13:16
at his house—

baptizd Mary Danl [David ?] [blank] Miles

<Wed.> 18. preachd at Mr Galphins¹²⁹ place on Mar 7:37.
enlargd on Infant Baptisms and baptizd Mary Wm Jane Dickey
[?]

The following List I copied from a Bill of Mortality printed
at Trogen & shewing the great Decrease in that [illegible] Canton

	born	died
Trogen	52	223
Herisau	178	515
Huttwyl	52	265

¹²⁷Fort Moore was a colonial fort at Beech Island near Augusta, on the S. C. side of the Savannah River. Neuffer, *Names in S. C.*, VII:16.

¹²⁸James Seymour was the Episcopal minister at St. Paul's Parish, Augusta, 1771-1779. He was imprisoned as a Tory in 1779, was a refugee at Savannah, 1780-1782 and in Florida, 1783. He died in 1784 on his way to the Bahamas. Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 92.

¹²⁹George Galphin came to Ga. from Ireland ca. 1752. His home place was at Silver Bluff on the S. C. side of the Savannah River. He had a large grant of 50,000 acres and with John Rae promoted Irish immigration to Georgia. Mathew Rae of Drumbo was their agent in Ireland. *Belfast News Letter*, 1763-1776.

Urnaschen	71	287
Grub	14	116
Teufen	77	404
Gaysr ¹³⁰	44	183
Speicher	44	239
Walzenhausen	26	91
Schwelbrun ¹³⁰	50	219
Heiden	24	236
Wolffhalden	32	278

<Thurs.> 19. preachd at Mr Turkinds [Turquand] on Rom 5:14 Spoke at his son Philips Grave

In the afternoon preachd at Fort Moore on Luke 13:23-24.

went over to Col Bernards [Barnard]¹³¹—found all augusta busy about electioneering. [Daniel] Marshal¹³² a baptist Separate was at Col Bernards [he] insisted on washing of feet & the holy kiss as necessary Practices had much polemical discourse with that weak Man.

<Fri.> 20. the Election at Augusta—Marshal in the midst of a crowd <etc.> prayd in the open place 2 or 3 men attendg & I suppose wd have preachd had people gatherd around him.

agreed with Mr Heron¹³³ for the Cutoff for £300 lbs. Stlg. payable at diff't times & Interest from the Date.

¹³⁰Unable to verify the names Gaysr and Schwelbrun in gazetteers, travel books or on maps. They may have been mistranscribed.

¹³¹Edward Barnard (1722-ca. 1775) came to America with his brother John in 1743. He was granted land near Augusta where he settled. He was commissioned a Lt. of militia by Gov. Henry Ellis in 1757 and by Gov. Wright a Capt. to raise a Troop of Horse to guard the area in 1773. He became Lt. Col. of Militia and commissioner of fortifications. In addition to the military he held other public offices: assistant surveyor, surveyor of supplies and a member of the colonial Assembly from St. Paul's Parish for a number of years. His working career was equally varied: he started out as a baker's apprentice, became a fur trader, a grist mill operator and a ferry proprietor. He also served as chief warden in place of a regular minister at St. Paul's Church. *Commission Book B-1*, pp. 67, 93, 207-209, 211; Cashin, *Story of Augusta*, pp. 18-20.

¹³²Daniel Marshall (1706-1784), Baptist minister, was born in Windsor, Conn. and was a deacon in a Congregationalist Church there for 20 years. He was a missionary to the Indians in N. Y., 1753-1754. He was ordained at Abbot's Creek Church, N. C. in 1757 and served there until 1760. He served at several churches in S. C., 1760-1771. He went to Kiokee Creek Church in Ga. and remained there until his death. Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 91; *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 84.

¹³³Possibly James Heron of St. Paul's Parish, Ga. He died in 1774. *Abs. Col. Wills Ga.*, p. 67.

Tuiley [?] & McKee who married my Cousin Smith Spoke to me—were civil & disclaimd every pretence to the Cutoff.

<Sat.> 21. let Mrs Shaw a poor Widow have a tract of Land belonging to Estate of J W for £75; more might be got but this is the Value & I cannot serve orphans at the Expence of orphans & Widows.

Mr Seymour sd that G. E. lately went thro the whole marriage service between E. T. & J. Z. S. of Savannah a serious folly!

<Sat.> 21. [sic] preachd a Preparation sermon on 1 Cor 11:28—baptizd Mary Patrick Lettice Muck[enfuss ?]

my Br D Z in my services Came forwd professg sincere sorrow for every known sin & sincere Willgss to obey the Lord in every duty <etc.> & spoke to me about partaking of S.C. I trust I dealt faithfully with him, & pray God that Grace may compleat what I'd hope Grace began.

Spoke to Dr St [?] about Highriders¹³⁴ affairs but he seems too much impaired to be Capable of any Businss.

[Latin sentences follow here]

read Dl. Nails¹³⁵ Will—very vague & undetermind.

<Sun.> [22] preachd at my Bros in german on Mar 13:35-fin.

[A] Meeting being proposed to be built in this Neighbourhood we had much discourse about it pleasd to see the people in general desirous to have the preaching of Gospel fixd among them.

A violent Pain in my Back continues

<Wed.> 25. preachd at Mr Galphins on Matt 6:30.

Justice Savage & Castlet¹³⁶ on their Return from Sessions at ninety six¹³⁷ were present & obligingly thankd me for my Ser-

¹³⁴Unable to identify unless he was the John Heighrider who was a Chactaw (Choc-taw) agent in 1750. *Jour. Commons House, S.C. 1750-51*, p. 199.

¹³⁵Daniel Nail was a blacksmith of New Windsor township. His will was probated Nov. 27, 1772. Moore, *Abs. Wills S. C., 1760-1784*, p. 184.

¹³⁶Edward Savage, Assistant Justice, appointed in 1771 and Matthew Castlett, Assistant Justice, appointed in 1772. *Charleston Year Book*, 1885, p. 324.

¹³⁷Ninety-Six was a strategic outpost in Greenwood County, S. C. It derives its name from the fact that it was 96 trail miles from the Indian town of Keowee. It was the scene of a battle on Nov. 19-21, 1775, in which the fort, defended by Major William Williamson, was attacked by Capt. Robert Cunningham and Joseph Robinson with a

mon. they & pple in genl very attentive—dind with them at Mr Galphins.

My Pain in the back prevents my setting off & I am afrayed will prevent my going to Queensbrough¹³⁸ as I promised & intended

a very raw Day threatening Snow <etc.>

<Thurs.> 26. The Weather very unexpectedly cleard up, & my Pains mitigating preachd once more in german on Heb 4:9-11 & took my Leave—

one who saith he was maried before a Justice but saith the Justice was drunk, doubted of the Validity of his mariage, accordingly maried Kendal Savage & [illegible] Bolton who probably [illegible word] were never maried at all.

And now I bless God for all his Mercies to me in this place a comfortable Continuance among my relations—assistance in preaching & ordinances—Some of my Congregation I hope were mortified—as to the rest & myself & all I thought said or did

Miserere moi chere Dei

<Fri.> 27. The River being considerably risen could not cross it at Mrs Nails—but was obligd to go to the Mouth—

Mr Heron there met me & I offerd him at last to take 3000 Bushels of Corn payable in 3 years & to have the first Year's Bond without Interest—gave him time to consider of it till he should come to Savannah.

at Mr Morses¹³⁹ Mill found people waiting to hear me preach which I did on <Psalms> 139:3. baptizd one * [blank]

got to Mr Raes¹⁴⁰ Cowpen by a *very* rough chair road in good time

force of 1,000 men plus Tories. 3,000 militiamen arrived to aid the fort's defenders. A truce was called on Nov. 22. Casualties were light on both sides. This battle has been called the first real battle of the Revolution. Landrum, *Hist. of Upper S. C.*, pp. 224-231; Ivers, *Col. Forts*, pp. 64-65.

¹³⁸Queensboro (Queensborough), now a "dead town" was a trading post in 1769, settled by Scotch-Irish. It was two miles from the present town of Louisville, Ga. Knight, *Std. Hist. Ga. & Gns.*, 1:242.

¹³⁹Unable to identify. The name could be Morse, Moss, Mosse.

¹⁴⁰John Rae (d. prior to 1774), planter, owner and builder of Rae's Hall Plantation on the Savannah River 5 miles northwest of Savannah. He was associated with George Galphin in the promotion of Irish emigration to Georgia in the 1760s. *Belfast News Letter*, 1763-1765; Savannah Writers' Project, *Savh River Plantations*, pp. 340-355.

<Sat.> 28. To Mr Lewis¹⁴¹ about 8 miles from Mr Raes—

A great part of the day disagreeably spent some men being with Mr Lewis with a horse & Crg 3 years old that appears a dirty Contrivance

heard much of Marshals Crazy Behavr & his intruding himself every where to hold forth

<Sun.> 29. preachd on Rom 2:3.

baptizd several whilst David worked on the contrivance

<Tues.> 16 Martin [March] 1773. I am in the name of God setting out for Ch'town—to settle some important accounts—but I would wish to make it my principal Care to be a good Sower of J. & there & in every place—Mr Tennent¹⁴² & I exchange—Presdt Piercy¹⁴³ & chaplain Eccles may probably preach in my Absence & I mean also to visit my former now destitute Congregation—May my God be with me & direct all my steps & return me to my own in Health & Comfort—

I calld on Mr Rabenhorst who saith his people are unwilling to suffer him to quitt Ebenezer that there will be a division in the Congregation & they are resolvd once more to write to the fathers intimating their design of separating from Mr Triebner,¹⁴⁴ but that in Case of his amendmt all should again be as before—

very safely passd my ferry in the chair

<Wed.> 17. dind with Mr Pelot—Mr Hart & he just returnd from the ordination of Mr. Bates [illegible word] at Rob

¹⁴¹John Lewis (1741-1784), Episcopal minister. He was rector at St. John's Parish, 1769-1773, and St. Paul's Parish, 1773-1784, both in Colleton County, S. C. As a patriot, he was imprisoned from Aug. 1780 to May 1781. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 80.

¹⁴²William Tennent (1740-1777), Presbyterian minister, the third of that name. He was born in Freehold, N. J., graduated from Princeton, licensed to preach in 1761. He came to the Independent Church in Charleston in 1772 and served there the rest of his life. He was a member of the S. C. Provincial Congress. He died at Santee, S. C. and there is a highway marker to his memory at the junction of U. S. Highways 78 and 378 and S. C. Highway 261, in the Santee area. Headley, *Chaplain's*, pp. 115-120; *DAB*, IX:370-371; Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. Colonies*, p. 327; *Col. clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 92.

¹⁴³Richard Piercy, Episcopal minister, came to Bethesda Orphan House after the death of George Whitefield. He arrived in Georgia ca. 1773 and was still at Bethesda in 1784. *Colls. GHS.*, VI:196-243; VIII:196-198, 200, 201.

¹⁴⁴Christian Friedrich Triebner (d. after 1784), Lutheran minister, born in Germany, pastor at Ebenezer, 1769-1779. He was the other pastor at Ebenezer involved in the dispute of 1774 (see Rabenhorst, above). He was a Tory and left Georgia for England. Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 92.

Hudsons¹⁴⁵—Mr Pelot told Mr B what I observd as to his preaching on Gen 29:25. he will not take my Remark amiss but for the future when he preacheth in the Back Country always speak as tho his hearers were learned men—

got to Mr T. Hutsons¹⁴⁶ who was not at home—one Mr Killpatrick¹⁴⁷ [Kirkpatrick] is now their minister,

<Thurs.> 18. Mr Hart over took me at Ashepoo—saith Mr Bryan¹⁴⁸ desired Mr Myne [Mein ?] to give him a Copy of Mr Mn's Letter to me which missive [was] found among Mr Hutsons papers—Mr Rutledge it seems told him that I assisted him on a Sunday in my ansr to the Bill against me in chancery—we slept at Mr Jos Bee's

<Fri.> 19. breakfasted with Mr Martin—disputed much about Mr Bellamy's¹⁴⁹ Scheme—Mr M said I had scolded Mr B but had no ansr that I might say of the Reformers. what Mr B did (tho he doubts of their Sincerity & calls them manicheans). I spoke of scholastick Divinity with disapprobation—I askd him how many Schoolmen he had read—or even knew the names of—he mentioned none but Jurastus.¹⁵⁰

one of my horses being sick left him at Haircomes¹⁵¹—arrivd in town about Night—& took my Lodging at Mr Tennents—

<Sat.> 20. it seems Mr Pilmore¹⁵² is gone some Lengths to make a Party in town & even proposd the getting of a house

¹⁴⁵Possibly Robert Hudson (Hutson), dry goods merchant in Charleston, 1732-1737.

¹⁴⁶Probably Thomas Hutson (1750-1789) of Beaufort District, S. C. He was an officer in the state militia and a member of the Constitutional Convention of the U. S. in 1788. *SCH Mag.*, 9:128.

¹⁴⁷Probably the Rev. Mr. Kilpatrick, Presbyterian minister, who preached at Stoney Creek, S. C., 1773-1774. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁸There were too many Bryans in the area to make an identification.

¹⁴⁹Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790), theologian. He graduated from Yale in 1735 and preached in several churches in Conn. He went in Nov. 1738 to the newly organized parish of Bethlehem, Conn. where he was pastor until his death. He developed a new theology called the New Light Theology. He wrote several theological treatises and from 1762 to 1770 he wrote a series of pamphlets "in opposition to the...Halfway Covenant which the New Light Theology has made superfluous." *DAB*, 1:165.

¹⁵⁰Possibly Thomas Erastus (1524-1583), German-Swiss theologian, and professor of ethics at Basel. He advocated the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper. *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., IX:732-733.

¹⁵¹Unable to identify Mr. Haircome. There were several Hairston's in this area at this time.

¹⁵²Joseph Pilmore, Methodist Episcopal clergyman. Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. and Sou. Cols.*, p. 129.

for Strange Ministers (i.e. Mr Wesley's)¹⁵³ to preach in—I continued such as came in my Way—

I resolve to be upon my Guard what & to whom I shall say any thing about Bethesda, but it seems impossible to be silent—Such I would be altogether with regard to that Plan of a new meeting house, i e two Congregations & only one church.

<Sun.> 21. prayd publickly for 2 persons at the point of Death—Mrs Holmes dies in the afternoon—preachd all day for Mr Tennent morning and P. M. on <Psalms> 42:11 & a Lecture on Rom 3:17.

this morning & Evening was a good deal of Rain & some thunder—

<Mon.> 22. Sent for early to one in trouble who had wrote a Letter to me some time ago which she now put in my Hand & to which she was sensible my sermons yesterday were an end & signet forever.

Mr Bee thinks I may take up money for W Estate & pay for Negroes we bought without any Risk.

preachd in the Evg at Mr Harts on Luke 15:2.

<Tues.> 23. Col Beale died—dind with mr H. P. [Henry Perroneau] who heard Mr Piercy shd declare he wd have no Conexion with me—he agreed with me in Sentiments about Bethesda—

preachd on Rom 3:19 [or 17].

<Wed.> 24. buried Mrs Eliz Holmes—Spoke in the pulpit on Luke 16:25—now he is comforted

at Supper it was mentiond Ld. Charles¹⁵⁴ Spent not less than £200 Stg p[er] month in powder at Salutations when he went to & from town.

Could not obtain a dedimus for Margte Henry's [Henri]¹⁵⁵ will not havg the Will with me—

¹⁵³John Wesley (1703-1791), Episcopal clergyman, founder of Methodism. He was in Savannah as a missionary, Feb. 5, 1735/36-Dec. 1737. *DNB*, XX:1214-1224; Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 92.

¹⁵⁴The reference is probably to Lord William Campbell, Governor of South Carolina, 1773 to his death in Sept. 1778. *DAB*, II:454-465.

¹⁵⁵Margaret Jean Henri of Purrysburg. Her will was probated 23 April 1773. In it she names Minister Zublin of Savannah as executor and left the residue of her estate to him. Moore, *Abs. of Wills S. C., 1760-1784*, p. 199; *Abs. of Col. Wills Ga.*, p. 67.

<Thurs.> 26. dind with Mr Lamboll—his argts agst a new meetg I will not reply to—& think they will not admitt any—he thinks Lady Huntington¹⁵⁶ & every Heir at Law have only their Lives & only as trustees in the O[rphan] H[ouse] Land

Col Beale was buried with great pomp & against his express orders in the Church burying ground—
preachd late on John 5:42.

<Fri. & Sat.> 27 & 28. [Should be 26 & 27] very unwell.

Mr Tennent returnd from Georgia little pleasd with the Proceedings at Bethesda—I find they begin again with Entertainments & preachg

<Sun.> 29. [Should be 28] Was enabled to preach in german on Luke 23:27-31—in engl on 2 Tim 3:4 & Provs 3:17.

<Mon.> 29. waitd on the Chief Justice¹⁵⁷—the Inhabitts of Chstown last year were 5536 whites—

<Tues.> 30. Mr Rutl. promisd to get my Bill dismissed before going out of town—saith he wd not have took any Cash had I died as it was his fault it was not sooner finishd

<Wed.> 31. my Beach Island¹⁵⁸ Lands which were set up at Vendue yesterday did not sell—

Mr Bee thinks MTH Deed of Gift invalid advises to prove & qualify in Georgia

Sent out my man for one of my horses which had Strayd—he came back without finding or hearing of him—as I went to preach he told me my best horse dropt down & as I came out of the pulpit I heard he was dead.

preachd on John 8:52.

[Several German sentences follow. They appear to be set up in the form of a verse or hymn.]

<Fri.> Apl. 2. preachd in german on Luke 23:32-34—

I promisd to administer S.C. on <Thurs.> next—preachd a preparation Sermon P.M. on 1 Chron 29:17

Misere moi Dei Jesu!

¹⁵⁶Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791), benefactress of George Whitefield and Bethesda Orphan House. *DNB*, IX:133-135.

¹⁵⁷Thomas Knox Gordon was Chief Justice of S. C. 1771-1776. *Charleston Year Book*, 1885, p. 323.

¹⁵⁸Beech Island was a town in Aiken County, S. C. on the Port Royal River, not far from Augusta, Ga.. *Lippincott's Gazet.*, p. 186.

<Sat.> 3. Went on to Wando Neck.¹⁵⁹

<Sun.> 4. preachd on 2 Cor 5:18-20—

happy among my old attentive hearers to whose Request I yielded & promis'd to return & administer S.C. next <Sunday>

disappointed in the Boat came too late for a Lecture a disagreeable passage against a Strong head wind in a large Boat

<Tues.> 6. Mr McQueen¹⁶⁰ kindly offerd to assist me with a horse to return home—

at Mr Lambols met one Mr Bartram¹⁶¹ sent out by Dr Fothergill¹⁶² to gather all sorts of natl [?] Curiosities

Mr Lambol thinks a Jury wd set Saussys¹⁶³ Deed of Gift aside—& that it has every appearance of fraud—

preachd after short notice on Thren [Threnody; i. e., Lamentations] 3:24:

NB. baptizd <Thurs.> Apl. 3 Eliz Th Mary Barksdale 4. John Rich Martha Jay

<Wed.> 7. preachd a preparation Sermon to the germans on Luke 22:[blank].

<Thurs.> 8. [Several sentences in Latin and German complete this page of the diary and continue through the first part of the next page.]

administered S.C. to 20 Persons after preaching on Luke 22:19—

admitted after previous Instructn [several names, none of which are legible except Juliana and David.]

[Four sentences in German follow.]

preachd in the Evg on Matt 2:10

The Jews Passover Mr DaCosta observd that the Jews at Jerusalem still keep it but 7 days & that the Reason why others keep it 8, is lest they shd make a Mistake in the full moon.

¹⁵⁹Wando Neck was probably the neck at the confluence of Wando River and Cooper River. It shows as Daniel's Island in Mills, *Atlas* (1825). Wappetaw Church was on Wando Neck. *SCH Mag.*, 71:147.

¹⁶⁰Probably John McQueen whose plantation was situated south of the Ashley River. Neuffer, *Names in S. C.*, XXVII:16.

¹⁶¹John Bartram (1699-1777), first native American botanist. *DAB*, I:26-27.

¹⁶²John Fothergill (1712-1780), English physician. He had an interest in botany and maintained a large botanical collection. John Bartram, above, was a close friend of Peter Collinson and his plants found their way through Collinson and into Fothergill's collection. *DNB*, VII:506-508.

¹⁶³Probably David Saussy who was a landowner in Purrysburg.

The Thought that a Sacrifice was necessary to obtain forgiveness & that the Jewish System seems evidently built on this, seemd to *affect him*.

bought a Horse of Saloin Pollack¹⁶⁴ for £42. & drew on Mr Edwards.

went over to Wando Neck & [blank]

<Sat.> 10. preachd a Preparation Sermon on Luke 22:15
admitted Mrs Mary Barksdale

Mr Paul Nuvill [Neufville]
baptizd Anne John [blank] Huggins

<Sun.> 11. preachd on XT [Christ] deliverg us from Wrath to come administerd S.C. to about 25 Communicants two thirds of which receivd formerly by me.

In the afternoon on 2 <Thess.> [JJZ used the Greek letter theta] 1:1 to 6 & a Lecture for Mr Tennent in the Evening on Judd [Judges] 21. [blank.]

[Several sentences in Latin follow.]

<Mon.> 12. I thank thee my God for all thy mercies to me in this place—for all thy help & assistance—for all the kindnesses of many friends—

I humbly beg forgiveness for all my sins—in Word thought Imagination & otherwise

Direct my Steps Guide me with thy Council & at last receive me to thyself—

[August] 22. administerd S.C. to 121 servants given [three illegible words] D[avid] Z[ubly] Jas Nail Cath Sturzenegger
preachd on 1 Cor 11:26.

the P.M. on the Bluff on Col 3:4.

taken in preaching with a violent disordr in the Bowels & Back but held out thro mercy.

baptizd [several illegible names]

P.M. enlargd on the Subj of Baptisms & baptizd

James John Mary Bradley

Wm Wm Anne Tr[remainder of name faded]

Anne Wm. John Jane Ashbery Mary Enoch Esther

Ashbery

¹⁶⁴Probably Solomon Pollack (Pollock), originally from Newport, R. I., who was an express rider in Charleston, S. C. in the Revolutionary period. Elzas, *Jews of S. C.*, p. 106.

Elizabeth Brisbane Johan Sturz[enegger]

after service feeling myself better went to Col Bernards—who had been out preaching—& after having had much Conversation on the Subject & intimated a Desire to be ordained among us.

[Six or seven Latin words here.] he tells me he dislikes & preacheth against the baptist Doctrine.

<Mon.> 23. preachd at Augusta on 1 Cor 6:11 Mr Seymour was present

The Judges that came from ninety six detained Col Bernard & perhaps some others.

My disorder very painful.

Col. Bernard mentioned a Spring in the neighbourhood which will transpire thro a common Bottle & has been found Salutary—

[Gap in the journal between April 12 and August 22, 1773 and between August 23, 1773 and March 1774]

March [blank] 1774

sat of[f] from Savannah for Chtown chiefly to do business for J[acob] W[aldburger] Estate—got to Mr Rhorss [Ross]¹⁶⁵—who I am afraid is in a declining Way—

<Tues.> [8] passd the ferry—& found the Road very tolerable for Cariages—Mr Bee sent to me to Girouds that I shd come & see him but I declind—but told him I shd stay 1/4 of an hour longer at Rhs to give him a oppty to see me at Mr Girouds—

got to Mr Pelots—

<Wed.> [9] reachd Mr Martins who relates his Conversation with Mr Roberts somewhat different from Rs Letter to me—& said he himself disapprovd of Lay preaching—

<Thurs.> [10] Mr Martin & I rode together to Chtown

<Sun.> 13. preachd for Mr Hart on Thren [Lamentations] 3:24 Tenent Rom 5:4 Job 18:14

<Tues.> 15. preachd at Mr Tennents on Job 16:23

<Wed.> 16. at Mr Harts <Psalms> 34:6

¹⁶⁵Rhorss (Ross). Could be John, William or Daniel Ross who were living in the Berkeley and Beaufort areas at this time.

18. preachd in german Matt 26:36-45 & for Mr Tenent on 1 Cor 3:13.

at Supper Revd Mr Smith related that Govr Wright was made one of the Lords of trade & Govr Shirely¹⁶⁶ to succeed him & that the mail was taken from Muckenfuss¹⁶⁷ & Govr Wrights Letter to the Secty of State tore in two pieces

19. baptizd at Wando Neck

Elizabeth Jos Sarah L'Egare

(& a slave)

20. preachd on Micah 7:14 Ap [Apocalypse; i. e., Revelation] 7:19.

& in the Evg a Lecture for Mr Tennent Heb 10:38

25. [illegible word] Mr Scott agt Mr Lichtensteger to write to him with an offer to leave to arbitration if he returns the negroes before Apl 15. & gave him a State of the Case.

also gave him my titles to Mr Lord with Constituting of Sale—& a Letter from J Graham¹⁶⁸ to setle it for me.

[Gap in the journal between March 1774 and March 1775]
March 6, 1775

In the name of God I am now to set out for Charlestown, my Business is

1. to assist at the ordination of Mr Moses Allen¹⁶⁹ having been particulary requested thereto by an express Messenger & Message from my former Congregation—& in this I engage reluctantly as being of opinion it had better been put off some time longer to give him time to study & the people to know.

¹⁶⁶Probably Thomas Shirley, Governor of the Bahamas, 1767-1800, son of William Shirley, former Governor. *DAB* IX:120.

¹⁶⁷Muckenfuss was a messenger in Georgia during the Revolution.

¹⁶⁸John Graham (1718-1795), was born in Scotland and came to Ga. in 1753. He was in the import and export trade. He was also a planter and established Mulberry Grove Plantation on the Savannah River. He was a member of Council and became Lt. Gov. in 1776. As he was a Loyalist he left Ga. for Fla. after the Revolution. *DAB*, VII:476.

There was also a James Graham of the same period. He was a merchant, associated with Basil Cowper.

¹⁶⁹Moses Allen was a Congregationalist minister at Wappetaw, S. C., 1772-1775. He was installed by the Revs. Zubly, Edmonds, and Tennent. He was drowned escaping from a British prison on Feb. 3, 1779. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 71; Headley, *Chaplains*, pp. 331-340.

2. I am to procure a Power to sell the negroes belonging to Waldb Estate as it is impossible for me to manage the affairs of that Estate being now the only Exr left in any other Way.

It is also my Wish I may be able to do something in Cht for myself that I may not be obligd to earn my daily bread any longer by planting which way of life I am so unfit for but may Contract all my secular Business & devote my last days entirely to my Ministry & Works of Charity.

This I trust is my sincere Wish but as earnest & reasonable as it seems I'd have one greater—father *thy* will be done

<Tues.> 7. preachd at Pb [Purrysburg] on Luke 10:41-42. went to Dr Vaudins

<Wed.> 8. visitd Revd Mr Gourlay¹⁷⁰ who had a Letter of Reconmendatn from Dr Witherspoon¹⁷¹ & I invited him to be present at Mr Allens ordination but it did not suit him.

a horrid house Robbery committed in the neighbourhood.

<Thurs.> 9. at Mr J. Bees visited by Mr Rees¹⁷² who applies to be ordaind. Saith his church will have no more to do with Presbytery

I advisd him to considr well, but wd give no further ansr than that upon applicn from his Church wd do what shd appear my duty.

<Fri.> 10. an Invitation from the Committee of Willtown Congregation to ordain Mr O Reese—

Mr Allen visited & we fixd the day of ordination on thursday next—

Some uneasiness in Mr Tennents church on acct of the Wando Congregation applying he should be sent as a Messenger from the Church with anoth Messgr & inclined to speak

¹⁷⁰James Gourlay (1732-d. ? in Scotland), Presbyterian minister, native of Scotland. He preached at Walterboro, 1774-1780 and at Stoney Creek, S. C., 1774-1802. Weis, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

¹⁷¹John Witherspoon (1722-1794), prominent Presbyterian minister, president of Princeton, 1768-1794; member of the Continental Congress, 1776-1782; Signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was the first Moderator of the General Assembly of Presbyterian Churches, 1789. Weis, *Col. clergy mid. cols.*, pp. 346-347; Headley, *Chap-lains*, pp. 280-286.

¹⁷²Oliver Reese (Rees) received his A. B. at Princeton in 1772. He was ordained at Willtown, Colleton County, S. C., in 1775 and died there in 1776. Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

of this matter whenever I had opportunity as too important to give any Uneasiness in my view.

<Sat.> 11. wrote to Mr Lord as Copy: [blank]

<Sun.> 12. preachd for Mr Hart Phil 4:6 & felt the Subject applicable—necessary to me undr my uneasiness to be obligd to earn my Bread by planting.

for Mr Tennent on Luke 22:31 & Luke 10:40

<Tues.> 14. preachd for Mr Tennent on [blank]

<Wed.> 15. a pleast sailing to Mr Js LEgares¹⁷³ where examind Mr Allen for ordinatn which was agreed upon, undr the Conditn he shd go thru a study of Divinity & preach on it undr directn of Mr Tennent—

was chosen Moderator—

<Wed.> 15. a Vote passd the Comittee to land some horses & furniture bought for a Gentlemens own use which Vote was obtained by the casting Vote of the Chairman—this occasiond great Allarm—on <Monday> 20, it was reconsiderd & by the Majority of one Vote the horses are not to land—had they been landed it seems to have been determind to destroy them—

21. Mr Timothy¹⁷⁴ informs the Swiss¹⁷⁵ was bought up in one day & had 3 Editions

<Thurs.> 16. preachd the ordination sermon on 2 Tim 2:15 opend the ordination & prayd much, the laying on of hands—

happy to be heard with attention & recing tokens of Affec-tion from my old friends—

a Motion was made to print the sermon—

Mr Allen thankd me for my trouble—[five Latin words fol-low]—

¹⁷³James Le Gare (Legare) (b. 1762) of John's Island, S. C. was commissioned 2nd Lt. in the 2nd Regt. S. C. under Lt. Col. Francis Marion, Oct. 9, 1779. *SCH Mag.*, 17:68; 26:174; *Trans. Hug. Soc. S.C.* #46.

¹⁷⁴Peter Timothy (d. 1782) succeeded his father as printer to the colony of S. C. and was, after the Revolution, printer to the state. He remained in Charleston during the siege of the city in 1780 and was taken prisoner by the British when the city surrendered. He was sent as a prisoner to St. Augustine, exchanged in 1781, delivered at Philadelphia where he remained until late 1782. He embarked with two daughters and a grandchild for St. Domingo, but the vessel foundered in a gale off Delaware and everyone on board perished. Thomas, *Hist. Print. in America*, pp. 568-569.

¹⁷⁵The reference is to the appendix to the Law of Liberty sermon: "With an appendix, giving a concise account of the struggles of Swisserland to recover their liberty." 1775.

they revisd the meeting [grounds] 20 feet East which takes in my fathers Grave.

<Fri.> 17. returnd—preachd in the Evening on <Psalms> 139:7

<Sat.> 18. fever & purging all day—kept my Bed

<Sun.> 19. preachd once on Luke 22:32.

<Tues.> 20 [should be 21] preachd for Mr Tennent Mark 10: [blank]

Mr Timothy saith the Swiss was sold off in one day & run thro 3 Impressions

<Thurs.> 22 [should be 23] preachd for Mr T. on 2 Sam 16:7.

<Sun.> 26. for Mr Smith Eph 5:15 Hart 1 Pet 2:6 Tennent Eph 6 Ult. I thank God for his assistance & all his mercies in Ch'town my trials & temptations have been less violent my mind frequently composd & devout in Prayers & the desiring of an et[erna]l home—

I desire to submit to the Necessity of earning Bread by planting another year.

J W Affairs I found an amiable suit would cost £600 so take the Lawyers Advice & sell the negroes with an ordr in the doing of which they tell me I am safe—

[2 sentences in German follow]

<Mon.> 27. Set out & reachd Mr Abm Hayne's¹⁷⁶ early—examined Mr O Reese for the ministry—Mr Edmonds¹⁷⁷ Moderator—it seems from some difficulties raisd by Mr Stobo¹⁷⁸ the Wiltown people gave over all hopes of Mr Reese's ordination, but on a promise made him no Alteration shd be made in the Constitution of the church & funds he acquiesced—

28. very uneasy lest now or hereafter there shd be a division

¹⁷⁶Abram Haynes (1732-178-) of Colleton County, S. C. *SCH Mag.*, 5:169.

¹⁷⁷James Edmonds (Edmunds) (1790-1793) Presbyterian minister, born in London, ordained in Charleston, S. C., 1755 and preached in the Independent Church there 1765-1767. He was in Georgia: Altamaha River, Sunbury, Midway, 1767-1770, and was a missionary and supply pastor in Presbyterian churches in S. C. until his death in Charleston. Weis, *Col. Clergy Md., Dela., Ga.*, p. 90; *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 76.

¹⁷⁸Probably James Stobo, planter of St. Paul's Parish, S. C. He was the son of the Rev. Archibald Stobo (1697-1741). Bulloch, *Hist. and Gen. of the Families of Bulloch, Stobo...*, p. 34; Salley, *S.C. Provin. Troops*, pp. 51, 55.

in the Church on acct of the ordination—I talked matters over friendly with Mr Stobo I hope to a good purpose

the Candidate preachd on Job 6:44.

P.M. he was ordained

I preachd on 2 Cor 4:5. I prayd while hands were laying on Mr Edmonds gave the Charge & Mr Tennent right hand of fellowship all was done overtly & without any one's objecting.

<Thurs.> 10 [August 1775] [The first sentence of this page is practically illegible. It apparently concerns the end of his voyage from Savannah to Delaware on his way to Philadelphia. The following words can be read: Port Penn, allow, light, Island.]

<Fri.> 11. in a Stage to New Castle—where we learn the Captn of the Man of War is remarkably inoffensive—& close to the Newkilns we sat off in the Pilot Boat, made some stay at Marcushook—

<Sat.> 12. about 3. in the Morning safely reach Philad[elphi]a—the News of our Coming & Errand had been here long before us found the Congress adjourned & Dr Hall¹⁷⁹ departd for Georgia.

visitd Mess[rs] Muhlenberg¹⁸⁰ King¹⁸¹ Wienberg¹⁸² for all whom promisd to preach—as also for Mr Sproat¹⁸³—

¹⁷⁹Lyman Hall (1734-1790), was born in Conn., became a Congregationalist minister but gave up the ministry to study medicine. He joined with the Congregationalists who migrated to S. C. then to Midway, Ga. He was a member of the Continental Congress, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Governor of Ga., 1783. He promoted the founding of a state university of higher learning which became the University of Ga. He was a planter in Burke County, Ga., when he died. *DAB*, IV:139-140.

¹⁸⁰Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787) was born in Germany and graduated from a German university. He taught at Halle and came to America in 1742 as pastor of the Lutheran Congregations in Pa. He visited Ebenezer, Ga. in 1742 on his way to Pa. and again in 1774 to settle a potential schism in the congregation there. Zubly saw him on both visits to Ga. Muhlenberg has been called the virtual founder of the Lutheran Church in America. *Ibid.*, VII:310-311; *Weis. Col. Clergy Mid. Cols.*, p. 279.

¹⁸¹Probably John King (1740-1811), D. D. who preached at Montgomery, Pa., 1769-1808. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁸²Casparus Diederus Weyberg (Weinberg, Wyberg) (1734-1790), minister of Dutch Reformed Church, who came to Philadelphia in 1763. He received the A. M. degree from the Univ. of Pa., 1780, and the D. D. from Princeton, 1788. He preached in the 1st German Reformed Church in Philadelphia, 1763-1780 and other near by churches at the same time. He was a chaplain in the Rev. army. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁸³James Sproat (1722-1793), Congregationalist and Presbyterian minister. He was educated at Princeton, preached in Conn., 1743-1767, and in Philadelphia, 1769-1793. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

wrote to Dr Rodgers¹⁸⁴ & Dr Bard¹⁸⁵—

<Sun.> 13. preachd in the Morning for Mr Weyberg in the prettiest church I think I ever saw on 2 Cor 5:20. at Diner he gave me an account of most of our Colo[nial] Ministers.

P.M. preachd for Mr Sproat Job 22:21.

<Mon.> 14. dind with Mr Sproat—Mr P was mentiond—I wish I could say nothing about him—visited Mr Stillman¹⁸⁶ who left Boston just after the Battle of Lexington & ad interim settles here—

<Tues.> 15. Mr Duffield¹⁸⁷ & Mr Hill visitd <etc.> waited on the former who was gone from home—am Surprizd at the genl pleasure it gives my friends that I come as a Delegate.

<Wed.> 16. agreed with Mr H Miller¹⁸⁸ to print 2 Sermons¹⁸⁹—£3 per Sheet exclusive of paper.

preachd for Mr Weyberg Job 33:29-30

<Thurs.> 17. Sat off early for N York—Met Mr W. Ten-
nent at Maidenhead who much approvd of my being Delegate
& said that where God has given us difft Talents he sometimes
makes use of one & sometimes of another—

dind with the provincial Congress at Trenton—who greatly

¹⁸⁴John Rodgers (1727-1811), Presbyterian minister. He was ordained at St. George, Del., 1749, received the A. M. at Princeton in 1760 and at the Univ. of Pa. in 1763. He was a trustee of Princeton, 1765-1807, and vice-chancellor of the Univ. of the State of N. Y., 1787-1811. He preached in various churches in Dela., 1749-1765, and in N. Y., 1765-1807. He was a chaplain in a N. Y. regt., 1776-1777, and a member of the N. Y. legislature, 1776-1777. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹⁸⁵Peter Bard, physician and merchant. He married JJZ's daughter Nancy (Anne) in 1774. He died in Savannah on July 22, 1785. *Ga. Gaz.*, 3/2 1774, p. 2, col. 2; *Gaz. State Ga.*, 7/28 1785, p. 3, col. 1.

¹⁸⁶Samuel Stillman (1737-1807), Baptist minister, was born in Pa. and ordained in Charleston, S. C. in 1759. He preached on St. James's Island, S. C., 1759-1761; in N. J., 1762-1763; in Boston, 1765-1807. Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

¹⁸⁷George Duffield (1732-1790), Presbyterian minister, graduated from Princeton in 1752; licensed to preach in 1756. He was called to the Third Presby. Church in Philadelphia; commissioned as chaplain in Pa. militia. After the Revolution he returned to his congregation in Philadelphia. Headley, *Chaplains*, pp. 350-360; Weis, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁸⁸Henry Miller (1702-1782), printer, was born in Waldeck, and was apprenticed to a printer in Basle. He had printing shops in various places in Europe. He came to America in 1741 and worked with Franklin in Philadelphia. He returned to Europe in 1742, came again to America in 1751; went again to Europe in 1754 where he remained until 1760. He came back to Philadelphia and continued printing until 1780. Thomas, *Hist. Print. in Amer.*, pp. 387-389.

¹⁸⁹*The Law of Liberty...; Pious Advice: A Sermon on the Faith.*

approvd of the Petition to the King. Dr Rodgers met me at the Stage & kindly invited me to lodge at his house

saw & lodgd with Presdt Witherspoon whose health I pray God to restore & confirm.

<Fri.> [18] Spoke with Mes[srs] Caldwell & McWhorter¹⁹⁰ arrivd at New York by night

A Report that Genl Gage¹⁹¹ is about quitting Boston & coming to New York—this Report Gen. W[ashington] mentions.

<Fri.> [Should be Sat.; the date is faded out and cannot be read. It is probably the 19th.] saw Dr Bard <etc.>

a Report that the Port of Boston was or would be open
saw Mr Livingston Presidt¹⁹² of the N Y. Congress—

Every thing I hear makes me wish & pray for a Speedy Reconciliation—

<Sun.> 20. preachd for Dr Rodgers 2 Cor 5:20

Spoke to a Compy going to Ticonderoga Rom 8:11 Eph 6:16

<Mon.> 21. at Mr Vardmans it was mentiond that the Pdt of Kings College¹⁹³ wanted a new Charter under the name of the American University & with the Privil of sending 2 members into Assembly

<Tues.> 22. preachd for Dr Rodgers Luke 10:42

<Wed.> 23. [blank]

<Thurs.> 24. about midnight the city began be to allarmd by Drums & firing—the Inhabitants receiving the guns from the Battery—there was firing from the Man of War Bask which the people returnd & it seems killd a Man & wounded others—after several other Guns the Asia fired a whole broad side—which damagd several houses, but by a singular Providence

¹⁹⁰Alexander McWhorter (1734-1807), Presbyterian minister, delegate to the Continental Congress. *DAB*, VI:175; Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. & Sou. Cols.*, p. 125.

¹⁹¹Thomas Gage (1721-1787), military officer, came to America with his regiment in 1754; distinguished military career in America and Canada; became commander in chief of North American forces with headquarters in N. Y. in 1761. He became Gov. of Mass. in 1774, and was active in military and political affairs throughout the Revolution. *DAB*, IV:87-88.

¹⁹²Philip Livingston (1716-1778), merchant in N. Y. and active in city politics. President of the N. Y. Provincial Congress, 1775, member of Continental Congress, signer of the Declaration of Independence. *DAB*, VI:316-318.

¹⁹³Benjamin Moore (1748-1816), Episcopal Bishop of N. Y., president pro tem of King's College, 1775-1784; later became president. *DAB*, VII:115-116.

hurted no body tho a number of persons had almost miraculous escapes.

This overneedless Act of Severity will probably provoke the people to do something rash—& this zeal however honest it is to be feard may become very dangerous—

preachd in french Act 26:18.a. & in the Evg for Mr Muhlenberg in german 1 Pet 5:6.

<Fri.> 25. breakfasted with Dr Livingston inter alia he gave me a Charge as a Delegate to be attentive to the religious Liberty of A[meric]a & thought it was probable that this was the design of Providence in my being sent to Congress—

numbers of people moving out of town—

Letters passd bet Capt Vandepack & the mayor¹⁹⁴ [of] the Corporation.

Govr. Tryon visited all the damagd houses wrote to the Captn. & behaves with Tenderness & regard to the people a noble Spirit among the people if it can be retaind within proper bounds.

<Sat.> 26. It is supposd yesterday & this day 1000 families have been moving out of town

Govr. Tryon met Congress & Comittee & Spoke friendly except that he mentiond a pardon—

<Sun.> 27. german <Psalms> 85:9

gallic Act 26:18-b

eng Hos 10:12

<Mon.> 28. saw 2 Battalions in uniform who made a very good appearance <etc.>

<Tues.> 29. visited Kings College, the vice Presdt shewed me the library not very numerous was very well arrangd—

<Wed.> 30. left N Y. & reachd Elizabeth town point in 2 hours figure 1/6 Mile in p.m.

<Thurs.> 31. being the usual hour for Prayer in [illegible word] C. Congregatns—in the present situation of Affairs preachd <Psalms> 50:15.

¹⁹⁴Whitehead Hicks was mayor of N. Y., 1766-1776. *Natl. Cyclop. Amer. Biog.: Con-spectus*, p. 149.

found it impossible to visit Mr Tennent¹⁹⁵ from E'town on account of the Intricacy of the Road which Mr Boudinot¹⁹⁶ compared to the Deserts of Arabia & furness of hades—

Sept. 1. got to Princeton—

<Sat.> **2.** took a view of the College with Mssrs Bulloch & Houstoun¹⁹⁷—

<Sun.> **3.** preachd at Princeton Jer 48:18. Job 9:4

<Mon.> **4.** waited on Mr Hancock¹⁹⁸

dind with Judge Stockton¹⁹⁹ who strongly advises the printing of Address to Lord D[artmouth]²⁰⁰

<Tues.> **5.** one of the Collegians was my Pilote to Revd Mr Tennent at freehold—22 miles

<Wed.> **6.** Mr Tennent brought me to Mr Schenk's²⁰¹ at allentown. Mr Schenck seems nearly persuaded to go to Midway

<Thurs.> **7.** Mr Tennent brought me to Bordentwon /8.m/. Cross the River & recomendd me to Mr [blank] who kindly sent me in his Chair to Bristol—

¹⁹⁵William Tennent (1705-1777), Presbyterian minister, second of that name. He was born in Ireland, came to America in 1718. He settled in Freehold, N. J. and preached there until his death. He was the father of William Tennent of S. C., supra. Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. Cols.*, p. 326.

¹⁹⁶Elias Boudinot (1740-1821), prominent attorney and statesman of Philadelphia. He was a trustee of Princeton, a member of the Continental Congress and of the U. S. Congress after the Revolution. He was also Director of the Mint. *DAB*, I:477-478.

¹⁹⁷John Houstoun (1744-1796), son of Patrick Houstoun, was a prominent lawyer of Savannah. He was active in support of the American cause in the Revolution, was one of the "Sons of Liberty" of Ga., member of the Provincial Congress, 1775, of the Continental Congress, 1775; member of the Executive Council of Ga., 1778; elected Governor of Georgia in 1779 and reelected in 1784. He was Chief Justice of Ga. in 1786, and Judge of the Superior Court of the Eastern Circuit, 1792. Northen, *Men of Mark*, I:167-172.

¹⁹⁸John Hancock (1736/37-1793), merchant and politician. He was born in Mass., graduated from Harvard, member of the Continental Congress and Signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was the first Governor of the State of Mass. and served nine terms. He presided at the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. *DAB*, IV:218-219.

¹⁹⁹Richard Stockton (1730-1781), lawyer, jurist, trustee of the College of N. J. (Princeton); elected to the Continental Congress in 1776 and was a Signer of the Declaration of Independence. *Ibid.*, IX:45-47.

²⁰⁰William Legge (1731-1801), 2nd Earl of Dartmouth. In August 1772 he succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Secretary of State for the Colonies. *DNB*, XI:858-860. JJZ's "The law of liberty" sermon was addressed to the Earl of Dartmouth.

²⁰¹William Schenck (1740-1827), minister of the Dutch Reformed church. He was born in Marlborough, N. J., received an A. B. from Princeton in 1767, settled in Allentown, N. J., 1771-1777. He was chaplain in the Revolutionary War. He died in Ohio. Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. & Sou. Cols.*, pp. 306-307.

took a View of the Chalybeate Waters—dind with Dr La Nonianche²⁰² [?] & reachd Philad in the Evening—4

<Fri.> 8. confind to my room & chiefly to my Bed.

<Sat.> 9. this being the last day for Exportation every body extremely busy—

of the many favorable Reports so much I hope is true—that we may expect a favorable turn of Affairs.

waited on Mr Hancock who expressd himself very kindly in the joining of Georgia—& has great hopes of a favorable Issue.

<Sun.> 10. preachd for Mr Sproat Eph 5:15

Davidson²⁰³ John 8:31

Wynberg Act 16:30

<Mon.> 11. [Tuesday] 12 attended Congress but could not make a board—

<Wed.> 13. took Seat at the Congress—preachd for Mr Weinberg Act 16:31—& agreed D[eo] V[olante] to preach every Wednesday

<Sat.> 16. I made a point of it in every Company to contradict & oppose every hint of a desire of Independency or of breaking our Conexion with Great Britain [monetary note illegible except for 3 1/2 shg £9]

went home with Mr Shlatter.²⁰⁴

<Sun.> 17. preachd at Germantown Heb 11:6

Sproat 1 Cor 11:31.

Muhlenberg Jer 48:ult.

baptizd Anna [illegible names]

<Mon.> 18. attended Congress very indisposd

<Tues.> 19. could not attend

<Wed.> 20. thro Mercy recovering attended Congress & preach for Mr Weyberg Act 16:31.b.

²⁰²Unable to decipher and therefore unidentifiable. It could be De rather than Dr.

²⁰³Robert Davidson (1750-1812), Presbyterian minister. He was ordained in Philadelphia and preached in the Presbyterian Church there, 1773-1784. Weis, *Col. clergy mid. cols.*, p. 204.

²⁰⁴Michael Schlatter (1716-1790), Dutch Reformed minister, born in St. Gall, Switzerland and educated in Switzerland and Germany. He was ordained in 1739 and preached in Swiss churches, 1744-1746. He came to America in 1746 as agent to the German churches in Pa. He preached in various places in Pa. and N. J., 1746-1777. He was superintendent of Charity Schools in the colonies, 1754-1757, and was an army chaplain, 1757-1759, 1764. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<Thurs.> 21. attended Congress

<Fri.> 22. Do. wrote Mr finley²⁰⁵

<Sat.> 23. Do.

<Sun.> 24. for Mr Weyberg Heb 12:14

bapt [illegible names]

for Mr Duffield Heb 3:13.a

for Mr Sproat Act 24:25.

<Mon.> 25. attended Congress. put on the Committee to examine accounts.

<Tues.> 26. attended Comitee & Congress

<Wed.> 27. attendd Comitee & Congress

preachd for Mr. Stillman Matt 8:25

<Thurs.> 28. At the Invitation to the Comitee of the City the Congress saild in the Row Gallies to see the Preparations to stop up the River, but Wind & tide being Contrary could not effect it—saild to Point & no Point—the Galley aboard which I was caried away her fore mast.

It was observed that the Thermometer this summer has risen at Philada to 96.

<Fri.> 29. attended Comitee & Congress—

<Sat.> 30. frost & very cold.

dispatchd Packet to Mr Tennent with Letters to Committee <etc.> at Savannah—

<Sun.> 1 Oct. Mr Weyberg 1 Cor 11:26 SC

Mr Duffield Heb 3:13

Mr Stillman Math 8:26

<Mon.> 2. attended Congress at the Masons Lodge

<Tues.> 3. attd Comitee & Congress—

<Wed.> 4. Do.

my Sermon advertisd Q. F F S.

preachd for Mr Stillman 1 Cor 6:17.

very disagreeable weather—

<Thurs.> attd Comitee & Congress

<Fri.> 5. Do.

<Sat.> 7. attended Congress—

²⁰⁵Alexander Finlay (Finley) (d. 1783), Episcopal minister. He was in Georgia in Sept. 1770, went to S. C. in 1771 and preached in St. Stephen's parish (Santee, S. C.), 1773-1783. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 77.

Letters from home—

in very rainy Weather went to Germantown.

<Sun.> 8. [Sentence in German]

preachd in german Joh 5:7

engl. Joh 4:4

got too late to town to preach & Lecture—

<Sat.> 14. all Week attendd Comittee & Congress—

<Tues.> 10. wrote to Comittee of Safety & D Z also to Dr Witherspoon & Mr Tennent also Mr Schenk. [The entry for the 14th was at the bottom of a page; JJZ put this entry for the 10th at the top of the next page.]

<Sun.> 15. preachd for Mr Weyberg 1 Tim 4:18

Sproat Prov 22:9

Muhlenberg Prov 14:32

16. attended Congress—joind in Letters to Georgia Comittee

17. attended Comittee & Congress—

wrote to wife D Z P Bard

sent 100 sermons to Dr Rodgers 100 home—

18. attended Comittee & Congress—

preachd for Mr Stillman 1 Thess 5:17.

19. bought Cariage & horse £40 Sterg

<Fri.> 20. attended Congress—

<Sat.> 21. Do.

<Sun.> 23 [Should be 22]. preachd for Mr Muhlenberg
Matt 19:16

Sproat Joh 19:4

Weyberg Gal 6:17

<Mon.> 23. Peyton Randolph²⁰⁶ Esq. having suddenly died yesterday the Congress adjourned—

went to see Mr Schlatter—

<Tues.> 24. bought a horse

attended the funl of Mr Randolph—Mr Duche²⁰⁷ preachd
Col 4:5. wrote to Mr Caldwell

²⁰⁶Peyton Randolph (1723-1775), Virginia statesman. Presided over the the Va. Provincial Congress in 1774; president of the 1st and 2nd Continental Congresses, 1774-1775. *DAB*, VII:367-368.

²⁰⁷Jacob Duche (1738-1794), Episcopal minister, was educated in America and ordained in England. He returned to preach in Philadelphia. He served as Chaplain of

A Separation from the Parent State I wd dread as one of the greatest evils & should it ever be proposd will pray & fight against it. Some good men may desire it but good men do not always know what they are about. I have more than a litle thought in this Matter, being borned & bred in a Commonwealth should not be unacquainted with republican Govt but wish never to see the day when the Qs [Question] whether we ought to Separate shd be agitated. Hints of this kind arm our friends & Enemies in G[reat] B[ritain] against us & are pernicious in the highest degree. I would rather enlarge than retract my Vote. There is a lack of Confidence in America which Alarms me we are too haughty to look unto God & all our publick papers rather talk of presenting Law to a conquerd people than defending ourselves under great disadvantages against one of the greatest forces of the universe—

<Wed.> 25. attended Comittee & Congress—
wrote to Mr Caldwell—

<Thurs.> attended Comittee [crossed out] & Congress

<Fri.> 27. attended Comittee & Congress

wrote to Dr Bard wf [wife] Wm E[we]n²⁰⁸ Esq.

<Sat.> 28. attended Comittee & Congress

<Sun.> 29. 2 Pet 3:13 Mr Weyberg

Phil 1:27 Mr Duffield

Phil 3:20 Mr Muhlenberg

<Mon.> 30. attended Comittee & Congress—

Spent the Evening agreeably with Mr Kirkland²⁰⁹ the Indian Missionary

the Continental Congress and when Philadelphia fell to the British he wrote Gen. Washington urging him to abandon the American cause and resign his command of the Continental Army. Duche consequently fled to England but returned to Philadelphia in 1790 and died there four years later. Headley, *Chaplains*, pp. 83-88.

²⁰⁸William Ewen was born in England and came to Ga. ca. 1733 as an apprentice to the Trustees. He was associated with William Stephens, the Trustees' Secretary in Ga. in the 1750s. He was a member of the Ga. Council of Safety in 1775 and became its President during the Revolution. He died ca. 1776/77. Northen, *Men of Mark*, 1:73-74.

²⁰⁹Samuel Kirkland (1741-1808), Congregationalist minister; Indian missionary near Oneida Lake, N. Y., 1766-1808; chaplain in Continental Army, 1775-1783. After the war he returned to the Oneidas. He made a census of the Six Nations and helped in effecting a permanent treaty between the Indians of the Five Nations and the U. S. Headly, *Chaplains*, pp. 239-255.

<Tues.> 31. attended Comittee & Congress

Nov. 1 attended Congress—

heard of the late Arrival of Capt. Brunner at Savannah whom I had given up for lost—

dind with Col Juliensen [?]

(NB. Nov. 1. had an Evg Conversation with J.Zb. [John Zubly ?] & shewed him my Plan—

joint in a Letter to the Comittee of Safety.

[The remainder of this page is badly faded and parts of words are missing. These missing parts have been supplied in brackets where possible.]

<Fri.> 3. Attended Comittee & Congress—

in express & most formal terms disclaimd—[illegible symbol]—& acclaimed for [reconcili]ation—because we must [ri]ght a wrong [?]

Z. warmly opposd—appeald to Protestn on 1st Reflectn—& sd that if Breach of [pe]ace and Separatn was the Sense of [Congre]ss it was time for hmf [himself] to take hmf away.

C. G[adsden] & Lee [?]²¹⁰ cried agreed agreed sd that *Ale* [?] was their [?]

—but never no more & very overbearing—
I declared every man at Liberty to speak of what I said & claimd the same Liberty V.C. [vera causa]

<Sat.> 4. attended Comittee & Congress—

declard my Doubt as to a Battalion & wishd it referrd to Cn of G [Council of Safety of Georgia ?]

[The following paragraph is written in Germanic script and is almost indecipherable. Only the following words can be read.]

r C [Chase]²¹¹ opposd—That some friends of----- proposed it----- but were ----- by some not friendly ----- Motion -----

dind with Isr Pemberton²¹²—going a way of moderate man ----- wd

²¹⁰Richard Henry Lee (1732-1794), Virginia statesman, member of the Continental Congress; Signer of the Declaration of Independence. *DAB*, VI:117-120.

²¹¹Samuel Chase (1741-1811), prominent attorney and Revolutionary leader; member of 1st Continental Congress, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Justice of U. S. Supreme Court. *DAB*, II:34-37.

²¹²Israel Pemberton (1715-1779), Quaker merchant and philanthropist. He was opposed to the Revolution and was imprisoned for his beliefs, 1777-1778. *Ibid.*, VII:412-413.

 quite indisposd took a Vomitt.

<Sun.> 5. preachd for Mr Muhlenberg 1 Pet 4:17

Sproat Math 22:42

Weyberg Luke 21:36

<Mon.> 6. attended Comittee & Congress—

<Tues.> 7. do. happy in a Visit from Revd Mr Tennent—

<Wed.> 8. attended Congress—

preachd for Mr Stillman Jude 21.

<Thurs.> 9. attended Congress—

Nov. 10. Sat off[f] from Philada on my Return—dismal roads & disagreeable Weather—the chair overturned but thro Mercy without any hurt done to myself or horse & Cariage—reachd the Kings Arms a litle before night—

disagreeable & even dismal road but it leads towards home—

This Journey is a thorny Maze may I march upwards still—

<Sat.> 11. Sat off early—reachd Lancaster after Sun down—again overturnd in the Chair & receivd no damage the Jolting was so violent that it broke the Glass to my wifes minia-ture in my pocket book—

some Snow & fair—

made myself known to some Germans & offerd to preach tomorrow

<Sun.> 12. The Elders of our church visited me

preachd in german on Jer 48:18, Act 2:37 & in the Evg in the lutheran church in english Luke 19:42

Spent the Evening very agreeably with the Revd Mr Hel-muth²¹³

& now I am afraid I shall not soon have another opportunity to preach—bless God for the opportunities of this day—passed in hope—

<Mon.> 13 crossd Susquehanah in an overloaded boat high fresh & high Wind

reachd Yorktown & spent the Evening very happily with my old friend Revd Mr Kunz²¹⁴

²¹³Justus Henry Christian Helmluth (1742-1825), Lutheran minister, born in Germany, lived in Lancaster, Pa., 1769-1779. He received a D. D. degree from Princeton in 1787. Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. Cols.*, p. 237.

²¹⁴John Christopher Kunze (1744-1807), Lutheran minister. He was born in Saxony and came to N. Y. in 1770. He settled in Philadelphia where he was pastor of St.

a fair cold day—River 1 mile 12 Rods—

<Tues.> 14. disagreeable Weather passd Cordres Bridge²¹⁵
dind at Mr Cullissen²¹⁶ Hanover town & got as far as Litle town

<Wed.> 15. much rain in the Night—

baited at Taney town King of Prussia²¹⁷

crossd 2 bridges pipe Creek²¹⁸ & reachd Bentleys tavern²¹⁹
early & found my horse had drawn me 14 miles bad road (in part) in litle more than 2 hours—

Crossd Monacasse [Monocacy] fery—here the Water runs to the left—till now all runs to the right.

reachd Fredk an hour by Sun—still known by some who heard me 21 years ago—the Colonist minister absent—

Roads not quite so bad hitherto—

<Thurs.> 16. Sat off from fredk for Nowlands ferry the Road being blind cross Monacasse instead of Potowmock, turnd back 2 miles an ugly run near the ferry the Water came up to the chair—& wetted every thing poled over Potk in a high Wind—

Came to Leesborough & was agreably entertaind in a serious family—

<Fri.> 17. dind at a place calld the red house—a Report that one Trigg²²⁰ acted the part of a Clerk [illegible word]--- Virginian

reachd Widow Neals—she rememberd to have heard me 21 years ago—happy in an oppty to pray in her family—she said our Lord ordaind 7 churches but only one Religion—

<Sat.> 18. passd Germantown, [4 Latin words]

Michael's and Zion Churches, 1770-1784. He was also professor of German and Oriental languages. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

²¹⁵Cordres Bridge was near Hanover, Md.

²¹⁶Could be Joseph, Joseph, Jr. or James Cullissen who lived in St. Mary's County, Md. Brumbaugh, *Md. Records*, II:73.

²¹⁷King of Prussia was a tavern on Market St., Philadelphia. Orvin & Rohrbach, *Stagecoach East*, p. 62.

²¹⁸Pipe Creek enters the Monocacy River on the boundary line between Carroll and Frederick Counties.

²¹⁹Bentley's Tavern was in Springs, Md.

²²⁰Stephen Trigg (b. ca. 1710), killed at Battle of Blue Licks, Ky., member of the Virginia Assembly, 1775-1776, and member of the Convention of July 1775. Tyler, *Ency. Va. Biog.*, I:345.

a most dismal road, blind rocky <etc.> which I never could have found with a Guide that very providentially fell in my Way & piloted me over Stony ford—forded

Got to Bradleys a good house very disagreeable Company—

<Sun.> 19. a very raw Morning—

forded Rapidan at Raccoon fork—

This is to me a silent Sabbath—blessed be God that it is the only one so in this whole Journey—

I thought on them that could not preach being driven from home & their flocks scatterd—

[Latin sentence follows here.]

when I came to Parten [Porter, Porten ?]—they took me for a Dr a man had been stabbd there in a fray last night, in both his thighs & no Dr coming I dressd his Wounds—

offerd to preach, sine Effelta [?]

reach orange Courthouse early but for Want of a proper Stage further on, put up here

a good afternoon—

<Mon.> 20. Thro the great goodness of God I have now performd near one third of my Journey in good health & hardly fatigued at all—how sweet will home be even with the Expectation of domestick trials & publick disturbances—how much sweeter Heaven where no friend or Comfort will be missing & all Confusion & grief be vanishd for ever—

<Tues.> 21. cloudy—crossd James River & might have made a good days Journey among all the perplexing accounts & directions of the road but my chair springs had given way & I thought it a Mercy that they did just by a Smith Shop, in any other place such an accident would have been very troublesome—a litle snow P.M. Saw an Advertist Mr Smiths²²¹ Acady just opend in Prince Edwards's

Memodum: To read Lefore's Commentaries de Emigration helvetionius²²²

²²¹Samuel Stanhope Smith (1750-1819), Presbyterian minister. He was a graduate of Princeton and was ordained in October 1775. He established Prince Edward Academy in Prince Edward County, Va., in Nov. 1775. The Academy later became Hampden-Sidney College. *Ibid.*, 11:175-176.

²²²Unable to identify. The author's name is almost illegible and could have been transcribed incorrectly.

The history of the disolution of the T [Transalpine ?] provinces

<Wed.> 22. a most pleasant day & very good roads. traveld near 50 miles with Ease & reachd the Revd Mr Smith near Prince Edwards Courthouse before they went to dinner

Spent the Evg most agreably.

[Latin sentences here]

Thus far my God has led me on—May Mercy & truth continually guide me & receive to Heaven at last—ubi esse Patria

<Thurs.> 23. Thermom 38.

Mr Smith kindly accompanied me about 12 miles—passd Charlotte C.H. near which is a most agreable prospect—the blue mountains at a distance—got to Mr Caldwell who gave me directns to proceed & informed of some disturbances near 96—

Lead me my father & my God in the Way in which I should go for thy Name's sake—

24. passd Stanton River a branch of Roanoak people in general ford it—

The K. [Kalmia ?]²²³ trees serve as a genl directn for the Carolina road.

Genl. Complaints of the Want of Salt Pins Wool lard—I was obligd to stop at Mr McDaniels but the Weather looking unpromising I got to Halifax

[Latin sentence]

25. part very bad Roads. discoverd flaws in my Cariage which with difficulty got badly mended—some bother & Expence—

enjoyd a good night in a lonely Cottage & poor Accomodations—

<Sun.> 26. reachd Dr A [R ?] by noon, now informd that the roads are good, Salisbury dist 200 Chtown 300 miles which I fear falls short of the Truth

Accounts of a Batle likely to be fought near 96

got to Mr Js Fery about night—exhausted—

<Mon.> 27. Sat off early—Stopd at one stuble field a drunken man seizd me to take me up—the rest interposd all in a

²²³The K. trees were probably the *Kalmia latifolia* (mountain laurel) which are abundant throughout the area. Elliott, *Botany*, 1:480-481.

ready way to be as Drunk as himself—passd two Branches of Haw River very scenic & within a mile of one another—at ready [Reedy] fork I intended to stop but a traveller persuaded me to go as far as Guilford CourtHouse which I did & arrivd at Sunset—he tells me a Batle was fought at 96 & 7 men killd also a skirmish in Cht—

upon a couple of Eggs in the morning, I walked some heavy miles up-hill & Down hill & thro divine Mercy am now here very litle fatigued—

I please myself with the pleasure of ariving at home how dear is that pleasure bought—how litle will it Cost—this is not my rest nor do I wish it to be so but blessed be God we that believe do enter into rest & shall rest forever—

<Tues.> 28. a most dismal day. Ice & sleet all day long & the pleasure of advancing homewd absorbed in the pleasure of being safe in a dry house, tho Roads & seasons are every day likely to grow worse—

Much indisposd in my Bowels.

The Report of a battle at 96 contradicted heard that Henderson²²⁴ who bought Land of the brokers found a province under the name of Transylvania, that people gathered fast had formed 3 Settlements & planted about 500 Acres of Corn.

<Wed.> 29. beyond Expectation the Weather this day proves moderate part of it a very good & part a dismal road—the forenoon promising fair Weather

Snow & threatening in the afternoon with partly very hilly & rocky roads

at the place I intended could find no Lodgings but met a man who came from Augusta & saith

That <Sunday> there was a Batle between Col Thompson & fletchal,²²⁵ that the former fired 3 days on the latter, who at last sorely returnd the fire having a

²²⁴Richard Henderson (1735-1785), North Carolina lawyer and land speculator. In 1775, with trade goods, he purchased from the Cherokees a large tract of land south of the Kentucky River. He and his associates, including Daniel Boone, established settlements and organized a government which they named Transylvania. The legislature of Virginia annuled the purchase and the State disappeared. *Harper's Ency. of U. S.*, IX:100-101.

²²⁵Col. Thomas Fletchall was commander of one of the provincial militia regiments. Landrum, *Hist. of Upper S. C.*, *passim*.

Breastwork & Canon, that about 5 were killd by fletchal & 400 by Hendersons people, that the people from Charlotte, Salisbury, & Camden marchd to his assistance & that this fellow traveller was hardly permitted to pass, that it would be impossible for me to go that Way reachd one Sprechers who received me kindly

NB Dr Lindsey had recd Informatn that about 12 miles off the people had gatherd last <Saturday> & were writing in favor of G.B.

<Thurs.> 30. Crossd two bad creeks, the first calld Sweaming Creek got to ford only—crossd Adkin [Yadkin] R at falls 2 Branches—same forded at the same time tho deep & cold—

reachd Salisbury a pretty inland place—Spent the Evg at Col Osbornes²²⁶ with several Gentr of the Law The people preparing to go to 96—from all the various Accts it would seem that 500 americans were in danger of being persecud by 2000 that call themselves Kings men & obtaind a Cession of Arms for 20 days by giving up the swivels—

at Cht 'tis here sd that they sunk Vessels on the Barr fire upon by the Govt & returnd the fire without any Damage—

The Weather fair but very cold & Ive never entirely thawed most of this Week.

<Fri.> Dec 1. Mr Avery kindly accompanied me part of the Way—overturnd in the Chair in a very dangerous Manner—blessed be the great God with no hurt to myself & no great Damage to the Cariage—

met Col Pfeiffer who insisted on my Staying all night—left some printing with him—he & Mr Pattison who knew me advisd me a nigher & better but very solitary road—the people all preparing to march to 96—alas! the evils that are come & coming—May God in Mercy prevent the shedding of Blood—

<Sat.> 2. a cloudy threatening Morning—

at the Persuasion of Col Pfeiffer & Mr Pattison took the road by roby River—calld on Revd Mr Balch,²²⁷ declind staying

²²⁶Possibly Col. Alex Osborn whose name appears on a Rowan County muster roll in Nov. 1766. Clark, *Col. Soldiers of the So.*, p. 786.

²²⁷Hezekiah James Balch (1746-1776), Presbyterian minister, received his A. B. and M. A. at Princeton and was ordained in 1768. He settled in Poplar Tent and Rocky River Center, N. C., 1770-1776. He was a signer of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. Cols.*, p. 174.

& preaching as the Weather threatening & road to be fear impracticable—missd the Road, by following directions I never missd but when told there was no Possibility of missing—the Evening rainy—the road very boggy—arivd at a private house after night—

<Sun.> 3. the Morning proving very bad & rainy I proposd to preach. some few of the nearest Neighbours attended & heard me with attention on Ap [Revelation] 14:7. after Sermon Sat off, & thro the Goodness of God it cleared up, & I reachd a lonely hut about 15 miles distant by means of which I am told no Creek will now prevent my proceeding.

Perhaps this delay was for some one's benefit—I am told I must expect the most dismal road still

most of the men in this Neighbourhood gone to the troops about 96.

<Mon.> 4. arose with the unaccoutable notion that some thing wd happen this day to my Cariage which however I easly put out of my mind & traveled with less Anxiety than comon in such bad roads—but after going on about 20 miles without any accidt but snapping a Spoke which I repaired, one wheel runs into a deep rut & the other against a Limb, instantly the left wheel was crushd, my foot caught in it & I lay under the body most providentially I had presence of mind kept the reins & held in the horse who was ready to run away

Thus the Cariage broke but blessed be God I remain unhurt—reachd the hanging Rock²²⁸—& the man is now going in a Waggon for my Chair about 5 miles off—dismal dangerous road

O that I may be sensible of mercies of my escape.

[German sentences in verse form]

Ellerby²²⁹ went with a Waggon for the Wreck of my Chair. some Waggoners wanted to robb it—he brought it safe before 9 oClock

<Tues.> 5. hired Waggon <etc.> to carry my Chair to Camden—rode there on a trotting horse & was happy to find

²²⁸Hanging Rock is a village in S. C. near the Kershaw and Lancaster County line. It takes its name from a rock formation. Baldwin and Thomas, *Gazetteer*.

²²⁹Thomas or William, Sr. Ellerbee lived near Camden, S. C. Warren, *Jury Lists*, p. 52.

a man that undertook to repair it—the Waggoner asked only £6. I gave him a Guinea—

Great Cause of thankfulness that I was not taken up dead or brought off with broken Limbs

[German sentences in verse form]

in Company with Mr Will & Mr Lee sat off dind at Suttons²³⁰—reachd Camden—

I bless God for all his kindness & trust he will guide & preserve me thro the remaining difficulties of the Way & receive me to an everlasting home at last—

<Wed.> 6. Mr Philip Will D[ebto]r—lent him half a Joe²³¹
Do Do —1/4 Joe—

Sought & found opportunity to preach, which I did in a pretty litle meeting house on “Be ye reconciled to God[”] 2 Cor 5:20

The Work man busy to repair my chair & wheel—

Report that two Men of War are arivd in Chtown & one with a transport in Cape fear River

I am happy that my time has not been entirely lost—

<Thurs.> 7. News that 5. of Cunninghams Captns²³² had surrenderd—

500 men were gone from Georgia to 96—

Crossd Wat[e]ree & after riding 12 computed very long miles find I am not advanced in my Distance but am told shall have better roads

got too Hunters

<Fri.> 8. cloudy & rainy Morning—dind at Westover—

found the Santee River Swamp at Mr Corleys ferry very passable. a man lay there dead who had come from the Camp as a Guard to some prisoners. reachd Col Thompsons a most pleasant situation where kindly recd & treatd

²³⁰Possibly Joseph Sutton who came to Camden with the Chesnut family in the 1760s. He had been a frontier ranger in Virginia. Kirkland and Kennedy, *Hist. Camden, passim*.

²³¹Joe or joey, a 4 pence coin. English slang, now obsolete.

²³²Robert Cunningham who came to the S. C. back country from Pa. and settled at Island Ford on the Saluda in 1770. He became a ferry proprietor and justice of the peace. He became an active Tory and in 1780 Lord Cornwallis made him a brigadier general in command of the Tory militia in the Ninety-Six District. He left S. C. in 1782, traveled to East Florida, Nova Scotia and England. He finally settled in Nassau in the Bahamas. He died in 1813. Brown, *S. C. Regs.*, p. 203.

<Sat.> 9. Sat off too late—rainy day—reachd Bordels [Burdells]²³³ in good time, but the distance seems to increase upon us.

all accts from Cht very allarming. a very rainy afternoon—got to Bordels—

<Sun.> 10. Weather very unpromising, an excessive hot night & sultry day—found the benefit of good horse & reachd Moncks Corner long before Sunset—

[German sentences in verse form]

<Mon.> 11. a very bad Road to Mr T Broughtons²³⁴ where I dind & he kindly sent his Boy to put me into the Dorchester Road, where arrivd early, & the Century asked me for fire Arms, & it seems offers to fire on them that will not deliver.

<Tues.> 12. at breakfast with Mr Cook,²³⁵ heard of the death of Mrs Mauve²³⁶ & [Mrs] Hewat,²³⁷ at Mr Haynes of Revd Mr Rees a hopeful young man at whose ordination I preachd in April last (& myself still left—) at Ashepoo heard of many more deaths at Savannah, in this dying World I still survive, & thro great mercy am comfortably brought thus far on my way home, in the midst of distress & confusion O may our Eye learn to look unto God & God look on us in mercy—

heard of the Arrival of my John—the Sickness of my wife—the Death of a grandChild my Soul wait thou only upon God—all our pleasures & Expectations have their Allay happy the man who has the God of Jacob for his portion

<Wed.> 13. reachd Allisons²³⁸

one day more may bring me home—but this is not our rest—blessed be God for what there is of it & the hopes of

²³³Burdell's (not Bordels) was a stop on the road near Eutaw Springs. Orvin, *Berkeley County*, p. 108.

²³⁴There were several Thomas Broughtons in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, S. C., at this time. Orvin, *Berkeley County*, S. C., index.

²³⁵There were several Cooks in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, S. C., at this time. *Ibid.*

²³⁶Jane Mauve, widow of Mathew Mauve. Her death was reported in the *Georgia Gazette*, 9/20, 1775, p. 3, col. 1.

²³⁷Mrs. Andrew Hewat, whose death was reported in the *Georgia Gazette*, 11/29 1775, p. 2, col. 2.

²³⁸Mrs. Allison's boarding house was in the vicinity of Pocatoligo. It shows on the Mouzon map of 1777. Ebenezer Hazard wrote of this boarding house as a "mean looking house, where I got good entertainment and my horse fared well; she has several handsome daughters whose behavior is polite, though they may have been brought up in the woods." *SCH Mag.*, 73:187.

better—May I be prepared for what awaits me & get but safe to heaven at last—

[The following pages of the diary are JJZ's outline of his return journey from Philadelphia to Savannah, November 10 through December 14, 1775. The first two manuscript pages are a table of mileage between towns and taverns in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The narrative account does not indicate that he stopped at all of these places. The remaining pages are a tabulated account, with names of places and taverns, miles traveled and expenses. There is also some incidental information that is not in the narrative account. There are a few errors of addition in the mileage totals.

[In this transcription JJZ's format has been reset in a few places in the mileage column for clarification. The figures noted [forward] indicate the beginning of a new page in the diary. The tabulation ends near the middle of a page and the narrative begins again with December 15.]

[A Table of Mileage]

Lancaster	66	Baltimore	107
Susquehanah	12	Hoes ferry Potk	90
York town	11	Portroyal Raphk	12
Mr Culeissens	18	Podenbourg ²³⁹	89
Taney town	18		
Fredktown	24		
Nolands ferry	15		
Leesbourgh	12		
German town	45		
detour to Cooper	20	Baltm	107
Orange C. House	20	Alexandria	56
Birds ordinary	30	Fredkbourg	52
Goochland CH	30	Richmond	72
Lunenbourg do	62		
Taylor Branch	35		
Chester 15.	Wilmington 12	christena [Christiana]	8. 35
Head of Elk 8.	N East 7.	chs town 3.	22
Susquehannah 6	Harford 12	chines ²⁴⁰	12

²³⁹Possibly Poden City, now in West Virginia.

²⁴⁰Unable to identify or locate Chines and Spurgeon on maps or in gazetteers.

Baltimore 13 Patapsco 5 Elk ridge landg 3
 Spurgeons 7 Snowdens iron works²⁴¹ 9
 Bladensbourg 13. Geo town Potk 8.

Enquire the best way to New gate said to be nearer way than
 Alexandria

New gate to B Harrisons²⁴²

Elk run church	8	
Normans ford	10	
Bradleys	10	
Raccoon ford	8	
orange C.H.	12	
Cross Roads at Beals	10	
Watsons ordinary on the 3 notched road		
the Byrd ordinary	3	
Paynes do	10	
Woodson	12	Jefferson Elk Island 10

[The following is a recapitulation of Zubly's journey from
 Philadelphia to Savannah, including mileage, expenses, etc.,
 Nov. 10-Dec. 15, 1775.]

	Miles		Expence
Schuylkill ferry	2.	—	14
Buck ²⁴³ —4 qts oats		—	8
Swan dinner		3.	2
Kings Arms Sup bfast	13	8	—
break fast <etc.>	14. 19		
[3 or 4 illegible words]	9-1/2	—	8
Lancaster	66 9-1/2		
to Susquehannah		11	
ferriage 2 horses & Chair		.5	—
Tracy		—	6
Cross River [illegible words]		—	6
<Mon.> 13. York town B[ed] & b[oard]			
& horses one night		11	

²⁴¹Snowden's Iron Works, i.e., Patuxant Iron Works in Prince George County, Md. Magruder, *Md. Col. Abs.*, II:74.

²⁴²Possibly Benjamin Harrison (1726?-1791), Virginia statesman, Revolutionary patriot, Governor of Va. The family home was "Berkeley" in Charles City County, Va. *DAB*. IV:330-331.

²⁴³There was a Buck tavern near the Schuylkill River. Melish, *Trav. Dir.*, p. 54.

at the horse ²⁴⁴ [illegible word]		.5	—
Tavern baited		9.	— .8
Mr Culliessen		9.	
1 horse shoe		—	1
Diner		.4	
To Litles town		7.	
night & morning		7.	2
Taney town baited		9	8
Bentleys		14	
do <etc.>		3.	2
Nov. 15. to Monacassee ferry	7	—	11
To Fredktown at Grants	<u>4</u>		
		<u>150</u>	
16. Supper & breakfast <etc.>		7	2
bought gloves woollen		3	6
Norlands ferry ferriage <etc.>			
Virginia money		4	4
To the ferry	14.		
James Swamp [?]	4.		
Leesbourgh	<u>12.</u> 26.		
Supper & breakfast		8	2
17. To Goose Creek	7 chiefly bad road		
Wests tavern	<u>6</u> 13.	—	6
to the red house			
dinner etc.	12.	4	—
to a run	4		
tavern	1. take to left		
Nevils, a by-road	6 11. 36		
Supper & breakfast		5	6
18. To fields tavern	7.		
a bridge	6		
Monacassee			
fork	5		
Spurgeons	4		
Bradleys a left	6 Say 30		
Supper & breakfast			5

²⁴⁴There was a Black Horse [tavern] near York, Pa. *Ibid.*, p. 57. Owen and Rohrback, *Stagecoach East*, p. 20, place it in Lancaster, Pa.

19. Racoon fork	8		
Parten [Porter, Porten ?]			1
follow the river	5	sandy—	
& rest hilly	8	21.	
		263	
		263 [forward]	
20. orange Courth Supper & breakfast	8		—
at Col Boswels Diner etc.	3		—
To Boswels	16.		
(fork of road 10.) all roads			
to left To the Byrd			
ordinary	14.	30	
roads all to the right			
Expences			7 —
21. To Paynes ordy	12.		6
James River	15.		
ferriage			2 —
a tavern	<u>1</u>	28	
dinner <etc.> good roads			2 —
mending Chair			3 —
Expences night & morn			3 —
22. To Georgetown	15.		1 6
a tavern	16		3 —
Bridge	5.		
Prince Edd. C.H.	7.		
Mr. Venables	<u>1</u>	Say 46	
<Thurs.> 23. litle			
Roanoak bridge	12		
Mr Moreton	1		
Charlotte Courth	7		
Mr Caldwell's Cubb			
Creek	<u>9</u>	29	
<Fri.> 24. To Staunton			
R[illegible word]	6	ferriage	2 —
To Cubbs	5		2 6
Watkins	7		
Banister R & Bridge	7		
Halifax old town			
baitd	9-1/4	34	5 11-1/2

		430	
		430 [forward]	
To a Bridge 6. Sandy Creek	6		
very hilly & rooty [illegible]	4		2
To a Smith mending Chair	1-1/2		8
my Landlord relates that he lost a child the day before; her Belly swelld to a Degree to burst near the backbone—the [illegible] visible & the Vains like pipe shanks by stroking of which the Blood ceasd & they appeard white & then the Blood returnd—			
<Sun.> 26. To Dixen ferry on Dan	15.	22.	5
Crossd Dan River fordable feriage N. Car— to Mr James Ferry	6	6.	
<Mon.> 27. To Stuble fields	7		2.
To a house near ford	11		
To Haw River two branches	6		
To ready ford	8		
To Guilford Courth lost the way rooty	8	40	
The Road I dreaded most very tolerable— 28. a very bad day snowy <etc.> Ice			
29. To first Branch of deep R	7		15 6
To deep R	5	12	
		510	
Spent at Linseys			1 8
To Brussels Creek— [illegible place name]			

part of the roads excessive hilly—
& rooty 14.

Waters run to the left to deep

R then to the right—

To Sprechers 2. 16

deep waters 28.

sometimes meet measured miles—but
no Certainty from whence nor whither—

30. To Chr

Sprebers [?] 2 4 —

To Sweaming Creek 5

Beaver Dam 1

fords ordy 3 2 6

To Adkin 6

ferriage 3 6

Salisbury 7 24

Dec. 1. mending chair 6

Expences at the George 10

To Grahams 9

Pfeiffers 11 20

<Sat.> 2. To Rocky

R 8 570

To Shelby 8

To the Post now

take Clear Creek 5 570 [forward]

To Math Stuarts 6 27

Deep woods about 30.

The Roads hilly, miry full of

Creeks—Waters run to the left

To mending the Chair 2

<Sun.> 3. Expences at Stuarts 4

To a Guide 3

To Mr Jacksons Branch [?] 15

<Mon.> 4. to the hanging rock S. Carolina

road very bad 25 2 2

To Hill who assisted to fetch Chair 1 12

<Tues.> 5. To Suttons 20

15

To Ellerby bringing the Chair			7	7
To Camden	7	27		
lent Mr Will 3/4 Joe £2.14 Stlg				
<Thurs.> 7. Spent at Camden			5	17
mending chair wheel			5	12
a [illegible word]				7
Mr Thomas Lee Dr half a Joe				
ferriage over the Wat[e]ree ²⁴⁵			10	
To Wateree	1-1/2			
To Hunters	12	13	1	18
<Fri.> 8.		677		
To Litles	3			
		677 [forward]		15
Watsons _____	12	__1	__2	_____6
Roads good but some hills				
ferriage at Santee				
Mr Cordes ²⁴⁶	6		7	6
To Col Thompsons				
Cong[aree]	3	24		
<Sat.> 9. To				
Gimerley ²⁴⁷	9		7	6
good road				
To Serj Campbells ²⁴⁸	14			
come into the Congree road				
chiefly good				
To Bordels				
[Burdells]	7	30	1	2
<Sun.> 10. To				
Eutaw Springs	7			12
To Martins ²⁴⁹	14		1	2

²⁴⁵Wateree and Congaree are small towns between the Wateree and Congaree Rivers not far from their confluence where they form the Santee River. The town of Santee is several miles southeast on that river.

²⁴⁶Cordes ferry was on the Congaree River just above its confluence with the Wateree. *Map of S. C.* in Pruitt, *Rev. War Pensions*.

²⁴⁷Probably Gimberly as there were some of that surname living in this area.

²⁴⁸There were several Campbells living in this area at this time.

²⁴⁹Martin's tavern was owned by Peter R. Whitten (or Witten). It was near Eutaw Springs, and was also known as the Forty-five Mile House. Neuffer, *Names in S. C.*, *VIV*, no. 29; Orvin, *Hist. Berkeley County*, p. 108.

To Moncks Corner	14	35	1	15	
<Mon.> 11. To Mr Broughtons	6				
To Mr Davies's ²⁵⁰	8				
To Dorchester	8	22	1	12	
<Tues.> 12. To Parkers ferry	18			10	
To Mr Haynes	6				
To Ashepoo	<u>7</u>	<u>31</u>	2	17	6
		819			
		819 [forward]			
<Wed.13.> To Godfreys Savannah	10			5	
To Vanbibers ²⁵¹	14		1	2	6
Coosawhatchee	6			5	
Mrs Allison's	<u>9</u>	39			
To Middlesex	14				
To Savannah	<u>25</u>	<u>39</u>			
		897			

<Fri.> 15. Last Evening I arrivd Safe—found my Wife mending—

I humbly desire to bless God for all the mercies of the Journey—a safe arrival at home—and now my God prepare & fit me for the duties & trials of my Station. Give me prudence in all things & receive me at last, to dwell with thee forever.

[No Journal is extant for 1776 or for January-October 1777.]

<Sun.> 9. Nov. 1777. [Latin sentence]

adm [illegible word]—to Mr H G.

<Mon.> 10. with Mr Hill in the Evg to Mrs R

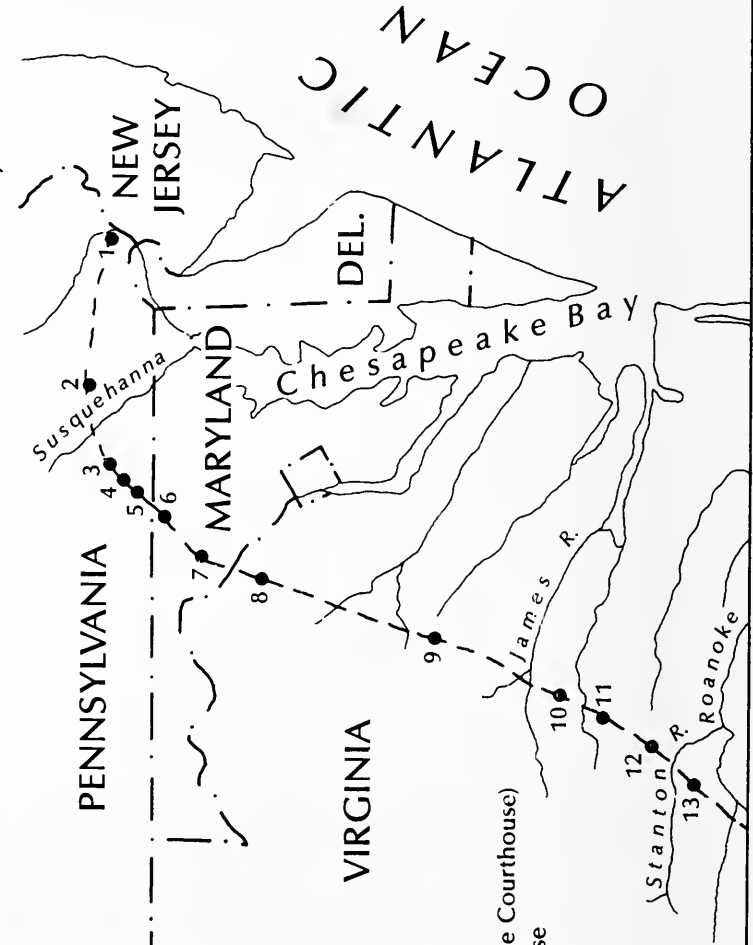
<Tues.> 11. crossd the ferry—saw A M. & the Committee meetg—informd A M. that I had no obj to the oath <etc.> & got in the Evg to Black swamp²⁵²

²⁵⁰Probably John Davies of St. James Goose Creek. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

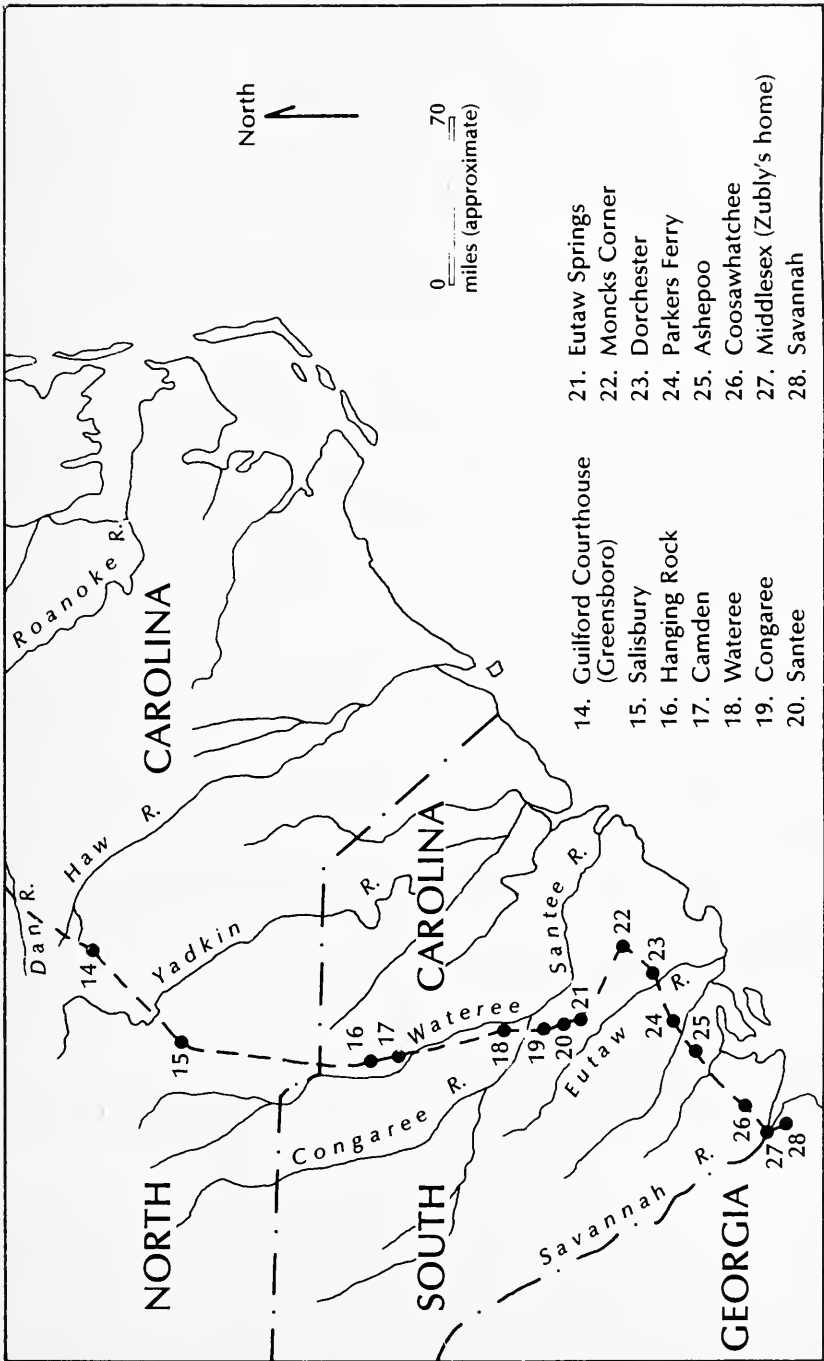
²⁵¹Vanbibbers was a tavern at Pocatoligo, operated by Jacob Vanbibber (Vanbebber) who was postmaster. "He keeps an excellent house," wrote Ebenezer Hazard. *SCH Mag.*, 73:189.

²⁵²Black Swamp was on the S. C. side of Savannah River above Ebenezer. Map in Pruitt, *Rev. War Pensions*.

ZUBLY'S JOURNEY, November 10—December 14, 1775



1. Philadelphia
2. Lancaster
3. York
4. Hanover
5. Littlestown
6. Taney Town
7. Frederick
8. Leesburg
9. Orange Courthouse
10. Georgetown (King George Courthouse)
11. Prince Edward Courthouse
12. Charlotte Courthouse
13. Halifax



<Sun.> 16. preachd to a very attentive h[ouse] Matt 16:26.
baptizd Elizabeth Wm Anne Stafford

Wm Jos [Jas ?] Elizab Daniel

Alfred [Children of ?]

Seth John [and] Sus Stafford

Ruth

Richd—[son of?] Richd [and] Mary field.

P.M. very indisposd.

Nov. 21. baptizd

Janvius—Winifrey Abn [Absolon ?] James Breler [?]

Mary Elizabeth Lewis Eliz Walter

23. preachd on Act 16:30

30. preachd agreeable to Request at Mr Lewis' meeting house
on 2 Cor 1:20.

& in the afternoon heard one Mr Reeves

Dec. 7. preachd at Mr Smith's Act 16:31. invited to preach
every other Lords day in a Meeting house in this neighbour-
hood built for the Use of any that preach the Gospels

baptized Gaston [Gorton ?]

John [children of?] Gaston [Gorton ?] [and] Eliz Bachler

Susanne Aquila Harriette milby

11. exceeding happy in the gracious assistance of God & in
attentive Auditors Heb 12:15

[German sentence]

may I but have opportunities to preach & a Blessg attend
my poor Endeavours

[Two Latin and/or German sentences]

20 negro children viz

David—Benjamin—Amelia—Isaac—Pat—Wm—Mary—

Gordon—John—Mary—Jane—John—Penelope—

Brown—Anne—Elizabeth—Mary—Jesse—Mary—Bussby

Resolutions, Dec. 14, 1777.

Should it please God to bring me back to Georgia from
whence I have unjustly been driven, I resolve to his Grace to
watch against every Notion of Revenge, & to Comitt all /as I do
my Return/ unto him that Judgeth righteously—tho I do not
mean to deny myself Justice, I would guard against Passion

Revenge & hatred; if restored to my Congregation I pray that I may be more diligent & more faithful especially toward Children

NB. To import Watt's different Catechism & have stated hours to inculcate them into the minds of young ones.

Dec. 16. To resolve from day to day to be upon my guard against all needless Prosecutions to cause sufferings & pray for those to whom I perhaps intended & believe might be Imaginary.

<Thurs.> 18 Dec. A Proclamation for a [corner of page torn off] Thanksgiving day having been issued [torn off] it was expected one to the same pur[port] would be published in this State.

preachd at meeting on <Psalms> 10:50 ult & find Govr. R. did not issue any

<Fri.> 19. baptizd Henry John Eliz Garvey

Thomas—Susanne—James—Isaac Eliz People

Henry—Catherine Thos Sarah Clark

Sarah Richd Anne Winn

Mary—Anne—Richd [children of ?] Richd [and]

Anne Dudley

Catherine Thos Ravenel [?] Govaby [?]

<Sun.> 21. preachd at Mr Smiths Tit 2:11

general meeting of the Baptists in the neighbourhood

<Thurs.> 25. Christmas day preachd at the meeting Luke 2:10-11.

baptizd Joseph Peter Anne Roberts

Harriette Abraham Hart Ravot

one of the Patrole observd that he would not swear to take no Protection even from the turk because no one' knows what may happen,

<Sun.> 28. [This entire page is in Latin.]

[Top corner of page torn off] [ba]d Weather preventing my preaching [in the mee]ting as I had promisd I was going to desire Mr S. Negroes to attend when one of them came & in behalf of the rest beggd a sermon—

I preachd to as attentive hearers as I could ever wish to have & who knows but that I may have been driven from Geor-

gia to be of some service to some poor Negroes in Black Swamp—preachd on Act 10:[blank] & fixd upon an hour to preach to them every Lords day

I bless God for the Mercies of my Banishment

<Mon.> 29. at the Request of Mr Dobbins went to Middlesex to bring his Wife & preachd a funeral sermon in the church <Psalms> 90:12. read also the funeral service over a stillborn child of J. Holzendorff²⁵³—

<Tues.> 30. baptizd Joseph—[son of?] Lewis Mary Winkler

<Wed.> 31. Dec 1777.

Thus I conclude a painful year of my Pilgrimage, in such Circumstances as God knows, & I will not comitt to Paper I desire to be thankful for Mercies without Number, & I trust I may number my Afflictions among my mercies.

I partly heard & know that word may be designed against me, but having obtaind help of God, I am continued & hope—forgive O my God the many & great sins of a whole Year, Enter not into Judgment for I cannot stand. Pardon all my sins my Dr Redeemer & in thy faithfulness & Mercy deliver me from all evils.

Thou knowest O my God that I would look upon a trial so[o]ner than Sickness or Death than to be deprivd of the Exercise of my ministry but in this also thy Will be done.

O thou who hast redeemd me from the Extremity of Woes, & thro the tribulations will conduct me to an Eternity of Bliss, blessed be thy name—why should I be discouragd & why should I fear what man can do unto me—I know not what awaits me, do thou but enable me to look to thee alone—to glorify thee in the fire & all is well.

Lord I wait for thy Salvation. Come quickly even so come Lord Jesus!

[Two sentences in German, set in verse form]

<Thurs.> 1. Jan 1778.

Thus thro the Mercy of God I begin another Year, had an opportunity to preach on <Psalms> 9:15-27—& I trust I had a Token for good in Gods gracious assistance & in such a frame of mind for which I ought to be highly thankful—

²⁵³There was a John Holzendorff at Ebenezer at this period. *Eben. Rec. Bk.*, p. 82.

I look backward & have reason to be ashamd & yet also to be thankful—

I think on the present & desire to be submissive & to look unto God who is my Salvation

I look forward & Lo 'tis a dark [illegible word] that [illegible word] is my father & will override all for good—

I look around me & find still a few friends & pray God to reward them & bless my Enemies & thus do good to those that have done me evil without Cause.

The Prospect of things is exceeding dark & it is sometimes darkest just before the break of day—

I look for a Kingdom which cannot be shaken—

I am separated from all mine & probably we may yet be more scattered—

Lord Jesus I lay all mine & thine at thy feet—Have Mercy on us especially on my dear Congregation

<Sun.> 4. preachd in the family Eph 5:16 & P.M to the Negroes Act 10: [blank] who seemd to hear the word gladly—

<Thurs.> 8. preachd at N. Johnstons²⁵⁴ Math 19:16. baptizd

Jane—Lily—Helena—Jacob—Amos—[children of ?] Nathan [and] Eliz Johnston

Ezekiel Jack [?] Martha Stafford

Thomas Joseph Sarah Garnett.

<Fri.> 9. Sent my tax List to Sav

18 Negroes

Lands including Plantations possessd by my son & son in

Law 2720 Acres

1350

the Brickhouse now usd as a Hospital

trust Lott & wharf contiguous to Mr Clay²⁵⁵ for Estate of J. W

Say 1250 Acres of Land

²⁵⁴Probably Nathan Johnston of Beaufort Dist. Warren, *S.C. Jury Lists*, p. 74.

²⁵⁵Joseph Clay (1741-1804), prominent Savannah merchant; named Deputy Paymaster in Ga. by the Continental Congress; delegate to the Continental Congress, 1778-1780; Treasurer of the state of Ga., 1782; one of the Trustees for establishing the University of Ga. *Colls. GHS*, VIII:7-11.

a Lott in the Village of St Gall²⁵⁶ unimprovd & £2000
at Interest

The above is as just & true Acct as at this distance I can
make out the Collector I suppose will excuse my not personally
attending to attest it

J. J Z

<Sun.> 11. a very bad day could only Speak at the family
<Psalms> 84:[blank]

18. interested to have heard Mr Lewis but some people
meeting here preachd on 2 Cor 7:29-30 in the Expectation of
hav a most immediate Call to put this desire into Practice.

21. DZ jun arrivd & his mother & he returned for Sav 21-22.
in Conseqce of Letters this day /24/ gave up now all thoughts
of returning & endeavrs to remove <etc.>

<Sun.> 25. preachd at Meeting 2 Pet 3:10 Br David arrivd

28. baptizd Jane [daughter of?] James [and] Jane Scott

[The next entry is dated Sunday Feby [blank] and is in Ger-
man, which is continued throughout the following page. The
first three lines of the page after that are in Latin.]

<Wed.> 28. Jany.

my Petition having been laid upon the table for 3 months
i.e. refused—I have now done all I could to preserve myself to
my Congregation & as it provd in vain mean now to remove
my family & /if permitted/ my moveables as far as I can—

I wd neither demean myself by my Stooping to Injustice
nor harbour Resentment agst those that so unjustly persecute
me—I wd think on Jas 1:12-13 & Pet 3:14 & wd neither cringe
nor provoke—I wd pray for mine Enemies rather than compl-
ain against them—

In my time I trust I have endeavord to Speak for God may
I now learn if he [illegible word], for his sake also to be silent—I
am not utterly friendless but my Soul wait thou only upon God
from him Cometh my Salvation.

preachd on Rom 8:25

Some talk about building a Meeting House it had been
proposd before now by Mr Smith which I strongly discouragd
as quite improper at present—

²⁵⁶St. Gall was a suburb on the west side of Savannah. The property was originally
owned by JJZ and he named it for his native village.

<Tues.> 3. went to Middlesex to confer with my Son on the Confirmation Bill.

<Wed.> 4. baptizd Elizabeth Anne Richd Mary Stevens

5. Elizabeth [daughter of] Lewis [and] Elizab Vaigneux met some Nward Gentn who informd me of many of my friends—

<Sun.> 8. the morning exceeding stormy did not expect any wd be at meeting—expounded in the family <Psalms> 27. I since learnd there was a full house & that Mr Scott preachd

<Fri.> 13. baptizd Sophia [illegible] Turquand

Catherine Melchior Sophia Humbert.

<Sun.> 15. preachd at Middlesex Job 22:21 & the people expressing themselves desirous promisd to preach from time to time.

<Wed.> 18. my wife arrivd, most of our things being moved I resign every wish of return to Ga look upon my Removal as a mercy greatly overballancing my troubles & hopes.

heard Mr D Marshall Ez 37:9. he prayd that God would prosper us in what was right & Cross [word torn off] assure us in what was contrary to his Will.

preachd at Mr Lewis' Request I <Thess> 5:3.

<Mon.> 23. Some Conversation with Mr Lewis, to whom I promisd to be a Subscriber & who invited me to preach at his meeting at Pipe Creek.

<Thurs.> 26. married Wm Mauier—Azenath May

<Sun.> March 1. preachd at Middlesex <Psalms> 73:28.

<Thurs.> 5. married Charles Fousche' Mary Eliz Jeaneret.

<Sun.> 8. heard Mr Lewis who prayd for the Suffg & persecuted [illegible word] & preachd on Job 6:11
preachd Luke 21:36.

I have read & Transcribed the Act in which I am declar'd [banished] & all my Estate confiscated without any other Emotion I trust but that of Pity & Contempt for the makers. It was long my publick prayer <Psalms> 7:11 & eer long God will awake save the oppressed & break the Arm of the wicked.

The worst I will wish to my worst Enemies is that by any means they may be brought to Repentance & if not reformd may be restraind.

baptizd Jane [daughter of] James [and] Jane Scott [repeat of entry for Jan. 28 above]

<Tues.> **March 17.** Many & exceeding great are thy Loving Kindnesses unto me O my God!

I bless thy name that some of my sorest & longest temptations decrease.

I trust I bear my Injuries with Composure & without a Desire of Revenge.

I have hope in God and shall see his Salvation meanwhile in silence & hope may my strength be!

as thou wilt dispose of me, what thou wilt be done, my father & God only direct my steps that I may not slide & receive me at last—

Even now I praise thee who are the Light of my Countenance & my God.

I trust I may be thankful for afflictions & why should I Complain when thro great mercy they are but light

<Fri.> **20.** hearing A.M had some orders about me I went to him when he shewd me a letter from Mr Colcock²⁵⁷ to administer the oath of State, the Commission being dated Dec. 15 and not arriving till March 6 he sent it back because the Govt was alterd. I told him I was ready but he sd he should do nothing on it. The Commissn it seems was directed to him & C Dupont.²⁵⁸

<Sun.> **22.** preachd at Middlesex John 14:27.

baptizd Joseph Lewis John Christian Raymond

David Lewis also Mary Keal

Mary John Jos Keal

Daniel Jeremy Lawrence Mary Coke

Thomas Wm Valery Gibbons

<Sun.> **29.** preachd at Pipe Creek Meeting on 2 Chron 16:9.

baptizd Margarette Basil Mary Cowper

<Fri.> **April 3.** Ice.

I am now going V.D. [Volante Deo] to Middlesex with a view to prepare some Lodge for a Habitation on what I still may call

²⁵⁷Unable to identify Mr. Colcock. There were too many of that surname.

²⁵⁸Cornelius Dupont, born in Purrysburg, d. 1800, rice planter in St. Peter's Parish. He held various positions in the parish, was a member of the 1st Provincial Congress in 1775; House of Representatives, 1778-1780; Senator, 1781-1784. Reynolds and Faunt, *Biog. Dir. Senate S. C.*, p. 210.

my own. Every Circumstance at present seems to render this prudent & necessary & if my God pleaseth it will also be safe. I feel myself quite resign'd & contented in the way of Duty to have no certain Dwelling place. abundantly satisfied with the Hopes of an everlasting house. Gracious God I adore thee who in Condescension to my great Weakness hast made my Banishment & trials very easy to me. I trust I may number them among the blessings of my Life. I had rather have no home than sit uppermost in the Congregation of the violent—I trust for the very men that now deprive me of every thing they can deprive me of I would now be willing to Spend & be Spent for the good of their Souls—& what is my [illegible word] to friends & foes.

qui dedit—ill novit.

Be it enough for me to be any where with a gracious God aut nil Colo aut in Colo—and to suffer & do any thing that Christ may be glorified in Life or in Death.

I have no reason to repine, thousands to be thankful. O my God pity the poor distracted Country that has driven me away <Psalms> 7:11 & soon make an End to our present Calamities as is most for thine own Glory & the eternal good of all that are thine own. Grant me opportunities to speak & enable me to be faithful.

I think I feel some beginnings of an Asthma which may be owing to that want of Exercise of my Breast & Lungs which for such a number of years has been my Work & Delight.

[Four sentences in German, set in verse form]

News of some Revolution at Sav & [corner of page torn off] to fall upon measures to repeal the Confiscation Act from which I expect all that can be expected from people who concurr'd or at least acquiesced in every Act of Villany & Injustice till they thought there might sooner be greater danger on that side of the question than any other

& that I view them in this light perhaps I might have taken more pains to conceal.

<Sun.> 5. preachd at Middlesex 2 Pet 3:14.

baptizd Philip [son of ?] Philip [and?] Eliz Martinangel

Jacob Mary Holbrook

Abraham Melchior Mary Vickers.

married John Meyerhoff Mary Winkler.

<Mon.> 6. begun to keep house again ourselves at Middlesex.

7. begun to build an Addition to the house with a Design to make the upper Story at Middlesex a temporary Home.

received the news of my house at Savannah being burnt down <Monday> night. the people with difficulty escaped in their Shirts—most people I've seen ascribe it to Design. I bless God that I was not in the House with my family that most of my things had before been moved [corner of page torn off] more left than lost, tho much is in the Power of my professd Enemies.

that I am enabled to submit with Composure tho I find trifling matters often affect me much more than greater—

that my wife also graciously supported & above all that I hope for a House not made with hands where the wicked cease from troubling & the weary are at rest.

I trust I set out with a Resolution to submit to any Loss & trouble so I may preserve Conscience.

In the midst of these varied trials my God has been most kind & gracious to me for ever blessed be his holy name.

<Thurs.> 9. buried Jacob Winkler & preachd Job 14:10.

<Fri.> 10. Drought terminates in blessed showers.

<Sat.> 11. preachd at Black Swamp meeting Luke 19:42.

From <Thursday> 16 April to <Saturday> May 9 at Middlesex.

April 19 preachd at Middlesex 1 Cor 11:[blank]

<Mon.> 20. waited on Col Garden²⁵⁹ & took the oath /of which I made a memdum/ observing that the case was very clearly stated in the Act mutually—Allegiance & Protection & at his Request promisd to preach in church on a fast day.

<Wed.> 22. preachd on <Psalms> 7:10-11 & tho I fancied some personal Prejudices around, yet I sincerely wish for a better Effect of my preaching.

²⁵⁹Benjamin Garden of Black Swamp. He was the son of the Rev. Alexander Garden, Commissary in the Revolution. He was Lt. Col. of a militia regt. of Granville County, S. C. He was captured at the fall of Charleston in 1780, taken prisoner and exchanged in 1781. He returned to the Beaufort District and was made Brig. Gen. of the 4th Militia Brigade. He was later Maj. Gen. of the 2nd Div. of Militia and a state senator. *SCH Mag.*, 11:55.

<Fri.> 24. Col G dined with me & caried it with great Candor & Politeness in giving me an opportunity to clear myself against very base Aspersion

<Sun.> 26. preachd again on Eph 6:13 & Mr Dillon from one of the violent opposers now professing Satisfaction & being chosen church warden offering me the church I preachd <Sunday> May 3. on Jer 17:7 Col G giving some hints about Prayer.

[May] 4. baptizd James Jones [?] Cath Brown

May 10. preachd at Black Swamp Luke 15:10.

May 17. Thro the great mercy of God my Preserver & Deliverer I am still alive & desire as I have abundant cause to be very thankful.

The last week I began a Course of Medecines but no medecine can reach my Case—To thee I look my father & God, in thee alone is my Salvation. I trust I wait & long for it—O may thy Grace dayly prepare me that Sin may be more and more mortified & what remains of life be spent in the service of my God.

Heard Mr Lewis on Math 25:46 & preachd Phil 3:20.

being Spoke to & Mr Lewis offering the place perhaps a door may open to celebrate the ordinance of the Lords Supper.

forgive me O my God all my follies & sins & Direct me in the Way in which I should go & bring me to an everlasting home—

Remember my Congregation in mercy & all theirs & mine for good.

May 20. went to Midlesex & broke in the Cheese in the Whey married young Benj Jefferson Sar Winband [Winburn ?]

24. preachd in the church a M. 1 Pet 3:13 P.M. 2 Tim 2:10

The men refusing to go to Ga Maj Bourquin²⁶⁰ requested I would take notice of it in my sermon so I observd that it was always bad to be at War, but best to keep it at the greatest distance, but I find the militia will not muster & only 34 turn out Volunteers.

²⁶⁰Probably David Francis Bourquin, born 1739 in Chatham County, Ga.; served in Pulaski's Legion in the Revolution. He was a son of Benedict Bourquin who emigrated from Switzerland to Purrysburg, ca. 1732 and later moved to Ga. D. F. Bourquin was a Justice of the Peace in Chatham County. Davis, *Some Hug. Families*; also *Supplement No. 3* (1940).

Every account from every where is distressing & the amazing Levity & Carelessness & Insensibility every where prevailing renders it still more so. how long O Lord how long

Arise & save all the needy & oppressed—

30. preachd at the funeral of Adrian Mayer²⁶¹ on Eccles 9:5. He died & gave no sign.

An Express passd with news from Congress which implies a further spreading of the flames of War. Quonsque Deo quonsque

[Five sentences in Latin]

31. a blessed rainy Day preventing the going abroad expounded at home <Psalms> 65:[blank]

[No diary entries between May 31 and December 31, 1778]

Dec 31. 1778.

Thus then I conclude another remarkable year of my Pilgrimage in Circumstances which demand my highest Gratitude & Praises.

In many respects happier in the End than in the beginning & in all respects under infinite obligations to the God of my Life.

I enjoy more health & have recovered some bodily Strength—

I am in my own & convenient Habitation

I never wanted one Meals Victuals & by my many troubles lost but one Nights Sleep.

I had opportunities to preach & tho I see no fruit am heard with attention

My Enemies have been amazingly restrained by an invisible Hand & tho I often spoke more than prudence /that looks more to safety/ would warrant I have been preservd.

The latter part of the year I have been enabled to follow my studies & have wrote several things for the Press.

I had many opportunities to return Good for evil & trust I have not misimprovd them

²⁶¹Adrian Mayer of Purrysburg. He was a member of the Granville and Colleton County regiments of militia and was a juror in St. Peter's Parish in 1767. Warren, *S. C. Jury Lists*, p. 84.

I tasted this day a singular pleasure—Ben Andrew²⁶² came—I asked him to breakfast I remembered how much God had forgiven me I recollected [11 or 12 German words] I took him in my chair /I could have taken him in my Bosom/ to fetch his sister but he does not seem to feel that he ever did me any wrong.

but this was a happy Business.

my wife enoyd more health than in former times—

I have a Grand child born me.

O that I might ever remember my many mercies & never think on my troubles but be thankful for them & the gracious help of my God.

Bless the Lord therefore O my Soul & forget not all his benefits.

Still I have Bread to eat & Raiment to put on

& my Conscience does not reproach me for the part I acted.

& I trust I chose affliction rather than sin.

In this year I had some few that avowd themselves my friends & I pray God ever to reward my Benefactor John Smith & bless him and all his.

Within these two days Georgia is chiefly in the Hand of the King²⁶³—this may also affect me

forgive O my God the Sins & Neglect of the past year.

especially my impatience & Inability.

Deliver me from all my sins make me not a Reproach of the foolish.

& at the End of Life receive my soul.

[No diary is extant between December 31, 1778 and May 8, 1779.]

<Sat.> **8. of May [1779]** I sat off from Midlesex to Savannah when nearly there Mr Bulloch informd that all the Kings troops were removing from Pb. to join the main army & that

²⁶²Benjamin Andrew (1730-1791), was born in Dorchester, S. C. and moved with others to Midway in Ga. in the 1750s. He was a member of the Ga. Council of Safety, 1776-1784; President of the Provincial Congress; member of the Continental Congress; member of the Ga. Executive Council, 1782; member of the Ga. House of Assembly from Richmond County, 1791. Northern, *Men of Mark*, 1:1-3.

²⁶³Savannah was captured by British forces on Dec. 29, 1778.

Capt Th--In had advisd him & every body to quitt for fear of the injustice & ill treatment from the Americans.

waited on Col Allen Commandant, who treated me very obligingly

<Sun.> 9. preachd [for] Mr Jenkins²⁶⁴ on 2 Tim 3:15. & preachd in the A[ssembly] house our own Meeting being too much out of repair on Deu 2:20-21. heavily & oppressd in mind tho to attentive hearers.

& all I can hear see & learn presents Views of distress & difficulty.

<Mon.> 10. & now my God do thee pity me—thou hast helpd me thus far that I canot sufficiently & abroad acclaim thy kind & gracious Providence—I throw myself upon thee—thou will not reject a poor Wretch desirous to know & to do thy will & to be useful in some shape to his fellow Creatures.

I resolve therefore thro the grace of God not to look to men of no Kind or party but to look to my God & my duty.

& this I apprehend to be my Duty

to prevent all the sins & evils I can much as I may & to promote the Restoration of Peace & order & Religion by my Discourses writings & every means in my Power.

Grant me thy help in this my gracious father suffer me not have any [illegible word] or take any false Steps or expose myself to Suffering new losses but grant me fortitude to look to thee alone.

Long ago I had fainted unless I had believd & now O Lord I believe help my unbelief & take Care of my family restore me to my Congregation & them to me & O forever blessed be thy Name for the hope of a heaven of eternal rest.

Teach me to do thy will thy spirit is good Lead me in the Land of uprightness.

<Tues.> 11. baptizd John [blank] Jane Griggs

& Moses Vollaton

Anne Mary Andrew Elizab Knowland

Catherine [blank] Wright

[blank] Galache

²⁶⁴Edward Jenkins (1744-died in England after 1819), Episcopal minister. He was rector at St. Bartholomew's Parish, Colleton County, 1772-1776 and at St. Michael's Church, Charleston, 1797-1817. He was elected Bishop of S. C. in 1804 but declined. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 81.

preachd in english 2 Cor 1:2 to a few attentive people
<Thurs.> 13. Ascension day.

O thou who art ascended on high Look on me & all thine here below—blessed be thy name that I may once more celebrate the day—

my soul is bowd down—there is none that enquireth after God & this is the worst of these worst times.

Thro thy Grace I am still willing to do or to suffer O may my last be my most useful days & my soul be with all thine & mine at last.

Once more I preachd at Acton to my dear People most of whom I trust heard the word gladly Joh 14:2-3

Looked at the ruins of my brick house Mrs Hopkins said she wd give me mine whenever she could get another & that she had a right to a house—I told her Every body had a right to his own house.

<Sun.> 30. May. very happy in preaching to attentive Hesi-ans Joh 3:[blank] & P.M. in Engl 1 Tim 2:1-2. thus I begin again! I would help to build the Walls of Jerus in troublesome times. The Prospect is exceeding allarming but I would look to God & run some risk in being faithful. teach me my God what I am to do—leave not a poor Creature to himself truly willing to know & do thy Will—Pity all mine & receive me at last.

<Sun.> 1. June. preachd at Mrs Gibbons²⁶⁵ <Psalms> 57:[blank]

baptizd Mary James Judith Campbell

4. baptizd Richd Robt Cath Laton

6. preachd at Acton Luke 16:29:ult P.M. Jer 8:13-14.

7. and 8. attempted to cross the River but found freset too high.

<Fri.> 11. this day I have taken Possession of a Place of my own & am now here waiting the Will of God, & wishing for Peace Safety & that all my family may be restord to our former Blessgs. Have Mercy on me & mine O Lord & on this whole Land & heal our Breaches O give Peace on our days & give it soon.

²⁶⁵Probably Mrs. Sarah Gibbons of Whitehall Plantation on Savannah River, widow of William Gibbons. Savh Writers' Proj. *Savh. River Plants.*, p. 319.

<Sat.> 12. I feel exceeding indisposd—have mercy on me my Lord & my God. May I be enabled tomorrow to go thro the Work of the day & meet with a day of thy blessing.

<Sun.> 13. preachd German Luke 14:[blank]

baptizd Margt—John—J'---—Agnes Armstrong Mr McLeod preachd P.M.

Letters from Midlesex—

<Fri.> [18] buried Mary Wilson [out of chronology]

<Mon.> 14. Distress on every side—no rest in sight & scant hope this side Eternity—yet every reason to be thankful that a rest remaineth & if not [3 illegible words] will endure forever. <Psalms> 42:11 [5 Latin words]

<Tues.> 15. [12 German sentences.]

<Sat.> 19. thus ends a distressing melancholy & tedious Week & in the end of it, in the midst of distress I will acknowledge that it is the Lords Mercy that I am not confined & that his Mercy has been new every Morning.

June 21. 79. J. [illegible] senr.

Agreeable to yr Desire you may go & live at the ferry whenever you please only taking care of my Property while you stay.

Pray take Special Care of my Books & Medecines which I suppose none else will Covet.

<Sun.> 20. preachd in the morning in german in our own meeting on Luke 10:1-10 but it being rainy & the house very Earthy P.M. engl in the Lutherans [church].

baptizd Anne—[daughter of?] Abraham [and] Anne Fulford

27. at Acton Luke 6:36—in our meeting Luke 17:13.

On Tuesday my family fled from the fear Violence of the Carolinians.

With difficulty I savd part of my things
my Library is now lost & there I am wounded in the tenderest parts.

the Hope of a Crop is gone at Midlesex
son & grandchild very unwell.

but my Wife is safely arrivd—flesh & heart fail.

the Expedition against S.C. appears to be given up

but orders from home establish the Civil Laws as a great Blessg.

Many have been my sins & follies O my God forgive them all
restrain & forgive my bitter unjust Enemies

be gracious unto my flock & family.

O may I be useful tomorrow & before I die

Prepare me dayly for that solemn moment & graciously
receive me at last.

& my soul shall praise thee forever.

Mr Glen²⁶⁶ tells me B A. [Benjamin Andrew] professes Re-
pentance for his sin in promoting the Confiscation Bill O that
God would give them all Repentance unto Life—

Wrote to my Br by Ben Bowen & expressd my hope of
seeing him at Middlesex the last of the month also wrote to Dr
Bard and my Dr Nancy by Dr Hudleston.

Direct O Lord my last steps, keep me from every sin folly
& mistake—I trust I am weand from the World may I be so
more & more & at last receivd unto Heaven.

<Sat.> [July] 17. Thus I conclude another Week of my
pilgrimage blessed be God for every step that brings me nearer
home.

This week I sensibly mended but at present am in no severe
pain. O that I might bear it & improve it better—

O that I may be enabled faithfully to preach tomorrow &
the pulpit ever be my seat of happiness

alas! for so many poor souls that scorn to hear—Pity them
O Lord.

<Sun.> 18. Last night restless & painful—yet I was enabled
to preach on Rom 5:1. & bless God that I came to Cht were it
only to preach that sermon.

a very painful afternoon & Evg—

Wrote to Mr Simpson & sent a Sermon <etc.>

Thus I am not laid aside altogether—perhaps what I pub-
lish may also be of some Use—

²⁶⁶Probably John Glen (d. 1799), lawyer, chairman of the Provincial Congress, 1775; member of the Council of Safety, 1775; Chief Justice of Ga., 1776; mayor of Savannah, 1797; judge of Superior Court, 1798. Northen, *Men of Mark*, 1:110-111.

Into thy hands I comitt my Spirit—I would be weand yet willing to stay, labour to my last Breath & then my dr Lord I ever fall down in thy Presence & praise thee forever.

<Fri.> 23. a painful Week preparing for home & yet sensible how far I shall be from home even when I reach my Habitation—Blessd be God for a house not made with hands—

In this tabernacle we groan <etc.> & when sin & folly is still alive—

Sent sevl things home—Blessed be God who provides for me that I can yet provide a little for my dr family

When shall I come & appear before God?

<Sat.> 24. Thus ends a Week of pain—a Week is gone but pain & sickss remains, be of good Courage O my soul eir long Pains will be gone forever & thy days of Bliss neither end nor be interrupted anymore—

Remember O Lord that I am but Dross — O that I may be enabled to deliver a faithful testimony tomorrow & O not in Vain—

May my son soon & safely arrive & I be guided & preservd in my Return—

O my God forgive all my sins & follies—

In Mercy receive me at last—

<Sun.> 25. I will bless the Lord from day to day—
this was a Day of Pain but had yet a happy hour in the pulpit Luke 19:41-42.

I desire to be exceeding thankful—perhaps some of my hearers also may find Cause for it—

I looked in vain for my son may he come soon & safe

[No diary is extant between July 25, 1779 and March 14, 1780.]

<Tues.> 14. [March 1780] Complained to Col Porbeck²⁶⁷ that the hessians damagd my house on which he promised they should be turned out.

<Wed.> 15. they movd but not without carying off boards <etc.> belonging to the house—

²⁶⁷Lt. Col. von Porbeck, Hessian officer. He was field officer of the day on the right flank during the attack on Savannah on Oct. 9, 1779, by American and French forces. Lawrence, *Storm Over Savh*, p. 92.

<Thurs.> 16. Maj Endeman²⁶⁸ looked at it & wishd to live in it—offerd to help to repair, to which I readily consented—

<Fri.> 17. The Maj sent his Cart & horse with a Man to fetch Stuff from the house I sent Cyrus & a horse with them & they brought a Load—

wrote the Maj as in Copy book

March [blank] sett at Work to stop up Garrett Cupola & front & w of 2d story.

a second Talk with Capt Moore²⁶⁹ who said if I repaired no body would be billeted upon me—that it lay with the Civil Power—& was very Civil & liberal in thinking me hardly up.

<Tues.> **April 4.** Maj Barnard²⁷⁰ rode to the house & lookd in it but passd without speaking to me.

Cht. Nov 1780.

[This entire page is in German. It begins with the date, Sunday, 19. The next date is 21, followed by symbols for Saturday and Sunday.]

<Sun.> **26. a.m.** [4 Latin words]

Still O Lord thy loving kindness is better than Life. I am sensibly better in my Body than at my arrival on <Sunday> last & this day fortnight the Symptoms of Death seemd the more prevailing. Bless the Lord my soul.

a Silent Sabbath! O the rich undeservd Mercy of God that my silent Sabbath bear so real a proportion among those I have been indulgd with—too—too many of which I have misimprovd. truly I ever was most unworthy to *Speak* for God.

This has been the longest Interruption, at a Time when there is the greatest Call to preach, & so very few to be faithful, at a time when men generally harden their hearts & there are few or none to call & witness & thus I am silenced—God thy way is holy! O for a perfect Composure & Resignation to thy holy Will.

²⁶⁸Maj. Endeman was a Hessian officer at Savannah.

²⁶⁹Capt. Thomas William Moore, Barrack Master at Savannah. *Roy. Ga. Gazette*, 1/3 1782, p. 2, col. 2. Ford, *Brit. Officers Serv. in Amer.*, p. 131. In a copy of one of JJZ's letters in the Appendix the name is spelled Moon.

²⁷⁰John Barnard, 3rd son of Col. John Barnard, Major in the Revolution; member of the Provincial Congress in 1775. He was captured by the British and later exchanged. He settled on Wilmington Island near Savannah. Burt, *Barnard*, pp. 21-23.

Let my Soul live that I may praise thee! Endurd another stroke given to the Wretches that delight in War ought to excite our Gratitude & Hope—Than that in [illegible word] & War Let the Wickedness of the wicked come to an End—

baptizd Mary James Martha Wiggins—

Teach me O Lord the Continual Practice of looking continually into thee & unto thee alone—

<Thurs.> 30. To others & myself especially the Dr I appeared mending—in Hopes soon to preach—yesterday & today very low—I have no doubt of a Special providence bringg me to this place—God knows his Designs—I know I ought to be faithful—

the P.M. Exceeding weak & low!

The first a Brisk day Come & Come quickly dearest Lord Jesus!

<Sat.> 2. Dec. In Lecto.

Thus ends another Week, I am alive surrounded with Mercies, in Pain & Sickness yea I trust Sickness itself is my Mercy

I will not groan “Lord how long?[]” but bless God who forgiveth all my sins & healeth all my Diseases.

I have little Prospect of Health work or usefulness Gods ways are in the deep, but I cannot help lookg on my being here as singularly providential.

<Sat.> 24. a day of Mercies. Bless the Lord O my soul! I preachd Prov 1:32-33. & trust it will not be altogether in vain—few desire to hear—& of my old friends next to none—O the Blindness & Infatuation of a Sullen hardend People—

My bodily health has been rather better but truly I am exceeding weak—I wish to live to be useful. perhaps I might be more so by suffering than by activity—

I wish not for the Vigor of Youth—but Let not the Lord be angry with the Request that as my day is such may my strength be also—[3 or 4 words in Latin] Into thy hands I comitt my Spirit Abba father thy will be done

<Sun.> 25. a silent Christmas to me & much do I feel my Weakness & Disorder.

[12 sentences in German]

<Fri.> 29. most of this Week I spent in Bed & in pain, but feel a litle lively this Evg—& yet I have nothing but mercies to

record—My God indeed made my Bed in my Sickness his Lovg Kindness is better that health or Life & yet he is also the health of my Countenance & my God. Bless the Lord O my soul—

I trust even now that I am not altogether useless with my Pen, & hope & pray that I may be made an Instrument of good in the Pulpit—my Return—my Life—my Death—my sickness or health my family & Congregation I comend with friend & foe into thy hand

Let me praise thee in Sickss—Let me praise thee forever—

<Sun.> 31. Dec 1780.

This last day of the Year has provd a blessed day to me, & thus I conclude a Year of Sickness & Affliction, absent from my family & very low in Body with the voice of Joy & thanksgiving—I trust the last day of my Life will be still happier.

I have been enabled to preach Thren [Threnody; i.e., Lamentations] 3:22 with great freedom, & have been heard with singular attentn. I bless God who brought me to this place were it only thus to bear my Testimony, & pray it may prove a foreruner of Death unto Death to none.

It is amazg to myself that after so many Vicissitudes I should conclude the year in Cht & with a testimony necessary for the times—Surely the Hand of God is in all this! & tho I canot see his Design nor would presume to think he has any thing great to do by poor me, yet I am the only Dissenter with a legal Capacity to preach, & who did or would Speak out upon that occasion—[4 Latin words]—Our own people universally shun me & my preaching yet they canot hinder me to pray for them O Lord recover those that are fallen—gone astray & hardend. Pity the ignorant that are out of the way & let thy Salvation be near them that fear thee

I have also been enabled to visit a man under Concern for his soul, a rare spectacle—Lord heal him

and thus a Year that seemd so likely to conclude my Life, concludes, & with Symptoms of Recovery. I dread the thought of returning to the busy scenes of Life & perhaps to long Sickness & Pain at last—forgive O Lord my Infirmity. I trust undr the Hope of Prospect of being yet useful, every disagreeable Prospect vanisheth, thus the Close of the Year nothg but Hope & mercies & trust remain.

1781

Jany 1. Mane [In the morning]

Thy years O Lord have no End with me this day another Year begins I begin it after a comfortable nights rest, with an abating disordr some flow of animal Spirits & I trust with an humble chearful Dependence on the God whose my Breath is in & in whose Hands are all my Ways.

The view of Death centers every object in one—I shall be forever with the Lord

The prospect of the Life presents various new of trials Hopes fears duties temptations, perhaps long Pain & Sickness at last—

I begin the Year I hope desirous to be useful in active Life, & happy had I that prospect; but to be confind to Languishing & to glorify God by Patience in Suffergs, like my late dr Br Osgood²⁷¹ alas! Lord have mercy on me a Sinner

My father thy Will be done! & O deliver me from every thought, keep me from every word & action Contrary to thy good & perfect Will

<Thurs.> 4. waited on the Comandt at his Request—he proposd from Ld. C. [Lord Cornwallis?] that I shd come to Cht take charge of Scotch Churches, & superintend with a handsome Salary—

Salary & Engagt I found no difficulty to decline [2 illegible words] & Spendg part of my time for God (my King[]) & this poor place & my deluded friends any where, where I may be useful!

In my prest low state litle can I do yet has my Coming to this place so far contributed to my Recovery that I have been able to make attempts from the pulpit & from the Press.

Lord whose my Breath is & in whose hands are all my ways—shew me thy ways—Let me not mistake—with a full purpose of mind may I cleave to & follow after thee.

I thank thee Lord in the deepest Humility for any pro-

²⁷¹John Osgood, Congregationalist minister, was born in Dorchester, S. C. He was ordained there in 1736, and preached there, 1735-1752. He was with the group that left Dorchester and settled at Midway, Ga. in 1752, where he preached until his death in 1773. JJZ preached the funeral sermon: "*The Faithful Minister's Course is Finished.*" Weis, *Col. clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 86.

videntl appearance designing me for further Use—God forbid
 God forbid that I should hesitate for a moment to do or to
 suffer what may come in the way of my duty.

O to be patient, & faithful—O give me to hope & to wait—all
 my Desires are known to thee O direct them all in the right
 Way—

Last night when I prayd the Gospel might be restord to this
 place—me thought the ansr was “the people do not want it”—
 Thou that hast receivd gifts for the rebellious O create a willing
 People by thine almighty Power.

I will not fix my hope of departing nor of preaching—Thy
 will be done!

O deliver me from thoughts that are worse than Disease.

Take Care of my dr family at home & where they are scat-
 terd—

Let me be a Witness for thee in Life & Death & graciously
 receive me at last.

<Fri.> 5. Last Sabbath after 2 violent days of my disorder
 (to which the Inclemency of the Weather perhaps contributed)
 I appeard to myself nearly dying—O the Solemn Word even
 undr every [illegible word] Circumstance—a Calm night how-
 ever succeeded & the next day tho still in pain &c yet the [page
 ends abruptly]

<Sun.> 7. the Weather not permitting my going out ex-
 poundd at home 1 Pet 3:[blank] with methinks a sensible In-
 crease of bodily Strength—

I wish this day may not open a new trial of a very distressing
 kind,

I would not look to foe nor friend
 but friend & foe to thee commend
 Have mercy on them both.

O that Nothing, nothing may move me from duty & that at
 last I may finish my Course with Joy.

In weakness pain & Grief—my soul wait thou only upon
 God.

<Tues.> 9. Letters from home importg J. T. killd but wait-
 ing on the Commandt there is room to hope it is a false Re-
 port—he has rather pleasg acctts.

Dr G. begins a new Course with me this day—Pain & weak-

ness notwithstanding I gather flesh & strength—the Prospect of returning back is far from sweet

O my God keep me from flagging in the last Stage of my Pilgrimage or shrinking away from any place or duty.

at Mr Tts [Tennents] they have that an american & british Genl are gone hence to make peace actg [illegible word]—Ephraim feedeth upon Wind—[Hosea 12:1]

I bless God for his Mercy to my family in my absence & especially for the Blessg of havg a Son who is a support to it—& I trust truly religious—

My Continuance here since <Sunday> last has assumd another Complexion May I learn to behave properly in any trials that may still be behind & come from unexpected probably undesigning Quarters—Bless my friends & foes, keep or turn them from ways of sorrow & lead me in the Way everlasting.

<Fri.> 12. another day past—Blessed be God that these days of trouble pass away. O that they might be abridgd also.

My Body rather mends—my mind suffers instead of wishg to fix I am rather tempted Jerem 9:2. My situation is not easy because it gives Uneasiness,—O the blessg of having quiet & eating one's own Bread—

what Rancour what hardness what Bitterness do I see prevailing—

Sent Letters to my family by Mr Miller & Tunno²⁷²—reduced the terms of printg my thanksgivg sermon²⁷³ in writg—upon large Paper—type such that a sheet may contain it—200 copies to be printed in a fortnight.

visited Mr Perroneau, & saw a new proof of the necessity of [3 Latin words]—O the Bitterness of the times!

<Sat.> 13. another Week is gone—difficulties of the beging of it are not diminishd—

Blessed be God for the hope of eternal Rest, the sweeter because I see no prospect of any short of it—

²⁷²Probably Adam Tunno who had a coffee house on Tradd St. in Savannah. Neuffer, *Names in S. C.*, XXVII:21.

²⁷³This sermon was probably never published. It is not listed in any of the JJZ bibliographies.

O that I may be enabled faithfully to preach tomorrow & not in vain.

<Sun.> 14. much indisposd in the morning & Evg had a happy Intervall to preach 1 Tim 2:1-2 & I trust not altogether in vain

<Mon.> 15. a busy & partly painful day—wrote an Addss to N.C. may it prevent some mischief & do some good.

baptizd Wm Jacob [children of?] Jacob [and] Elizab Thomas

<Tues.> 18. [16] after a severe Evening enjoyd a quiet Night & moderate day—I bless God that I heard from my family—but concerned that my Br is a Prisoner—may he soon be releasd & be at his intended station to our mutual Benefit.

<Wed.> 17. visited Revd Mr Smith—

<Sat.> 20. Thus another Week of Life is gone, the God of my Life be praisd. my disorder is rather abated & my strength increasd but I seem almost a Stranger to the Idea of health & to the Wish of Life—the Will of God be done! May this be my sole sincere & hearty Prayer—This Week publishd an Address to N.C. may it not be altogether to no purpose—

<Sun.> 21. Thro the great Mercy of God I preachd tho in much Weakss on Eph 5:15. how few alas to hear! & scarce any of those who formerly delighted to hear.

Thy Judgts O Lord are a broad & [illegible word] in the Infatuation of those we hope are thine own—arise in mercy & visit us with thy Salvation

by a genl Permission of the Comandt to marry anyone I should think proper maried Joseph Hutson Anne McAuley

<Mon.> 22. wrote to Mrs Gibbons & DZ by Prior—a very stormy afternoon & my Disorder tolerable—troops saild for Capefear yesterday—

<Tues.> 23. walkd as far as the Bay & found myself stronger—wrote DZ by Wallace

<Wed.> 24. more indisposd & yet not losing strength—The gracious Will of God be done—May I be useful while I live & live to be useful—

Mr Smith chooses to have his Bond paid in Contl Dollars which I am therefore to get.

<Thurs.> 25. visited Mrs H Perroneau & Mrs Cooper. my strength rather increases—I am alive but not lively & yet in my

very low Estate Blessed be God I speak & warn—preach & write & print I hope not altogether to no purpose—

[7 or 8 words in German]

agreed at last with Bruce²⁷⁴ he is to print 18 Quires of my thanksgiving sermon for £8—money I can ill spare & yet wish & rejoice to leave some monument of deliv[eran]ce & Gratitude

my Return home cannot but at times occupy my thoughts—I am not fit to go nor can I continue here—In this also a gracious God will direct—when shall I be restored to mine & when shall I appear before God—

O my father all my days have been days of Mercy—May what remains be Days of gratitude, & I at last dwell with thee forever.

I am very weak—& literally poor & in such want but I have enough—Bless the Lord O my soul!

<Fri.> 26. my Disorder gains upon me afresh—O for humble submissive Patience to the Will of God—I wait for thy Salvation Lord with strong Desires I wait—

O when shall I come & appear before God—Every news that threatens to prolong the War affects me & I fear the temp of the People. I am afraid Peace is not so near.

Mrs Scott much prejudiced spoke to me. I thought I could discover the Remains of former Christian friendship—

I pray for Mercy & for myself & all my friends & foes—

Lord how long? Shall I ever get home again, & when to my true & eternal home—my soul hopes stays in God—I shall yet praise him.

<Sat.> 27. Blessd be God for the Mercies of another Week—tho every loss & disaster we meet with in War deeply affects me—

Private troubles are continuing to increase—my son John a Prisoner, probably a fugitive, my Brother a Prisoner with his whole family in the hands of the enemy.

Have Mercy on them O Lord, preserve them & restore them—

O may I be able to be faithful & reach at last my eternal Sabbath.

²⁷⁴George Bruce, native of Scotland, a printer in Charleston. Thomas, *Hist. of Print. in Amer.*, pp. 570-571.

<Sun> 28. Thro the great Mercy of God after rather a painful night, found myself strengthend this day & preachd on Eph 5:17. It is a melancholy that there are so few to hear so many that scorn the Gospel—yet I bless God for the attention of those that did hear & that the number does not decrease—my bodily strength returns O may I become more faithful & useful than ever!

married John Courtney Mary Taylor.

<Thurs.> 1. Feb. Some painful days—my disorder increasing—yet will I wait on thee my Lord & my God —when shall I be deliverd from this body of Death.

wrote home by Quaro—to Dr Bard & A Bacot²⁷⁵ & Jno Simpson Esq.

<Fri.> 2. somewhat better—visited a Person under Concern for his soul—& Mr Hinds²⁷⁶ who Kindly offerd me the Use of his Chair & horse

<Sat.> 3. a sore night—took a puke which did not work kindly—

forgive me O Lord & heal me—may I be enabled faithfully to preach tomorrow

<Sun.> 4. preachd on <Psalms> 73:25-26. blessed be God for his kind assistance—some negroes seen affected—the poor have the Gospel preachd unto them while haughty siners refuse to hear—

I am to try to rest without Laud[anum] but dread the Experiment.

<Mon.> 5. The first & last part of last night I had good natural Rest & a most painful in between—this afternoon I am in an agony—O merciful God thy will [5 or 6 German words] Abba father thy Will be Done!

<Tues.> 6. Last night took again Laud which composd my Pain (17 drops in the Evg & 2 at midnight) kept awake by pleasing thoughts—but had some rest & more hope—I desire to resign myself continually into the hands of my gracious heavenly father—I begin to think much of home—but when or

²⁷⁵A. Bacot was a merchant in Charleston with Dewar & Bacot, dry goods, coffee, tea, rum.

²⁷⁶Possibly the Rev. John Hinde, Episcopal minister, rector of Christ Church Parish., Charleston. *SCH Mag.*, 21106; Weis, *Col. Clergy Mid. and Sou. Cols.*, p. 120.

how I know not—In Gods good time I may reach home, & bless the Lord O my soul at last I shall reach the true home & be forever with the Lord.

<Wed.> 7. enjoyed natural rest, & a tolerable day blessed be God—I think of home—Lord direct me in all things—heard from my family whom I thankfully comend to they further Protection

<Thurs.> 8. A restless night & chiefly a painful day—exceedg weak & exhausted I wait O Lord for thy Salvation—wrote home to go by Prior.

<Fri.> [9] a day of ease. May the Night be like it—paid off Mr Smiths Bond at their own Desire in Contl Dolls—I had offerd to pay in hard money at 100 for one—but bought at £10 for one

<Sat.> 10. a moderate day after the natural nights rest—surprizd with a Lettr from the Cdt & the Prest of the C[ouncil ?] (truly unexpected)

I felt much lower in my sight after I receivd it—but thought on Bgs kindly in a more serious Case “I accept this form of Providence.”

I am glad to give an opinion on a certain Petition. Lord Jesus Look on me in Mercy—O that I may be enabled to be faithful & useful tomorrow—& blessed be God who careth for me—

<Sun.> 11. Laud only kept me quiet.

The Weather unfavourable Spoke to the family on Heb 12:1-4. I always look upon it as a frown when I cannot go out but perhaps the day was not lost—

<Tues.> 13. partly a very sore night—& not without much pain this day—

My sermon came out of the Press, may it answer some good End.

Maried Robert Smith Janett Royal

<Wed.> 14. heard that the Char[acter] JZ [John Zubly ?] publicly gave of me was—the best divine, best politician & the greatest mortal in the Country—

<Thurs.> 15. begun some discreet preparation for my Return which yet cannot be soon & in my Inclination will be by Land—

Letters from home—Mr Cowper²⁷⁷ came by and met no Enemy but allarmd—

wrote to Dr Bard & sent him my sermon—

visitd Mrs Hart, rara Avis, a very thoughtful prudent Woman—She sd Mr Hart fared out with his Bible under his Arm, & said he never bore any other Arms.

<Fri.> 16. Last Night my Disordr very sever[e] I must have again recourse to Anodyne tho the day was so favorable that I dind at Mr Hinds—

<Sat.> 17. By the help of Laud rest at Night & a pretty good day—

Thus another Week quickly gone—& blessed be God I am the nearer home—

I hope een now all my time is not lost—O may God be with me tomorrow enable me to be faithful & seal it with his Blessg—When will my Sabbath come?

married Serj Malcolm Heard—[illegible] McGuire

<Sun.> 18. a moderate Dose of Laud gave me rest—preachd on <Psalms> 27:ult—

intolerable day as to my Disordr I hope not altogether a useless one in other respects—wrote to Revd Mr Hart to go with the flag.

<Mon.> 19. buried in the Baptist Yard Dr Milligan²⁷⁸ Thus I who have so long been on the Borders of the Grave bury others

<Wed.> 21. Last Night I seemd dying & wishd to die in the Presence of my absent family. I feel somewhat better, but had a poor day. The Will of God be done, but methinks it would be a Mercy if I could close my Eyes among my own—yet I trust I feel no Reluctance to die when & where God pleaseth. May I but dayly be fitted for my Change. I see litle Prospect of my Return, but I resign myself & this & all my concerns into thy hands gracious heavenly father—Guide me & mine & receive us at last.

²⁷⁷Probably Basil Cowper, merchant, who came to Ga. ca. 1768. He was with the firm Cowper & Telfairs, 1769-1775, and in 1779 with John Graham in London. He was a member of the Ga. House of Assembly in 1780, and as a Loyalist he was banished from Ga. in 1782. *Col. Recs. Ga.*, X:406, 407, 919; XII:441ff; XV:610; *Rev. Recs. Ga.*, I:374.

²⁷⁸Possibly Dr. John Milligan. *SCH Mag.*, XIX:142.

<Fri.> 23. mending—but no idea of health—nor wish of long Continuance—O that I may but be enabled to do & suffer all that remains—

Wrote to Mr Knox²⁷⁹ per Copy—with Gazette & sermon to go with the [illegible word] also sent a sermon to Baldwin & a Lettr to [illegible word]

<Sat.> 24.] To Messrs Battier & Tomlin
 Secy of Soc for promotg religious
 Know[ledge]²⁸⁰
 Krafft with Letters to [illegible names]

Letters from home.

<Sun.> 25. Thro the Mercy of God preachd on 2 Cor 5:14—baptizd James Williams Alexr Anne Davidson

Letters from home inform me of the Illness of my wife I hope it is not dangerous unto Death May God in Mercy spare & heal her & receive us both in his good time—I am very low & weak, but the Lord is the strength of my Life—Abba father thy will be done—I pray I may be all Submission—

<Wed.> 28. Wrote to my dr Wife & Son by Mr Clarke & sent a pair of Stands & 5 padLocks—

Last Night I slept well without any Anodyne, but this was a painful day—O thou God of my Life thy Will be done—purge me that I may bring more fruit or take me home to sin no more & be with thee forever—direct all my Steps & let me constantly look unto thee alone—O be gracious unto all mine—may they be all thine & we meet & abide before thee forever

<Thurs> 1 March. The afternoon very painful—I long to be with my family & yet can only expect new affliction if my dr Wife should not be relievd—& in this World it seems I have nothg to expect but change of trials—The Will of God be done—

Last Night notwithstandg Laud quite restless. May this be more comfortable.

²⁷⁹Probably William Knox, Presbyterian minister, who came from Ireland to S. C. and preached in Indian Town, 1767, Black Mingo, 1768-1800 and Salem Church, Black River, ca. 1768. Weis, *Col. Clerg. Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 82.

²⁸⁰This was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The GHS has a copy of the *Account of the SPCK for 1748*. On p. 10 it lists the Rev. Thomas Broughton and the Rev. William Watts as Joint Secretaries.

Lord make me to [be] willg to suffer & to work & O Deliver me from what is worse than Death

I comend all mine to thee—Abba my father I am sick, low, in great pain. Thy Will be done!

<Sat.> 3. Last Night the Laud taking no effect thoughts much affected me, & the situation of my dr Wife & family left me no rest—Why art thou disquieted O my soul? a Letter from my son mentioning nothg about his mother gives room to hope—also that my Br is recoverd & J. T.

The Comandt sent for me & shewed me good News from Ld Cornwallis whose advance is very rapid & hopeful—

Thus another Week is gone, loaded with Mercies & fatherly Corrections—O my Lord & my God—Let thy holy good & perfect Will ever be done—Deliver us from evil & deliver me from the temptations worse than Pangs of <Sunday> tho not displeasg to corrupted Nature

May I be enabled to preach faithfully & successfully tomorrow, meet my own Congregation in due time with renewed strength & hope & at last be for ever with the Lord—

<Sun.> 4. Blessed be God, 20 drops of Laud gave me a comfortable night

preachd 2 Cor 6:14. There was some Expectation from last Sundays sermon that some of my old friends wd attend, but they hold out to a man and almost to a Woman—My soul is grievd for them—they love Rebellion more than the Gospel—Pity them O Lord, hedge up their Way to shame & bring them back <etc.>

baptizd Maryann [blank]—[blank] Johnston—

My thoughts & my Desires bend homewards—O that thou will direct all my steps. Give me to be faithful to friend & foe submissive to thy Will in all things & let me dwell with thee for ever. All mine I comend unto thee.

<Mon.> 5. Tho the night was pleasant & day better than tolerable yet Pain & groans are my dayly Companions—I think much of home but see litle Prospect of my Return, at the same time that I cannot help straing upon the goodness of my friend—

I know my prospects at home too, should my dr Wife continue sickly—

Abba father thy Will be done—O let me learn that Lesson properly & all is well—

<Wed.> 7. a weakly day after a Sleepless night tho I took 18 drops of Laud.

Letters from my dr family—to rejoice & to grieve but above all to hope & to pray—Look on me in mercy & receive me at last—& let thy Mercy rest on all mine.

Mr Edmonds declard “he would take the oath but that the matter passd between Dr R & me as I related he would sign before Witsses—he was to see me again on <Monday> next but appears so extremely restless in my Company that I shall save him the trouble—

<Thurs.> 8. preparing gradually for my Return—Direct O Lord all my steps & guide me & defend me in thy Ways—O when shall I reach home?

<Sat.> 10. Thus I conclude another Week alive but in pain & Infirmary—my father thy Will be done!

May I not be permitted to long for home & more for heaven—when thou will as thou will what thou wilt—

O that I may be able tomorrow to preach the Gospel of Peace—Lord who is sufft & who Less than I? Pity poor souls & let thy word come with Life & Power—O that I might be of some Use in this place & before I die & my gracious father forgive thy poor Child & receive me at last—& if it be thy pleasure soon—Amen!

<Sun.> 11. March. a day of Mercy—when I enterd the Meeting I almost fainted & so again when I came out the Pulpit, but in preaching I was graciously assisted—O my God by these things may I live—2 Cor 5:20. I doubt not but to some the Word of Reconciliation has been a Blessg—Would to God the nonattendance of so many arose only from Prejudice to the Preacher—arise O Lord & visit us in Mercy—

married Alexr Mcpherson Catherine Mcpherson

<Mon.> 12. Waited on Comandt who so kindly promisid if he could not furnish me with a good Waggon to send me home in a good Boat & let me know in a few days.

This most important Business I pray my God to direct—keep me here or bring me home so I may but at last safe get to Heaven—O may all my Desires center there!

Baptizd Robt Agnes—[children of?] James [and] Mary Jervey [?]

<Tues.> 13. wrote to DZ by McIntosh with Hewats²⁸¹ [illegible]

<Thurs.> 15. an easy day after a good Night /24 drops L./ but not free from pain, which has now long been my Companion—

forgive O my God all my Infirmities Impatience Sin & follies—

Direct my Steps & in thine own time bring me safe to mine & to heaven at last—

<Mon.> 26. The pleasg News of a great Defeat given the Rebels by Ld Cornwallis²⁸²—since nothg will do with an unhappy deluded obstinate People but shedding of Blood may the last Blood be shed soon! & Peace & tranquility once more be restord—

By the safe arrival of my dr Son I also have the Prospect of returning soon home—Blessed be God that he came in Safety. May I next visit my Habitation in Peace & at last enter into that rest which remaineth for the People of God—

<Wed.> 28. happy to find that the Cariage orderd for me by the Comandt is just ready—

a severe storm of Wind this Evening which I fear has done Damage—

Look on me Lord in my low Estate. I am poor & needy to thou take Care of me—

31. March.

another Week concludes, in which my Mercies have been very many, & my health rather increasd—

Took my leave of the Comandt who treated me very kindly indeed & provides for my Journey & requested my Return.

In all things may the Will of God be done!

[7 Latin words]

O that I may be enabled tomorrow to preach with Life & power & with a lasting Blessing!

²⁸¹Probably Andrew Hewat. There are many references to him in the index to the *Georgia Gazette*, 1774-1783.

²⁸²Probably the defeat of Gen. Nathanael Greene at Guilford Courthouse, N. C., March 15, 1781.

I have not promis'd to return till the heat is over, & if then required & this large thoughtless hardened place destitue of the Gospel I canot see how I can refuse it—

Interim aliquid fit [?]²⁸³—I resign myself into the hands of God—

<Sun.> **1 April P.M.**

What shall I render to the Lord?

Tho weak in the morning & in great Pain this afternoon I preachd on Luke 21:36 to an attentive Congregation & thus Contrary to all appearances I have been enabled to bear a testimony for God in Chtn—alas in poor Charlestown!

O that it may not be lost altogether—

forgive O Lord if my Imprudence has been an obstacle to any—

I trust it was my sincere Aim to do every one any kindness in my Power—

<Mon.> **2. Aprillis**—In the Name of God set out on my Return. a cool morning—delays & the Cariage not as it should be one of the horses tired before we reachd the Quarterhouse so am obligd to stay here—the Waggon masters passing by prevented further trouble, & perhaps the horses now furnishd, at a slow rate may do—

May I learn in all things to look only unto God—In my going to Cht. several cross things seemingly provd no disadvantage in the End—May I learn to trust God at home—abroad in my Journey—in Life & Death—My father Guide me & let me follow hard after thee & at last receive me to Glory—

<Tues.> **3.** At Stono heard much about plunderers—that they had been at Middlesex & many places.

The Lords whose my breath is are also all my Ways, he preservd my outgoing & I trust will also my Return reachd the 13 mile house, as much as the horses wd well do.

<Wed.> **4.** In 4 hours came to Jacksonborough²⁸³—May this slow travelling but be safe at last—

²⁸³Jacksonboro (Jacksonborough), a post town in Colleton County, S. C. on the Edisto River, 35 miles west of Charleston.

at Ashepoo met Revd Mr Harrison²⁸⁴ [illegible word] he said he was apprehensive, (& I find such a notion here strongly prevailing) that the scene of the War would be here this Sumer merely because the Northward was exhausted in provisions <etc.> I told him I looked upon the Congress & their friends as the very worst men & that they were not able to raise another Army to which he replied he was very happy to see me & wishd me a very good night.

<Thurs.> 5. got to Mrs Mains—disappointed in not meetg Mr Gourly & much more so to hear he was not sufferd to preach. I am afraid he is swayd by motives inconsistt with Loyalty which in the present scarcity of Gospel preachers, is the more to be lamented. I am almost alone—& grievously disappointed that Mr G. should not bear me Company & that the rebels shd have any shadow of reason to call such a man theirs. how strong & how general is the destructive delusion!

<Fri.> 6. having information giving me reason to hope there was no Danger, we contrarily proceeded—opposite Mr Roses [Ross ?] we were Stopped & attackd—I believe there were 6 or 8. I fell into their hands first & they demanded my money which I gave—my son D. & negroes came up next as there was no escaping—they took what they pleasd in apparent fright & hurry—David pleaded for a horse for me only as I was sick & old. They said it was very hard but could not give up any—otherwise they were not rude—drunk to our health & good Journey & wishd us well—they said: they were the People calld Rebels. I told them: may be not—then I had above 4 miles to walk to Mr Pelot & to my surprise performd it without much Difficulty—We may value our Loss at [blank] Guineas, which comes heavy after so many other Losses—but—this also did not happen by Chance & as they neither made us Prisoners, put us under no Parole or personally abusd us there is much Cause to be thankful—We were robbd but escapd

<Sat.> 7. Mr Pelot kindly furnishd us with a yoke of oxen to go to Purisburg—but a litle beyond Col Heywards they took

²⁸⁴James Harrison (1726-1788), Episcopal minister. He came to S. C. in 1752 as a missionary and settled in St. James Parish, Colleton County, 1752-1774. He preached at St. Bartholomew's Parish in the same county, 1776-1784. Weis, *Col. Clergy Va., N. C. and S. C.*, p. 79.

into the marsh & one broke loose so were obligd to Stay & receivd very humanely.

<Sun.> 8. Mr Pelots oxen having broken away, I was again disabled from preaching when Mr Heyward most kindly sent a Boy & oxen to help us to my ferry—Stopt at Mr Midletons & baptizd Wm John [blank] Roberts. John Conrad Cornelia Hanes [Haynes ?].

about 4. we reachd the ferry in Safety & thus with more or less almost constant pain & trouble I have thro divine Mercy performd this Journey also, perhaps the last of my Life—found my overseer had also been plunderd & could procure no boat to go to Savannah

<Mon.> 9. no Boat being to be had sat off for Savh in my flatt & notwithstanding a strong contrary Wind arrivd Safe about 3 o'Clock—found my Wife better than when we parted. & O that I may ever retain a lively & grateful sense of this & every other Mercy—

and now when I look back on the few Weeks & Months past they appear to be the most remarkable period of my Life—

[There are no entries for May 1781.]

[June 1781]

Disordr did not increase—

<Tues.> felt much better & [blank]

<Wed.> 6. 11 a.m. thro the Mercy of God, I amend & can keep out of Bed.

O that if I return it may be to Labour & Usefulness & that among a hardend infatuated People God may give me an open Door successfully to testify the truth & to persuade men to be reconcild to God—I wish to preach & feel how unworthy & unfit I am, alas! I am the only Dissenter that can be admitted, arms from most Divisions are still preferd even by Ministers to Peace with G B. how long O Lord?

In the Evg recd agreeable Letters of the Arrival of my son & the health of my Wife & family. (Tho my dr Wife still Complains). Blessed be God.

<Thurs.> 7. Waited on the Comandt & was I think cordially recd—have some Prospect of preaching & on the whole had a most favorable day—some of my Books were returnd

me—which H [?] gave as himself “receivd” it have been “when” at my ferry [partially illegible]

<Sat.> 9. Thus I conclude another Week of Life & under signal Mercies

I have heard from my dr family & in partic from my Daughter.

I hope a door is now open for my preaching on <Sunday> next.

I am apparently mended, in health—many & exceeding great O Lord are thy blessgs.

O may I live to work to be useful to be thankful.

& at last enjoy an eternal Sabbath—

<Sun.> 10. read the Dialogue about a family Curse in the family—& prayd—& hope

The Weather unfavorable

<Thurs.> 14. Mane since <Sunday> I rather mended— Things preparg for my preachg in the Scotch meeting²⁸⁵ on which I think with anxious Hope & fearful Joy—O my unfitness—Pity me O Lord —O may there be again be a beging again of Gospel preachg & Gospel Blessg from which I am afraid our Congregation is further off than any other—

Letters from home—Support O Lord my dr Wife & hear our mutual Prayers.

<Fri.> 15. mane.

I would begin to prepare for Sunday next—how solemn is the Prospect—Weak, & low I would Speak to a people that have long rejected neglected & sinned away the Gospel, & who in my opinion would still rather have Independency & papist Conexions than the Gospel & their former acknowledgd happy Conexions with G B & who in partic maner are prejudicd against me in the highest degree, the Infatuation seems to be more with the once serious People that with any others.

however I trust I am willg to preach the truth at Rome also, bearing a testimony for God Religion & our Country is a great thing even tho in the End it should only leave (as I fear now) their Blood on their own Heads.

²⁸⁵The Scotch meeting was the Presbyterian Church in Savannah. It was founded by Scots, hence the sobriquet. It was JJZ's church to which he was returning.

I would wish to gain first the attentn & next the Convictn & amendt of [illegible word]. I would neither flatter nor imitate & God keep me from preaching myself, or my own cause—next to the Salv of Souls that we may lead a godly & quiet Life <etc.> shall be the unpopular aim of my preachg who is Sufficent for these things?

Jesus Master here I am! if at any rate in anything by any means I might be of some Use before I die—my soul shall praise thee & perhaps thanks may be given by many. Tunnos <Psalms> 85:[blank and] 90:[blank]

<Sun.> 17. This I look upon as a day that calls for my humble chearful Gratitude above many in my Life—after being silenced by Sickss & Infirmitiy since [blank] last I was once more permittd to preach & since the Banisht of truth Gospel & the very appearance of Religion, as well as Loyalty I was enabled to preach such truths as I think most necessary in this place

I am in my great Weakness most mercifully assisted & heard with great & general attention <Psalms> 119:75.

May all that is within me Bless the name of the holiness. What a source of Mercies has been my Sickness to me—how many Blessgs favors & Benefits have my litle Suffergs been productive off, & infinitely greater in Expectation when almost in View.

Now Abba father—to live or to die as thou pleaseth & when thou pleaseth—

My old friends have almost universally /not above 1 or 3 Exceptions/ turnd their back on my preachg—O pity them & help those that curse me.

I comit all mine & all my Concerns unto thee Graciously receive me at last.

& Rebuke thy Enemy & his temptations.

<Fri.> 22. yesterday Evg I had again a sore attack & how to defend myself against Cold which severly affects me I know not.

Between Dissolution & Recovery another tertian “a long perhaps painful Sickss” this morning probably my last & alas! that in the Enjoyment of so many Mercies I should dread anything my father may see fit to send me

I was brought to & for a while continued in Cht with the Symptons of Death—

Had I known several things which I found out & felt afterwards I should not have gone—this was kept from me—I had some trial in 1779 what it is to be beholden for Bread & the Pity of friendship of Persons of difft sentiment—but I was not then so sick & helpless as in Chtown.

The kindness of Mrs Thomas made me often think on I Reg [Kings] 17:9.

Before I left Savannah Act 23:11 made a strange & sudden Impression on my mind which I then strove against. I have since been enabled to bear my testimony in Cht was heard with attention & I doubt not with some Blessg those that refusd to hear I doubt not in their day will feel. God look on them in Pity.

Tho robbd & plunderd I still found friends to help me on, & am again on my own station waiting what God has appointed for me to do or to Suffer, to either I desire to be willing & resignd.

I am Surprizd I am alive & afraid I am almost the only loyal preacher. O that I may now & ever learn not to look on foes or friends but to God alone

& thro his Grace may every Resolution formd on a Sick & apparently dying bed which I now solemnly renew of devoting all to my Masters service be carried into full Execution & God work in me both to Will & to do according to his pleasure—

Many things look gloomy—Look up unto God O my soul & he that has been thy sure & present help will be thy God forever—

Memorandum [undated]

[2 sentences in German]

[Acrostic on the inside of the back cover. The first three lines are illegible.]

H omo
 E leutherus
 L liber
 V verax Veridicus
 E [blank]
 T enat [illegible]
 J ustum
 U [blank]
 S obrius Tenex

[Helvetius: Latin for Switzerland.]

APPENDIX

The following are all of the letters of John J. Zubly in the collections of the Georgia Historical Society. None of them are originals. The first letters were copied from Zubly's copy book by a sister of Mrs. Archibald Smith and sent by Mr. Smith to Israel K. Tefft, at that time Secretary of the Society, with a letter relating to Zubly's papers. Archibald Smith was a grandson of Zubly; his letter to Tefft, dated March 27, 1853, is included with these letters.

The other letters are in the hand of I. K. Tefft who was one of the founders of the Georgia Historical Society and a noted autograph collector. They are from his own collection.

Extracts of letters &c. found among the
papers of Rev. John J. Zubly D. D.

From the copy of a letter to --- ---Esqr. Glasgow

I received two letters from you & congratulate you on your marriage—You mention also some trials & difficulties, they are our portion at all times, & in times like the present they are unavoidable. How glad w'd I have been to be at liberty to preach the gospel in yours, mine, or any country, tho' without the hopes of more than one morsel of bread at a time; & only clothes to appear in without indecency, rather than be confined to a distracted unhappy country, whose inhabitants seem to be bent upon nothing else but destroying themselves & their fellow creatures. Since it pleased God, I shd survive to see the miseries I predicted, blessed be his name that I thus far weathered the storm; I lost nothing, but what property could be burnt, destroyed or taken; my library²⁸⁶ among the rest which

²⁸⁶The Rev. Henry H. Muhlenberg on his visit to Savannah in Oct. 1774 wrote this description of JJZ's library: "Dr. Z[ubly] has a fine collection of old and new books, the like of which I have seldom seen in America. The external appearance of his library and study is hardly inferior to that of the most famous in Europe. The books all stand up straight according to the *principium indiscernibile* like trees that cast their fruit and leaves in the autumn and cover the ground with them, for here, too, one found innumerable printed leaves, whole and half tracts, manuscripts, etc. on the floor. It reminded me of the polyhistor M[orhofius] and our venerable von Bogatzky, whose studies are said to have presented the same appearance because they would never permit the scrupulous housewives to do any cleaning in them lest they cause disorder." Muhlenberg, *Journals*, II:596.

the barbarians tore in pieces without regard to Bibles or religious books of any kind, & threw in the river: At my time of life this is an irreparable loss, but for the same reason a loss which I shall not feel long. I have been injured, banished, attainted & condemned to be hanged, without even as much as a charge bro't against me.

I however saw the tears in Gen'l [blank]'s eyes when on a Fast day, I from the pulpit looked him full in the face, & said "If you do wickedly you shall perish, you & yr. State:[]" he asked me to dine nevertheless, but I excused myself, "I do not dine out on Fast day." Since May I am again with the small remains of my congregation I preach & speak as I am enabled. The friends of God are not sensible of their mercies; Religion as to the very appearance of it seems nearly annihilated & every species of injustice prevails Assure yourself it is not the Rebels, but the Appointment in England & the officers in the service who wish to gain by the war, (which many of your country people publicky profess) that keep it up: and God only knows how much longer men may suffer these plagues. South Carolina & Georgia in general are subdued but I assure you I cannot shew a single professor of religion, of whom I do not fear that he would rather run every risk to be easy & preserve property than sacrifice every other consideration to the dictates of his conscience. Heavy judgments are brought in the Land, among which an almost total cessation of public worship & faithful preaching is least regarded

(This copy bears no date but the year may be easily determined from its contents.) transcriber. [The letter was probably written in June 1779. See entries in his Journal for that month, *supra*.]

Extract of a letter to Mr. Thomas Sept: 28th

This goes by Capt. Warner, who has lived with me nearly a twelvemonth, to my no small inconvenience; & he certainly heard me say much against the cause in which he was engaged, & probably is still; but if he had no other support but from the friends of his cause, I need not be afraid of what I often meet with, an unkind return.

Thro' the mercy of God I rather continue to recover. I see

my good friend Mr. Allison is also gone; why am I, the oldest & most despised of all my brethren still left—I conceive it is that I may bear a testimony, which none else could bear—May I be enabled to do it faithfully, endure patiently, & at last finish my course with joy. You will live my dear M. that tho' a friend seemed the only, he will not at last appear the greatest fool in these Provinces; & that he acted & suffered from principles, those that cast him out in general are strangers to—

Yrs. &c. J. J. Z.

To Mrs. Thomas. Oct: 23d. 1780.

Dear Madam, My disorder so baffles all the power of medicine, that nothing but a change of air seems to promise any relief: The indisposition of my dear wife & many other considerations present this only as a very painful remedy, but the duty to preserve ourselves to any hope of usefulness, must outweigh even the desire "to be with Christ—which is far better." In you my dear Madam Providence has preserved me a friend, whose rare & generous friendship may either be blessed for my recovery, or afford me the satisfaction that in endeavoring to act a consistent part, I found a trusty friend to close my eyes while absent from my family. I trust I can look to either of those events, with no other wish but that the will of God be done.I despise the tho't that my life is necessary for the service of my Master, but may for me that while I live, I may be active & useful, or glorify his name by sickness & silence & suffering. Nothing but the most unbounded confidence, in a friendship which I know has no bounds, could have permitted me to use this freedom; & from the same I expect, that if the situation of your health & family should be an obstacle, you will be so good as to let me freely know it. Adieu my dear friend, however Providence may dispose of me, assure yourself I was, & in the best of bonds ever shall be unfeign'dly

Yours J. J. Z.

Oct. 23d. 1780.

Mrs. Thomas, Charleston, S.C.

To the Secretary of the Society for promoting religious
knowledge among ye poor

Sir, Some years ago I had the honour to be admitted a member of your most respectful & useful Soc. & am informed by my worthy correspondents that they have continued my subscription—I have always looked upon this kind of charity, with a predilection & never was a louder call & greater necessity for it than at this time in America. The destruction this unhappy war has made, so many books & libraries pillaged & ruined, is a most cruel breach. My own collection of above 2,000 vols. fell chiefly in such barbarous hands, & while my loss at my time of life, & from the Society & value of some of the books is irreparable, it seems to hurt me still more when some poor negroes apply to me for bibles, & psalms & hymns &c. I am not able to gratify their request. In whatever light the virtues of America may be presented, the friends of religion may be assured as in the presence of God, that in America at least in these Southern Provinces, most professors have thrown off the appearance, hypocrites the very mark of religion, that common honesty, humanity and a regard for an oath, is little known & the publick worship of God in all denominations almost totally set aside or neglected. If in such circumstances, the Society would send out a number of useful books, it might be a publick blessing, & would be gratefully acknowledged at least by Sir, your most humble servant

J. J. Zubly.

To Rev: J. Edmonds.

Rev: Sir, As you are determined not to take an oath to bear witness to truth, upon serious tho'ts I think it needless to give you the trouble to call on me on acct. of what passed in yr. presence between [blank] Rodgers. I hope soon to quit this place, & as we may probably not see one another again before we meet at the tribunal of our common Judge & Master former connexions & present feelings engage me to write to you once more. I meditate on an address to all serious persons ministers of the gospel who keep up the war in favour of Separation

from Great Britain & in support of France & papers which perhaps may be published & prove a testimonoy after my decease which I have daily looked for this long time: On that principle I acted. Mrs. Scott told me "when one shepherd bids us do so & another otherwise, what shall the poor sheep do?" I believe God pities poor harmless sheep, that are led astray Isa 3:12. but what will he do with their shepherds & rulers? It was once a national question in Israel whether to submit (not to their natural, but) to a heathen king & conqueror, or resist him at every risk; poor Jeremiah advised against the last but the popular was the opposite side & all the prophets took it—The message sent to the chief of them was very awful Jer 28:15, 16, 17. Jeremiah was persecuted but not forsaken & had his life given him; the heathen acknowledged, & Israel felt, there had been a prophet among them—I should not support any cause that extinguishes all friendships & is attended with manifest disregard to an oath & contempt of & neglect of the gospel & every thing sacred

May a gracious God guide direct & succour you my own dear Brother & let the lines be a testimony that you still have a sincere will-wisher in J. J. Z.

Copy of a memorandum from Mrs. A. Seagrove's pocket book.

John Joachim Zubly D. D. son of David & Helena Zubly was born at St. Gall in Switzerland Aug: 27th 1724.

Ordained Aug. 19th 1744.

Married Anne daughter of John & Anne Tobler
Nov. 12th 1746.

Died July 23d. 1781.

The family are under the impression they were told by Mrs. Seagrove that her Father was buried in Savannah & that she pointed out to them in the graveyard near the North side an old grey gravestone which had been considerably mutilated by shot during the last war with Great Britain.

[End of Mrs. Seagrove's copy book]

*From the Collection of I. K. Tefft.*²⁸⁷

/No date/ [July 1775 ?]

Dear Sir

The first thing now necessary I now conceive to be an Address to the Inhabitants to make them sensible of the present alarming state of things and that the friends of Liberty at Savannah are in earnest to join in the common Cause—this ought to be done immediately

As the Congress it might be proper to send such an Address—propose an Address to the G [Governor ?] I have one ready for the purpose—a Petition to the King would make members join that may not otherwise & I think they better join halfway than be entirely against us

In Carolina every Person that paid tax was allowed to vote for delegates—

J J Z

to Dr [Noble Wimberly] Jones²⁸⁸

No date* [Nov. 9, 1775]

Gentlemen,

I am now setting off for Georgia greatly indisposed. You will doubtless reach home before me tho you should not depart these ten days, in case of my prior arrival I think not to make any Report to our Coucil of Safety till we are all present.

²⁸⁷Israel Keech Tefft (1794-1862) was born in Smithfield, R. I. and came to Savannah in 1816. He ran a hardware store, 1816-1819 and became owner and editor of the *Georgian*, 1819-1822. He was a clerk in the Bank of the State of Georgia, 1822-1848, and was its cashier, 1848-1862. He was internationally known for his autograph collection. He was one of the founders of the Georgia Historical Society in 1839 and was its corresponding secretary until his death in 1862. From the Minutes of the GHS, newspapers, etc.

²⁸⁸Noble Wimberly Jones (1723-1805), physician. He was born in London and came to Georgia with his family in the first ship of settlers in 1733. He was Speaker of the House, 1768-1772, and at the outbreak of the Revolution was an ardent supporter of the American cause. He was a member of the Georgia Provincial Congress in 1775 and was a delegate to the 1st and 2nd Continental Congresses. After the capture of Savannah in 1778 he went to Charleston where he was taken prisoner on the fall of that city in 1780. He was sent to St. Augustine, exchanged and went to Philadelphia where he was again a member of the Continental Congress. He was one of the founding members of the Georgia Medical Society in 1804. Northen, *Men of Mark*, I:208-218.

I have left my case with Spirits at my Lodgings (having a smaller one) which I advise you to take with you well filled if you do not mean to drink whiskey &c by the way, it will either suit you or Mr Habersham.

Should I arrive before you I will not fail to acquaint your friends, but I can only travel slow.

I wish you a pleasant journey

I am your humble Servt

J J Zubly

Messrs [John] Houston & [Archibald] Bulloch

Inscription

To the Honble John Houstoun Esq
at Mrs Jacobs—

*This letter was supposed to have been written the Evg before he left Phild for Geo. Judge Chase charged him with treason & was to have produced the proof the morning the Dr left suddenly.

May it please your Excellency,

It being reported that your Excellency is now to take your departure from this place I beg leave to represent to your Excellency—That our place of worship which we had but just repaired at a considerable expense was made use of during the siege as a magazine which brought upon it heavy fire from the enemy.

I beg therefore the same may now be immediately repaired & restored to us for divine service. That my brick house, one of the best in the place, has for near this twelve months been made use of as an hospital & is almost totally ruined. I have applied to your Excellency for the restoration & repair of these two buildings before the siege & your Excellency was pleased to give a favourable answer, of which I soon hope to feel the effects, as my family is exposed to great inconveniences for want of my house & fire-places under the approaching severe season.

Another of my buildings that I rented at £12 per an has been used as a Lazaretto & is nearly destroyed I have also suffered greatly in other buildings to me belonging—

Few men have suffered more from the rebels, or more severely felt the distresses of siege and army—I beg leave to mention,

That for a number of my negroes employed in the service, about Ebenezer &c I never could receive pay nor certificate & have some under the same predicament now actually in the service—

That during the siege 8, or more of my slaves were constantly in arms, for which I would not expect any pay but wish that something by way of encouragement as they have risk'd their lives might be allowed to themselves—

Myself & son have also deliver'd all our horses, saddles & carriages to the army, which at my time of life has subjected me to great hardships & the loss of our property in South Carolina—

I enclose an account of the same duly attested & credited, all which I must humbly submit to your Excellency's favourable consideration,

most respectfully remain Sir

J. J. Zubly

Nov. 30, 1779.

[To Governor Sir James Wright]

St Gall, near Savh

April 9th 1780

Gentlemen,

Since my return from Banishment & placing myself again under his Maj Government, I wrote you several times, but as several vessels & the Jan & Feb mails are lately arrived, I concluded they did not come to hand, and am happy once more to renew our Correspondence, the more so because I am assured by Mr Kneipt who is now with the army before Chas Town that you kindly enquired after me when he was in England last. I have not seen him as yet, but hope he may be fixed at Savh, partly that I may have the pleasure of his Company & partly that an honest Swiss may do King and Country justice in the Commissary Department.

Many strange things have I seen since my losses are consid-

erable & I was attainted for Treason by the late usurpers. I can forgive them the more freely as I really was a thorn in their flesh as long as I was suffered among them. I have lost nothing but property & tho the loss of my Library really affects me, yet I have lost when in the course of nature I could not expect to enjoy much longer. I trust all that is truly valuable is still left me & nothing is so, but what no enemy can ever deprive me of. During the late siege myself and family have been happily preserved, the present generation will know the greatness of our danger & deliverance. Assure yourselves it is not owing to American prowess, money, skill, or members, or French assistance that the war continues so long, very different men & causes protract it. The Providence of God has interposed in our favour in such a manner that even professed infidels would blush to disown, nay solemnly confess it. I never preached a Thanksgiving sermon with greater pleasure, it was on Psal 66:7.8. We expect every day to hear of the reduction of C Town & I trust the utmost efforts of one & the greatest inactivity of others, would not be able were they to meet to spin it out much longer.

As I am uncertain whether the money that ought to have been remitted to you from Switzerland is received, I shall only beg you would send me the London Mag. & last Reviews since 1776 & as I am really in want of literary food you will oblige me greatly by sending by the first packet any odd magazines, Gent & London excepted, (since 1760[]). I am told there is a shop in Holborn & Grays Inn, at a penny a piece. I would wish to have 40, or 60 sh. worth Amusement of this kind. Tho all was taken from one that could be taken, I still have bread to eat,—raiment to put on, more due to me than I owe, peace in my mind & can bear to look within myself & have a heart to assist those in want, my enemies not excepted. A nephew of the Bp of St Davids lies as a wounded prisoner in my house ever since Oct last, he is an inoffensive lad, his Capts Commission only excepted.

Yours &c
J. J. Zubly

Sir,

You would doubtless think it a very indecent supposition that his Majesty authorized any of his officers to turn or keep his loyal subjects out of doors & destroy their habitations before their faces & expose them to great hardships for the want of it, needlessly & without any address [redress ?], this however I conceive has been my very hard case & if the fact is doubted, or such a right should be insisted upon, the sooner & more solemnly this question is decided the better for all loyal subjects.

I shall accordingly wait ten days & if in that time proper Bonds are not signed to submit it to two or three impartial persons to be chosen between us, whether or what Indemnification I ought to be allowed for the injury I think I sustained, I shall make use of the undoubted right of every subject to seek redress by Law, & do not wish to have any altercation by word or letter on this subject.

Yours &c
J. J. Zubly

10th Aug 80, to Capt Moon [should be Moore]
[End of Tefft copies]

Archibald Smith to I.K. Tefft

Roswell Cobb Co. 27th Mar. [18]53

Dr. Sir.

Yours of the 21st inst is received but I am afraid I will not be able to give you much assistance in your effort to rescue the memory of Dr Zubly from oblivion. Mrs. Seagrove who resided in St. Marys was his Daughter and had many of his papers, but they were nearly all destroyed in 1812 by the British when they took the place.

The few papers left I value very highly as a relic of an honored Ancestor; and only entrust them to you because I have full confidence in your care; & from a remembrance of your attention to my Father.

From a memo. of Mrs. Seagroves you will be able to ascertain correctly the date of Dr Zubly's birth ordination &c. My wifes Sister has copied from a quire book of copies of letters,

a few extracts, which may be useful to you. And I send you the rest of said book containing 10 leaves; those from which the extracts were taken have been retained as having contents of a private nature. You will perceive from the "Letter book" that the Doctor wrote several hands; and it will thus authenticate a part of a sermon which I send (4 leaves only can be found) and which I lay great value on, as explaining the political course taken by him, in withdrawing from the cause of the Colonies as soon as they took up arms. And altho we cannot agree with his judgment we must certainly honor his conscientious scruples.

I send you 135 pages of his Journal;²⁸⁹ it has always been impossible for me to decypher it, but I can make out, that it was sometimes written in Latin, & sometimes in English & perhaps French and German.

You speak of having parts of his journal; how you could have got them I can not think as I have always tho't highly of it, unless they were among some sermons which I once gave to George Hunter. I am however glad that they have got into such good hands.

The Revd. Geo. White once applied to me for these papers, but as I did not like to let them go out of my hands, I asked him to come over from Marietta to look at them; he answered that he had seen some of the Doctors writing, but could not make it out and he would not come to see them. I hope you will be more successful as I suppose you are ere this an adept at Autographs, and perhaps can obtain the aid of some learned German to whose eye the German text of the journal may be familiar.

Having a good private conveyance by the hands of Mr. Henry Stiles I have embraced it instead of the mail, and return herewith the P. O. Stamp.

To I. K. Tefft Esqr.
Savannah
[Corresponding Secretary
Georgia Historical Society]

With much esteem
Yours truly
Archd. Smith

²⁸⁹The memo of Mrs. Seagrove and the copies and extracts from JJZ's "Letter book" are those copied in the Appendix. The Georgia Historical Society does not have the 10 leaves from the "Letter book," the 4 leaves of a sermon or the 135 pages of JJZ's journal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

- Commission Book B-1, 1754-1776; Commission Book B-2, 1781-1827.* Photocopies at GHS of originals in the Georgia Department of Archives and History.
- Colonial Park Cemetery Paper;* GHS ms. coll. #1011, pp. 34-35. Georgia Historical Society correspondence and manuscript file for letters of the Smith family.
- Georgia Historical Society Minute Book I, 1829-1868.*
- Habersham Papers;* GHS ms. coll. #337, folder 4.
- George Whitefield's Will, March 22, 1770.* Certified copy signed by Gov. Sir James Wright and Thomas Moodie, Secty. GHS ms. coll. #430.

Legislative journals

- Candler, Allen D., ed. *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia.* Atlanta, State printers, 1904-1916. 26v. plus 14 v. in type-script.
Herein cited as *Col. Recs. Ga.* with appropriate volume and page numbers.
- , ——— *The Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia.* Atlanta, Franklin-Turner, 1908. 3v.
Herein cited as *Rev. Recs. Ga.* with appropriate volume and page numbers.
- Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 23 April 1750-31 August 1751.* ed. by R. N. Oldsbury. Columbia, University of S. C. Press, c.1974.
- Library of Congress Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789...V. III, 1775, September 21-December 30.* Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1908.

Other primary printed sources

- Abstracts of the Colonial Wills of the State of Georgia.* Spartanburg, S. C., The Reprint Co., 1981.
- An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.* London, J. Oliver, 1748. 74pp.
- Brumbaugh, Gaius Marcus. *Maryland Records.* Lancaster, Pa., William & Wilkins Co., 1915-1931. 2v.

- Burnett, Edmond C., ed. *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. V. 1, August 29, 1774, to July 4, 1776. Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921.
- Cordle, Charles G., ed. "The Will of Dr. John Joachim Zubly". *GHQ* 22:384-390. Contains some personal and genealogical information.
- Coulter, Ellis Merton, ed. *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*, ed. by E. M. Coulter and A. B. Saye. Athens, University of Ga. Press [1949]
- A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia, from its First Establishment as a British Province, Down to the Year 1798, Inclusive...*, by Robert and George Watkins. Philadelphia, R. Aitken, 1800.
- Ebenezer Record Book*. Trans. by A. G. Voight; ed. by C. A. Linn. Savannah, C. A. Linn, 1929.
- Faust, A. B. *List of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies*. Washington, National Genealogical Society, 1920- 1925. 2v.
- Force, Peter, ed. *American Archives*. 4th ser. v. 2, col.1557-1567. This contains JJZ's "Law of Liberty" sermon.
- Ford, William Chauncey, comp. *British Officers Serving in the American Revolution, 1774-1784*. Brooklyn, N.Y., History Printing Club, 1897.
- Georgia Historical Society. *Collections*. Savannah, Pub. by the Society, 1842-1980. Herein cited as *Colls. GHS* with appropriate volume and page numbers.
- Great Britain—War Office. *A List of all the Officers of the Army...* War Office, 30 June 1780.
- [Hazard, Ebenezer] *Journal of Ebenezer Hazard*, ed. by H. Roy Mehrens. *SCH Mag.* 73:177-193.
- Historical Records Survey. *Wills, Chatham County, Georgia*. 1817-1826, Book F; 1827-1839, Book G. Typewritten manuscripts
- Holcomb, Brent H. *Probate Records of South Carolina*. Vol. 2. Easley, S. C., Southern Historical Press, c. 1978.
- , ——— *South Carolina Marriages, 1699-1799*, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980.
- Knight, Lucian Lamar, comp. *Georgia's Roster of the Revolution*. Atlanta, Index Printing Co., 1918.

- Magruder, James Jr. *Maryland Colonial Abstracts, 1772-1777*. Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968.
- Moore, Caroline T., comp. and ed. *Abstracts of the Wills of South Carolina, 1760-1784*. Columbia, R. L. Bryan Co., c. 1969. This book must be used with caution. There are many errors in transcription of personal and place names.
- Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior. *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*. Trans. by T. G. Tappert & J. W. Doberstein. Published by Evangelical Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Philadelphia, Muhlenberg Press, 1942-1958. 3v.
- Pruitt, J. C. G. *Revolutionary War Pension Applicants who Served from South Carolina*. [Fairfax County, Va., Pub. by the author, 1946]
- Salley, Alexander S., comp. *Death Notices in the South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775*. Columbia, South Carolina Historical Commission, 1917.
- , ——— *Marriage Notices in the South Carolina Gazette and its successors (1732-1801)*. Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965. Reprint ed.
- , ——— *South Carolina Provincial Troops*. Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1977. Reprint ed.
- [Smith, Richard] *Diary of Richard Smith in the Continental Congress, 1775-1776*. *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, I (Jan. 1896); pp. 288ff.
- [Stiles, Ezra] *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, ed. by F. B. Dexter. II (1901), p. 10.
- [Tobler, John] *John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)*, trans. and ed. by W. L. Robbins. *SCH Mag.*, 71:141-161, 257-265.
- [Ward, Samuel] *Diary of Governor Samuel Ward/Delegate from Rhode Island...* *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* I (July 1877), pp. 438ff.
- Warren, Mary Bondurant. *Citizens and Immigrants—South Carolina, 1768*. Danielsville, Ga., Heritage Press, 1980.
- , ——— *South Carolina Jury Lists, 1718 through 1783*. Danielsville, Ga., Heritage Press, c. 1977.
- Webber, Mabel L., comp. *Death Notices in the South Carolina Gazette, 1766-1774*. Bound with Salley, *Death Notices... op. cit.*
- Whitefield, George. *Works of the Rev. George Whitefield*. London, 1771. V. III.

Zubly, John Joachim. *The Christian's Gain in Death, Representing a Funeral Sermon, Preached at Purysbourg, in South Carolina, Jan. 28, 1770, at the Interment of Mr. Jacob Waldburger*. Savannah, James Johnston, 1770.

———, ——— *An Account of the Remarkable Conversion of Jachiel Hirshel, from the Jewish to the Christian Religion*. Savannah, James Johnston, 1770.

———, ——— *The Faithful Minister's Course Finished. A Funeral Sermon Preached on August the 4th, 1773, in the Meeting at Midway in Georgia, at the Interment of the Rev. John Osgood, A. M., Minister of that Congregation*. Savannah, Ga., James Johnston, 1773.

The GHS has a copy of this publication.

———, ——— *The Law of Liberty. A Sermon on American Affairs, Preached at the Opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, Addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth. With an Appendix Giving Concise Account of the Struggles of Swisserland to Recover Their Liberty*. London, Reprinted for J. Almon, 1775.

The GHS has a copy of this reprint edition; the original edition was published in Philadelphia by H. Miller, 1775.

———, ——— *A Letter to the Reverend Samuel Frink, A. M., Rector of Christ Church Parish in Georgia, Relating to Some Fees Demanded of Some of his Dissenting Parishioners*. [Savannah, James Johnston, 1770 ?] Reprinted in Philadelphia by H. Müller, 1775.

———, ——— *To the Grand Jury of the County of Chatham, State of Georgia*. Savannah, October 8, 1777. 2 page leaflet.

The GHS has a copy of this publication.

———, ——— *The Wise Shining at the Brightness of the Firmament...A Funeral Sermon, Preached at Savannah in Georgia, November 11th, 1770, on the Much Lamented Death of the Rev. George Whitefield, A.M.* Savannah, James Johnston, 1770.

———, ——— "A Warm & Zealous Spirit:" *John Joachim Zubly and the American Revolution. A Selection of his Writings*, ed. by R. M. Miller. Macon, Ga., Mercer University Press, c. 1982.

Secondary sources

- Abbot, William Wright. *The Royal Governors of Georgia, 1754-1775*. Chapel Hill, Pub. for the Institute of Early American Culture at Williamsburg, University of N. C. [1959]
- Axley, Lowry. *Holding Aloft the Torch: a History of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia*. Savannah, 1958.
- Bailey, J. D. *Some Heroes of the American Revolution*. Spartanburg, S. C., Band & White, 1924.
- Bolton, C. B. and R. P. Bolton. *The Family of Bolton in England and America, 1100-1894*. N. Y., Privately printed, 1895.
- Brown, Richard Maxwell. *The South Carolina Regulators*. Cambridge, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Bulloch, James Gaston Baillie. *History and Genealogy of the Families of Bulloch, Stobo, De Veaux, Irvine, etc.* Savannah, Braid & Hutton, 1892.
- Burt, V. B. and W. F. Barnard. *Barnard: History of one Branch of the Barnard family*. Gordo, Ala., Barnard Printing Co., 1961.
- Cann, James Ferris. *Bethesda: a Historical Sketch...* Savannah, John M. Cooper, 1860.
- Cashin, Edward J. *Story of Augusta*. Augusta, Richmond County Board of Education, 1980.
- Clark, M. J. *Colonial Soldiers of the South, 1732-1773*. Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983.
- Clark's Famous 250 Year Perpetual Calendar Covering the Years 1753-2002*. N. p., Dietz Printing Co., c. 1943.
- Cote, Richard N. *Local and Family History in South Carolina: a Bibliography*, Easley, S. C., Southern Historical Press, 1981.
- Daniel, Marjorie. "John Joachim Zubly—Georgia Pamphleteer of the Revolution". *GHQ*, 19:3-5.
- Davis, Henry Alexander. *Some Huguenot Families of South Carolina and Georgia*. Washington, Pub. by the author, 1966.
- Davis, Robert S., Jr. *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers of the American Revolution*. [Easley, S. C., Southern Historical Press, c. 1979.]
- Elliott, Stephen.
- A Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia*. Charleston, S. C., Printed for the author by J. Hoff; pub. by J. R. Schenck, 1817-1824. 2v.

- Elzas, B. A. *The Jews of South Carolina*. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1905.
- Fisher, Charles F., comp. *Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Autographs of the Late Mr. I. K. Tefft of Savannah, Ga...* N. Y., Leavitt, 1867.
- Hanger, G. D. *The Tragic Career of Peter De Laney, Jr.* *Trans. Hug. Soc. of S. C.*, #90, pp. 72-76.
- Headley, J. T. *The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*. N. Y., Scribner, 1864. Hewat, Alexander. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*. London, Printed for Alexander Donaldson, 1779. II:166-172.
- Hewat, Alexander. *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*. London, Printed for Alexander Donaldson, 1779. II: 166-172.
- Howe, George. *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*. Columbia, S. C., Duffie & Chapman, 1870. V. 1.
- Hutson, Michael Jenking. *Peronneau of South Carolina, Part I.* *Trans. Hug. Soc. of S. C.*, #89, pp. 49-58.
- Ivers, Larry E. *Colonial Forts of South Carolina, 1670-1775*, Columbia, University of S. C. Press, c. 1970.
- Johnston, Edith Duncan. *The Houstouns of Georgia*. Athens, University of Ga. [1950]
- Jones, Charles Colcock. *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates from Georgia to the Continental Congress*. Boston, Houghton, 1891.
- , ——— *The History of Georgia*. Boston, Houghton, 1883. v. 2.
- Jones, George Fenwick. *The Salzburger Saga*. Athens, University of Ga. Press, c. 1984.
- Kirkland, Thomas J. and Robert M. Kennedy. *Historic Camden: Part One, Colonial and Revolutionary*. Camden, S. C., Kershaw County Historical Society, 1936. Reprint ed.
- Landrum, J. P. O. *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina...* Greenville, Shannon & Co., 1897.
- Lawrence, Alexander Atkinson. *Storm Over Savannah...* Athens, University of Ga. Press, c. 1951.
- Leiding, Harriette Kershaw. *Purrysburg, a Swiss-French Settlement in South Carolina on the Savannah River.* *Trans. Hug. Soc. of S. C.* #39, pp. 27-29.

- Levy, B. H. *Savannah's Old Jewish Community Cemeteries*. Macon, Ga., Mercer University Press, c. 1983.
- McCall, Hugh. *The History of Georgia*. Savannah, Seymour & Williams, 1811-1816. 2v.
- McCrary, Edward. *The History of South Carolina*. N. Y., Macmillan, 1897-1902. 4v.
- Martin, Roger A. *John J. Zubly: Preacher, Planter, and Politician. A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy*. Athens, Ga., 1976. Authorized facsimile produced by microfilm xerography in 1977.
- The author relied heavily upon a rough unfinished draft of an early transcript of JJZ's journal. Where he used quotation marks his transcripts are accurate. Unfortunately he embellished the material with commentary of his own which distorts the character of JJZ.
- Meriwether, Robert Lee. *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1865*. Kingsport, Tenn., Southern Pub., 1940.
- Neuffer, Claude Henry, ed. *Names in South Carolina, 1954-1983*. Spartanburg, S. C., Reprint Co., 1983. 30v. in 4v.
- Orvin, M. C. *Berkeley County, South Carolina, 1671-1900*. Charleston, Comprint. c. 1973.
- Orvin, W. Holmes and Peter Rohrbach. *Stagecoach East: ... Washington*, Smithsonian Institute Press, 1983.
- Perkins, Eunice Ross. "John Joachim Zubly, Georgia's Conscientious Objector". *GHQ*, 15:313-323.
- Rogers, George C., Jr. *The Huguenots of the old Beaufort District. Trans. Hug. Soc. of S. C.*, #85, pp. 1-13.
- Savannah's Writers Project. *Savannah River Plantations*. Savannah, Georgia Historical Society, 1947.
- Siebert, Wilbur Henry. *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785...* DeLand, Fla., Florida State Historical Society, 1929. 2v.
- Smith, H. A. M. *The Administration of Justice in South Carolina. Charleston, S. C. Year Book, 1885*, pp. 314-330.
- Stern, M. H. *First American Jewish Families, 1654-1977*. Cincinnati, American Jewish Archives, 1978.
- , ——— *Americans of Jewish Descent*. Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Press, 1960.

- Stevens, Willam Bacon. *A History of Georgia*. N.Y., Appleton, 1847. V.1.
- Strickland, Reba C. *Religion and the State in Georgia in the 18th Century*. N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1939.
- Strobel, P. A. *The Salzburgers and Their Descendants...* Baltimore, Kurtz, 1855.
- Thomas, Isaiah. *The History of Printing in America*, N. Y., Weathervane Books, 1970. Reprint ed.
- Tyler, Leon Gardner, ed. *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography...* N. Y., Lewis Publishing Co., 1915. 5v.
- Waring, Joseph I. *A History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670-1825*. [Charleston] South Carolina Medical Association [1964]
- Wheeler, John Hill. *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1854*. Baltimore, Regional Publishing Co., 1964. 2v. in 1v. Reprint ed.
- Weis, Frederick Lewis. *The Colonial Churches of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776*. Lancaster, Mass., Society of Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1938.
- , ——— *The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware and Georgia*. Lancaster, Mass., Society of Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1950.
- , ——— *The Colonial Clergy of the Middle Colonies: New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 1628-1776*. Worcester, Mass., American Society of the Colonial Clergy, 1957.
- , ——— *The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina*. Boston, Society of Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1955.
- White, George. *Historical Collections of Georgia...* 3d ed. N. Y., Pudney & Russell, 1853.

Maps, atlases and gazetteers

- An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina with their Indian Frontiers...* From actual surveys by Henry Mouzon and others. Paris, 1777.
- A Map of South Carolina and a Portion of Georgia...* Composed from surveys taken by the Hon. William Bull [et al] and the author, William De Brahm...London, T. Jeffreys, 1757.

- A Map of South Carolina and Parts Adjacent, Shewing the Movements of the American and British Armies. In Pruitt, Rev. War Pensions. Sketch of the Northern Frontiers of Georgia, Extending from the Mouth of the River Savannah to the Town of Augusta.* By Archibald Campbell. London, Wm. Faden, 1780.
- Southern Section of the United States Including Florida &c.* By John Melish, 1816.
- Baldwin, Thomas and J. Thomas. *A New and Complete Gazetteer of the United States...* Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854.
- Chapin, William. *A Complete Reference Gazetteer to the United States of North America...* N. Y., Phelps & Ensign, 1840.
- Cumming, William Patterson. *The Southeast in Early Maps...* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Fisher, R. S. *A New and Complete Gazetteer of the United States of America...* N. Y., J. H. Colton, 1853.
- Gannett, Henry. *A Gazetteer of Maryland and Delaware.* Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976. Reprint ed. *Lippincott's New Gazetteer...of the World...* ed. by Angelo and Louis W. Helprin. Philadelphia, Lippincott, ca. 1912.
- Melish, John. *The Traveller's Directory Through the United States...* Philadelphia, Printed for the author, T. & G. Palmer, Printers, 1816. pp. 51-70, 75-86.
- Mills, Robert. *Mills Atlas of South Carolina: an Atlas of the Districts of South Carolina in 1825.* Comp. by Robert Mills... Columbia, Robert Pearce Wilkins and John D. Kells, Jr., c. 1965. Reprint ed.
- Morse, Jedidiah and Richard C. Morse. *A New Universal Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary...* 4th ed. rev. and corrected. New Haven, S. Converse, 1823.

Encyclopedias, bibliographies and biographical compilations

- Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, ed. by J. G. Wilson and John Fiske, 1888.
- Coleman, Kenneth and C.S. Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography* Athens, University of Georgia Press, c. 1983. 2v.
- Dictionary of American Biography.* N. Y., Scribners for the American Council of Learned Societies, 1964. 11v. plus 1v. index.

Herein cited as *DAB* with appropriate volume and page numbers.

Dictionary of National Biography. N. Y. and London, Macmillan, 1908-1909. 21v. plus 2 Supplements.

Herein cited as *DNB* with appropriate volume and page numbers.

Edgar, W. B. and N. L. Bailey. *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives, 1692-1775*. Columbia, University of S. C. Press, 1977.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1958. 24v. The 11th ed., 1910-1911, was also used.

Gould, Christopher and Richard Parker Morgan, comps. *South Carolina Imprints, 1731-1800*. Santa Barbara, CA., ABC-CLIO Information Services, 1985.

Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History... N. Y., Harper Bros., 1902. 10v.

Knight, Lucian Lamar. *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians*. Chicago, Lewis Publishing Co., c. 1917. 6v.

The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography. N. Y., James T. White & Co., 1898-1920. 17v. plus Index and Conspectus volume.

Northern, William J., ed. *Men of Mark in Georgia*. Atlanta, A. B. Caldwell, 1907-1912. 7v.

Reynolds, E. B. and J. R. Faust, comps. *Biographical Directory of the Senate of the State of South Carolina, 1771-1964*. Columbia, South Carolina Archives Dept., 1964.

Sabin, Joseph, et al. *Bibliotheca Americana...* Amsterdam, N. Israel (Publishing Department), 1962. v. XXIX.

Newspapers and periodicals

Belfast News Letter.

Photocopy of extracts from this newspaper, 1763-1776, relative to the Irish immigration to Georgia.

Gazette of the State of Georgia, July 28, 1785.

Georgia Gazette, Sept. 20, 1775; Nov. 29, 1775; Nov. 3, 1796.

Royal Georgia Gazette, April 12, 1781; July 26, 1781; July 28-Aug. 1, 1781.

Savannah Morning News, Jan. 14, 1886.

The Georgia Historical Quarterly. Savannah, Pub. by the Georgia Historical Society, 1917 to date.

Herein cited as *GHQ* with appropriate volume and page numbers cited.

Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1864-1865. Boston, Pub. for the Society, 1866. pp. 214-219.

South Carolina Historical Magazine. Charleston, Pub. by the S. C. Historical Society, 1930-date.

It was formerly the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*.

Herein cited as *SCH Mag.* with appropriate volume and page numbers.

Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. Charleston, Pub. by the Society, 1885(?) -date.

Herein cited as *Trans. Hug. Soc. of S. C.* with appropriate volume and page numbers.

INDEX

- Abrahams, Anne, 76
 Acrostic, Helvetius, 101
 Acton, ix, x, 77, 78
 Adams, John, xiv
 Adkin River. See Yadkin River
 Alamance, NC, 16n
 Alexandria, VA, 54, 55
 Allen, Col., 76
 Allen, Moses, 31, 32, 33
 Alison (Allison), Hugh, 2, 104
 Allison, Mrs., 53, 61
 American University, 37
 Amman, John Conrad, 5n
 Ammon, Mr., 14
 Andrew, Benjamin, 75, 79
 Anne Street (Savannah, GA) xv
 Armstrong children, 78
 Asbury children, 29
 Ashpoo, SC, 14, 25, 61, 97
 Ashley River, SC, 18
 Asia (man of war), 37
 Augusta, GA, 21, 30
 Avery, Mr., 50
 Bachler children, 64
 Bachler, Elizabeth, 64
 Bachler, Gaston (Gordon?), 64
 Bacot, A., 89
 Balch, Hezekiah James, 50
 Baldwin, Mr., 92
 Baltimore, MD, 54, 55
 Banister River and Bridge, VA, 57
 Baptisms:
 Abraham, Anne, 76
 Armstrong: Margaret, John, J_____,
 Agnes, 78
 Ashberry: Anne, William, John, Jane,
 Mary, Enoch, Esther, 29
 Barksdale: Elizabeth, Thomas, Mary,
 28
 Bachler: Gaston (Gordon?), John, 64
 Bradley: James, John, Mary, 29
 Breler (Breher): Janvius, Winfey,
 Absolom, James, 64
 Brisbane, Elizabeth, 30
 Brown, Catherine, 73
 Campbell: Mary, James, Judith, 77
 Clark: Henry, Catherine, 65
 Coke: Daniel, Jeremy, Lawrence,
 Mary, 70
 Cowper: Margarette, Basil, Mary, 70
 Daniel: William, Jos(eph), Elizab(eth),
 64
 Davidson: Alexander, Anne, 92
 Dickey (?): Mary, William, Jane, 20
 Dudley: Mary, Anne, Richard, 65
 Field, Richard, 60
 Fulford, Anne, 78
 Fullerton: Catherine, John E., 18
 Garnett: Thomas, Joseph, Sarah, 67
 Garvey: Henry, John, Elizabeth, 65
 Galache (?), _____, 76
 Gibbons: Thomas, William, Valery, 70
 Govaby: Catherine, Thomas, Ravenel,
 65
 Griggs: Jane, John, 76
 Hayne (Hane): John, Conrad,
 Cornelia, 98
 Hicks: Martha, Daniel, 20
 Holbrook: Jacob, Mary, 71
 Huggins: Anne, John, 29
 Humbert: Catherine, Melchior,
 Sophia, 69
 Jay: John, Richard, Martha, 28
 Jervey: Robert, Agnes, 95
 Johnston: Jane, Lily, Helena, Jacob,
 Amos, 67
 Jones (?): James, 73
 Keal: John, Joseph, Mary, 70
 Knowland: Anne, Mary, Andrew,
 Elizabeth, 76
 Laton (?): Richard, Robert, Catherine,
 77
 Legare: Daniel, Joseph, Sarah, 15;
 Elizabeth, Joseph, Sarah, 31
 Lewis: Joseph, David, 70
 McLeod, Mr., 78
 Martinangel, Philip, 71
 Milby: Susanne, Aquila, Harriette, 64
 Miles: Mary, Daniel (David), 20
 Muckenfuss (?): Mary, Patrick, Lettice,
 22
 Negro children, 64
 People (Peeple): Thomas, Susanne,
 James, 65
 Potter: David, Else (?), John, 20
 Ravot: Harriette, Abraham, Hart, 65
 Raymond: John, Christian, 70
 Rivers: Daniel, Val (Vol?), 20
 Roberts: Joseph, Peter, Anne, 65;
 William, John 98
 Scott, Jane, 68, 69
 Stafford: Elizabeth, William, Anne,
 Alfred, Seth, Ruth, 64; Ezekiel,
 Jack (?), Martha, 67
 Stevens: Elizabeth, Anne, Richard,
 Mary, 69
 Sturzenegger, Johan, 30
 Thomas: William, Jacob, 87

- Trenholm, William, 29
 Turquand, Sophia, 69
 Vaigneux, Elizabeth, 69
 Vickers: Abraham, Melchior, Mary,
 71
 Vollaton, Moses, 76
 Walter: Mary, Elizabeth, 64
 Wiggins: Mary, Jane, Martha, 82
 Williams, James, 92
 Winkler, Joseph, 66
 Winn (?): Sarah, Richard, Anne, 65
 Wright, Catherine, _____, 76
 Bard, Ann Zubly (daughter of J.J. Zubly),
 xi, 79
 Bard, Peter, xii, 36, 37, 42, 43, 79, 89, 91
 Barksdale children, 28
 Barksdale, Mary, 28
 Barnard, Edward, 21, 30
 Barnard, John, 81
 Bartram, John, 28
Bask (man of war), 37
 Bates, Rev. Mr., 24, 25
 Battier, Mr., 92
 Beale, Col., death of, 26, 27
 Beal's Crossroad, 55
 Beaver Dam, NC, 59
 Bee, Joseph, 15, 16, 19, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32
 Beech (Beach) Island, SC, 27
 Bell, Helen Zubly Tobler (daughter of J.J.
 Zubly), 10n
 Bellamy, Joseph, 25
 Bentley's Tavern, MD, 46, 56
 Berel, Mrs., 5
 Bernard. See Barnard
 Bethesda Orphan House (Savannah,
 GA), 2, 3, 4n, 5, 8, 19, 24, 26, 27
 Bird Ordinary. See Byrd Ordinary
 Black Horse Tavern, PA, 56n
 Black Swamp, SC, 61, 66, 72, 73
 Bladensburg, MD, 55
 Bolton, _____, 23
 Bond, Thomas, 2
 Bordels. See Burdells
 Bordentown, NJ, 39
 Boston, MA, 37
 Boswell's, Col., VA, 57
 Boudinot, Elias, 39
 Bourquin, Maj., 73
 Bowen, Ben, 79
 Bradley children, 29
 Bradley's House, VA, 47, 55, 56
 Breler children, 64
 Brisbane, Elizabeth, 30
 Bristol, PA, 39
 Broughton, T(homas), 53, 61
 Brown, Catherine, 73
 Bruce, George, 88
 Brunner, Capt., 44
 Brussels Creek, 58
 Bryan, Mr., 25
 Buck (Bucks) Tavern, PA, 55
 Bull, William, 7
 Bullman, John, 17
 Bulloch, Archibald, 9, 39, 75, 108
 Burdells (Bordels), 53, 60
 Burke, Mr., 9
 Byrd (Bird) Ordinary, 54, 55, 57
 Caldwell, James, 11, 12, 19, 37, 42, 43,
 48, 57
 Calhoun, Patrick, 6
 Camden, SC, 50, 60
 Campbell children, 77
 Campbell, Charles, Lord (Governor of
 SC), xiv, 26
 Campbell, Serg., 66
 Cape Fear River, NC, 52, 87
 Castlet, Matthew, 22, 30
 Chalybeate Waters, 40
 Charleston (Charlestown), SC, men-
 tioned, 1, 3, 9, 10, 11, 15, 19, 24, 30,
 31, 32, 79, 100, 101; Luthern Church
 statistics, 12; population in 1773, 27;
 skirmish at, 49, 50.
 Charleston, MD, 54
 Charlotte, NC, 50
 Charlotte Courthouse (Charlottesville),
 VA, 48, 55
 Chase, Samuel, xiv-xv, 44, 108
 Chester, PA, 54
 Chines, 54
 Clark children, 65
 Christiana (Christena), DE, 54
 Clark, Sarah, 65
 Clark, Thomas, 65
 Clarke, Mr., 92
 Clay, Joseph, 67
 Clear Creek, NC, 59
 Coke children, 70
 Colcock, Mr., 69
 Commodities, scarce in countryside, 48
 Congaree River, SC, 60
 Cook, Mr., 53
 Cooper, 54
 Cooper, Mrs., 87
 Coosawhatchee, SC, 61
 Cordes, Mr., 60
 Cordes (?) Bridge, MD, 46
 Corley's Ferry, Santee River, SC, 52
 Cornwallis, Charles, Gen., 84, 93, 95
 Council of Safety, (GA) xiii, 42, 44, 90
 Courtney, John, 89
 Cowper, (Basil), 91

- Cowper children, 70
 Crossly's (Crosby) house, 7
 Cubb's and Cubb Creek, VA, 57
 Culliessen, Mr., 46, 54, 56
 Cunningham, Robert, 52, 84, 85
 Cuthbert, James, Dr., 1
 Cyrus (servant), 81
 DaCosta, Isaac, 12-13, 16, 28-29
 Dan River, VA and NC, 58
 Daniel children, 64
 Davidson children, 92
 Davidson, Robert, Rev., 40
 Davies, (John?), 61
 DeBrahm, John Gerar William, map of
 SC, 11
 Deep River, NC, 58
 Delancy, Peter, 18n
 Dickey children, 20
 Dillon, Mr., 73
 Dixen (Dixon) Ferry, VA, 58
 Dorchester, SC, 53, 61
 Drayton, Stephen, 6
 Driggers case, 13
 Duche, Jacob, 42
 Dudley, Anne, 65
 Dudley children, 65
 Dudley, Richard, 65
 Duffield, George, 36, 41, 43
 Dupont, Cornelius, 70
 Ebenezer, schism mentioned, 24
 Eccles, Edward, 4, 24
 Edmonds (Edmunds), James, 34, 35, 94,
 105-106
 Edwards, John (?), 11, 13, 14
 Elizabethtown, NJ, 38, 39
 Elk, Head of, VA, 54, 55
 Elk Ridge Landing, 55
 Elk Run Church, VA, 55
 Ellerbee (Ellerby), Mr., 51, 60
 Ellington, Edward, 10
 Ellis, William (?), 6
 Endeman, Maj., Hessian officer at
 Savannah, 81
 Erastus, Thomas, 25
 Eutaw Springs, SC, 60
 Ewen, William, 43
 Ferry (Fery), James, 48, 58
 Field, Mary, 64
 Field, Richard, 64
 Fields Tavern, VA, 56
 Finlay (Finley), Alexander, 40
 Fletchall, Thomas, 49
 Fords Ordinary, NC, 59
 Fort Moore, SC, 20, 21
 Fothergill, John, 28
 Foushe, Charles, 69
 Frederick (Fredericktown), MD, 46, 54,
 56
 Frink, Samuel, 15, 17
 Fulford, Abraham, 78
 Fulford, Anne, 78
 Fullerton children, 18
 Gadsden, Christopher, 3, 4, 11, 12, 44
 Gage, Thomas, Gen., 37
 Galache, _____, 76
 Galphin, George, 20, 22, 23
 Garden, Alexander, Dr., 5, 7, 18, 85
 Garden, Benjamin, Col., 72-73
 Garnett children, 67
 Garvey children, 65
 George, The (tavern), NC, 59
 Georgetown, MD, 55, 57
 Georgia, in the hands of the British, 75,
 103
 Germantown, PA, 40, 45, 54
 Gibbons children, 70
 Gibbons, Sarah (?), 77, 87
 Gimberley's, SC, 60
 Giroud, Daniel Lewis, 7, 9, 30
 Glen, John (?), 79
 Godfrey's Savannah, SC, 61
 Goochland Courthouse, VA, 54
 Goose Creek, VA, 56
 Gordon, Thomas Knox, 27
 Gourlay, James, 32, 97
 Govaby children, 65
 Graham, John or James, 31
 Grahams, NC, 59
 Greene, Nathanael, Gen., 95n
 Griggs children, 76
 Guilford Courthouse, NC, 49, 58, 95n
 Habersham, John, 108
 Haircome, Mr., 25
 Halifax, VA, 48, 57
 Hall, Lyman, 35
 Haly (Haley), John, Dr., 18
 Hampstead, ixn, x
 Hancock, John, 39, 40
 Hanging Rock, SC, 51, 59
 Hanover, MD, 46
 Hartford, MD, 54
 Harrison, Benjamin, 55
 Harrison, James, Rev., 97
 Hart, Oliver, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18,
 19, 24, 25, 26, 30, 32, 34, 91
 Hart, Oliver, Mrs., 91
 Hastings, Selena, Countess of Hun-
 tingdon, 27
 Haw River, NC, 49, 58
 Hayne, Abram, 34, 50, 58, 61
 Hayne (Hane) children, 98
 Hayne, Miss, 13

- Heard, Malcolm, 91
 Helmuth, Rev. Mr., 45
 Henderson, Richard, 49
 Henri, Margaret Jean, 26
 Heron, James (?), 21, 23
 Hessians, in Savannah, 77, 80
 Hewat, Alexander, 95
 Hewat, Mrs., death of, 53
 Heyward, Mr., 97-98
 Hicks children, 20
 Hicks, John, 20
 Hicks, Mary, 20
 Hicks, Whithead (Mayor of New York City), 38
 Highrider, Mr., 22
 Hill, Mr., 36, 59, 61
 Hinde (Hinds), John, 89, 91
 Hinds, Luke, 11, 12
 Hirshel, Jachiel, 13
 Hoes Ferry, (MD?), 54
 Holbrook children, 71
 Holmes, Elizabeth, death of, 26
 Holmes, John, 12n, 19
 Holzendorff, John, 66
 Hopkins, Mrs., 77
 Horse Tavern (?), MD, 56
 Houseknecht, George, 1
 Houstoun, John, xivn, 39, 108
 Hudleston, Dr., 79
 Hudson (Hutson), Robert, 25
 Huggins children, 29
 Humbert children, 69
 Hunter, George Wallace, iii, viii, 112
 Hunter's Place, SC, 52, 60
 Hutson, Joseph, 87
 Hutson, Thomas, 25
 Independent Presbyterian Church, Savannah, GA, xi, xv, 76, 99
 Irvin, Mr., 18
 Jachiel. See Hirshel, Jachiel
 Jacksons Branch, 59
 Jacksonboro (Jacksonborough), SC, 96
 James River, VA, 47, 57
 James Swamp, VA, 56
 Jay children, 24
 Jeaneret, Mary, 69
 Jefferson, Benjamin, 73
 Jefferson Elk Island, 55
 Jenkins, Edward, Rev., 76
 Jervey children, 95
 Jervey, James, 95
 Jervey, Mary, 95
 Jews, DaCosta re beliefs of, 13, 16, 28-29
 Johnston, _____, 93
 Johnston children, 67
 Johnston, Elizabeth, 67
 Johnston, Nathan, 67
 Jones, Charles Colcock, xv
 Jones (?), James, 73
 Jones, Noble Wimberly, 107
 Jordan, James, 2, 8
 Julienon (?), Col., 44
 Jurastus. See Erastus, Thomas
 K trees. See Kalmia Latifolia
 Kalmia Latifolia, 48
 Keal children, 70
 Kilpatrick (Killpatrick), Rev., 25
 King, John, 35
 King of Prussia Tavern, PA, 46
 Kings Arms Tavern, PA, 45, 55
 Kings College, New York City, 37, 38
 Kings Road, SC, 1
 Kirkland, Samuel, 43
 Kneipt, Mr., 109
 Knowland children, 76
 Knox, William, 92
 Kraft, Mr., 92
 Kunze, Rev. Mr., 45
 Lambert, John, 10
 Lambol (Lamboll), Thomas, 13, 27, 28
 Lancaster, PA, 45, 54, 55
 La Nonianche, Dr., 40
 Laton children, 77
 Laudanum, J.J. Zubly taking, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95
 Laurens, Henry, 5, 6, 7
 Lee, Richard Henry, 44
 Lee, Thomas, 52, 60
 Leesburg (Leesborough), VA, 46, 54, 56
 Lefore's Commentaries, 47
 Legare children, 15, 31
 Legare, Daniel, 7, 8, 9, 11
 Legare, James (?), 33
 Legge, William, Lord Dartmouth, 39
 Lewis children, 70
 Lewis, John (?), 24, 64, 67, 69, 73
 Lexington, battle of, mentioned, 36
 Lichtensteger, Mr., 31
 Lindsey (Linsay, Lindsay), Dr., 50, 58
 Little's Place, SC, 60
 Little's Town, MD, 46, 53
 Livingston, Philip, 37, 38
 Lord, Andrew, 5, 6, 7, 10, 31, 32
 Lunenburg, VA, 54
 Lynch, John, Dean of Canterbury, 5
 McAuley, Anne, 87
 McCall, Hugh, xiv, xv
 McDaniel, Mr., 48
 McGuire, Elizabeth, 91
 McIntosh, Mr., 95
 McKee, _____, 22
 McLeod, Mr., 78

- McPherson, Alexander, 94
 McPherson, Catherine, 94
 McQueen, John (?), 28
 McWorter, Alexander, 37
 MacKay's Creek, 1
 Maidenhead, NJ, 36
 Mains, Mrs., 97
 Maltby, John, 2, 8
 Marcushook, DE, 35
 Marriages:
 Bolton, _____ mar. Kendall Savage,
 23
 Courtney, John mar. Mary Taylor, 89
 Fouche, Charles mar. Mary Elizabeth
 Jeaneret, 69
 Heard, Malcolm, Serg. mar. Elizabeth
 McGuire, 91
 Hutson, Joseph mar. Anne McAuley,
 87
 Jefferson, Benjamin mar. Sarah
 Winburn (Winband), 73
 McPherson, Alexander mar.
 Catherine McPherson, 94
 Maurier, William mar. Asenath May,
 69
 Meyerhoff, John mar. Mary Winkler,
 72
 Smith, Robert mar. Janet Royal, 90
 Marshall, Daniel, 21, 24, 69
 Martin, Mr., 19, 25, 30
 Martin's Tavern, SC, 60
 Martinangel, Elizabeth, 71
 Martinangel, Philip, 71
 Mauduit, Mr., 11
 Maurier, William, 69
 Mauve, Mrs., death of, 53
 May, Asenath, 69
 Mayer, Adrian, death of, 74
 Meyer, Frederick, 8, 9
 Meyerhoff, John, 72
 Middlesex, SC, Zubly's home, xiv, 1n, 4,
 14, 61, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 78, 79, 96
 Middlesex Island Ferry. See Zubly's Ferry
 Middleton, Arthur, 3
 Middleton, Mr., 98
 Midway, GA, 39
 Milby children, 64
 Miles children, 20
 Miller, Henry, 36
 Miller, Mr., 86
 Milligan, John, Dr., death of, 91
 Moncks Corner, SC, 53, 61
 Monocacy (Monacassie) Ferry and River,
 MD, 46, 56
 Moody, Mrs., 3, 7
 Moore, Benjamin, 37
 Moore, Thomas William, 81, 111
 Moreton, Mr., 57
 Morses Mill, 23
 Muckenfuss children, 22
 Muckenfuss (messenger), 31
 Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior, xv, 35, 38,
 40, 42, 43, 45, 102n
 Myne (Mein?), Mr., 25
 Nail, Daniel, death of, 20; will, 22
 Nail, James, 29
 Nail, Mary Zubly (daughter of J.J. Zubly),
 10n, 23
 Neal (Neil?), widow, 46
 Negro children baptized, names of, 64
 Negroes, preaching to, 66-67
 Neufville (Nuville), Paul, 29
 Nevil's, VA, 56
 New Castle, DE, 35
 New Gate, 55
 Newkilns, PA, 35
 New Windsor, SC, 19
 New York, fired upon, 37-38
 Ninety Six, SC, 22; Battle of, 48, 49-50,
 51, 52
 Norman's Ford, VA, 55
 North Carolina Regulators, 16
 North East, PA, 54
 Nowlands (Norlands, Noland) Ferry, VA,
 46, 54, 56
 Orange Courthouse, VA, 47, 54, 55, 57
 Osborn (Osborne), Alexander, 50
 Osgood, John, Rev., 84
 Parker, John, 3
 Parkers Ferry, SC, 9-10, 61
 Parten (Porten, Porter), 47, 57
 Patapsco, 55
 Patunxant Iron Works, MD, 55n
 Pattison, Mr., 50
 Paynes Ordinary, VA, 55, 57
 Pelot, Mr., 1, 9, 10, 14, 24, 25, 30, 97,
 98-99
 Pemberton, Israel, 44
 People (Peeple) children, 65
 People (Peeple), Elizabeth, 65
 People (Peeple), Issac, 65
 Perroneau, Mr., 86
 Perroneau, Arthur, 12, 19
 Perroneau, H., Mrs., 87
 Perroneau, Henry, 8, 26
 Pfeiffer, Col., 50, 59
 Philadelphia, J.J. Zubly reaches, 35, 40;
 summer temperature, 41
 Piercy, Richard, Rev., 24, 26
 Pilmore, Joseph, 25
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 11
 Pipe Creek, MD, 46

- Pipe Creek, SC, 69, 70
 Podenbourg, 54
 Point No Point, MD, 41
 Pollack, Saloin, 29
 Pon Pon, SC, 10
 Poore, (J.W.), 13
 Porbeck, Col., 80
 Porten. See Parten
 Porter. See Parten
 Port Royal, Rappahannock Co., VA, 54
 Potomac (Potomock) River, 46
 Potter children, 20
 Prince Edward Academy, VA, 47n
 Prince Edward Courthouse, VA, 47n, 57
 Princeton, NJ, 39
 Prior, Mr., 90
 Purcel, (Robert), 17
 Purrysburg, SC, 1, 9, 10, 32, 75, 97
 Pury, John Pierre, 1n
 Quaro (servant), 89
 Quarterhouse, The, SC, 96
 Queensboro, GA 23
 Rabenhorst, Christian, 14, 24
 Racoon Fork, 47, 55, 57
 Rae, Mr., 23, 24
 Randolph, Peyton, death of, 42
 Rantowle, Alexander, 9
 Rapidan River, VA, 47
 Rappanahannock County, VA, 54
 Ravot children, 65
 Raymond children, 70
 Red House Tavern, VA, 46, 56
 Reedy (Ready) Fork, NC, 49, 58
 Reese (Rees), Oliver, 32, 34, 53
 Reeves, Mr., 64
 Rhorses (Ross?), Mr., 30
 Richardson, William, 14
 Richmond, VA, 54
 Rivers children, 20
 Roanoke (Roanoak) River, 48, 57
 Roberts children, 65, 98
 Roberts, Mr., 30
 Roby River, NC, 50, 59
 Rogers, John, Dr., 36, 37, 42, 105-106
 Rose (Ross), Mr., 97
 Royal, Janet, 90
 Rutledge, Edward, 3, 19, 25, 27
 Rutledge, John, 65
 St. Gall, Switzerland, 106
 St. Gall ward (Savannah, GA) xv
 Sacra Coena, 13
 Sadler, John, 11, 13
 Salisbury, NC, 48, 50, 59
 Sandy Creek, VA, 57
 Santee River, SC, 60
 Santee River Swamp, SC, 52
 Saussy, David (?), 28
 Savage, Edward, 22, 30
 Savage, Kendall, 23
 Savage (Savidge), Thomas, 4
 Savannah, 10, 30, 101; J.J. Zubly arrives, 53, 61; trouble in, 71; capture of, 79n
 Savoury, Mr., 7
 Schenck, William, 39, 42
 Schlatter, Michael, 40, 42
 Schuylkill Ferry, PA, 55
 Scots Meeting House. See Independent Presbyterian Church
 Scott, Mr., 31
 Scott, Mrs., 88, 106
 Scott, James, 68, 69
 Scott, Jane, 68, 69
 Scott, John, Jr., 5
 Scott, Richard (?), 69
 Screven, T(homas), 5
 Seagrove, Ann Zubly (daughter of J.J. Zubly), ixn, 106, 111
 Seagrove, James, xi
 Seymour, James, 20, 22, 30
 Shaw, Mrs., 22
 Shelby, NC, 59
 Shirley, William, 31
 Simpson, Archibald, 2, 10, 14, 17, 79
 Simpson, John, 89
 Smith, Archibald, iii, viii, xv, 102
 Smith, Archibald (II), iii, vii, 111
 Smith, Archibald (III), viii, 111-112
 Smith, Arthur M., viii
 Smith, Cousin, 22, 31
 Smith, Helena Zubly (daughter of J.J. Zubly), viii, xv
 Smith, Js (James?), 19
 Smith, John, 75
 Smith, Mr., 13, 34, 64, 65, 68, 90
 Smith, Richard, xiv
 Smith, Robert, 90
 Smith, Rev. Mr., 19, 87
 Smith, Samuel Stanhope, 47, 48
 Smith's Academy, VA, 47
 Snowdens Iron Works, 55
 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 92, 105
 South Carolina, map of, 6; militia will not muster, 73; expedition against SC given up, 78; in the hands of the British, 103
 Spreber, Chr., 59
 Sprecher, Mr., 50, 59
 Sproat, James, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 45
 Spurgeon, 55, 56
 Stafford children, 64, 67
 Stafford, John, 64

- Stafford, Susan, 64
 Stanton River, VA, 48, 57
 Stevens children, 69
 Stevens, William Bacon, xv
 Stiles, Ezra, xiv
 Stiles, (William) Henry, 112
 Stillman, Samuel, 36, 41, 42, 45
 Stobo, James (?), 34, 35
 Stockton, Richard, 39
 Stono, SC, 96
 Stono River, SC, 18
 Stony Ford, VA, 47
 Stuart, Math., 59
 Stubble Field, VA, 48, 58
 Sturzenegger, Catherine 29
 Sturzenegger, Johan, 30
 Susquehannah River, PA, 45, 54, 55
 Sutton, Joseph (?), 52, 59
 Swans (Tavern?), PA, 55
 Sweaming Creek, NC, 50, 59
 "Swiss", The, 33, 34
 Swiss Cantons, mortality lists, 20-21
 Taneytown, MD, 46, 54, 56
 Taylor Branch, 54
 Taylor, Mary, 89
 Tefft, Israel Keech, viii, 102, 107
 Tennent, William, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 86
 Tennent, William II, 36, 39, 41, 42, 45
 Thanksgiving Proclamation, 65
 Thomas children, 87
 Thomas, Elizabeth, 87
 Thomas, Jacob, 87
 Thomas, John, 4, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 103-104
 Thomas, Mrs., 104
 Thomson (Thompson), William, Col., 6, 49, 52, 60
 Ticonderoga, NY, 37
 Timothy, Peter, 6n, 33, 34
 Tobler, Anne, 106
 Tobler, John, xi, 106
 Tomlin, Mr., 92
 Tracy Landing, MD, 55
 Transylvania, 49
 Trenholm, Anne, 29
 Trenholm, William, 29
 Trenton, NJ, 36
 Triebner, Christian Fredrich, 14n, 24n
 Trigg, Stephen, 46
 Tryon, William, Gov., 16, 38
 Tryon's Palace, NC, 16
 Tuiley (?), 22
 Tunno, Adam (?), 86
 Turking. See Turquand
 Turquand, Paul, 13, 21
 Turquand, Philip, 21
 Turquand, Sophia, 69
 Vaigneux, Elizabeth, 69
 Vaigneux, Lewis, 69
 Valton, Peter (?), 5
 Vanbibers Tavern, SC, 61
 Vandepeck, Capt., 38
 Vardman, Mr., 37
 Vaudin, Dr., 32
 Venable, Mr., VA, 57
 Vernonburg, ix, x
 Vickers children, 71
 Vollaton, Moses, 76
 Waddell, John, Col., 16
 Waldburger, Jacob, estate, 1, 9, 10, 13, 19, 22, 26, 30, 32, 34
 Wallace, Mr., 87
 Walter children, 64
 Walter, Elizabeth, 64
 Walter, Lewis, 64
 Wando Neck, 28, 29, 31, 32
 Ward, Samuel, xiv
 Washington, Gen., 37
 Wateree River, SC, 60
 Watkins, VA, 57
 Watson's Ordinary, SC, 55, 60
 Watt's Catechisms, 65
 Waxhaws District, SC, 14
 Wesley, John (?), 26
 Westover, SC, 52
 West's Tavern, VA, 56
 Weyberg (Weinberg, Wyberg), Casparus Diederus, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45
 White, George, xv, 112
 Whitefield, George, 3, 4, 8, 11
 Wiggins children, 82
 Will, Philip, 52, 60
 Williams, James, 92
 Williamson, William, 6
 Wiltown (Wiltown), SC, 8, 9, 32, 34
 Wilmington, PA, 54
 Wilson, Mary, death of, 78
 Winburn (Winband), Sarah, 73
 Winkler, Jacob, 72
 Winkler, Joseph, 66
 Winkler, Lewis, 66
 Winkler, Mary, 66, 72
 Winn children, 65
 Witherspoon, John, 32, 37, 42
 Woodson, 55
 Wright children, 76
 Wright, James, Sir., xv, 5n, 31, 108-109
 Wright, Mr., 4
 Yadkin (Adkin) River, NC, 50, 59
 Yorktown, PA, 45, 53, 55
 Z, J (John Zubly?), 90

- Zouberbuhler, Bartholomew, x
- Zubly, Ann Pye (wife of J.J. Zubly), xi
- Zubly, Ann Tobler (wife of J.J. Zubly), xi, 106
- Zubly, David (father of J.J. Zubly), ix, 34, 106
- Zubly, David (brother of J.J. Zubly), 9, 29, 68, 79, 87, 88, 93
- Zubly, David (son of J.J. Zubly), xi, 24, 42, 68, 69, 80, 87, 92, 95, 97
- Zubly, Helena (mother of J.J. Zubly), ix, 106
- Zubly, John (son of J.J. Zubly), 53
- Zubly, John Joachim, iii, viii, x; life of, ix-xv; letter re religion in GA, ixn; doctoral dissertation, ixn; call to Savannah, xi; elected to Provincial and Continental Congresses, xii; activities in Congress, xiii; returns to GA, xiii; arrested and banished, xiii; removed to SC, xiv; alleged treason, xiv-xv; death and memorials in Savannah, xv; journal, description of, xvi-xvii; memorial for ferry, 1n; sister mentioned, 8; brother of, 9, 19; goes to Philadelphia, 35; meets NJ Provincial Congress, 36; attends Congress, 40-45; debates in Congress, 40, 43, 44; leaves Philadelphia, 45; journey home, details, 54-61; arrives in Savannah, 61; resolutions 1777, 64-65; reaction to Act of Confiscation and Banishment, 66-67, 69; tax list, 1778, 67-68; house used as hospital, 67; petition refused, 68; removal to SC, 69; house in Savannah burnt, 72; adds to house at Middlesex, 72, 81; takes Oath of Allegiance, 72; birth of grandchild, 75; family fled, 78; library lost, 78, 102-103, 105; in Charleston, 84-96; address to NC, 87; Thanksgiving sermon to be published, 88; robbed, 96; preaching in Savannah, 99, 103; letters, 102-111; vital records, 106; sufferings from the war, 108-110.
- Zubly Street (Savannah, GA) xv
- Zubly's Ferry, 1n, 10, 98

